Siding and 'translanguaged siding' in lecture halls: an ethnography of communication at the University of the Western Cape.

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Abstract

The study set out to investigate siding and translanguaged siding as an under-researched student-to-student communication which happen parallel to teaching. Lemke (1990) defines siding as student-to-student talk while the teacher is teaching, and Antia (2017) defines 'translanguaged siding' as student-to-student talk in a language or combination of languages that is different from the LoLT. In this way, siding encapsulates 'translanguaged siding'. Higher education institutions in South Africa have significantly expanded access to students from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds. However, such massification has not necessarily been accompanied by an increase in resources to provide infrastructure and human resources to support students whose first language is different to the Language of Teaching and Learning (LoLT). Consequently, limited support is available for a diverse student population with different learning styles, and dissimilar levels of preparedness for higher education. The literature on this particular classroom discourse (siding) was insufficient, as researchers are drawn to an analysis of classroom discourse as it relates to the teacher talk.

The lack of South African and international studies on siding as a classroom discourse, which is potentially suited to respond to the changes in the education landscape, meant that literature was limited in respect of the following study objectives: siding and 'translanguaged siding' as a form of classroom discourse; how frequently siding occurs; what shapes the occurrence of siding, what semiotic resources are employed during siding; what factors determine the choice of these semiotic resources; what function siding plays in the experience of participants; why siding has to take these functions; and how siding is appraised by non-participants and by lecturers. To achieve these objectives, the study followed a mixed-methods approach. The qualitative part of the study presented data from the perspective of students through diary keeping and interviews for translanguaged siding as well as observational data of an honours class for siding from the researcher's perspective. The thesis employed the ethnography of communication as a primary analytical tool for qualitative data. Additionally, the study collected quantifiable data with two questionnaires that was analysed using a qualitative dominant approach. A student

questionnaire was administered to students from the Arts and Science Faculties (200) and the lecturer questionnaire was administered to lecturers from the Arts (5) and Science Faculties (5). The study showed that English as the LoLT shaped the occurrence of translanguaged siding, and that translanguaged siding is shaped by the different home languages students reported speaking as well as which factors shape the occurrence of translanguaged siding, and which factors shaped the choice of semiotic resources. The study demonstrated that not all siding is convivial in nature.

Keywords

Multilingualism, Multimodality, Classroom discourse, Ethnography of
Communication, Higher Education, Translanguaged siding

DECLARATION

I declare that *Siding and 'translanguaged siding' in lecture halls: an ethnography of communication at the University of the Western Cape'* 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.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

EC   Ethnography of communication

ELF   English as a lingua franca

IRF   Initiation – response – feedback

IRE   Initiation – response – evaluation

LoLT Language of learning and teaching

UWC University of the Western Cape

SLA   Second language acquisition

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Chapter One

Introduction and background to the study

The first section in Chapter one discusses the background to the study, and postulates the statement of the problem. The section that follows provides the background of the study, the statement of the problem and the research questions. Chapter one concludes with an outline of each chapter.

1.1. Background

Language plays a central role in education, and researchers have been particularly concerned to 'make visible the often invisible influences of language of what and how students learn or fail to learn from participating in various educational processes' (Lemke, 1990: 1). Most teaching takes place through the medium of talking. As a result, scholars have been drawn to the analysis of classroom discourse to demonstrate the different kinds of talk which takes place in the classroom. Classroom discourse is the language teachers and students use to communicate with one another during lessons. Some of the earliest research on classroom discourse provided useful insights into the dynamic forms of talk between teachers and students. Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) developed the classic IRF (initiation–response–feedback) model. The model was developed to study classroom discourse systematically, focusing mainly on the teacher and his/her interaction with students where talk is relatively tightly structured by the teacher. Mehan (1979) was also interested in obtaining data which captured the interaction that occurs between teacher and students, and builds on the IRF model by creating the initiation–response–evaluation model (IRE). Ehlich and Rehbein (1986) classified classroom discourse into instructional and parallel discourses. Additionally, Castanheira (2001), Edwards and Westgate (1987) and Hicks (1995) focused on classroom interaction as a communicative and social process. Scenarios were also investigated where students were treated as a single entity and not as individuals

in an interaction. Koschmann (1999) and Ford (1999) and others concentrated on interaction between students, often focusing on talk between students during group assignments.

Heath (1983) and Philips (1985) studied student participation from an anthropological perspective, comparing the participation of students in relation to their cultural differences, while Heller and Martin-Jones (2001) investigated participation in relation to language differences. All of the mentioned research found evidence of differences in participation, but the differences found were in relation to the interaction with the teacher. Studies by Candela (1998), Guitierrez (1995) and Rampton (2006) recognised that classroom interaction was not a singular activity between the teacher and a heterogeneous group. These studies demonstrated that students could be interacting with the teacher and still be busy with another activity, as a form of resistance or mock participation. Nuthall and Alton-Lee (1993), Bloome and Theodorou (1988) and Rampton (2006) studied simultaneous talk in classrooms. Although the aims of these studies were diverse, they showed that students do participate in classroom activities other than those involving the teacher.

Moreover, Lemke (1990) thoroughly discusses each of the interactive classroom discourses and provides multiple examples to show how these discourses are teacher and activity centred. Equally, he discusses siding or parallel talk which occurs between students while the teacher is teaching. He demonstrated that unofficial siding in classrooms is an activity which is admonished as it is believed to break the official rules of classroom behaviour and is related to personal issues that can be associated with Malinowskian small talk (1923).

Parallel to the work on forms of classroom discourse, numerous researchers have focused on the changing landscape in higher education. Higher education

institutions in general, and the University of the Western Cape (UWC) in particular, have experienced a massive increase in student enrolment over the last 25 years. The increase in student numbers has occurred without an increase in resources (Jansen, 2003; Antia & Dyers, 2015; Antia, 2015; Morrow, 2015). Consequently, lecture halls are overcrowded with students from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Many of the enrolled students are underprepared for the challenges at university level. *Underpreparedness* includes the inability to speak, write and read fluently in the language of instruction (Roman & Dison, 2016). Students who are underprepared for university experience an articulation gap as there is a huge disparity between the learning requirements of higher education, and the content knowledge and language competencies of students entering universities (Moscaritolo & Schreiber, 2014).

In an increasing number of higher education classrooms globally, and in the majority of South African higher education institutes, including UWC, English is used as the language of learning and teaching (LoLT) (CHE, 2002:4). Consequently, many South African and international students enter the higher education arena with a linguistic disadvantage, primarily because the LoLT is different from their home language. In addition to students having different learning styles, international students have the additional burden of being submerged in a foreign culture (Canagarajah, 2007).

1.2 Statement of the problem

Against this background, it is unfortunate that changes in the higher education landscape are yet to be sufficiently reflected in studies of classroom discourse, especially in studies done by researchers from the global north. Many of the above-mentioned studies of classroom discourses do not reflect the effect of *massification* (overcrowding) and *underpreparedness* of local students or the cultural and linguistic problems international students face in lecture halls due to the changing genres of classroom discourse. In this regard, one particularly

interesting form of classroom discourse which has been insufficiently studied is *siding* (Lemke, 1990) or *translanguaged siding* (Antia, 2017).

Lemke (1990) defines siding as student-to-student talk while the teacher is teaching, and Antia (2017) defines 'translanguaged siding' as student-to-student talk in a language or combination of languages that is different from the LoLT. In this way, siding encapsulates 'translanguaged siding'. Models like Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) IRF model, and descriptions of classroom discourse like Lemke (1990) are valuable, but they are largely monolingual. Antia (2017) postulates that siding and 'translanguaged siding' sometimes function as a scaffolding (bridging pedagogy) tool which students use to bridge the monolingualism they experience in lecture halls. Regrettably, not enough research on the phenomenon of siding or 'translanguaged siding' is available. The lack of studies on this form of classroom discourse, which is potentially suited to respond to the changes in the educational landscape, has meant that our knowledge is relatively limited in respect of siding as a form of classroom discourse.

We thus know reasonably little of the agentive strategies adopted by students in culturally diverse lecture halls to support their educational 'investment' to counteract hegemony often imposed by language policies and language ideologies (Foucault, 1991; Norton, 1997; Van Lier, 2008; Garcia, 2009). In addition, it has not been possible to counteract the prevailing view of siding as inappropriate classroom behaviour (Lemke, 1990; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975; Antia, 2017).

1.3 Research questions

The aim of the research was to examine the siding practices of 1st and 2nd year students through a questionnaire, journal keeping of self- reported siding, observations of an honours class (classes are very small –the phenomenon

under study could thus be closely observed) and interviews with students who kept the journal as well as students from the observed class. The research questions were. The research questions were:

- How frequently do students engage in translanguaged siding/siding?
- Which factors determine and shape the occurrence of siding/ translanguaged siding?
- What semiotic resources are employed during siding and translanguaged siding?
- What factors determine the choice of semiotic resources?
- What function does siding/'translanguaged siding' play in the experience of students?
- Why does siding/'translanguaged siding' have to take these functions?
- How is siding appraised by non-participants and by lecturers?

1.4 Chapter outline

This section briefly outlines each chapter, then Chapter one is concluded with a brief summary.

Chapter one is the introductory chapter which contextualises the study. It provides background to the LoLT in higher education, specifically at UWC, and outlines the impact of massification and under-preparedness of students entering the higher education arena. It further gives an overview of classroom discourse and discusses the under-researched siding phenomenon which can be related to phatic communion. Chapter one includes the statement of the problem and the objectives of the study.

Chapter two discusses multilingualism, poststructuralist concepts in sociolinguistics of multilingualism, classroom discourse, small talk, siding,

learning theories, paralanguage, the ethnography of communication and multimodality.

Chapter three discusses the ethnography of communication as the theoretical frame.

Chapter four discusses the research methodology. A comprehensive review of choice of methods, extraction of data and data analysis is provided.

Chapter five presents quantitative data from the two questionnaires on the frequency of siding, home and combinations of siding languages, motivations for siding, and so on. The researcher presents the data through graphs and tables, and provides a summary of the findings. Relevant literature is discussed.

Chapter six presents qualitative data. Four lectures with accompanying siding events are described with the ethnography of communication as the primary analytical frame, and multimodality as the secondary analytical frame.

Chapter seven briefly reminds the reader what the study set out to do, then answers each research question independently. Subsequently, the study's main contributions to knowledge are listed, followed by the recommendations and suggestions for future studies.

In the chapter that follows a literature review is undertaken

Chapter Two

Literature review

2.0 Introduction

Chapter two reviews literature relevant to the study. The first section of this chapter discusses UWC as the research site then concepts of multilingualism is fleshed out. The section that follows discusses notions which included motivation to learn a second language and identity construction. Thereafter, classroom discourse, as it has been studied over the last three decades, is discussed followed by literature on small talk and siding. Then, an overview of learning theories is posited followed by a review of paralanguage. Finally, the ethnography of communication and multimodality is discussed.

2.1 Multilingualism

2.1.1 Multilingualism at the University of the Western Cape (UWC)

UWC is the site from which siding and 'translanguaged siding' data was collected from, therefore this section discusses the background of the mentioned university. In 1959, the University of the Western Cape (UWC) was established for a predominantly Afrikaans-speaking coloured community to widen participation in higher education. While UWC is a historically black university, a standard Afrikaans commonly associated with white Afrikaans was employed as the LoLT (language of learning and teaching) as opposed to the Afrikaans language variety spoken by coloureds in the Western Cape. In the 1980s, UWC rejected the racial principles of its founders and opened its doors to students of all races. This engendered a preference for English as the LoLT to undermine the racial foundations on which UWC was established (Antia, 2015). The use of English as the LoLT become the predominant appeal to many black students. Furthermore, UWC committed itself to the development and use of languages, and language varieties (isiXhosa and

Afrikaans), in view of the fact that these were the languages of the majority of students from the Western Cape.

Against this backdrop, UWC published its language policy in 2003, as prescribed by the South African Language Policy for Higher Education in 2002. In the policy document, English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa were accredited as the three official languages of UWC, with clear guidance for use in the following four areas: languages for assessment and learning; languages for teaching; languages for internal and external communication; and commitments to initiatives for promoting academic literacy and language acquisition (UWC, 2003). Although the implementation of the policy was left to individual departments or faculties, English is used for assessments, lectures and tests. However, 'if lecturers and students are competent in other languages, they are encouraged to use these languages' (UWC, 2003). Thus, the alternative languages could be used in addition to the main LoLT. The policy further encourages individuals and groups to lead any appropriate initiatives of language diversification (Brock-Utne, Desai & Qoro, 2003; UWC, 2003; Antia, 2015).

Language practices at various sites at UWC mirror the views prescribed in the above policy documents. When a language other than English is shared by a tutor and student during tutorials and consultations, the alternative language is used (Antia, 2015); during English lectures for relatively homogeneous groups, it is common for lecturers to switch to Afrikaans or isiXhosa to give more detail or answer a question in an alternative language, and during peer study groups, students engage in various practices of translating and interpreting (Banda, 2003). These initiatives can be seen as a direct reaction to the South African Constitution (1996), the Language Policy in Higher Education (2002) and the transformational goals of Education White Paper 3 of 1997, which endeavour to allow marginalised students from diverse language backgrounds amplified

levels of epistemological access (Banda, 2003; Arkoudis & Tran, 2010; Antia, 2015; Antia & Dyers, 2015).

Language diversification initiatives also include the following efforts: interpreting, multilingual glossaries, and translating learning material into Afrikaans and isiXhosa. However, English remains the language in which lectures and most learning material are provided. In this way, the language policy is keen to promote a general language identity through the use of English as a lingua franca (ELF) with Afrikaans and isiXhosa as a symbolic token of affirmation (Stroud & Kerfoot, 2013; Du Plooy & Zilinsile, 2014; Antia, 2015; Antia & Dyers, 2015). As UWC serves a multilingual student population, the next section discusses concepts of multilingualism.

2.1.2 Multilingualism concepts

Lewis (2009) posits that multilingualism has become a common phenomenon, given the fact that there are more than 7000 languages in the world spread unevenly across countries. Therefore, there are more languages than countries, and many speakers need to speak more than one language daily. Multilinguals can be speakers of indigenous languages, for example, South Africa with 11 official languages or Maori in New Zealand, but speakers need to learn the dominant state language for educational purposes. Multilinguals could also be immigrants who speak the language of their country of origin and have to learn the language or languages of their host country (Sussex & Kirkpatrick, 2012). Aronin and Singleton (2008) listed distinctions in historical and contemporary multilingualism: Multilingualism is not limited to geographically close languages since languages are no longer bounded by trade routes. It is no longer associated with distinct social strata and is spread across social classes and sociocultural activities. In the post-modern society, communication is no longer bound to limited mailing systems and has become multimodal and instantaneous. The need for English as the dominant language for teaching and in higher

education, UWC being a case in point, is necessary since English is the most widely used language in South Africa and Africa, as well as on the Internet (Pluddemann, 1999; Edwards, 2009).

Traditionally, language has been viewed as a constrained static entity which exists independently of speakers. In contemporary society, language is increasingly viewed as a dynamic situated practice that is always in flux. Thus, in a contemporary society, language is viewed as a linguistic resource which people can draw from, depending on the situation (Hudson, 1996; Heller, 2007; Makoni & Pennycook, 2012). Heller (2007) suggests that language or languages are not bound by time and space, but by their use and users. Heller (2007: 11) holds that

> … the constant emergence of traces of different languages in the speech of individual bilinguals goes against the expectation that languages will neatly correspond to separate domains, and stay put where they are meant to stay put.

Thus, speakers of a language use features and structures of a language; however all the features are grounded in language. Hence, multilingual speakers employ whatever sets of features are at their disposal during an interaction, without considering if these sets of features are big or small. These small bits and pieces of the languages (truncated multilingualism) speakers know and use, were termed crossing by Rampton (1991). *Crossing* is therefore mostly the norm in contemporary society, but in educational contexts these speakers are compelled to use only one language at a time, causing a Catch-22 situation (dependent conditions from which there is no escape), as is the case with UWC. UWC uses

English as the language of learning and teaching since the student landscape is linguistically super diverse, making it impossible for all UWC students to be taught in their mother tongue (Antia, 2015). *Super diversity* refers to a diverse range of ethnic groups in one location made possible by globalisation (Vertovec (2007). Thus, linguistic super diversity implies a diverse range of languages in one location.

Jørgensen (2010) uses the term *'languaging'* to describe the behaviour where language users use fractions of different linguistic features at their disposal to achieve communicative aims. Swain (2006) refers to languaging as a dynamic, never-ending process of utilising language to make meaning and Wei (2011) supplements this understanding by positing that languaging constitutes the methods people use to make sense of meanings, to articulate their thoughts and to learn new things. When students engage in siding and translanguaged siding they use fractions of the different linguistic features at their disposal to achieve their communicative goal as demonstrated by Antia (2017).

Williams (1994), a Welsh scholar, first coined translanguaging as *trawsieithu,* to refer to a pedagogy that promoted the use of two languages (Welsh and English), mainly to promote the acquisition of Welsh to produce balanced bilinguals in Wales. Baker (cited in Lewis, Jones & Bake, 2012) translated the concept of *translanguaging* into English, pioneering the uptake of this local concept into dual learning and bilingual literacy programmes. The localised meaning, the use of two languages as a scaffolding tool in a classroom, was then generalised to all concepts of bilingual life (Garcia, 2009; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Lewis, Jones & Baker: 2012). Thus, translanguaging can be considered an act or practice that is performed by bilinguals when they access diverse linguistic features to maximise their communicative potential. The translanguage practice is centred on the observable bilingual practices of individuals and is not centred or focused on language. Thus, translanguaging goes beyond code switching, but also includes it.

From a sociolinguistic perspective, the way people use languages does not always agree with named languages speakers often identify with, and frequently obscures variations between idiolects. An idiolect is a speaker's unique personal language, thus the person's mental grammar which emerges during interaction with others. Hence, an idiolect is the system that underpins what a person speaks and consists of ordered and categorised lexical and grammatical features. Blommaert and Backus (2013), and Jørgensen (2008) suggest that speakers engage in languaging and combine linguistic resources which are employed alongside other semiotic resources. These insights into languaging (Swain; 2006; Jørgensen, 2008; Blommaert & Backus, 2013) inspired scholars to propose translanguaging as an alternative to languaging as a concept for a speaker's natural spontaneous linguistic instinct for observable linguistic practices. In this way, Garcia and Wei (2014:162) postulated that individuals have an inborn translanguaging predisposition which is an 'innate capacity to draw on as many different cognitive and semiotic resources as available to them to interpret meaning intentions and to design actions accordingly'.

Otheguy, Garcia and Reid (2015) further explained that translanguaging refers to mental constructs of language which encapsulate individual linguistic competencies, irrespective if we call them monolinguals or multilinguals. Thus, according to Otheguy et al. (2015), monolinguals are included in translanguaging. These perceptions of translanguaging have led Garcia and Wei (2014: 5) to define a translanguaging approach as

an approach to the use of language, bilingualism and
the education of bilinguals that considers the language
practice of bilinguals not as two autonomous language
systems as has been traditionally the case, but as one

linguistic repertoire with features that have been socially constructed as belonging to two separate languages.

Thus, translanguaging is an ambitious transformative pedagogy, which aims at establishing bilingual subjectivity at a personal and societal level to increase wellbeing, to transform an unequal society into a more just world, to increase achievement levels and endeavour to give back the voice which has been taken away by monoglot standards in educational context (Garcia and Wei, 2014). Translanguaging practices are therefore a valuable strategy and learner friendly; however, academic registers which are predominantly monolingual in nature seem still to have more value. Thus, translanguaging should be used as a strategy to scaffold multilingual students' emerging English practices and to support the students' understanding of concepts. Speakers practising translanguaging use their full linguistic repertoire, which could be a few popular words in one language, or an in-depth knowledge of a range of words that include syntactical and morphological possibilities in another language. Thus, multilinguals are competent speakers or hearers with unique linguistic profiles when analysed from a holistic perspective (Grosjean, 1985).

Traditionally, research in linguistics has focused on specific elements of a language, called an atomistic view of language. Atomistic research usually focuses on features of syntax, phonics or lexis in the development or acquisition of a language. Language is considered discrete, fixed independent units and this implies that multilinguals are in fact multiple monolinguals (Wei, 2011). From a holistic perspective, speakers and hearers are seen as multi-competent (Cook, 1995) in view of the fact that they use all their communicative resources in unstructured interactions in real-world communication as opposed to what they are taught at school. Thus, bridges should be built between spontaneous

interaction in the real-world situations where students use their full linguistic repertoires to make meaning, as opposed the classroom, where students are forced to engage in the language of learning and teaching.

Such alternative avenues to scaffold learning are possible, as demonstrated by Antia and Dyers (2016) when they translated course materials into minority languages, as well as developing audio voice overs in Afrikaans and isiXhosa. In this way they narrowed the gap between the traditional focus on one language at a time, to a multilingual approach involving more languages and language dialects to extend formal educational practices. Focusing on students as multilingual speakers, encompasses the speaker who uses his or her full linguistic repertoire in a particular situated context.

Interlocutors have to take into account prevailing cultural rules that govern interactions, depending on the context the speech act takes place in. Burling (2007) holds that understanding a linguistic sign happens prior to the production or creation of a linguistic message. So, it makes no sense for speakers to invent signs or language as they are speaking, since other individuals do not understand the sign. Both interlocutors have to understand the intention of the sign, therefore the sign is social in nature. Viewing multilingualism from a holistic perspective has enabled alternative terminology as a metalanguage to discuss language. The next section discusses transidiomatic practices (Jacquemet, (2005), diglossia, heteroglossia, polyphony (Baktin, 1934) and translanguaging (Garcia, 2009; Wei, 2011; Creese & Blackledge, 2010).

Speakers are no longer territorially defined and communicate using mobile media and produce and reproduce social hierarchies. Thus, *transidiomatic practices* describe the communication of individuals who interact via social media using a range of communicative modes that are both physically close and distant. In this way, transidiomatic practices are the co-presence of multilingual

talk and electronic media. These communicative practices are structured by social indexcalities and semiotic codes. Jacquemet (2005: 261) held,

> anyone present in transnational environments, whose talk is mediated by territorialised technologies, and who acts with both present and distant people, will find himself producing transidiomatic practices.

Transidiomatic communicative resources are employed by people with the linguistic and cognitive skills to function in co-present coinciding communicative frames. The use of language in these spaces depends on the contextual nature of their interactions, and could be an innovative mixed language. In this way, diasporic and local creative individuals can intermix their identities by maintaining a simultaneous presence on multiple sites and networks spread through multiple localities. Bakhtin's (1934) and Fishman's (1980) writings offer a useful framework to study text and texting (via electronic devices) which has the potential for performance and acknowledges that texts are imbued with social, political and cultural knowledge.

Diglossia as a concept is defined as the coexistence of language codes, which could mean two varieties of one language or the use of two languages. Each of the two typologies is used under different conditions, often within the same community, and sometimes it could be the same speaker. These diglossic situations are classified into high variety (H) and low variety (L). The high variety of a language is for formal use, and the low variety is used for informal situations. Thus, the use of language depends on the subject positioning. In lecture hall, students would engage in translanguaged siding using a particular language variety of a particular language depending on the siding situation (Fishman, 1980).

Bakhtin (1934) extends dialogism through the concept of *heteroglossia.* He holds that all utterances are heteroglot and polyphonic, since these utterances are all infused with different languages and resonate with many voices. Heteroglossia addresses the dialogic relationship between multiple, or possibly conflicted codes or registers as well as the larger socio-political and socio-historical context. Thus, it is the different ways an individual speaks to different people and could account for accent, class, gender, dialect and culture. These meanings are negotiated through linguistic forms. Thus heteroglossia postulates the coexistence of different language varieties within a language, and ideas and perspectives within a language.

Polyphony refers to a figurative number of voices in individual utterances. Thus, polyphony means multiple voices within a voice. So, when people speak, there are other voices present, maybe speaking about a newspaper article their friends talked about. The 'voice' of the author of that article and the 'voice' of the friend are imbued with the individual's utterance. In this way, a number of voices could be simultaneously combined during translanguaged siding, each following an individual part but harmonising as one utterance (Günthner, 1999). The next section discusses selected concepts of second-language acquisition which are relevant to the current study, namely anxiety, motivation, identity,

2.2 Poststructuralist concepts in sociolinguistics of multilingualism

A vast number of studies has demonstrated a connection between *anxiety* as an affective factor when students speak in a second or third language, and possibly plays a role or motivates students to engage in siding. Gardner and McIntyre (1992) evidenced that anxiety manifests during classroom interaction. Hence, anxiety could possibly have a negative effect on learning, since it would inhibit a student from asking a question in a lecture. Mitchell and Myles (1995) revealed that anxiety produces feelings of self-belittling, and bodily responses which include a faster heartbeat. In contrast, sending text messages are said to

be largely free from anxiety and can motivate students to try new language experiences in the second language they want to acquire (Jonassen, Davidson, Collins, Campbell & Haag, 1995).

However, language practices students engage in during lectures could possibly follow them into online chatting spaces. Savignon and Roithmeier (2004) documented an online discussion board, where English home-language students shared postings on a discussion board with English second-language students, who were German. The data showed that the German students posted less than the United States students. Thus, the German learners were embarrassed about making mistakes. So, first- and second-year students could be anxious in asking questions, or asking for clarification in English, the language of learning and teaching, in crowded lecture halls. They could choose to verify a concept or ask for clarification from the person sitting next to them, if they are motivated enough to learn the concept.

Dulay, Krashen and Burt (1982: 47) define *motivation* 'as the incentive, the need, or the desire that the learner feels to learn the second language', while Gardner and McIntyre (1992: 2) see motivation as the 'desire to achieve a particular goal' by devoting considerable effort to achieving such a perceived goal. Dulay, Krashen and Burt (1982) distinguish between integrative and instrumental motivation. Integrative motivation can be defined as the aspiration to attain the ability to communicate in the target language to better understand lectures, while instrumental motivation is seen as the desire to accomplish proficiency in the second language for utilitarian reasons such as employment, education and information, and hence power (Gardner and Lambert, 1959).

Pavlenko (2002) argues for language as *symbolic capital* which has benefits over instrumental motivation, because it empowers individuals to link a person to the social language practices valued or devalued in the social arenas. The social arena in the current study is the lecture hall. Symbolic capital refers to

Bourdieu's (1991) metaphor that communicative practices have convertible exchange value as forms of capital. For young first- and second-year students, it is essential to acquire English, since English is a prerequisite to communicate with fellow students and lecturers, and to understand academic content. Furthermore, finding employment in South Africa would be almost impossible without communicative skills in English.

Thus, students would be eager to invest in their own language learning, English for academic purposes, by possibly developing their own strategies such as siding to acquire knowledge. Alternatively, Van Lier (2008) views motivation as synonymous with student *autonomy and agency*. Van Lier (2008) understands autonomy and agency as the predominant elements for success in second-language acquisition. In addition, Norton (1997: 411) used the term *'investment'* to refer to the desire students feel to study and practise the second language. As a result, the 'investment' can later be 'cashed in' for 'the right to speak' and 'the power to impose reception' as well as an opportunity to negotiate an alternative identity (Bourdieu, 1991: 75).

The term *'identity'* refers to an individual's uniqueness and individuality. Probes of identity construction have shown how complicated a concept it is, since identity is a virtual phenomenon, and almost impossible to define empirically. Hence, multilingual identity negotiation commonly takes place in situations where relations of power are unequal. Furthermore, identity negotiations are affected by the individual's social, cultural, political and historical context (Block, 2007). Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004:19) view

> identities as social discursive and narrative
> options offered by a particular society in a
> specific time and place to which individuals
> and groups of individuals appeal in an

> attempt to self-name ... and to claim social
> spaces and social prerogatives.

Identity construction is the developmental process through which an individual develops a distinctive personality or characteristics by which that person is recognised or known. The mentioned process defines individuals to others and themselves. Identity formation leads to some sort of comprehension of 'who' an individual is. Blommaert (2005: 203) argues that 'the who and what you are' is dependent on context, occasion and purpose. Thus, in a lecture hall, students assume a particular identity that is available to them. For example, when at home looking after siblings, students could possibly assume an authoritative role, but when speaking to lecturers in lecture halls, students assume a subordinate role. Poststructuralist approaches view identities as multiple, fluid and changing (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Thus, students can simultaneously be members of diverse groups such as close intimate friends, university friends, assignment friends, and so on. These memberships shift over time and sometimes from moment to moment and therefore help form the individual's social identity that is generated dynamically by people, through their interactions and negotiations with other individuals (Baker, 2006:136).

Moreover, the discursive space the students find themselves in, shapes their identities and the identities they are able to assume (Block, 2007). For this reason, the discursive spaces where identities are constructed could possibly be the family, peer groups, university and social networks (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Block, 2007).

> Illuminating identity features in social interaction, and foregrounds the relation between social structure and communicative language practices. Language is a multifaceted phenomenon shaping both internal and external interpretations of our identities. Neither identity nor language use is a fixed concept, because

both are dynamic and dependent on time and place (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Block, 2007). Students have a variety of social and personal identities accessible to them, and some identities which are not accessible. Identity repertoires available are thus constructed depending on the individual's gender, socio-economic status, race, urban or rural location and linguistic repertoire (Blommaert, 2005). Students who participated in the study had particular identity repertoires available to them, which were dependent on cultural and linguistic capital available in the communities they come from.

For Bourdieu (1991), the ability of students to act out identities in their world depends on the relationship between the social stage or context, the kinds of linguistic capital available to students, and the individual 'habitus' or way of being. By 'habitus', Bourdieu (1991) meant a set of 'dispositions' which inform people, often unconsciously, to act in certain ways in a particular context (Bourdieu, 1991). These habits that become second nature are durable, reproductive and can be transferred from one generation to the next. Thus, the habits echo the social conditions in which they are acquired, for example, classrooms at high school level (Thompson, 1991). Consequently, the students' habitus will be reflective of social conditions to some extent, and could be moderately homogeneous for people from similar backgrounds. All students come from schools where siding is seen as an activity that is against the rules of the class. Thus, at university level, students still act according to the rules they were taught at secondary school level.

As a result, students may find their capacity to act in the lecture hall (field), the world (meta-field) or the spatial meta-field (digitalities) constrained both by their own habitus and by the lack of value attached to the forms of capital they bring to a situation (Thompson, 1991). In contrast, siding could provide a hybrid space with enormous potential to construct multiple linguistic identities. Hence, the potential to 'invest' in linguistic capital and to acquire an alternative habitus

would be unlimited. In this way, subjects would be able to enhance their own symbolic positioning (Bourdieu, 1991; Thompson, 1991; Norton, 1997).

Identities are constructed by discourses that give value to subject positions. Subject positions refer to things that influence the way in which others see us (Bourdieu, 1991). Students become subjects by being subjected to their cultural, social and natural environments. The subject position or positionality then gives us an understanding of our position in a hierarchy, for example, a student that speaks English as a second language could be positioned as a 'bad student' by lecturers (Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner & Cain, 1998). Gee (2000: 99) goes further and describes positionality as 'being recognised as a certain type of person', which inevitably links people to status on the social stage where our discourses can be 'acts of identity', for example, when texting, some students might only use text speak (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985).

As a result, positioning which depends on the student's linguistic identities or available discourses could be negative and create conflict, while the student may resist being positioned. However, emerging strategies such as siding could provide students with means of self-representation and prompt them to cross boundaries in order to reposition themselves. The repositioning may be positive and could evoke an alternative linguistic identity, which includes the right to speak in the lecture hall (Bourdieu, 1991; Thompson, 1991).

When a student takes up an alternative *subject position*, he/she inevitably views the world from the vantage point of that specific position, for example, a bad student becomes a good student if he/she stops siding or acquires English for academic purposes (Thompson, 1991; Block, 2007). All people constantly negotiate 'who is who' in their interactions and form self-views as a means of making sense of the world and forecasting the responses of others. Consequently, a lot of what happens in the field of identity is done by others

and not by the 'self' (Thompson, 1991; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Block, 2007). Individuals will modify features of their presentation according to the response and presentations of those people they interact with. This modification process is referred to as identity negotiation, and is quite often unconscious (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). *Negotiation of identity* can be 'understood as interplay between reflective positioning and interactive positioning', whereby others attempt to position or reposition particular individuals or groups (Pavlenko, 2004: 20).

To socialise, people take aspects of their internal identities and project them onto their social identities. The projected social identity is then used to negotiate imposed identities (Pavlenko, 2004). Thus, negotiation refers to the processes through which senders and receivers come to an agreement regarding the identities the targets are to assume in the interaction (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). This agreement brings about the difference between an achieved social identity (a good student) and an ascribed social identity (a bad student) (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004).

2.3 Classroom discourse

Interaction in classrooms is traditionally defined as the process of passing knowledge from a professionally trained person to a student. The student is thus seen as a blank piece of paper that can be filled with knowledge (Clarke, Dunlap, Foster-Johnson, Childs, Wilson, White & Vera, 1995). Contemporary educational strategies postulate that teaching/learning strategies should enable students to identify their own learning styles, guide students towards finding their own voice and scaffolding prior knowledge to conceptualise new perceptions and ideas (Entwistle & Ramsden, 2015; Stylianou, Kulinna & Naiman, 2016). Thus, classroom talk, which could be teacher to student, or student to student, is very important for student learning. Becoming educated is not simply a matter of collecting information; it encompasses the slow induction

of students into new materials, the development of new problem-solving skills and new methods of using language to express new ideas (Entwistle & Ramsden, 2015). The class or classroom is the space where students 'become educated', mostly through the medium of speaking.

The IRF model is the dominant pattern in most classrooms traditionally and in contemporary society (Sinclair & Coulthart, 1975; Mehan, 1979; Strout, 2007; Molinari, Mameli, & Gnisci, 2013). This dominant pattern informs all participants in the classroom interaction: 'Who is to speak, when the speaker may speak and also in what order (turn-taking)' the speaker may speak (Rampton, 2006). The development of the IRF model has enabled scholars to explain particular communicative behaviours of students and teachers which emerge during classroom interaction and is important for the current study as it informs students and lecturers who is allowed to speak and when that individual is allowed to speak (Kumaravadivelu, 1999). Long and Long (1975) and Van Lier (2008) analysed classroom talk through observations. Both researchers revealed that an unbending IRF structure is restrictive, given the fact that it has repercussions for students who talk without the teacher's permission.

Hence, the classroom talk is teacher centred, and lacks flexibility for students to negotiate their own meanings with their peers. The IRF model is still evident in classrooms today, and is far removed from the everyday situations in situated talk. Luk (2004) noted that classroom discourse primarily functions on the feedback (in the sequence of IRF) the teacher gives. In the classroom, the teacher's feedback is extremely important, as its primary goal is to evaluate the quality of the responses from the students. Thus, feedback is the main means through which students obtain information about the correctness or incorrectness of their responses from the teacher. However, feedback in the IRF form does not appear in social discourse to perform and evaluate, as is the case with classroom feedback. Therefore, a move away from a rigid IRF model would possibly equip students with skills to meet the needs of less predictable

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interaction patters which are evident in real-world situated practice and could lead to the co-construction of knowledge.

A more flexible IRF model would encourage alternative identities, the clarification of concepts through talk, and would enable communicative skills that are observable in real-world communicative practices (Van Lier, 2008). Thus, an inflexible IRF model restricts siding, however if the IRF model is more flexible would enable student to student collaboration. Hughes and Westgate (1998) examined teacher talk during classroom interactions in search of communicative patterns. They found that students are capable of displaying communicative skills, if they are given the opportunity by the teacher. They posited that these results can be achieved if the teacher allows students to take up more initiating roles and if teachers avoid any direct evaluation of the students' responses. Teachers should thus be encouraged to refrain from expert opinions and evaluation roles which are sometimes discouraging to students. Hughes and Westgate (1998) demonstrated that more outcomes are reached when the teacher allows more talk from students.

Luk (2004) investigated small talk between a teacher and her students in a second-language classroom in Hong Kong. He noted how the teacher and students demonstrated active participation in topic setting, turn initiation, turn development, and the negotiation of the meaning of concepts. However, all the mentioned studies involve permission from the teacher to have a turn to speak. Siding is labelled unofficial, as students do not ask for permission to speak, but whisper, scribble a note or use non-verbal language/paralanguage to communicate without detection. As a result, paralanguage (see definition overleaf) forms an integral part of siding, whether as part of a speech 'package' or as a stand-alone without verbal representation. Hence, the next section discusses literature on the non-linguistic aspects of communication, termed paralanguage.

2.4 Small talk and siding/translanguaged siding

Classroom talk and small talk seem dissimilar, given the fact that small talk is commonly related to Malinowski's (1923) conviviality and phatic communion. Teachers have traditionally labelled side conversations between students, which happen parallel to teacher talk, as convivial small talk (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975; Edwards & Westgate, 1987; Hicks, 1995; Canstanheira, 2001). Malinowski (1923) introduced us to the use of language in social 'primitive' interaction and also in European drawing rooms, which he called phatic communion. He claimed that 'phatic communion' is meaningless small talk with no social function, no intellectual consideration and does not produce reflection in the interlocutor or any transmission of thought. He claimed that 'small talk' or 'phatic communion' takes place when people are merely being civil through an exchange of words which binds interlocutors with emotions, sentiments and language functions as a mode of civility to create conviviality and not as an instrument of consideration (Malinowski, 1923: 310-325).

Malinowski's phatic communion has given small talk an image of an 'aimless, prefatory, obvious, uninteresting, sometimes suspect and even irrelevant' form of communication (Coupland, 2000: 3). It is a common perception that small talk is a form of communication that is *not educational nor strategic* as demonstrated in the studies discussed in the next section (Coupland, 2000; Holmes, 2000; Kuiper & Flindall, 2000). The next section offers a few studies where small talk is foregrounded.

Holmes (2000) examined small talk in government departments during the work day. Key personnel in different organisational roles were recorded and video-taped. The study demonstrated that small talk often marks the boundaries of social interaction and is habitually used to manage social interaction. Holmes (2000) further confirmed that there is a continuum from business talk to small talk, and moreover that small talk covers a wide range of different types of

social talk and is primarily used as a transitional instrument into transactional talk as could be the case with siding.

Kuiper and Flindall (2000) studied service encounters in multiple contexts. They verified similarities and differences between phatic exchanges (greetings, partings), transactional talk (requests, enquiries and instructions), transactional and relational talk, relational talk (small talk, anecdotes, and topics of mutual interest) and showed that these talks are contextually situated. Therefore, siding /'translanguaged siding' could be phatic in nature or it could have interpersonal and transactional properties which lead to pedagogical talk.

Tracy and Naughton (2000) examined institutional interaction by observing and recording an academic colloquium, meetings and a hospice case review. They reported that small talk in institutionalised interactions could be seen as a skill needed to make successful connections. McCarthy (2003) investigated the small talk which occurred during a driving lesson and a session at the hairdresser. He concluded that small talk can be utilised as *transactional* or task-orientated talk and contends that more attention should be given to the relational values which are demonstrated through small talk. Students in this study could also be engaged in siding, which is transactional in nature, and orientated towards a specific academic task. Another study in small talk comprised analyses as part of different types of telephonic conversations (Drew & Chilton, 2000). The small talk in these telephonic conversations depended on *relational distance or closeness between interlocutors*. Other studies included weather talk at a travel agency and spontaneous gossip between woman (Coates, 2000; Coupland, 2000).

Lemke (1990) demonstrated that when students engage in siding (which encompasses small talk) without the permission of the teacher, the talk is

admonished as it is *against the official rules of the class* to speak without the teacher's permission.

Siding (Lemke, 1990), which includes small talk (Malinowski, 1923) and 'translanguaged siding', is talk which occurs while the teacher is teaching and therefore forms part of classroom discourse. Siding is viewed as *informal talk without restrictions*, and is a perceived contradiction to the pedagogical discourse of the teacher in classroom settings as demonstrated by Heap (1991). Small talk was first mentioned in literature by Malinowski (1923) as the unimportant talk that happens between people when they have nothing else to talk about, while siding was coined by Lemke (1990: 75) and refers to the talk between students while a teacher is teaching, which could be convivial in nature with slightly transactional properties. Alternatively, as posited by Antia (2017), 'translanguaged siding' is used to scaffold learning when the language of learning and teaching is different from the student's home language. Although siding is part of classroom discourse, the IRF model of analysing classroom discourse does not allow for the inclusion of student-to-student communication, which forms part of the dynamic classroom discourse. Lemke (1990: 75) confirms that 'it is difficult to record siding during a lesson' and scholars actually know relatively little about what gets said when the teacher is not involved in the siding. Nevertheless, according to Lemke (1990: 75-76), siding could possibly have the following three functions: to sustain personal relationships; to speak with someone other than the teacher about what is going on in the class; and to provide students with an opportunity to disengage with the lesson activity completely.

Koole (2007) did an in-depth study of student-to-student communication, and describes the dynamic discourse of individual students during math lessons. He further posited that it is impossible for one teacher to answer 30 students. According to Koole (2007), students engage in siding activities to clarify a point the teacher has made, or to ask a fellow student a question regarding a lesson

that is in progress. Alternatively, the student disengages from the lesson to tell something to a friend.

Antia (2017) explored the 'translanguaged siding' phenomenon in lecture halls at UWC. He investigated siding among students while the lecturer was teaching. A questionnaire was administered to students, and interviews were held with groups of students. He demonstrated that hybrid underground spaces exist within the lecturing space. Students engage in siding on matters that include academic and non-academic matters which could be used to scaffold academic knowledge.

As mentioned before, students are schooled to believe that siding is an interaction they could be admonished for, thus they seek alternative communication methods which are less obvious and draw less attention. Siding is an unofficial practice that is most often not acknowledged, but forms part of the classroom discourse and therefore part of classroom interactions. Classroom interactions have been characterised as an institutionalised interaction with predictable speaking patterns. Long and Long (1975) alleged that the teacher is the arbitrator of performance during classroom interactions, the initiator of language and the facilitator for information exchange. The student must respond to the teacher's initiation. Thus, the classroom exchange has a three-part structure: the teacher initiates; the student replies; and the teacher gives feedback (IRF).

2.5 Learning theories

The thesis did not set out to evaluate lectures, but rather to investigate the siding phenomenon during lectures. However, the lecturing style might influence the siding of students. Furthermore, at school level students were possibly exposed to a particular learning theory which might influence their siding. Von Glasersfeld (1997: 204) calls constructivism 'a vast and woolly area in contemporary psychology, epistemology, and education'. Constructivism has

its intellectual roots in the work of Vygotsky, Piaget, the Gestalt psychologists and the biology of Jean Lave (Piaget, 1965/1995; Vygotsky, 1978/1986). Constructivism revolves around two central ideas: Students construct their own knowledge, and knowledge is constructed through social interactions. The next sections discuss Piaget's individual constructivism, followed by Vygotsky's social constructivism.

Individual constructivists are concerned with the way people construct internal representations that they remember or memorise and can retrieve later. Piaget's constructivist perspective is not concerned with internalising the correct representation, but is more concerned with the meaning-making process of concepts as constructed by the individual (Piaget, 1965/1995). A special concern of Piaget was logic and the construction of knowledge. He believed that the external environment is an important factor in cognitive development; however, he did not believe that social interaction was the primary impetus for cognitive development (Miller, 2002). He further noted that knowledge comes from reflecting on thoughts and coordinating thoughts. He posited that knowledge does not come from the external reality. For individual constructivism, learning means individually constructing knowledge. Thus, Piaget's constructivism is also referred to as individual constructivism, as individuals must construct their own knowledge (Paris, Byrnes & Paris, 2001). Hence, the learning of new concepts is constructed by reorganising previous knowledge and is not a reflection of the external world. The student's own exploration and discovery are more important than teaching.

Vygotsky emphasised that social interaction, cultural tools and social activity shape the individual's development and learning. When students participate in activities with others, outcomes are produced together. For Vygotsky, learning meant belonging to a social group, and with the help of others, knowledge is socially constructed during social interaction within a particular context

(Vygotsky, 1978/1986). Vygotsky's *zone of proximal development* is thus the cultural space where knowledge is *scaffolded* with the aid of *a more knowledgeable* other who can be a peer or an adult (Hammond & Gibbons, 2005). In this way, students who engage in siding practices on academic matters are actively engaged in *scaffolding* knowledge through the *zone of proximal development* (the gap between what a student can do with the help of a more knowledgeable other, and what the student can do by him/herself). This is even more so when a student asks a fellow student to clarify a concept. The fellow student then becomes the *more knowledgeable other* in the interaction.

People also learn through others what is valued in a culture, and are therefore the producers and products of cultural knowledge in their societies (Serpell, 1993; Bandura, 2001; Windschitl, 2002). In this study, UWC can be seen as the cultural context, where knowledge is produced and reproduced. Social constructivists believe that all knowledge is socially constructed and that some people have more power than others to illuminate or define such knowledge, as is the case with the lecturer, but also the more knowledgeable others. Knowledge for the social constructivist reflects the outside world and is influenced by culture, language, a belief system and interaction with others. The construction of knowledge is thus a situated practice within a community of practice where the novice takes on the role of an apprentice. The *apprentice* is then supported and guided until he or she can function independently (Serpell, 1993; Bandura, 2001; Windschitl, 2002). In this way, the student is guided by the lecturer and fellow students, then the scaffold is removed, and the student can function independently. This is also applicable to English for academic purposes. Numerous language diversification initiatives are employed to scaffold the apprentice or the novice until the student can function independently.

For the constructivist, learners/students are not empty vessels waiting to be filled with knowledge by more knowledgeable others. On the contrary, students are *actively seeking meaning*. Constructivists believe in knowledge *in use* through *collaboration*, rather than the storing of knowledge. In the constructivist classroom, knowledge is negotiated with others and the responsibility of knowledge acquisition is shared. The teacher/lecturer uses *multiple representations* of concepts to support knowledge construction and the ownership of learning is encouraged (Marshall, 1992; Driscoll, 2005).

Teachers are encouraged to elicit students' ideas around a topic, as students each bring their own *'funds of knowledge'* to the class (Moll, Amanti, Neff & Gonzalez, 1992). 'Funds of knowledge' refer to the knowledge and skills students already have before the class has started. One student in the study possibly has more knowledge than other students. Lessons are then constructed to elaborate or reconstruct the existing knowledge *in cooperation* with others. Students are frequently asked questions or given short tasks to engage them in meaningful problem solving while they are encouraged to reflect on their own thinking process. Constructivism further encourages the teacher to *continuously assess* while teaching, to make sure students understand the content of a lesson (Windschitl, 2002). The next section discusses behaviourism, as the oldest learning theory still evident in classrooms.

Bush (2006) posits that for the *behaviourist*, only measurable outward behaviour is assessable, thus the behaviourist focuses on learning as it is affected by behaviour. Behaviourism is rooted in the 1900s and is still implemented in many classrooms in contemporary society (Leahey, 2012). Overskeid (2008) notes that Watson's 1913 publication of *The behavioural learning theory*, offset the movement towards behaviourism. The study was on animals and the environment, and followed in the footsteps of Pavlov who conditioned a dog to produce saliva when he heard the ringing of a bell. Watson

(1913) experimented with a white rabbit. He conditioned children to *fear* the rabbit by pairing it with a loud noise. Skinner (1974) followed in Watson's footsteps developing the famous Skinner box, in which rats had to press a lever to receive food. However, Skinner later came to realise that humans go beyond just responding to the environment. As behaviourist theories are still implemented in contemporary classrooms, behaviourist notions might follow students into lecturing spaces. At school level learners are conditioned and drilled into certain behavioural patterns such as the IRF model. These behavioural patterns follow students into lecturing spaces in higher education. For the purpose of this thesis behaviourism was included to describe the conditioned behaviour of some students when they engage in siding practices. They could be conditioned to think of siding as an unofficial talk, while the lecturer possibly has a different view.

2.6 Paralanguage

As mentioned, studies relating to classroom discourse have focused primarily on student–teacher interaction, and do not make provision for siding or 'translanguaged siding' as classroom discourses. Although the contextualisation clues or paralanguage media (gestures, eye and body movements) that accompany classroom talk are not completely absent in classroom research, they are absent in research during student-to-student talk while the teacher is teaching. The very nature of siding as a hidden activity makes the features afforded by paralanguage potentially more important for siding students. Antia (2017) demonstrated that non-verbal and paralinguistic semiotic resources are used during siding as they can occur soundlessly because of their inaudible nature. However, paralanguage is principally studied as part of the 'speech package'.

Stivers and Sidnell (2005) confirmed that talk in different contexts in the social arena is accompanied by a steady stream of meaningful facial expressions, body postures, gestures, head movements, and prosodic contours called visuospatial

modalities. The 'co-speech representational package' lacks hierarchal combinations and does not indicate modal dominance (Kendon, 1972, Ensfield, 2004). Thus, multi-modes and media are used, and the message 'load' is spread across the different modes and media. In Heath and Luff's (2007) study of an auctioneer, the auctioneer could just lift up his hammer and hit it on his podium to indicate that he is moving on to the next activity. In this context-specific action, participants knew that the last bidder had to pay the 'hammer price'. In the classroom context, students might be willing or unwilling to engage in talk, and could indicate their orientation with bodily movements, gesture or gaze. Alternatively, the relationship between students might be intimate and they only need wink at a friend during a lecture. The wink is then inscribed with precursor knowledge from the particular context.

Mondada (2013) studied a participatory project in Lyon, France, that brought citizens together during regular meetings to discuss how to turn the military barracks into a public park. The meetings and other participatory events were recorded, pictures were taken of the notes they exchanged during meetings as well as of writing on the whiteboard, meeting minutes and pictures of PowerPoint presentations.

Mondada (2013) describes the important interactional work that is required between the 'next speaker' and the chairman and shows the individual's predicament to identify the relevant moment to obtain the chairman's attention through gesture or gaze, and when exactly to begin speaking without being exposed to overlap. Students from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds might have the same predicament in overcrowded classrooms, and it might be a conscious choice to engage in siding with a fellow student to clarify a concept.

Additionally, Ensfield (2004) postulates that a gesture might be related to a neighbouring utterance, information might be distributed across different

modes and that multiple gestures can co-occur during an interaction. He studied a semi-urban setting in Vientiane, Laos, and video-taped speakers who describe a list of locally produced fish-trapping mechanisms. Participants in this study predominantly used hand gestures to describe the fluted opening of the fish traps. He found that the spoken language is linearized; however, gestural representations are less inclined to be linearized, and meaning is made through multiple semiotic modes depending on the affordance of the mode and how restricted or unrestricted communication is in a particular context. Classroom interaction between students can therefore build through the repetition of prior interactional knowledge to create connections between successive or precursor interactions (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974; LeBaron & Streeck, 2000; Koschmann & LeBaron, 2002; Goodman, 2003; Hayashi, 2005).

Yasui (2013) furthers our understanding of meaning making and sequential representation. Yasui (2013) recorded a group project meeting between three participants to establish which modal interactional resources they employed sequentially during joint activity. He showed that cooperative invention, negotiation and explanation of ideas through the repetition of gesture can be utilised to agree, disagree or oppose a proposal which is also possible during siding. The next section takes a closer look at paralanguage.

The term paralanguage was coined by Trager (1960) while he was engaged in developing a frame for the more general study of culture and communication with Hall (1960). These researchers provided valuable insights into proxemics and kinesics (gesture, body movements, facial expression, eye movement and posture). Trager posited (1960: 24) that 'in analysing a communication, one must cover all the data, …[and]…include material in the areas of paralanguage and kinesics as well as language'. A definition of paralanguage is used in this thesis which agrees with Loveday's (1982: 91) definition: 'paralanguage … the

vocal, kinesics (gestural), and proxemics (spatial) channels which accompany interfuse and partly synchronize the traditionally recognised ones'.

Thus, this thesis refers to paralanguage as a mode, and the channels, for example nodding, facial expressions, and so on as the medium. Mehrabian (1972) and Von Raffler-Engel (1986) demonstrated that a language will never be fully understood unless it is observed from a specific cultural perspective, and accounts for the non-language elements which are observable during interaction as a multi-modal communication package. The nature of language and paralanguage is therefore culture specific, and cultural knowledge is needed to communicate effectively in a particular community. It is interesting to note that we have less control over our non-verbal communication than we have over our verbal communication in any given interaction. It is to be noted that text chats lack paralanguage cues, such as proximity gestures and direction of eye gaze that facilitate face-to-face conversations. The next section provides an overview of the concepts of paralanguage, and related studies are reviewed. Concepts of paralanguage are explored as they can illuminate the paralanguage practices in classroom context.

Proxemics, coined by Hall (1966), is the way speakers use space during communication. It refers to the physical distance between interlocutors and is relative to the physical relationship between people. Proximity aids interlocutors in maintaining a relational status quo. Thus, speakers consciously or subconsciously adjust and re-adjust their proximity to keep a relationship at a desired level of intimacy. In this way, proximity has unofficial rules which govern interactions and could have consequences if violated. A few unofficial rules Hall (1966) posited are: intimate distance, which refers to a very personal relationship and can include touching and whispering; personal distance, which is usually reserved for good friends; social distance, which is habitually between colleagues and acquaintances; and public distance, kept for instances of

communication with strangers (Hall, 1966; Synnott, 2002; Birdwhistell, 2010; Pease & Pease, 2011).

Spradley (1970) did a social study of proxemics, and demonstrated that the space between people is directly associated with behavioural strategies of both participants. Hall (1960) investigated the influence of proxemics in relation to the relational proxemics. He experimented with video-taping and recorded interactions which permitted greater accuracy in determining the meaning of the distance between interlocutors. With these video recordings, he developed a frame for interpreting meaning between interlocutors during face-to-face interactions. He noted the relationship, and actually measured the distance between interlocutors.

Haptics refers to tactile communication, meaning touch, which is a message on its own and could relay a feeling of caring, empathy, sympathy, friendship, comfort or warmth (Hall, 1966). According to Hans and Hans (2015), touch-related communicative competence, for example, a handshake, or a pat on the back, is very important where people could make certain assumptions about who you are and thus judge you negatively and could impact your credibility. A lack of cultural knowledge of the impact of touch could in some instances be punishable by law if the touch is inappropriate. These two scholars further hold that touch is necessary for human development and could be welcoming, threatening, or persuasive. Furthermore, Anderson (1999) holds that individuals who touch other people more often are generally considered more confident and warmer.

Kinesics is a Greek word which means communication through bodily *movement*. Kinesics is the most important aspect of paralanguage and includes facial expressions, gestures, body movements, posture, eye movement and touch.

Facial expression can carry a wide range of responses, for example, shock, worry, anger, frustration, a question, an answer, and so on. Von Raffler-Engel (1986) demonstrated that facial expressions clarify verbal language and put the example forward of an Italian boy, Albertino, who pronounced both *scarpa* (shoe) and *schiaffo* (slap) as *kapa*. The meanings of these two words were clarified through his facial expressions. The word *schiaffo* (slap) was accompanied by a stern expression as used by his father when scolding his son. In a study done by Pennycook (1985), he evidenced that a smile replaces a polite greeting in English. Ekman, Friesen and Hager (2002) compared the facial expressions of old people versus younger people and concluded that younger people have much more negative facial expressions then older people.

Gesture is a movement of the head, arms, hands, legs, shoulders, and so on. Gestures could be used alone or accompanied by language. They could further be a conscious or unconscious movement. In an influential paper on gaze, Ekman, et al. (2002) suggested that gestures are iconic, since they often resemble the word that they refer to. Therefore, in a way, gestures look similar to what they mean. Streeck (2008) demonstrated in his study some basic ways in which the actions of body parts explain the world. He explains this phenomenon as 'be like or look like such diverse phenomena as swimming pools, polka dots, or acrobat's routine, to name some random phenomena that gesturing hands can depict for us'. Riseborough (1982) conducted interviews in classrooms with students to find a possible connection between gestures and the thought process. Riseborough found that gestures were used when there was a discrepancy between the units of thought and the units of speech. Cochet and Vauclair (2014) investigated gesture by setting up experimental communication with 81 participants to capture pointing and symbolic gestures. The study illuminated differences in hand shapes when the gesture had the same meaning. The proximity between the participants also influenced the shape of the hand. Many other studies were conducted on gesture, focusing on one element

(Kendon, 1972; Scheflen, 1976; Schmauser & Noll, 1998; Hübler, 2001; Kendon, 2004; Müller & Posner, 2004).

Body movement refers to the positioning of the body during interactions, which could sometimes be subtle and could be indicative of a particular attitude. Posture is indicative of the way people hold their body, back, shoulders and neck. Posture can indicate whether a person is bored, tense, relaxed, irritated and confident, among others. Although eye contact (oculesics) is a very subtle movement, it has the potential to regulate interaction. With eye contact we can indicate to interlocutors that the topic under discussion is interesting or uninteresting. The absence of eye contact could also indicate our willingness to communicate with someone, while looking away suggests a desire to withdraw from a conversation. Furthermore, solid eye contact demonstrates friendship and affection, while its absence could indicate impatience and inattentiveness. Touch could be indicative of relational closeness or distance. It could indicate whether someone is caring, friendly or indifferent or it could intrude on someone's personal space (Streeck, 2008; Synnott, 2002; Birdwhistell, 2010; Pease & Pease, 2011). Morsbach (1988) studied eye contact in Japan and in Western societies. People in Western societies regard not making eye contact as 'shifty', whereas Japanese children are seen as disrespectful when they make eye contact with adults.

Para-linguistics is the vocal communication which happens parallel to language, such as non-verbal vocal cues, and includes tone of voice, loudness and pitch which are relevant to the language in use. Yamashita (2013) holds that many aspects of language cannot be inferred from written language. Thus, using a corpora of actual speech, researchers can establish the attitude, style, emotion and the mental state of speakers through quantitative analysis. Chen (2015) studied the intonation of speaking variations of second-language learners and

demonstrated that transfer plays a greater role in second-language English learners than in second-language Dutch learners.

2.7 Summary

Chapter two reviewed literature on classroom interaction and incorporated an overview of studies on small talk and siding. Then, the IRF interaction model, still evident in classrooms, was explored. The second section reviewed multilingualism literature which included historical and contemporary multilingualism; dimensions of multilingualism; languaging; translanguaging; atomistic and holistic approaches to multilingualism; transidiomatic practices; diglossia; heteroglossia; polyphony; anxiety; motivation; language commodification; identity; and habitus. Chapter Three explores the ethnography of communication and concepts of multimodality which were used as an analytical frame to analyse classroom interaction.

Chapter Three

Theoretical Frame

3.0 Introduction

Although the study follows a mixed method approach, as discussed in chapter four, the study is qualitative dominant. Therefore, the following section fleshes out the ethnography of communication and concepts of multimodality.

3.1 Ethnography of Communication

To communicate effectively in a community, people need information about the linguistic and sociolinguistic rules for communication, together with information about the rules which govern interactions in that specific community. Thus, communication is mediated by cultural rules and knowledge that function in a specific context, and is a shared understanding of what specific hand signals, gestures, facial expressions, words and sounds mean. The current study used EC as it is a corollary of linguistics, socio-linguistics and anthropology. Thus, EC *illuminated hidden communication practices* by students while a lecturer was teaching. It allowed for in-depth systematic probing of individual 'speech' events between students for the qualitative part of the study.

The EC originally was termed the 'ethnography of speaking' by Dell Hymes, but was later broadened to include paralanguage features of communication that include, for example, body language, gestures, facial expressions, tone, pitch (voice) and eye movements (Hymes, 1964; Coulmas, 1979). Thus, it was renamed the EC to incorporate communication in all forms.

The EC is not only concerned with the language structures participants use, but the rules of speaking, the choice of speaking mode, the topic and the message all form the participants' use in specific language situations (Hymes, 1972). In this

way, EC analyses the organisation of communication by a situated group of people with shared lived experiences.

EC studies language use as it is encountered in the daily lives of a particular speech community. The speech community under study constituted students at UWC, specifically the siding that occurred among students while the lecturer was teaching. The classroom had many perceived rules. These rules were sometimes part of the students' habitus, and in fact stemmed from years of schooled conditioning. Alternatively, some lecturers still expected students to adhere to these rules. The epistemology of the EC consists mainly of field work (Saville-Troike, 2003).

The data-collection methods used in the EC are supplemented by techniques developed in other areas of study such as ethnography, pragmatics and conversation analysis, and include: participant and non-participant observation, interviews, questionnaires, and the collection of artefacts (Duranti, 1988). The current study used a mixed-methods methodological approach. Thus, data-collection methods from the qualitative and quantitative approach were used to answer the research question adequately. The quantitative chapter describes the data obtained from two questionnaires. The qualitative chapter uses the EC and multimodality as an analytical frame. Studies that use EC focus on the analysis of situated discourse (discourse in a specific situation), that is, the role that language/ paralanguage plays as the locus of the communicative relationship. In this way, EC is interested in the relationship between the use of language and the local everyday systems of knowledge evident in social conduct. EC was used to illuminate the form and purpose of daily language use, by focusing on patterns of variation within and across a specific society. The emphasis was on emergent predictable structures of language performance in the conduct of everyday student life. Siding is an everyday phenomenon with a slightly predictable structure and occurs in lecture halls as part of the daily lives of students.

EC views discourse as one of the main loci for the creation, recreation and transmission of cultural patterns of knowledge. More specifically, EC wants to establish what is accomplished through communication, and what is constructed by the organisational communication patterns, as well as the speaker's assumptions, values, and beliefs regarding the world (Hymes, 2013). Therefore, the meaning of speech/communication for specific speakers in a particular social activity, is thus a central theme. So, the study aimed to shed light on the siding practices of students, while the lecturer was teaching. Like sociolinguists, ethnographers of communication are interested in language use or language in use (verbal and non-verbal), in everyday situations by a particular speech community. In the case of the current study, the study endeavoured to shed light on the use and purpose of siding as it is used daily by students in lecture halls.

Sociolinguists interpret 'language in use' as the actual employment of utterances by specific speakers at a specific place as a linguistic token. The goal of sociolinguists is to infer patterns of variation though systematic sampling of more or less controlled uses. While mere structural descriptions of linguistic forms are interesting and useful, they lack the essential features of what makes language so precious to people, namely the ability to function in a context as an instrument of action and reflection upon the world. Thus, siding practices as an instrument of action and reflection on the world were investigated. Hence, 'language use' for ethnographers of communication must be interpreted as the use of linguistic codes in the conduct of social life. So, to interpret how linguistic and paralanguage signs do the work they do.

Instead of 'language use', the term 'speaking' was introduced (Hymes, 1964) to illuminate the active, praxis-orientated aspects of linguistic code which are always in flux (post-structuralism), as opposed to a more structural view (structuralism) of language as static (Giddens, 1987). A concern for language in

use, in the case of this study, siding practices, is therefore a consequence of the interest in what speakers do with language, whether it is done voluntarily or involuntarily, knowingly or unknowingly, overtly or covertly (Kiesling & Paulston, 2008).

Ethnographers of communication are primarily interested in creating and re-creating social identities and social relationships to explain to ourselves and others why the world is the way it is; to provide frames for events at societal and individual level; and to break or sustain physical, political and cultural barriers. Ethnographers of communication focus on the use of language in socio-cultural context with a focus on the relationship of language and local systems of knowledge and social order to describe the knowledge participants need to communicate successfully with others. Hymes (1972) called the mentioned communicative demonstration 'communicative competence.'

Hymes (1972: 277) posited that communicative competence includes but goes beyond Chomsky's (1965) competence to

> … account for the fact that a normal child acquires knowledge of sentences, not only as grammatical, but also as appropriate. He or she acquires competence as to when to speak, when not, and as to what to talk about with whom, when, where and in what manner. In short, a child becomes able to accomplish a repertoire of speech acts, to take part in speech events, and to evaluate their accomplishments by others. This competence, moreover, is integral with attitudes, values and motivations concerning language, its features and uses and integral with competence for, and attitudes towards, the interrelationship with language, with the other codes of communicative conduct.

A crucial difference between Chomsky's notion of competence and Hymes's notion of competence is that the former relies on the assumption that knowledge can be studied separately from performance and is more cognitive and abstract in nature, whereas for Hymes, real –life concrete socio-cultural participation and intersubjective knowledge are essential features of the ability to know a language (Hymes, 1992). One is not to suggest that an idealised language is necessarily orderly, and that patterns of speech of actual communication are chaotic. We cannot deny the variety of knowledge speakers need to manage, to be considered competent (Kiesling & Paulston, 2008).

So, ethnographers of communication do not ignore the relationship between linguistic and non-linguistic behaviour (paralanguage), along with other aspects of communication which co-occur with verbal communication. Ultimately, any attempt at dissecting and illuminating patterns of communication must include verbal and non-verbal/paralanguage aspects of communication and should include the context where acts of communication were used as a resource to achieve mutual understanding (Carbaugh, 2008; Kiesling & Paulston, 2008).

In formal linguistics, the context is usually analysed when doubt arises with the interpretation of certain linguistic features; however, the role of context is not officially recognised in formal models of linguistic competence. The ethnographer of communication, on the other hand, relies on the context to relate patterns of behaviour to immediate and broader socio-cultural context (Duranti, 1988). Malinowski, the father of modern ethnography, stressed the need to interpret speech in the context of situation. Malinowski (1923:306) held that the

> … context has to be broadened and on the other hand that the
> situation in which words are uttered can never be passed over
> as irrelevant to the linguistic expression.

Although Malinowski originally posited that speech and context were inseparable in the study of 'primitive people', he later reformulated his views to include the importance of context in the interpretation of all language-related studies. In the current study the formal lecture is always the context, and siding events can only take place in this specific context. Therefore, siding takes a specific form as an unofficial discourse in a classroom context. Malinowski's concept of context is at the heart of Hymes's EC. In the last century, the term 'context' has been redefined to include actual and potential speakers, the spatial-temporal dimensions of the interaction, and the participant's goals (Donohue, 1990). The following notions have been adopted by the study and are discussed: speech community, speech event, and speech act (Carbaugh, 2008; Kiesling & Paulston, 2008).

For ethnographers of speaking, the context of verbal interaction is usually taken to be the speech community, defined as a group of people who share rules for interpreting and using a language or language varieties (Duranti, 1988). The notion of speech community should not be equated with linguistic homogeneity, since sharing the same language or languages does not imply a shared understanding of its use and meaning in various context (Gumperz, 1962: 13). In this way

> … all speech communities are linguistically diverse
> and it can be shown that this diversity serves important
> communicative functions in signalling interspeaker
> attitudes and in providing information about speakers'
> social identities .

Therefore, a notion of speech community depends on patterns of variation in a group of speakers, also definable on grounds other than linguistic homogeneity and co-operatively achieved aspects of human behaviour or shared lived experiences establishing co-membership to an in-group. Thus, to study a speech

community successfully, depends on the researcher's ability to explain speech events as they are understood by participating members of the phenomena under study. For the present study, the speech community (students) was from different parts of South Africa and included international students, and was not homogeneous in nature.

As siding is a hidden practice, student participants were recruited to keep diaries to shed light on siding practices from the perspective of the participant. Thus, the researcher observed the phenomenon of siding, but also had numerous accounts from the perspective of students. The speech community encapsulated the lecture and therefore the lecturer and students. So, the lecturer who was lecturing was included in the collection of data from a participant perspective, as well as from the researcher's perspective through observation (Carbaugh, 2008; Kiesling & Paulston, 2008).

The speech event serves as a unit of analysis for the ethnography of communication. A speech event is the form and content in everyday talk/communication in its various manifestations. As a unit of analysis, it encourages the researcher to understand the form and content of communicative events under study, which implies an understanding of the social activities in which the communication takes place (Hymes, 1964; Duranti, 1985).

However, the task of describing and isolating speech events can be a formidable endeavour since the EC is an ethnography and habitually rich in description. Therefore, Hymes (1962) proposed a useful guide of features or components to guide the researcher. The initial list of eight components was later extended to 16 entries to be remembered with the S-P-E-A-K-I-N-G mnemonic (Hymes, 1962; Saville-Troike, 1982; Duranti, 1985; Jacobsen, 2010).

The situation, scene or setting refer to the time and place where the speech event occurred. It draws the researcher's attention to the specific space, the way the space is organised and the atmosphere in the place where the event occurred. The situation illuminates the arrangement of artefacts, and how the arrangement contributes to the speech event. In the current study, the participants in the speech event were not always in the same location, thus more than one location was described from the perspective of the participant, through an interview process. It also showed the effect physical distance had on the modes used to communicate. The participants in the speech event were the speaker or audience, the addressor or addressee, or the hearer or speaker. For the current study, the researcher gathered data on the 'teacher talk' as well as the student-to-student communication while the lecturer was teaching. Studying the participants drew the researcher's attention to all the participants participating in the event, and whether the participants were present or in the same location. The researcher was further inspired to take a closer look at the ages, gender and ethnicity of the participating members. The researcher had to take a close look at the roles of the different participants, their responsibilities as well as their expectations. The mentioned scrutiny illuminated the order of authority between interlocutors, their attitudes towards one another, as well as their attitudes toward the event taking place. The participant feature also aimed at acquiring information on the participants' status in general society and their language proficiency (Hymes, 1964; Hymes, 1972; Saville-Troike, 1982; Duranti, 1985; Jacobsen, 2010). The following figure demonstrates how it will be used in the study.

The 'ends' refers to the outcome or goals of the speech event, whether it was the lecture or the siding event during the lecture. Ends answered the research question: Which factors determine and shape the occurrence of siding?
The researcher had to establish why the siding event was occurring and why it was happening in that specific way, and what the interlocutors wanted to achieve with the speech event. The 'ends' component was valuable in the study of siding,

since speech events included a knowing look, a hand gesture with a return hand gesture, a shrug of the shoulders, or even a facial expression that was answered with a nod. Ends encouraged the researcher to ask if the outcome of the speech event was achieved and whether the communication was verbal or non-verbal (Hymes, 1964; Saville-Troike, 1982; Duranti, 1985; Jacobsen, 2010).

The act sequence drew the researcher's attention to the specific words or actions that were used in the interaction and asked for a closer look into the sequential order and style of specific interactions, as well as reasons why an act had a specific order. The act addressed the actual siding event. It illuminated the form and content of the message as well as the modes and media used during siding, and reasons why acts had taken the form they took, as well as a particular mode and a particular medium and not any of the other modes and media available. Act further explains the balance of turns between interlocutors, and further shows who has the most turns and the most power in the interactions (Hymes, 1964; Hymes, 1972; Saville-Troike, 1982; Duranti, 1985; Jacobsen, 2010).

The 'key' focused the researcher's attention on the tone or the spirit of the interaction and required that the researcher pay attention to subtle nuances, irrespective of the mode the interlocutor decided to use (Duranti, 1985; Hymes, 1972; Jacobsen, 2010; Saville-Troike, 1982). Instrumentalities undertake to find information about the instruments or media that were used, why these media were used and why the use of these media was necessary. Instrumentalities focus the researcher's attention on all the *modes* and *media* that could have been used as well as the forms or styles of speech (Hymes, 1964; Hymes, 1972; Saville-Troike, 1982; Duranti, 1985; Jacobsen, 2010). The foci of norms are to gauge the rules that govern the interaction and the perceived norms of the interaction. Norms further ask 'what' cultural knowledge is needed for the interlocutors to interpret the interaction correctly. Norms illuminate the linguistic knowledge the participants need to be part of this community, and if the interaction is socially

acceptable. For the genre, the researcher has to interpret whether the event (the lecture taking place or the siding event) was a debate, a transaction, an interview, and so on. Thus, the speech event represents a level of analysis that has the advantage of preserving information about the social system under study, as well as details of personal acts. Alternatively, when a speech event is selected for analysis, the interaction is labelled by a specific culture, so it may overlook those interactions which are not recognised as units of sorts by its members. Also, there is nothing in the speaking module that invites researchers to select one kind of activity over another; therefore they end up studying a by-product of what members of a culture describe as relevant or important. In this way, siding and translanguaged siding is a by-product of the formal lecture and could possibly have a regular expected structure and is different from the structure of a lecture and could possibly be seen as a genre on its own (Hymes, 1964; Hymes, 1972; Saville-Troike, 1982; Duranti, 1985; Jacobsen, 2010).

The communicative act describes what action is done when particular words are used. In this way, the notion of the communicative act stresses the pragmatic uses of speech and refers to the individual utterances that make up communicative events such as demands, giving thanks, making requests, asking or answering questions, giving or receiving orders, making promises, offering apologies, and so on. Moreover, almost any communicative act is the enactment of numerous acts at once, but differentiated by the intention or purpose of the communicative act (Carbaugh, 2008; Kiesling & Paulston, 2008).

The above section introduced and gave a brief overview of the ethnography of communication. The overview was followed by a discussion of the basic concepts of EC which included language in use, context, communicative competence, and the speech community. The speech event which encapsulates the mnemonics of speaking was then posited and the section ended with a description of the speech

act. The next section gives an overview of multimodality and discusses concepts relevant to the study.

3.2 Social semiotics and multimodality

Multimodality can be described as the making of meaning in multiple ways or as multiple ways to communicate. Thus, we can posit that the means for making meaning is usually called a modality or a mode. So, different theoretical branches study small sets of means for making meaning, for example, linguistics focuses on speech and writing, semiotics focuses on image and film, and so on. As suggested by Saussure, linguistics is a branch of semiology (Culler, 1986). The current study focused on a combination of linguistics and paralanguage (speech, writing, gesture, and so on) and semiotics (images in the form of icons/emoticons). Paralanguage is considered a mode as it can be utilised as part of a modal orchestration (different modes are used for a singular communicative act) or on its own as demonstrated by Kendon (2004), Goffman (1981), and others. Thus, the scope of the current study, which pertains to multimodality, is an interest in language or language combinations, paralanguage and other means of making meaning which include the media through which communication occurs.

It should be noted that not all researchers or disciplines use the same terminology for multimodality. Meaning making is also referred to as multimodal interaction, multimodal discourse and multimodal communication (Bezemer & Jewitt, 2018). Also, not all multimodality researchers and theorists use the term 'mode'. Some researchers prefer to use the term 'resource' and others use the term 'semiotic resource'. Generally, strong boundaries are not drawn between these terms; instead researchers focus on the multimodal whole (Kress, 2003; Kress, 2013; Turk, 2014; Bezemer & Jewitt, 2018). A multimodal whole refers to the use of one communicative act where multiple modes are used to make meaning. In this thesis, resource, semiotic resource and mode were used interchangeably and refer to the language or combinations of languages and the paralanguage students and

lecturers used to communicate, while the channels used to communicate are referred to as media, as posited by Kress (2003).

Multimodality can be seen as a break away from the view that verbal language is always dominant, to a shifted focus of modal co-operation to make meaning (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996; Hodge & Kress, 1988; Bezemer & Jewitt, 2009). Multimodality sees communication as more than just about language, but looks at the full range of communicative tools people use to make meaning. Thus, modes of communication (languages, language combinations and paralanguage), as well as the medium, for example, image, gaze, speech, writing, and so on, are addressed, as well as the relation between them. Kress and Van Leeuven (2001:20) define multimodality as the 'use of several semiotic modes in the design of a semiotic product or event'. In this way, the interpretation of communication is extended to the whole range of representational and communicational modes and media or semiotic resources that a speech community uses to make meaning. As with the ethnography of communication, multimodal analysis does not see language as the dominant mode, but as one of the modes (visual, aural, linguistic, spatial and gestural) that can be used to communicate (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2001; Bezemer & Jewitt, 2009). For the purpose of studying the siding phenomenon as it manifested during lectures, the modes were the multiple languages/language combinations students speak as well as independent paralanguaging. In this thesis, independent paralanguaging is the use of non-verbal language without the co-presence of speech. The channel through which communication occurs is referred to as the medium and includes speaking (calls), writing (texting), and dependent paralanguage (signs, symbols and emoticons).

Multimodality also provides a broader description of the different modes, the affordance of the mode/medium, and the aptness of the mode/medium for a particular speech event. It also enables the analysis of contexts where people are not in each other's physical presence, or co-present, and where speech is not

always present as is the case with emoticons in online affinity (Kress, 2000; Kress 2003; Jewitt, 2006). The next section gives an overview of the primary concepts in social semiotics.

Sign, a term borrowed from traditional semiotics, consists of meaning (signified) and form (signifier) and is formed through the interest of the sign maker and the semiotic resources available. It further focuses on semiotic resources that can properly (aptness) realise the meaning of the sign maker's intention. Hence, the form (signifier) and meaning (signified) are motivated and not arbitrary (inconsistent). In all situated communication, all signs are made (not used) and re-made according to the interest of the sign maker. In this way, the interlocutors in the siding events utilised their semiotic resources to construct motivated multimodal messages depending on the aptness of the sign for that specific communicative event. When signs are made, the sign maker has a situated choice of semiotic resources.

Van Leeuwen (2005: 285) describes semiotic resources as

> … the actions, materials and artefacts we use for communicative purposes, whether produced physiologically – for example with our vocal apparatus, the muscles we use to make facial expressions and gestures –or technologically – for example with pen and ink, or computer hardware and software – together with ways in which these resources can be organized. Semiotic resources have a meaning potential, based on their past uses, and a set of affordances based on their possible uses, and these will be actualized in concrete social context where their use is subject to some form of semiotic regime.

Thus, semiotic resources (also referred to as a mode or resource) offer terminology to illuminate the role of the sign maker in the process of making meaning. An individual (the sign maker) chooses a semiotic resource from the available resources at his or her disposal and brings together a semiotic resource (a signifier) with the meaning (the signified). Therefore, students expressed meaning through the semiotic resources they had at their disposal, or the semiotic resources that were available to them at that moment of interaction. The choice of resource was socially located and regulated how modes and media were used by students (Jewitt, 2009; Kress, 2010).

Mode can be defined as an organised set of social and cultural resources for making meaning. The organisation and meaning of modes are the outcome of the material shaping of meaning as used by a culture over a period of time. The more a mode has been used socially by a community, the more fully developed it will be. Thus, in order for it to be or become a mode, it must be a shared cultural resource with a specific meaning in a specific culture. Hence, all modes are expressed with signs, and all signs have a signifier and a signified (Jewitt, 2006; Jewitt, 2009; Kress, 2010). In the current study, language and language combinations are referred to as the mode, while the medium is the channel through which the communication takes place, for example writing (texting) and talking (calling).

The medium is the tool selected to carry the message, for example, writing or speaking, which encapsulates texting and calling. According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001), linguistics has primarily ignored the medium and focused on the mode of communication, but 'medium' has received renewed attention with the advent of the technological revolution. The medium influences and is influenced by the context of communication, the physical and relational closeness and distance of interlocutors, and also by the language /language combinations/ paralanguage (mode) used during communication (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2001).

The following terms form part of social semiotics and are posited as they were utilised to describe observed siding phenomena.

Gaze is the positioning of an individual's head, specifically the eyes, in a specific direction as a signifier with a specific meaning ascribed to it (signified). Gaze suggests that interlocutors can 'read' each other's specific gazes (signs) because they have meaning ascribed, and are considered to index social understanding (Goodwin, 1981).

Gesture describes the use of body parts, especially the hands as a method of communication. It is commonly incorporated under the term kinesics, which includes posture, movement, stillness, head movement, and so on. There are standard classifications for gesture which encompass deictic gestures, motor gestures, symbolic gestures, iconic gestures and metaphoric gestures (Goodwin, 1981, Enfield, 2001). *Deictic gestures* are understood as 'pointing gestures' and direct the receiver's attention to a specific referent that includes real, implied or imaginary people, places or objects. The deictic gesture is closely related to the gestural space (setting) and can occur with or without talk (Enfield, 2001; Gullberg & Kita, 2009). *Motor gesture* is associated with rhythmic bodily actions to communicate specific messages, commonly referred to as batons and beats. These include movements with the hands, the face (eyes, nose and mouth) and the body, and allow the interlocutor to express feelings such as anger, contempt, approval, disapproval and affection (Goodwin, 2003; Andric & Small, 2012). *Symbolic or emblematic gestures* are the commonplace gestures like the 'thumbs up' that has a specific meaning of 'good' or 'well done'. These gestures are highly conventional and lexicalised (Goodwin, 2003, Andric & Small, 2012). *Iconic gestures* are visual gestures of referential meaning. Thus, these gestures imitate what is being said and are usually synchronised with speech (Andric & Small, 2012).

Metaphoric gestures create physical representations of abstract ideas to provide additional semantic meaning that complements the speech that is in process (Andric & Small, 2012). Goodwin (2003) posits that the distinction between some gestures are fuzzy, for example, a participant in a study could trace the outline of what he/she is pointing at, and with this gesture mimic the shape of a deictic point and create an iconic display.

All media are socially shaped. Speech has intonation, pitch and intensity, while writing has punctuation and indentation. Speaking and writing come in a variety of forms and are culturally shaped across time and space. As media of particular modes, speaking and writing function as 'languaging' which is more in line with its function as a semiotic resource and is not considered the dominant medium during a speech event (Jewitt, 2006; Jewitt, 2009; Kress, 2010; Jørgensen, Karrebæk, Madsen & Møller, 2016).

Multimodality sees images as material elements which have been made for its representational functions. The construction of social relations and attitude of the meaning maker is inscribed into all images. Furthermore, images are presented to entertain, explain, persuade or warn, or to convey feelings of happiness, sarcasm, sadness and aloofness (Kress & Van Leeuven, 2001; Kress, 2010; Jewitt, 2006; Jewitt, 2009).

Axial is the leaning forward or away from the communicative partner with the head or the body is indicative of the role relationship in the interaction and can also give the observer an idea of the relational closeness or distance in a relationship (Kendon, 1972).

As stated, for the purpose of this thesis, language is referred to as the mode and the channel through which language occurs, is called the medium (the channel refers to the means of transmission between the sender and the receiver). Materiality of a mode/medium refers to the materials (sign) a culture has selected

that are drawn into meaning making (signified). So, over time, a culture or community decides what a sign is to mean and that particular sign is shaped into a resource with implicit meaning. The intended purpose a community has for a sign will determine the material (a word, a hand signal) put to use to best utilise the sign. For the individual making a sign, different material possibilities are available during a specific speech event. One mode and medium is chosen to best communicate a meaning for that specific situation at that specific point in time. In this way, a mode and medium have materiality and affordance (Jewitt, 2006; Jewitt, 2009; Kress, 2010).

Modal affordance can be understood as the intended purpose, potential and constraints of a specific mode that can best express what the maker of the sign wants to convey. For the current study, modal affordance refers to the channel through which communication occurs. Thus, modal affordance depends on the materiality, the purpose or affordance, as well as the social, historical and cultural meaning ascribed to the medium as a semiotic resource (provenance) in a specific context. Therefore, a medium is shaped by its materiality, by what it has repeatedly meant and by the social conversational norms that govern interactions in a specific setting. Each mode possesses a specific logic, and realises specific representational and communicational potentials. During communication, meaning is distributed across different modes, and not always in an even fashion (Jewitt, 2006; Jewitt, 2009; Kress, 2010).

Different aspects of the meaning of a message are spread in possibly uneven ways across different modes, and in this study, across different media. The meaning of each medium is conveyed in different ways in a modal ensemble. Thus, the modal ensemble can be seen as a meaning 'load', and each mode/medium carries a part of the load. Multimodality looks at the work (partially carrying the load) of each mode/medium, and how each mode contributes to and interacts with the meaning potential of the other modes. In some instances, the meanings of two modes are

aligned, and at other times the modes may be complementary; alternatively, modes/media can refer to different parts of the meaning and could be contradictory or in tension with other modes/media (Kress, 2003; Jewitt, 2006; Jewitt, 2009).

3.3 Summary

Chapter two fleshed out literature that is relevant to the siding and translanguaged siding phenomenon that happens parallel to teacher talk. The history of UWC as the research site was discussed and encapsulated past and current multilingual practices and policies. Then concepts of multilingualism that is relevant to the study as well as concepts related to second language acquisition were postulated. Thereafter, classroom discourse which included small talk and siding were considered as it relates to the siding which occurs during lectures. Lastly, para-language were addressed as it forms a big part of unofficial talk. Chapter three discusses the methodological choices of the research.

Chapter Four
Methodology

4.0 Introduction

The study used a mixed-methods research approach. Hence, the first section discusses qualitative and quantitative methods and gives an overview of mixed methods. Next, the strengths and weaknesses of a mixed-methods research approach are explored. In the section that follows, a description of participants is given and the data-collection instruments are discussed. The last section gives an overview of the reliability and validity concepts in the study and discusses the limitations of the study and ethical considerations.

4.1 Research Approaches

A research approach defines the nature of all inquiry and is informed by 'three' research paradigms. There are three methodological paradigms which dominate social research: qualitative-; quantitative and mixed methods. Creswell (2009:3) advocates:

> Qualitative and quantitative approaches should not be viewed as polar opposites or dichotomies; instead, they represent different ends of a continuum. A study tends to be more qualitative than quantitative or vice versa. Mixed methods research resides in the middle of this continuum, because it incorporates elements of both qualitative and quantitative approaches.

For the purpose of the study, a brief discussion of the quantitative and qualitative research traditions follows, then the researcher firmly situates the study within the mixed-methods research approach.

According to Babbie and Mouton (2007), the quantitative paradigm places focus on the quantification of concepts and constructs by assigning numbers or numerical value to the qualities of things, while variable analyses are used to measure behaviour. Babbie and Mouton (2007) define the quantitative approach as the researcher putting the stress on the quantifying of constructs such as beliefs and attitudes by using quantitative measurements.

Thus, the social world is viewed from a *realistic ontological objective* lens of natural science and draws from a positivist meta-theory, thereby operating from the laws of cause and effect. The empirical field is seen as an *unchanging* external reality and scientific evidence is viewed as the only authority. Quantitative researchers are therefore *realists* who believe there is a truth about reality waiting to be discovered from an *etic* epistemological perspective (Babbie & Mouton, 2007).

The subcategories for quantitative research are experimental and non-experimental research, while data-collection methods for these subcategories are surveys, questionnaires, structured interviews, and so on. Contradictory to the quantitative paradigm, the qualitative paradigm places the focus on a *relativist* ontology exploring interpersonal *subjective* relationships, values, beliefs and feelings. Cresswell (2003:18) defines the qualitative approach as a researcher who collects qualitative data to develop themes.

Qualitative researchers believe that the social world is in *flux*, and that reality has multiple perspectives. The research project is viewed from an *emic subjective relativist* ontology and the researcher's knowledge is maximised when the proximity between the researcher and the researched is increased. Therefore, the

knowledge that is generated through naturalistic inductive research is co-constructed by the researcher and the researched and consequently allows for an in-depth rich understanding of the phenomenon under study.

As evidenced in Chapters five and six, siding and 'translanguaged siding' as the phenomenon under study was co-constructed by the researcher and the participants, which enabled a quantitative and qualitative perspective of siding. A qualitative approach is associated with research projects which are regulated, use textual data, use a lens of subjective reality, and have aims that pertain to descriptive, exploratory and interpretive ambitions. The quantitative approach is associated with research projects which are structured, use a lens of objective reality, use numerical data, and have aims that relate to objective explanatory ambitions.

After a thorough study of both the qualitative and quantitative approaches, the research problem was used as a point of departure in situating the current study in a research paradigm. 'Why', 'which' and 'which medium' are *exploratory*, *explanatory* and *convergent* question typologies and pointed to a qualitative research approach. However, asking 'how' or specifically 'how frequently' (a medium was used/siding happened) were also all exploratory, explanatory and convergent question types which pointed to a quantitative research approach. Further reviews of the literature established that the three mentioned question typologies are an *overlap* between qualitative and quantitative research methodologies and that the mentioned question types can be used together to answer and triangulate the conclusions drawn from different data sources.

Hence, the research problem indicated that a mixture of qualitative and quantitative approaches would answer the research questions best. A mixture of the two approaches would encapsulate the following data-collection methods:

open-ended interviews guided by the ethnography of speaking mnemonic; questionnaires; closed-ended interviews (questionnaire/numerical data), diaries, classroom observation; and the collection of artefacts.

Researchers are frequently challenged by intricate social phenomena which are not straightforwardly adaptable to a particular research frame. The ultimate goal of all research is to develop deeper levels of explanations and understanding. According to Rogers (2010), complex social phenomena are in many instances challenging when researchers are inflexible and insist on their personal epistemological stance to a point where they ignore the practical implications of their rigid probing.

Datta (1994) posited that different methodologies have always coexisted comfortably in the field of applied evaluations. Thus, many researchers (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003; Greene, 2007; Brannen, 2009) were keen to embrace an approach (mixed methods) that appears philosophically in line with tenets such as triangulation (the use of multiple methods and data sources to get a broad understanding of the phenomenon under study).

The mixed-methods approach is a reasonably young discipline which has also been called 'the third methodological movement' (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2010) and the 'third research paradigm' (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, and Turner, 2007). The mixed-methods approach has an assortment of similar definitions (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010). Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2013: 74) contend that

> … mixed methods research recognises, and works with,
> the fact that the world is not exclusively quantitative or
> qualitative; it is not an either or world, but a mixed
> world even though the researcher may find that the

research has a predominant disposition to, or requirement for, numbers or qualitative data.

Likewise, Creswell (2003:20-21) defines the mixed-methods approach as a

… collection of both quantitative and qualitative data … The researcher bases the inquiry on the assumption that collecting diverse types of data best provides an understanding of a research problem …[and that]… data collection involves gathering numeric information (e.g., on instruments) as well as text information (e.g., on interviews) so that the final database represents both quantitative and qualitative information.

Greene (2008) posits that the mixed-methods way of approaching a research project acknowledges that there are many authentic approaches to doing social research, and the use of a singular approach might yield a partial understanding of the phenomena under study. Johnson et al. (2007) provide a few definitions that differ according to what is being mixed, when and where data collection and analysis are being mixed, as well as the breadth and scope of the mixing. Positivist approaches presuppose scientific ontologies and epistemologies, and interpretive approaches presuppose humanistic and existential epistemology and ontology. However, the mixed-methods approach is premised on the ontologies and epistemologies of pragmatism.

Denscombe (2008) postulates that pragmatism is fundamentally practical and practice driven, instead of idealistic. Pragmatism advocates that there may be both singular and multiple versions of the truth and reality which could be scientifically objective or naturalistically subjective.

The pragmatic landscape is fuelled by finding practical solutions to practical real-world problems. Instead of engaging in debates over paradigms, pragmatism adjudicates the research be approached on whether it enabled the researcher to solve the research question, irrespective of the research approach that was used (Feilzer, 2010; Cohen et al., 2013). Methodologically, pragmatism advocates a pluralistic (a structure in which two or more states, principles and sources of authority, coexist in harmony), eclectic (when a broad range of cross-inter disciplinary sources are used) approach to research which draws from objective positivism and subjective interpretivist epistemologies purely based on the fitness for purpose it will be used for (Johnson et al., 2007).

Thus, pragmatism suggests the most useful approach to the research project is to utilise methods that will fittingly answer the research question and could include one of the following tabulated subcategories suggested by Tashakkori and Teddlie, (2010):

Table 4.1: Sub-categories of mixed-methods approach

Mixed methods	
Subcategories	**Explanation**
Parallel mixed method	Both qualitative and quantitative data-collection methods are used simultaneously but independently.
Sequential mixed method	One strand of the research determines the subsequent strand.
Quasi-mixed method	Both qualitative and quantitative data are gathered but not integrated.
Conversion mixed method	Data is transformed from, for example, quantitative to qualitative.
Multilevel mixed method	Different types of data are integrated at different levels of research and all data are fully integrated.

Mixed-methods design	Mixed methods are used at all levels of the research and one stage influences the next.

The current study employed the multilevel mixed-methods subcategory as captured in Table 4.1 (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010). Thus, different types of data were integrated and triangulated at different levels of the research, and all data were used to answer the research questions.

Johnson et al. (2007) further distinguish the following categories for the methods utilised when data is interpreted: Mixed methods – qualitative/quantitative dominant: the researcher relies on a qualitative/quantitative view of research while recognising that the addition of quantitative/qualitative data and approaches is likely to benefit the research process. Pure mixed methods: the data is mixed at all stages of the research (Ivankova, Cresswell & Stick, 2006; Mason, 2006; Moran-Ellis, Alexander, Cronin, Dickinson, Fielding, Sleney & Thomas, 2006; Mendlinger & Cwikel, 2008). The current study employed a mixed-methods qualitative-dominant approach. The quantitative and qualitative data contributed equally to the research endeavour; however the descriptions are more qualitative in nature.

Both the qualitative and the quantitative paradigms have built their own measuring instruments according to ontological and epistemological assumptions. Using an individual paradigm limits the data collection and analysis, which mixing methods aims to reduce in the same fashion as methodological triangulation was argued for by scholars of both (quantitative and qualitative) approaches (Denzin, 1988; Green & Caracelli, 1997; 1978; Mathison,).

Mixing qualitative and quantitative methodologies has many advantages. It sanctions an in-depth illumination of original patterns, traditions and practices, at

the same time benefiting from high generalisability through extensive original research. Mixed methods represent a unique way of representing the world by enabling legitimisation goals such as transferability (De Lisle, 2011). Reams and Twale (2008: 133) posit that mixed methods are 'necessary to uncover information and perspectives, increase corroboration of the data, and render less bias and more accurate conclusions'.

Furthermore, Denscombe (2008: 133) proposes that mixed methods could heighten the precision of data, provide a more comprehensive picture of the phenomena under study, and overcome the weaknesses of a single approach as well as aid sampling in context. Johnson et al. (2007: 115) further suggest that mixed methods enable the meanings in data to be scrutinised, authenticated and triangulated, and facilitate the emergence of new ways of thinking when contradictions between the two data sources are found. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004:22-23) postulate the following advantages: the strengths of an approach can be used to overcome the weaknesses in another approach; the provision of greater evidence through the conversion and corroboration of findings; the provision of insights which could possibly have been missed if a single method was used; comprehensive knowledge to inform theory and practice since it answers a broader range of questions; and numerical data can be used to add accuracy to narratives and artefacts.

As the two dominant methodologies are mixed, the researcher is placed at a disadvantage when the findings are published, since most publications have clear pre-existing methodological orientations. A mixed-methods study is much more time consuming than a single-method research, and some of the techniques for analysis might be out of the comfort zone of the researcher, since researchers are usually trained in either quantitative or qualitative techniques. Therefore, the data is presented in a way that qualitative researchers can understand. *The next section* discusses the data-collection tools and participants.

The section is structured as follows: a description of the student questionnaire and the participants; a description of the lecturer questionnaire and participants; a description of the interview and diary, and the participants; and finally a description of classroom observation and the students who attended the class.

4.2 Research instruments and participants

A cursory note here is that siding is an under researched classroom discourse that goes primarily *undetected* by teachers as it is an act that can be admonished. If it was observable through normal classroom observation, surely it would have been reported in studies that observed lessons. However, it is very difficult to research, as suggested in the literature review. Observing students during lecturers where student numbers are between 120-200 was not an option, as siding is a discreet practice that is hidden. Furthermore, the frequency of siding, hidden notes, hidden mobile messages, the languages of students, the friendship relationships and more, would not have been illuminated by observing any group of students and the siding practices of students would have stayed hidden. Thus, anonymous self-reported siding by students through a questionnaire was selected as a research instrument. A total of 200 first and second year students were asked to complete the questionnaire. As mentioned in chapter one, students enter higher education underprepared for the educational encounter at tertiary level (Fomunyam, 2019). Underpreparedness is more applicable to first and second year students, as the drop-out rate is 40% (Fomunyam, 2019). Thus, first and second year students were chosen to participate in the questionnaire, diary and interviewing as they possibly engage in agentive strategies to scaffold their own learning. A further note worth mentioning is that the faculty of Arts and Science were chooses as they are two different disciplines and the siding practices might have been different. First and second year students were chosen to specifically address *translanguaged siding* that would be more prevalent in the communicative practices of first and second year students. However, the class sizes for first and second year students were too big to study the phenomenon up close. Thus, an

honours class was chosen to study *siding (not translanguaged siding)* up close as is indicative in the title of the thesis 'Siding *and* translanguaged siding.' As presented in chapter six, only siding as a multi- modal orchestration and not 'translanguaged siding' were reported through observational data as an honours class do not have language deficits, but could make visible the siding practices, specifically paralanguaging.

4.3 The questionnaires

A questionnaire can be defined as a document or a specific tool or instrument designed with the ultimate goal of gathering specific information from people to utilise for data analysis. A good questionnaire may be seen as a valid measure for the interest in the research project and has the power to convince participants to cooperate; it may also yield data that is accurate and factual (Czaja & Blair, 1996). For the purpose of the study, one questionnaire was developed for students and one for lecturers to answer the following research questions:

- How frequently does translanguaged siding occur?
- What factors shape the occurrence of translanguaged siding?
- What semiotic resources are employed during translanguaged siding?
- What factors determine the choice of these semiotic resources?
- How is siding appraised by participants, non-participants and lecturers?

There were many factors to consider before the questionnaire was developed. The use of language for questions (closed-ended) was considered. The first- and second-year students did not have the vocabulary or the linguistic knowledge of the researcher. Therefore, the unknown terms, for example, 'siding', were explained in the introduction to the questionnaire. The questionnaire was given to three known students. They were asked to identify the questions that were unclear or caused confusion. The vocabulary of the first draft of the student questionnaire was too complicated. Thus, the language was simplified and the sentences were

revised to be simple, clear and self-explanatory. As far as possible, the questions (24) were grouped/categorised according to the following themes: Languages used during siding; modes used; relational distance versus closeness; and physical distance versus closeness. The categories were developed according to the research questions. The student questionnaire was developed using Google Forms and consisted of 24 questions that took respondents approximately 15 minutes to answer (see Appendix D). Google Forms is a web-based application that was used to create forms for data-collection purposes. The forms were web based and were shared with a link via email.

The questionnaire was emailed to 200 students with the help of the assistant registrar to enable anonymity. A total of 100 of these students were first years, and 100 were second year or repeat first year. Of the 200 students, 105 completed the questionnaire. The response period was four weeks, but 95% of students responded within the first week of receiving the questionnaire. The data collected from the questionnaire was stored on a spreadsheet. The responses were sufficient to draw conclusions with regard to the research problem.

 A total of 105 students from UWC responded to the emailed questionnaire. Of the 105 respondents, 61% were female and 39% were male. Study years were represented as follows: first-year students comprised 44.8%, second-year students 43.8%, while 11.4% of students were repeating their first or second year. The data indicates that 66 students were from the Faculty of Arts and 39 students were from the Faculty of Natural Science. Furthermore, 75.2% of the respondents considered themselves top academic performers, while 5.8% perceived themselves as underperformers, and 19% considered themselves as average students.

Using Google Forms was a quick way to reach many respondents and was free. It further allowed for anonymity as the author saw only the responses and not who

had responded. Most of the answers or data were collected through multiple-choice questions and yielded quantifiable data. The data was exported to Excel and manually seeded into distribution tables. The distribution tables were a personal choice, as a great amount of quantifiable data had to be summarised.

The lecturer questionnaire was developed in the same fashion with due consideration that lecturers have a higher level of vocabulary than students. There were only 13 questions and the questionnaire could be completed within three to five minutes.

The questionnaire was administered to five lecturers in the Faculty of Arts and five lecturers in the Faculty of Natural Science at the discretion of the assistant registrar. Eight out of the ten lecturers responded. The responses were sufficient, as they gave a general idea of how lecturers felt about students' siding while they were teaching. The questionnaire consisted of multiple-choice questions and yielded quantifiable data summarised into distribution and frequency tables. The next section first discusses the diary and the interview. As the same students were used for the interviews and diary, these are discussed together.

4.4 The diary and interviews
The diary
As mentioned, siding is a difficult phenomenon to research as it usually goes undetected during a lesson, making it very difficult to illuminate what these discreet whispered conversations are about. Students keeping a diary, was chosen as an instrument for students to self –report instances of siding which occurred while the lecture was in progress. Students were guaranteed anonymity, and were thus very eager to share siding experiences. As indicated in chapter 6, the diary provided valuable data on translanguaged siding which were never previously recorded in any research. Krishnan and Hoon (2002) refer to diaries (sometimes referred to as journals or records) as a personal account of someone's observations

or experiences recorded over a period of time. As a tool for empirical research, diaries are often employed to give insight into personal phenomena or experiences which are difficult to access through other data-collection methods. The role of the researcher is very different when participants are writing a diary, as no personal interaction usually takes place. Within a research context, as opposed to writing for self-reflection, diaries are research instruments that can potentially complement or replace traditional techniques of data collection such as interviews and observation.

In many cases, ethical and practical considerations, and also time constraints, prevent researchers from undertaking too many observations or engaging participants in face-to-face interviews (Babbie & Mouton, 2007). However, observations are confined to what is visible and do not illuminate the personal perspectives of the participant. Furthermore, the participant might forget to tell the researcher some important information. The diary, on the other hand, might allow the researcher an improved way of collecting data, since it is sometimes easier to put thoughts into words, whether written or spoken. The traditional process of writing a diary could yield an enormous amount of data that could have little or no relevance to the topic being researched.

The interview

When qualitative data is explored, the end goal is always to accumulate an account of a specific human behaviour in a particular context. Qualitative data is most often collected through interviews. Interviewing is a powerful source of acquiring in-depth information regarding participants' belief systems and allows for acquiring data about an individual's personal beliefs and ideas, often invisible to the researcher who only collects observational or questionnaire data. Furthermore, using interviews as a data-collection method could possibly be the most effective way of probing how meanings are fashioned and negotiated in the situated context under study. A holistic interview builds on an unabridged

snapshot of words, meticulous reports from a subjective perspective in their own voices, articulating their own thoughts and feelings (Kvale, 1996; Rubin & Rubin, 2005; Dörnyei, 2007; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2013).

An interview can be defined as an interactive goal-driven conversation to accumulate information about the lived experiences of a particular situated practice. Structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews, as well as focus groups, allow the researcher to probe unclear emerging topics, while structured interviews are more restrictive (Kvale, 1996).

The structured interview asks direct questions and direct answers are expected. It has limited potential for probing emerging topics and is closely related to the self-administered qualitative questionnaire. The semi-structured interview is a more flexible version of the structured interview in view of the fact that it allows the researcher to probe and expand the participant's answers. Since no interview has ever been held without a purpose, the semi-structured interview requires a basic checklist to direct the conversation to the information the researcher needs. Hancock, Clayton, Parker, Walder, Butow, Carrick, Currow, Ghersi, Glare, Hagerty & Tattersall (2007:16) state the following about interviews:

> Qualitative researchers usually employ semi-structured interviews which involve a number of open-ended questions based on the topic areas that the researcher wants to cover. The open-ended nature of the questions posed defines the topic under investigation but provides opportunities for both interviewer and interviewee to discuss some topics in more detail. The interviewer can use cues or prompts to encourage the interviewee to consider the question further. In a semi-structured interview, the interviewer also has the

freedom to probe the interviewee to elaborate on an original response or to follow a line of inquiry introduced by the interviewee.

The unstructured interview is another interview method and is favoured in ethnographic studies. The unstructured interview is an open conversation which offers great flexibility to both interviewer and interviewee, and allows for in-depth probing asking for in-depth explanations while the conversation is in progress. The last type of interview is a focused interview which concentrates on a particular group of interest. The participants are selected because they have knowledge of the particular phenomenon under study. Focus groups require seasoned interviewers who are skilful in chairing/facilitating a group of people. The focus group is well equipped to acquire quick data collection to illustrate themes (Babbie & Mouton, 2007).

Dörnyei (2007) posits that a good interview should have a natural flow and should be rich in detail. To achieve this level, interviewers should remember that they are at the interview to listen and not to speak. Additionally, researchers should remain neutral, create a positive atmosphere where meanings can be co-constructed, and be very aware that they are possibly in a power relation since the interviewer requested an interview from the interviewee. The power relation can be transcended or balanced through valuing the interview process and the meanings participants ascribe to particular worldviews. An interview allows for great internal validity. The next section describes the diary and interview participants.

Exponential, non-discriminative snowball sampling was used to recruit students. The first subject provides multiple referrals. This chain referral system enabled

the researcher to reach populations that were difficult to sample as indicated in Figure 4.1 (Handcock & Gile, 2011).
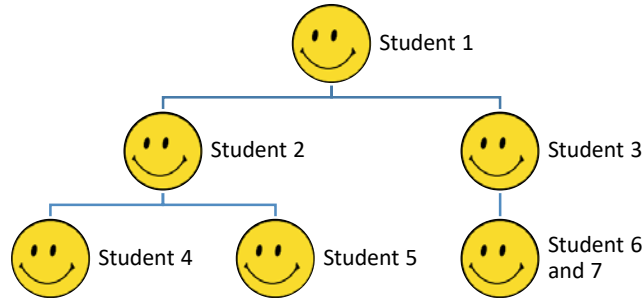
Figure 4.1: Exponential non-discriminative snowball sampling

As students saw siding as a behaviour that could be admonished by the lecturer, they were reluctant to participate. *Seven* students eventually agreed. The participants had to be registered in the Faculty of Arts or the Faculty of Natural Science, and had to be in their first or second year. <u>Four of the students were male and three were female. Four student were from the Faculty of Natural Science and three were from the Faculty of Arts.</u> Diary information was sent daily for one week, as the diary was kept electronically.

This method enabled students to send voice notes about a class they had just attended, or send a screenshot or a message about a siding event. Two of the students really battled with English, and did not like the idea of sending voice notes or messages in English. (The researcher offered to have messages and voice notes translated.) The diary entries were not of any use and the researcher opted for face-to-face interviewing (See Appendix F for transcribed interview). The two students had two siding events they could share with the researcher. They were asked to reconstruct the two events, to describe the lecture, and to furnish some background information.

Table 4.2 Diary and interview participants

No	Gender	Age	Faculty	Year of study	Languages
Participants for diary and interviews - self – reported					
1	Male	19	Science	1	isiXhosa/English
2	Male	19	Science	1	isiXhosa/English
3	Female	19	Science	1	Afrikaans/English
4	Female	20	Science	1	Afrikaans/English
5	Female	21	Arts	2	English/Afrikaans
6	Male	20	Arts	2	English/Afrikaans
7	Male	21	Arts	2	isiXhosa/English

The other students sent descriptions of siding activities as well as screenshots. The researcher had a variety of data to choose from. Follow-up interviews via calls were conducted when interesting information was noted. Although interesting, not all the siding activities could be used. Four siding events were used to demonstrate siding and 'translanguaged siding'. It is to be noted that the electronic interview had limitations. As the questions for the telephone call interview were directly related to the ethnography of the speaking model, the researcher had multiple questions ready. However, the calls could not be recorded, and the researcher opted for a shorter form of the developed interview questions (See appendix G, H and I). The telephone call interview also limited the researcher to the voice of the speaker as contextual clues were lost. The voice notes were usually short, as they were answers to a specific question the researcher posed. The next section discusses classroom observation.

4.5 Classroom observation

Hancock et al. (2007:18) contend:

> Observation is a technique that can be used when data
> cannot be collected through other means, or those

collected through other means are of limited value or
are difficult to validate. For example, in interviews,
participants may be asked about how they behave in
certain situations but there is no guarantee that they
actually do what they say they do. Observing them in
those situations is more valid: it is possible to see how
they actually behave. Observation can also produce
data for verifying or nullifying information provided in
face-to-face encounters.

Thus, observations give the researcher a first-hand picture of the phenomenon
under study in its natural setting. Observational data collection can take place
through participant and non-participant observation. The current study used the
non-participant observational technique. Non-participant observation is defined
as the observer's not participating in the lesson. The researcher observed and
recorded the unfolding of the lessons without intrusion. The lecture was also
video-recorded, with permission of both the lecturers and the ten honours students
that were present. The video was of great value.

The researcher could identify multiple siding events that went unnoticed during
the lesson. It also enabled the researcher to identify more students to interview, in
order to clarify the phenomenon that was observed. The researcher's objective
was to stay aloof and distant, and she had no contact or interaction with the class
being observed. Specific attention was paid to the 'siding' that took place while
the lecturer was lecturing. The problem with observation is that the presence ofthe
observer could influence what is being observed and the observer could be biased.

As mentioned, siding is an under researched phenomenon, as it is unofficial talk
which is difficult to research as it is influenced by the presence of the teacher and
researcher (Lemke, 1990; Koole, 2007, Antia, 2017). It is very difficult to observe
and video record siding students in lecture hall as the sizes of undergraduate

lectures at UWC are approximately 120 – 200 students. Because of the class sizes, it was impossible to illuminate siding practices up close. Furthermore, the camera moving in the direction of siding students silenced them. Thus, an elective honours class (Faculty of Arts) with a low number of students were chosen to observe and record the siding of students up-close. The researcher did one observational session in an honours class. As there were only 10 students, the researcher could see all the students at all times. The lecture was video-recorded which really illuminated the siding phenomenon. Furthermore, as the class and the venue was small in size, the researcher could speak to students after the class.

Table 4.3 Participants for observation

No	Gender	Type	Faculty	Year of study	Languages
Participants for Observation					
As seated					
1	Female	Student	Arts	Honours	English/Afrikaans
2	Male	Student	Arts	Honours	English/Afrikaans
3	Female	Student	Arts	Honours	English/Afrikaans
4	Female	Student	Arts	Honours	English/Afrikaans
5	Female	Student	Arts	Honours	English/Afrikaans
6	Male	Student	Arts	Honours	German/English
7	Female	Student	Arts	Honours	English + 5 African Languages
8	Female	Student	Arts	Honours	Afrikaans/English
9	Male	Student	Arts	Honours	English/isiXhosa
10	Male	Student	Arts	Honours	English/Afrikaans

4.6 Reliability and Validity

Reliability refers to the ability of a research project to yield the same results if the same research methods, data-collection instruments and methods of analysing were to be used in a different context by a different researcher to answer the same research questions (Babbie & Mouton, 2007). Thus, the current study should be reliable and produce the same results if data is collected, for example, at another university.

Stainback and Stainback (1984) contend that both quantitative and qualitative researchers aim at reliable and valid results. Quantitative researchers, however, focus more on reliability, that is, consistent and stable measurement of data as well as replicability. As far as qualitative data is concerned, validity is considered more important because the objective of the study must be representative of what the researcher is investigating.

Validity, called trustworthiness by Onwuegbuzie and Johnson (2006), and rigour by Golafshani (2003), is the capability of a measurement instrument to evaluate what it is supposed to measure. Golafshani (2003) defined it as the researcher measuring what he/she set out to measure, while Babbie (1989) holds that validity is the evidence that the project is a true reflection of the real-world events under study. Onwuegbuzie and Johnson (2006:48) posited that the

> … validity issue, at least as we use the term, is not about singular truths, and it certainly is not limited to quantitative measurement; rather, by validity, we mean that a research study, its parts, the conclusions drawn, and the applications based on it can be of high or low quality, or somewhere in between.

Construct validity is concerned with the extent to which the research measures what it claims to measure, and encapsulates construct validity, internal validity and external validity

Participant error refers to errors a participant could possibly make which could influence his or her performance. As stated earlier, the questionnaire was emailed to 200 possible participants. Only 105 participants responded to the questionnaire. In the researcher's opinion, the students who responded to the questionnaire were in a position to answer, wanted to answer, had time to answer, and responded to

the questionnaire to the best of their ability. The questionnaire was developed to answer specific research questions as described under questionnaire. The questions were very simple for first and second year students to understand and indeed measured what it set out to measure. Interview questions were developed before the study commences as described in table 4.4. All the participants were asked the same questions, and follow-up questions were asked to clarify information and to verify whether the information was accurately reported. The participants were never under any time constraints to answer question, and could answer when they had time. For the observational data, the researcher opted for a video-recording with a phone. It was more natural, since all participants had phones, and some were using them during the observations. After the introduction, the researcher did not interfere with the teaching, and students were mostly engaged with the lessons. The researcher was especially aware of participant bias, the fact that students might act in a certain way because of the researcher's presence (also called the observers paradox). There was an initial reaction to an outsider's presence; however, after half an hour, it was business as usual, the students were focussed on the lecture they enjoyed.

4.7 Data Analysis

The qualitative analysis was done through the speaking mnemonic. *Table 4.3*, the developed table for the ethnography of speaking mnemonic, focused the researcher's attention on specific elements as seen through the lens of EC. The voice notes and screenshots without any references or background information were not sufficient for the purposes of the study.

Table 4.4: Speaking mnemonic: Questions for interviews and analytical frame for analysis

Ethnography of speaking			
Word/s and mnemonic		Explanation	Sample questions the researcher asked
S	Situation/setting/scene	The setting refers to the time and place. The scene defines the cultural setting	**Where** is it? What does it look like there? What is the atmosphere? Is it a public or private place? What is the physical arrangement of the artefacts? How does the physical arrangement impact what's going on? How are the participants organised spatially? How does it influence what's going on? What is the significance of the occasion? What is the cultural significance?
P	Participants	Speaker or audience. Addressor or addressee. Hearer or sender	Who is taking part in the event? Number of participants? Are they absent or present? What are their ages? Gender? Ethnicity? What is the physical proximity between interlocutors? Is it a dialogue, monologue or polylogue? What are the participants' roles? What are the participants' responsibilities? What is the balance of turn-taking? What is the order of authority? Who has the most power? What are the participants' rights? What are their expectations and obligations? What are their attitudes toward each other/the event? Do we get an idea of the ideologies? Do we get an idea what the participants' status is in life? What is the participants' language proficiency? Are there language varieties present?

E	Ends	Purpose, goal or aim	Why is this event happening? Why is it happening in this way? What is this event about? What do they want to achieve with the event? Information? Negotiate knowledge? To develop a closer relationship? To entertain? What outcomes were actually achieved?
A	Act	The sequential organisation of speech acts	What was the form and the content of the message? Why does the message take this form? What is the topic? What was the content of the speech act about? Does the speech act have a sequential order? What is the sequential order? Why does it have this order? Addressing a group or an individual? Which mode/medium was used? Why was it used?
K	Key	Tone	What is the tone/spirit of the exchange? Serious or playful? Casual or friendly? Sarcastic or cooperative?
I	Instrumentalities	Channels, forms, styles of speech	Which media are used? Why are these media used? When is the use of this medium necessary? What linguistic resources are available? So, why was this specific one used? What is the style of communication? Why is it this way?
N	Norms	Rules of the interaction	What are the perceived rules for the interaction? Or which rules govern the interaction? What are the norms for what is being interpreted? What cultural knowledge is needed for the message to be interpreted correctly? Are there standards? Things you must know to be part of this community? Thus, what is the underlying cultural belief system? Is the communication socially appropriate?

G	Genres	Type of speech event	What type of event is it? Lecture/information/negotiation/debate/problem solving/ phatic exchange – small talk/transactional talk/ interpersonal talk

The qualitative data was interpretively analysed and described through the speaking mnemonic, with multimodality as the secondary analytical tool.

Quantitative data analysis: Responses of the raw data were exported to Excel. The initial analysis resulted in multiple pie charts and bar graphs as it was developed by a statistician. Unfortunately, only a statistician would have understood the quantifiable depiction. The current study is mixed methods – qualitatively dominant, thus the researcher decided to manually seed the data. Each question was taken as a unit, and distribution tables were developed for each (Babbie & Mouton, 2007). In Chapter six, each research question is answered independently, and quantitative and qualitative data were triangulated.

4.8 Ethical considerations

The questionnaires were administered through email with the assistance of the assistant registrar. The participant sheet informed the students about the research project. The potential participants were under no obligation to reply. The assistant registrar that acted as a mediator allowed for 100% anonymity. The researcher received the responses through Google Forms only. For the qualitative research, all students were assured of anonymity. All names and phone numbers were removed from screenshots, and all faces were blacked out. No lecturers' names were asked for, and the subjects they taught were obscured. The research topic was explained to all participants before the research commenced and an agreement was reached as to the methods used to do the reporting.

Although students were asked not to send notes, messages and so on from class, they sometimes did when they became excited about a siding event/practice they saw. All the interviews were conducted after hours, when the students were available. The next section explores the limitations of the study.

4.9 Limitations of the study

The study set out to illuminate siding practices while a lecturer was lecturing at the University of the Western Cape and did not include any data collection from other universities in South Africa. The *extent* to which siding can be used as a scaffolding tool was not explored. In the next section, the chapter is summarised.

4.10 Summary

This chapter explained why a mixed method approach was chosen, and defines all concepts related to mixed method. The three research instruments is then discussed and the researcher defines and discusses the questionnaire, interview and diary. A rationale is then given for the different groups of participants used during the study. Each of the groups are then discussed separately. Thereafter, the analysis of data for quantitative and qualitative data was discussed. The chapter was concluded by a discussion regarding ethical consideration and the limitations of the study. The next chapter presents data collected through the questionnaire.

Chapter Five

Presentation of quantitative data

5.0 Introduction

This chapter reports on quantitative data collected through two questionnaires (Appendices C and D) intended to address the following objectives:

1. To determine how frequently siding occurs. 2. To establish which factors shape the occurrence of siding. 3. To establish which semiotic resources are employed during siding. 4. To ascertain what factors determine the choice of these semiotic resources. 5. To determine how siding is appraised by participants, non-participants and by lecturers.

The chapter is structured as follows. In Section 5.1, the languages students is considered; in Section 5.2, data pertaining to the frequency of siding is graphically presented and scrutinised; in Section 5.3, the students' motivations for siding while a lecturer is lecturing is shown; Section 5.4 explores the topics of siding while a lecturer is teaching; Section 5.5 discusses media employed during siding; Section 5.6 reviews the factors that determine the choice of medium; Section 5.7 and 5.8 consider lecturers' and non-participating students' attitudes towards siding students, and the chapter concludes (Section 5.9) with a discussion on relevant literature. In Sections 5.1 to 5.9 only the data is discussed. The discussion that follows is not necessarily in the order of Sections 5.1 to 5.7, as the findings are discussed in the light of relevant literature.

5.1 Home languages of participants

The study was interested in the home languages of students. Thus, students were asked to identify their home language, in view of the fact that the language of learning and teaching at the research site (UWC) is English. Determining the home languages of students was intended to provide a

possible basis for understanding siding practices in multilingual situations. As indicated in Table 5.1, students that participated in the study spoke a variety of languages.

Table 5.1: Home language/s spoken by participants

Home Languages	
English	*61*
Afrikaans	*42*
isiZulu	*9*
Sepedi/Northern Sotho/Sesotho	*6*
Arabic	*1*
isiXhosa	*24*
Venda/Tshivenda	*2*
Urdu	*1*
Tagalog	*1*
Xitsonga	*2*
Setswana	*2*
Dutch	*1*
Kutchi	*1*
Kinyarwanda	*1*
Gujarati	*1*

A total of nine official South African languages (isiZulu, isiXhosa, Afrikaans, English, Sepedi, Venda, Tsonga, Venda and Tswana) are represented in Table 4.1 and individual students spoke the following languages: Gujarati (spoken in India), Kinyarwanda (spoken in Rwanda, Congo, Uganda); Dutch (spoken in the Netherlands, Belgium, Suriname, Aruba, Curaçao, and Sint Maarten); Tagalog (spoken in the Philippines); Kutchi (spoken in India) and Urdu (spoken in Pakistan). English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa recorded the highest

number of responses. A total of 15 languages were recorded, demonstrating that UWC is a site of linguistic super-diversity. The study was further interested in the frequency of siding in relation to gender and faculty.

5.2 Frequency of siding

Table 5.2 reports on data regarding the frequency of siding in relation to the gender of participating students, and the faculty they study in.

Table 5.2: Frequency of siding in relation to gender and faculty

Frequency		Gender		Faculty	
		Male	*Female*	*Science*	*Arts*
Always	*11*	*2*	*9*	*0*	*11*
Often	*24*	*11*	*13*	*9*	*15*
Sometimes	*65*	*23*	*42*	*27*	*38*
Never	*5*	*5*	*0*	*4*	*1*

Table 5.2 shows that by far, there are more students reporting that they side 'sometimes' (65), than those whose siding behaviour falls under any other frequency category. The 'sometimes' category exceeds more than two-fold the second most frequently chosen category with 24 respondents. Only five of 105 students indicated that they 'never' engage in siding during lectures. These five students were all male, and four of them were from the Faculty of Natural Science. It would appear that female students (64) engage in siding to a greater degree than male students (36). None of the female students reported that they 'never' engaged in siding. Students from the Faculty of Arts (65) engage more in siding than students for the Faculty of Natural Science (40). Thus, we have established that siding occurs regularly; however, we do not know what motivates these students to engage in siding while a lecture is in progress.

5.3 Motivations for siding

In order to determine why students engage in siding, participants were presented with the following motivations for siding, which had to be given a frequency rating:

- When the student does not understand the lecturer's point or he/she needs clarification
- When the student wants something repeated because of bad acoustics
- When the student wants to challenge or disagree with a point the lecturer has made, but tells a friend instead
- When a student agrees with something the lecturer has said, but says it to a fellow student instead
- When a student is bored or uninterested

As indicated in Table 5.3, students could choose between always, often, sometimes and never.

Table 5.3: Motivational factors for siding

Categories	Always	%	Often	%	Sometimes	%	Never	%
When I do not understand the lecturer's point or I need clarification	11	10%	45	43%	43	41%	6	6%
When I want something repeated because of bad acoustics	15	14%	39	37%	44	42%	7	7%

When I want to challenge or disagree with a point the lecturer has made, but tell a friend instead	8	*8%*	26	*25%*	45	*43%*	26	*25%*
When I agree with something the lecturer has said, but say it to a fellow student instead	18	*17%*	34	*32%*	43	*41%*	10	*10%*
When I am bored or uninterested	21	*20%*	37	*35%*	40	*38%*	7	*7%*

Combining the figures for 'always', 'often' and 'sometimes', a total of 94% of participants reported that they would *ask a fellow student to clarify a point*; and 93.3% of students indicated that *bad acoustics would motivate them to ask a friend to repeat a point*. A total of 90.4% of students reported that when they *agree with something the lecturer has said, they would say it to a fellow student*, and not to the lecturer. A total of 75.2% reported that they would tell a neighbouring student if they disagreed with, or wanted to challenge the lecturer. Thus, students do not hesitate to engage in siding to clarify a point or to ask for a point to be repeated. Although not reflected in Table 5.3, the raw data shows that students from the Faculty of Natural Science were more likely to tell a fellow student if they disagreed with a point the lecturer made, and students from the Faculty of Arts preferred not to tell a fellow student if they disagreed with something the lecturer has said.

For the category 'never', 25% of respondents indicated that they would 'never' tell a friend that they disagree with a point the lecturer has made, and only 6% of respondents indicated that they would 'never' ask a fellow student to clarify a point the lecturer has made. Table 5.3 indicates that most students do engage in siding, thus the topics discussed during siding were of interest to the study.

5.4 Siding topics

Thus far, we have established that students frequently engage in siding while a lecturer is teaching. So, what do these students talk about when they engage in siding when the lecturer is lecturing?

The questionnaire had items requiring students to choose from the following reasons:

- Personal matters
- A discussion about a point the lecturer has made
- General academic matters/Matters not necessarily related to the lecture in progress, for example, an assignment from a different subject

Table 5.4 indicates the topics students reported talking about, and how frequently they talked about these topics.

Table 5. 4: Reasons and frequency of siding

Categories	Always		Often		Sometimes		Never	
	Sum	*%*	*Sum*	*%*	*Sum*	*%*	*Sum*	*%*
Personal matters	*11*	*10*	*47*	*45*	*19*	*18*	*28*	*27*
A point the lecturer has made	*18*	*17*	*45*	*43*	*38*	*36*	*4*	*4*

General academic matters	15	11	44	39	43	41	3	3

Siding on *general academic* matters scored the highest at 102, and siding *on personal matters* scored the lowest at 77. The total of 77 students reported participating in siding on *personal matters* to different degrees of frequency (always, often, sometimes), and 28 reported that they 'never' participated in siding regarding *personal matters*. A total of 101 (always, often, sometimes) students do participate in siding *on a point the lecturer has made* to different degrees of frequency. Thus, with the exception of four students, all other students reported engaging in siding on *a point the lecturer has made,* while the lecturer was teaching. A total of 102 (always, often, sometimes) participants reported siding about general academic matters, while only three students indicated that they 'never' engage in siding while the lecturer is teaching. The highest number of students indicated that they 'never' engage in *personal matters* while a lecturer is teaching. Contrarily, siding on *a point the lecturer has made*, and on other *academic matters* scored the highest. No siding can take place without traces of mode (language, language combinations and paralanguage). Thus, the next section discusses siding languages.

5.5 Languages used in siding

For the purpose of this thesis, the mode includes language/language combinations and paralanguage. The medium is the channel through which the communication occurs and can be talking, writing and includes texting (also texting emoticons) and calling via mobile phone (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2001; Van Leeuwen, 2005, Bezemer & Jewitt, 2018). Furthermore, as paralanguage is considered the mode, the medium for paralanguage is the part of the body that is used as the channel (medium) to convey the message.

To determine languages reportedly used during siding events, a questionnaire item required students to indicate which language or language combinations (mode) they recall siding in. Thus, students could choose more than one language. English is the language of learning and teaching at UWC with the exception of language courses in Arabic, French, Afrikaans, Latin and isiXhosa. The questionnaire focused on students attending lectures in English as indicated in Table 4.5.

Table 5.5: Language combinations used during siding

Languages	Total 105	%
English/Afrikaans	29	28
English	21	20
English isiXhosa	8	8
English/isiZulu	6	6
English/French	4	4
English/Afrikaans/isiXhosa	3	3
English/Xitsonga/isiXhosa	3	3
English/Afrikaans/French	3	3
English/Afrikaans/isiXhosa/isiZulu/Sotho	3	3
isiXhosa	2	2
English/Hindi	2	2
English/Afrikaans/Arabic	2	2
English/isiZulu/isiXhosa	2	2
English/isiZulu/Sotho/Setswana	2	2
Venda/isiZulu/Northern Sotho/Sotho/Xitsonga	2	2
English/isiXhosa/isiZulu/Venda/Setswana	2	2
English/isiXhosa/isiZulu/Northern Sotho/Setswana	2	2
Afrikaans	1	1
Venda	1	1
Hindi	1	1
Korean	1	1
English/Arabic	1	1
English/Sotho	1	1
isiZulu/isiXhosa/Tswana	1	1

English/Afrikaans/isiXhosa/Sotho	*1*	*1*
English/Afrikaans/isiXhosa/French/Arabic	*1*	*1*

As shown in Table 5.5, as many as ten of the respondents speak up to five different languages when siding with fellow students. A total of 28% of students indicated that they engage in siding practices in a combination of English and Afrikaans, followed by 8% of students who reported siding in a combination of isiXhosa and English, and 6% who recalled siding in a combination of English and isiZulu. The language students reported using the most, was English and the South African language least used, was Venda.

Thus far, we have established that 92.2% of students frequently engage in siding and that female students engage in siding to a greater degree than their male counterparts. A total of 15 home languages were recorded for 105 students who participated in the study and nine out of 15 languages are official languages of South Africa. Students further reported speaking a vast number of language combinations when they engage in siding. English was reported as the most frequently used language to side in, and Venda was the least used. Siding occurs in a language or language combinations through different media. Thus, the study was interested in the mode used for a particular medium.

5.6 Medium used in relation to language

As indicated in section 5.5, the medium is the channel through which communication occurs, for example, talking (making a call) or writing (includes sending a text). For this question, students could select more than one medium for siding as indicated in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6: Medium in relation to siding languages (raw scores)

Categories	*Texting*	*Notes*	*Talk*	*Call*	*Total*

English	*53*	*2*	*78*	*10*	143
Afrikaans	*30*	*16*	*35*	*7*	88
Xhosa	*25*	*10*	*44*	*6*	85
Zulu	*19*	*10*	*43*	*6*	78
Sotho	*17*	*13*	*32*	*5*	67
French	*18*	*10*	*30*	*3*	61
Tsonga	*17*	*12*	*25*	*7*	61
Tswana	*15*	*9*	*29*	*7*	60
Venda	*16*	*14*	*24*	*6*	60
Ndebele	*14*	*12*	*30*	*4*	60
Shona	*20*	*13*	*20*	*5*	58
Northern Sotho	*0*	*15*	*28*	*9*	52
Total	244	136	418	75	

First, English (78) was predominantly chosen to communicate through talking. Interestingly, Venda did not score the lowest, although it was the language which was least sided in as indicated in Table 5.6. In the comments section of this particular question, 32 students indicated that the siding language would depend on the language the person they wanted to side with spoke. Students have reported that they speak multiple home languages, and that they side in a great variety of languages. However, communication does not only comprise named languages through speaking. On the contrary, speaking is often accompanied by paralanguage.

5.7 Paralanguage

Paralanguage is divided into various categories (medium) as listed in Table 5.7. Paralanguage, a mode or part of a modal orchestration, plays a role during most interactions and is considered an important language resource which usually accompanies speech during siding activities, as well as writing in the form of symbols or emoticons. For the purpose of the thesis, the various categories of paralanguage are referred to as the medium (channel) through which paralanguage can occur. Hence, the following data shows the significance of

specific paralanguage components that were rated on a 1 to 3 scale by participants as indicated in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7: The significance of paralanguage during siding

Paralanguage medium	*Very important*
Facial expressions	*55*
Nodding the head	*53*
A knowing look	*45*
Hand and arm gestures	*26*
Rolling of eyes	*20*
A wink	*14*
Paralanguage Category	*Important*
Nodding the head	*48*
A knowing look	*47*
Hand and arm gestures	*44*
Facial expressions	*42*
Rolling of eyes	*41*
A wink	*33*
Paralanguage Category	*Not important*
A wink	*58*
Rolling of eyes	*44*
Hand and arm gestures	*35*
A knowing look	*13*
Facial expressions	*8*
Nodding the head	*4*

Overall, *Table 5.7* suggests that most media of paralanguage are *important* during siding. Nodding the head (48) and facial expressions (55) were reported as very important, while a wink (58) and rolling the eyes (44) were not considered.

5.8 The medium used when siding about a specific topic

Students have reported that they mostly engage in siding on *a point the lecturer has made* and on *general academic matters*. Therefore, it was vital to establish which media students utilise when they engage in siding on a particular topic. As mentioned in chapter two and in above sections, language is considered the mode and texting, talking and writing are seen as the media. Paralanguage functions as a mode or as a medium. When paralanguage is used with other modes, for example, visual modes, aural modes, linguistic modes or spatial modes, it becomes part of a modal orchestration as each mode carries part of the message. Paralanguage can also be used on its own when different media of paralanguage (for example gesture, facial expression, a nod) are used to orchestrate the message.

The following media, which form part of students' semiotic repertoire and occur in a language or a combination of languages (mode), were considered: talking (students whispering/talking to each other); texting (using a mobile phone to send a written message); paralanguage (haptics, facial expression, gesture, body movements, texting emoticons); notes (scribbling/writing a note to a fellow student) and calling (making a phone call). The following categories (topics) as listed in Table 5.8 were considered: personal matters – when students engaged in communication on topics that had nothing to do with academic matters; a discussion about a point the lecturer has made – the lecturer is giving a lesson and students discuss (they could be verifying or disagreeing) a concept among themselves through different media at their disposal; general academic matters – includes assignments, notes and concepts from other subjects.

Table 5.8: Medium of siding per topic

Topic	Medium				
Personal matters	*Texting*	*Talk*	*Para-language*	*Write a note*	*Call*
	48	50	5	2	0
A discussion about a point the lecturer has made	*Talk*	*Para-language*	*Texting*	*Write a note*	*Call*
	60	24	14	5	2
General academic matters	*Talk*	*Para-language*	*Texting*	*Write a note*	*Call*
	65	8	27	8	2

As shown in Table 5.8, participants prefer texting (48) and talking (50) to communicate about *personal matters*. Students do favour talking (65) to discuss general academic matters, and on a point the lecturer has made (60). Students indicated that they cannot always write in the languages they can speak (indicated in raw data), thus it makes sense that talking was reported as the most popular siding medium. Texting was also very popular (48). A phone call and scribbling a note seemed to be the least popular medium of siding. As can be seen in Table 5.8, different media are available for communication while a lecturer is teaching; however students choose a specific medium when they engage in siding on a particular topic. The study was further interested to ascertain which other *subjective factors influence the choice of medium* in lecture halls.

5.9 Physical closeness/ distance

A factor which could influence the medium used during siding is physical closeness or distance. Thus, students were asked to indicate which medium they would use when a fellow student is a particular physical distance from them. Table 5.9 demonstrates the impact of physical proximity on the medium when students wanted to communicate unnoticed.

Table 5.9: Medium in relation to physical proximity

Medium	Proximity				
Talk	*Right next to me*	*A few seats from me*	*In the next row*	*On the other side of the class*	*Not in the same class*
	75%	10%	0%	0%	0%
Write a note	*Right next to me*	*A few seats from me*	*In the next row*	*On the other side of the class*	*Not in the same class*
	45%	31%	12%	2%	0%
Paralanguage	*A few seats from me*	*Right next to me*	*On the other side of the class*	*In the next row*	*Not in the same class*
	51%	23%	15%	11%	0%
Texting	*Not in the same class*	*A few seats from me*	*In the next row*	*On the other side of the class*	*Right next to me*
	41%	19%	18%	18%	4%

As *Table 5.9* shows, the medium of preference for siding when the interlocutors are in close proximity, is talking (75%). So, when students are sitting next to each other, they easily speak in hushed tones. However, if they spoke to another student in the next row, and so on, they could possibly distract the class and might be admonished by the lecturer or possibly by fellow

students. Thus, when a fellow student is sitting a few seats away, talking is not very popular, but paralanguage (51%) can occur undetected in a lecture hall that accommodates approximately 100 to 200 students. Texting was also reported as common when the interlocutor was not in the same room, and scribbling a note (45%) was further reported as doable when students are sitting next to each other. However, people in general do not randomly communicate with people they do not know. The relational closeness or distance could thus have an effect on who sides with whom.

5.10 Relational closeness and distance

The interpersonal relationship between people shapes the communication between them in general, and is also applicable to students in lecture halls. For this question, the different categories which relate to the closeness or distance between students were as follows:

- Fellow students I do not know – Students share classes with other students whose faces have become familiar, but they have never been introduced. These students are referred to as fellow students I do not know.

- Assignment friends – According to students they become friendly with fellow students when they are grouped together during assignments. Thus, they do not socialise with these friends, they simply share a common interest in an assignment, and become friendly during assignments.

- *Social friends* – Social friends are the actual friends students engage with socially. Thus, students have a relationship with these friends, but they do not necessarily share personal information they see as private with these friends.

- *Close friends* – These are friends students share a private, intimate relationship with, and with whom they share intimate private information.

Students were asked with whom they were most likely to side while the lecturer was teaching as indicated in Table 5.10.

Table 5.10: Siding as dependent on relational closeness/distance

Siding – relational closeness/ distance	
Close friends	*85*
Social friends	*55*
Assignment friends	*55*
Fellow students I do not know	*15*

Table 5.10 illustrates a relational closeness or distance in students' communication patterns. Students that know each other intimately (close friends), are more likely to engage in siding (85), while students who socialise together, but are not close friends (social friends), are less likely to engage in siding (55). The relational closeness or distance between students does impact with whom students communicate. The study was also interested in establishing which media students used in relation to physical closeness/distance.

The use of medium as it relates to relational closeness/distance
Table 5.11 demonstrates how relational proximity impacts 'who' talks to whom using which medium. The categories as discussed in Section 5.10 are displayed individually as can be seen in Table 5.11.

Table 5.11: Relational closeness/distance in relation to medium (raw scores)

Media	Relational Closeness/Distance				
Close friends	*Paralanguage*	*Text*	*Notes*	*Talk*	*Call*
	70	45	25	15	5
Social friends	*Talk*	*Text*	*Paralanguage*	*Notes*	*Call*
	59	28	25	10	5
Assignment friends	*Text*	*Paralanguage*	*Notes*	*Talk*	*Call*
	34	28	9	6	5
Fellow students I do not know	*Talk*	*Paralanguage*	*Text*	*Notes*	*Call*
	51	36	9	5	5

As suggested by Table 5.11, relational closeness and distance influence the medium the interlocutor uses to communicate. Students show a specific preference depending on a particular relationship they share with fellow students. Close friends scored a high 70 for paralanguage. These close friends who share lived experiences could gesture to each other, in view of the fact that they know each other well and had prior knowledge regarding the paralanguage they have previously shared. Social and assignment friends preferred to talk to each other.

Thus far, we have established through quantitative data that the choice of the mode and medium is dependent on siding topics and relational/physical closeness and distance. In the next section the study endeavoured to ascertain how non-participating students and lecturers experience siding.

5.12 Non-participating students' perception of siding

To establish how students who were not engaged in siding perceived fellow students who were siding during lectures, participants had to rate the frequency of the categories listed in Table 5.12. Students could choose more than one option.

Table 5.12: Non-participating students' perception of siding (raw scores)

Categories	Non-participating students' perception of siding			
Do not mind at all	*Always*	*Often*	*Never*	*Sometimes*
	67	20	15	3
Ask them to be quiet	*Never*	*Sometimes*	*Often*	*Always*
	58	31	9	7
Get angry, but say nothing	*Sometimes*	*Always*	*Never*	*Often*
	40	27	21	17
Think it is disrespectful	*Always*	*Sometimes*	*Often*	*Never*
	39	38	22	6
Feel embarrassed for their behaviour	*Sometimes*	*Never*	*Always*	*Often*
	36	33	19	17
Join them	*Never*	*Sometimes*	*Often*	*Always*
	68	32	3	2

Most of the students did not mind (did not agree or disagree) when fellow students engaged in siding and would mostly never ask fellow students to be quiet (58) when they do side. Table 5.12 further indicated that most students would not join other students (68) who are siding and only 39 thought it was not disrespectful to do so while a lecturer was lecturing. Thus, most participants who answered the questionnaire do not perceive siding as a behaviour that is against the rules of the class. However, some students do get angry (99) when fellow students engage in siding while they are listening. We can thus assume that siding practices in lectures have been normalised from the students' perspective.

4.13 Lecturer questionnaire

The lecturer questionnaire was developed to give an idea of the lecturer's attitude towards siding students during lectures. A total of ten questionnaires were sent to lecturers in the Faculty of Natural Science and the Faculty of Arts via the assistant registrar. Therefore, the researcher did not choose the participants and the questionnaire was completely anonymously.

5.13.1 Observation by lecturer while teaching

Lecturers were asked if they have observed students siding during lectures. Thus, students were asked if they have observed fellow students displaying the behaviours categorised in Table 5.13, and could indicate yes or no.

Table 5.13: Lecturers' observation of siding students

Categories	Yes	No
Students chatting/talking to each other	8	0
Sending/receiving text messages	8	0
Writing notes	8	0
Using of paralanguage to communicate	8	0
Having audible group discussions	2	6
Playing cards	2	6

As shown in Table 5.13, only two lecturers indicated seeing students play cards and having loud discussions. All lecturers have seen students talking to each other, sending and receiving messages, writing notes and using paralanguage. Thus, the lecturers confirm that they have all observed students siding in lectures. The next section explores how lecturers feel when students engage in siding while they are teaching.

5.13.2 Lecturers' attitude towards student siding

Lecturers (8) were asked how they react when they see students engaging in siding while they are teaching. They were provided with different reactions and could choose only one, as indicated in Table 5.14.

Table 5.14: Lecturers' attitude towards student siding

Category	
It irritates me.	5
I do not care.	2
They are disrespectful.	*1*
I trust that the students are discussing points that I am teaching.	*0*

Table 5.14 demonstrates that the participants in the questionnaire mostly perceived siding as against the rules of the class. The majority felt irritated, and only two did not care. Irritation and disrespect scored six together. Lecturers that trust students to be busy with academic matters, scored zero. The study was also interested to find how lecturers perceived the different media students used to engage in siding.

5.13.3 Lecturers' reaction to the different siding media

Not all siding is phatic in nature; however lecturers perceive siding as irritating and disrespectful. The lecturers were presented with different media students used for siding. The media were accompanied by a list of possible reactions when a particular siding medium was observed.

Table 5.15: Lecturers' reaction to the different siding media

Categories	Media				
I do not mind.	*Paralanguage* 8	*Notes* 7	*Texting* 2	*Talk* 2	*Call* 0
It irritates me.	*Texting* 5	*Notes* 0	*Paralanguage* 0	*Talk* 0	*Call* 0
They are disrespectful.	*Call* 8	*Talk* 6	*Texting* 1	*Paralanguage* 0	*Notes* 0
I think it is about academic work.	*Notes* 1	*Texting* 0	*Paralanguage* 0	*Talk* 0	*Call* 0
Total	8	8	8	8	8

Table 5.15 reported that the participating lecturers did not mind notes and paralanguage, but making or answering a call during a lecture was out of the question. Talking was further seen as a sign of disrespect. Texting, which does

not always involve sound, is seen as an irritation. Lecturers were also asked to give possible reasons why students engaged in siding while a lecturer was teaching.

5.13. 4 Motivations for siding in the lecturers' opinion

Lectures were given possible reasons why students' side-chat while a lecture is in progress. The lecturing staff could choose the yes or no option for the categories as listed in Table 5.16.

Table 5.16: Reasons students side in the opinion of lecturers

Categories	Yes
They have language barriers and do not understand	6
They do not care about their studies	6
They are not interested in the topic	2
They are discussing the work I am teaching	1
They can multitask	0

From the participating lecturers' perspectives, students were not discussing work and they could not multitask, meaning, they could not be listening and doing something else. Lecturers further thought students had language barriers and could not understand or follow the lesson. A total of six lecturers felt that students do not care about their studies. The next section discusses the presented data, not necessarily in the order the data was presented.

5. 14 Discussion

Siding is an under-researched phenomenon and has not received much attention in the last two decades. Researchers are drawn to classroom interaction as it relates to the primary discourse which involves the teacher or as it relates to the IRF framework. In view of this, siding as a student-to-student discourse has not received the desired attention. Lemke (1990), Koole (2007) and Antia (2017) are

the only scholars who specifically discusses the siding phenomenon. Literature with regards to siding was thus limited to the research of these scholars. Furthermore, the languages, combinations of languages and paralanguage, as part of the siding phenomenon, have thus far only been studied by Antia (2017). Antia (2017) also proposed the term 'translanguaged siding'. The term relates to siding practices where a combination of named languages are used in student-to-student conversations. The next section discusses the home languages of participants, followed by the language combinations students used to engage in siding.

UWC's Language Policy (2003) states that the three official institutionalised languages are English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa. The policy promotes a general language identity with regard to English as a lingua franca, and sees Afrikaans and isiXhosa as symbolic tokens of affirmation (Stroud & Kerfoot, 2013; Du Plooy & Zilinsile, 2014; Antia, 2015; Antia & Dyers, 2016). Table 4.1 reported on data regarding the home languages of participants in the questionnaire. A total of 15 home languages were recorded for 105 participants in the study. English scored the highest (61), followed by Afrikaans (42) and isiXhosa (24), which mirrors UWC's language policy and the languages spoken in the Western Cape, South Africa. A total of nine official South African languages were represented as indicated in Table 5.1 and individual students spoke six international languages. A total of 44 participants' home languages were different from the language of learning and teaching at UWC. As advocated by Pludderman (1999), higher education in South Africa needs English as a dominant language for teaching, as English is the most widely used language locally. Furthermore, in the context of higher education in South Africa, English has the highest market value (symbolic capital) in Bourdieu's (1991) language commodification framework.

Symbolic capital refers to Bourdieu's (1991) metaphor that communicative practices have convertible exchange value as forms of capital. At the research site and in South Africa in general, English is the language with the highest symbolic capital. Moreover, a distinction is made between different South African English

dialects. The standard variety of South African English has a higher symbolic value than the English dialects spoken in different parts of South Africa and Africa (Spencer, 2019). Antia (2017) confirmed that siding occurs in more than one language. He showed that students at UWC engaged in 'translanguaged siding' in Afrikaans and isiXhosa. The current study showed that the scope of language combinations students side in is much broader than Antia's (2017) two languages as indicated in Table 5.5. A total of 27 respondents speak up to five different languages when siding with fellow students. Furthermore, the study showed that the language used by most respondents during siding was English and the South African language least used was Venda. As the study has shown that 27 respondents speak up to five different language combinations, UWC can be considered a site of linguistic super-diversity. Linguistic super-diversity, first termed by Verotec (2007), refers to a diverse range of ethnic groups in one location who speak a range of languages made possible by globalisation. The multiple combinations of languages used by students indicate that language is not bound by time and space, but by the way it is used as posited by Heller (2007).

Traditionally, language was seen as a bounded system with specific linguistic features that belong together. In contemporary discussions, language is increasingly viewed as a process or social practice that is situated, dynamic and always in flux. The total of 27 students who reported speaking up to five language combinations suggests polylanguaging, which assumes language users use whatever linguistic features are available to them to reach the communicative aim, regardless of how well they know the language in use (Jørgensen et al., 2016). Likewise, the result of Table 5.5 also suggests 'languaging' as posited by Pietikäinen et al. (2008). The term 'languaging' sees languages as collections of linguistic resources that are afforded to language users in different social and cultural circumstances. These resources may be different (national and international) languages, but also dialects, registers and styles that coexist. Fishman (1980) called the coexistence of language codes (which could imply the use of two varieties of one language or the use of two or more languages)

'diglossia'. Moreover, Fisherman (1980) posited that each language or features of a language is used under different conditions. This could be the case with siding students who speak multiple languages, but use specific languages or combinations of different languages, depending on the languages or combination of languages interlocutors speak. A further condition for the use of a language or features of a language, is the fact that siding between students could be restrictive as it is viewed as an unofficial classroom talk that goes mostly undetected (Lemke, 1990; Rampton, 2006; Koole, 2007).

As communication in action, siding involves the interaction of students with one another in lecture halls as the situated context (dialogism). Bakhtin (1934) extends dialogism through the concept of heteroglossia. He holds that all utterances are heteroglot and polyphonic, as these utterances are all infused with different languages and resonate with many voices. Heteroglossia addresses the dialogic relationship between multiple or possibly conflicted codes or registers, as well as the larger socio-political and socio-historical backgrounds of students. Thus, it is the different ways students speak or message fellow students, and could account for accent, class, gender, dialect and culture. These meanings are negotiated through linguistic as well as non-linguistic forms. As shown in Table 5.5, students speak multiple combinations and possibly multiple varieties of the same language; however, they cannot always write in the languages they can speak (indicated in raw data). In this way, students show that only certain features of a language are used, depending on the conditions mentioned above.

Similarly, Lytra and Jørgensen (2008) use the term 'languagers' to describe individuals who use features of known languages to achieve communicative goals. Correspondingly, Rampton (1991) used the term 'crossing' for the bits and pieces of different languages people use to communicate. Furthermore, Williams (1994) coined the term 'translanguaging' to mean the use of two languages at the same time. The localised meaning, the use of two languages as a scaffolding tool in a

classroom, was later generalised to all concepts of multilingual life and is viewed as the use of multiple languages or features of multiple named languages to reach communicative goals (Garcia, 2009; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Lewis, Jones & Baker, 2012).

Hence, translanguaging is considered an act or practice that is performed by multilinguals when they access diverse linguistic features of named languages to maximise their communicative potential. The translanguage practice is centred on the observable multilingual practices of individuals and is not centred or focused on a specific language. Translanguaging goes beyond code switching, code mixing and code borrowing, but also includes these. So, the act performed by bi- or multilinguals (the students) when they access different linguistic features of various languages to expand their communicative potential, and to make meaning of knowledge presented to them in their second or sometimes third language, is called translanguaging. As previously noted, Antia (2017) built on the translanguaging concept in his study of siding, and coined the term 'translanguaged siding'. In this way, 'translanguaging siding' is the use of a language, a combination of languages and paralanguage during siding, as a social practice for social action and a resource for getting things done while a teacher is teaching. Lemke (1990) contended that it is impossible for a teacher to attend to the needs of 30 students while a class is in progress. During lectures, it is also impossible for lecturers to attend to 100–200 students, and more so when students are from diverse linguistic backgrounds. Thus students (*Table 5.5*) use siding as a tool to address their own language deficits in a mode and medium of their choice.

As these students from UWC, which is located in the Western Cape, South Africa, speak multiple languages and language combinations (national and international), multilingualism is not limited to geographically close languages as is the case with historical multilingualism (Aronin & Singleton, 2008). On the contrary, contemporary multilingualism is applicable to the research site as students use

bits and pieces of the features of multiple national and international languages to communicate. The current study could not establish to what degree the combinations of languages were spoken by students during siding. Siding is also an informal speech event which happens parallel to the formal speech event. Thus, the teacher talk is formal and the siding or 'translanguaged siding' is an informal form of communication. When students want to participate in formal academic activities, they have to use English; on the other hand, students can use their full linguistic repertoire when they engage in siding activities with fellow students. Hence, siding has the added advantage that students can engage in communication using features of a language they are comfortable in.

As discussed in Chapter two and three, lecturers in higher education are aware that the student component is linguistically diverse in nature, and that the home languages of the student body are not necessarily the same as the language of learning and teaching. Therefore, methods to scaffold concepts as posited by Antia and Dyers (2015) should be common practice in higher education where the student population is linguistically diverse. Conceivably, siding could be used as a scaffolding method if students are paired during lectures, possibly in language groups to co-construct knowledge in a language of their choice, while the lecturer is lecturing. Vygotsky emphasised that social interaction and social activity shape the individual's development and learning. When students participate in activities with others, outcomes are produced together. For Vygotsky, learning meant belonging to a social group, and with the help of others, knowledge is socially constructed during social interaction within a particular context. Vygotsky's *zone of proximal development* is thus the space where knowledge is scaffolded with the aid of a more knowledgeable other who can be a peer or an adult. Students are therefore the producers and products of knowledge in lecture halls, which function as their community of practice (Serpell, 1993; Bandura, 2001; Windschitl, 2002). The construction of knowledge is thus a situated practice within a community of practice where the novice (the student) takes on the role

of an apprentice. The apprentice is then supported and guided until he or she can function independently. Consequently, as lecturers cannot attend to 100–200 students at once, a peer more knowledgeable other can be used during class to assist students with language deficits. As indicated by the limited literature on siding, male and female students show agency when they engage in siding on academic matters without being instructed to do so by a lecturer.

Lemke (1990), Koole (2007) and Antia (2017) introduced siding as a classroom discourse, but did not discuss gender roles as they relate to the frequency of siding activities. Rampton (2006) posited that male students dominate female students in class discussions, but no reference was made to gender domination with regard to siding activities. Guba and Lincoln (1994) showed gender-related patterns during class discussions, but not in relation to siding activities while the teacher was teaching. The current study contributes to our knowledge of gender-related frequency of siding. The current study showed that female students engage in siding to a greater degree than their male counterparts (Table 5.2) and that 'never' engaging in siding was not an option for female students. Thus, lecturers in higher education can expect female students always to engage in siding to various degrees while a lecture is in progress. The fact that female students engage in siding to a greater degree than their male counterparts could be indicative that female students are possibly more invested in their academic progress. The next section discusses the data on the difference in siding activities between the Arts and Natural Science faculties.

No studies are available on the difference in siding activities between science and arts students. The current study found no significant differences between the siding activities of students from the Faculty of Natural Science and students from the Faculty of Arts. The nature of the science (objective) and language (subjective) subjects are different, but students still displayed the same siding behaviour. This study suggests that the siding phenomenon is generalisable across different faculties. The next section relates to the frequency of siding as it relates to modes.

As mentioned, Antia (2017) reported that students side in Afrikaans and isiXhosa during English lectures through the media of talking and writing. The current study goes further and reports on how frequently a medium is used in relation to a mode (Table 5.6). English was predominantly chosen to communicate through the medium of speech, as the language of instruction is English, making English a prerequisite for attending UWC. Students would thus be motivated to acquire English for academic purposes. Besides English, isiXhosa, isiZulu, and Afrikaans were indicated as the most frequently used siding languages during lectures. Students further indicated that English was the language most frequently used for text messages, followed by Afrikaans, isiXhosa and Shona.

Moreover, students indicated that the siding language depends on the language of the person they wanted to engage with. Students further indicated that they prefer talking, since they cannot write (scribble a note/text) in all the languages they can speak. These students are invested in their own learning as shown in Table 5.3, and thus show motivation to clarify concepts in a language or language combination of their choice. Gardner and McIntyre (1992) see motivation as the need to achieve an outcome by devoting considerable effort to achieving such a perceived goal. As mentioned, students demonstrate agency and knowledge of the communicative community (specifically the person engaged in siding with them) by choosing a specific mode and medium to communicate with a person who has a specific linguistic repertoire.

The mode students used most frequently was English, and the medium most frequently utilised was talking and texting. Our attention is thus yet again drawn to the fact that English is a global language that students have in common. From a symbolic capital perspective (Pavlenko, 2002), learning English for academic purposes would empower students to acquire the academic practices valued in this specific social arena. For young first- and second-year students, it would be essential to acquire English, as English is a prerequisite to communicate with

fellow students and lecturers, and to understand academic content. Table 5.6 indicates that students are aware of the symbolic capital of English in the language market (UWC). Accordingly, students would be eager to invest in their own language learning, English for academic purposes, by developing their own strategies such as siding or 'translanguaged siding' through the multiple media at their disposal to acquire knowledge.

The participants in the study further indicated that they prefer the medium of 'talking' to 'writing' (texting), as they cannot write in all the languages they can speak. Thus, the medium students utilised depended on the sender or receiver/ speaker or hearer of the message in a shared lived speech situation. To communicate effectively in a community of practice (siding during lectures), students needed information about the linguistic and sociolinguistic rules for communication, along with information about the rules that govern interactions in that specific community. Thus, communication is mediated by perceived rules and knowledge that function in a specific context, and is a shared understanding of what specific signs would come to mean as postulated by the ethnography of communication. EC wants to establish what is accomplished through communication, and what is constructed by the organisational communication patterns, as well as the speaker's assumptions, values, and beliefs regarding the world (Hymes, 1964).

Therefore, the meaning of speech/communication for specific speakers in a particular social activity, is a central theme. Like sociolinguists, ethnographers of communication are interested in language use or language in use in everyday situations by a particular speech community. Sociolinguists interpret 'language in use' as the actual employment of utterances by specific speakers at a specific place as a linguistic token. While mere structural descriptions of linguistic forms are interesting and useful, they lack the essential features of what make language

so precious to people, namely the ability to function in a context as an instrument of action and reflection upon the world.

Siding through the medium of talking, functions as an instrument of action and reflection upon the world. The siding actions of students are inspired by their lack of knowledge of the target language, a lack of understanding a concept being explained, or possibly to counteract anxiety they feel when speaking in a language that is not their first language. In this way, siding becomes a valuable tool to co-construct knowledge. Thus, students are creating and re-creating social identities and social relationships to explain to themselves and to others why the world is the way it is, to develop tools for learning at societal and individual level, and to break or sustain physical, political and cultural barriers imposed on them. For the students to communicate successfully with fellow students in a linguistically diverse context, students needed knowledge of the relationship of language and the local systems of knowledge, as well as the social order at play during siding activities. For the current study, the speaker needed knowledge of the hearer's communicative competence. We cannot deny the variety of knowledge speakers need to manage to be considered competent in any particular language (Kiesling & Paulston, 2008).

A crucial difference between Chomsky's notion of competence, and Hymes's notion, is that the former relies on the assumption that knowledge can be studied separately from performance, whereas for Hymes, participation and intersubjective knowledge are essential features of the ability to know a language (Hymes, 1992). One does not suggest that an idealised language is necessarily orderly, and that patterns of speech of actual communication are chaotic. This thesis sees competence as the bits and pieces of a combination of languages students use to act upon the world, as postulated by Garcia's (2009) translanguaging.

The context of verbal interaction is usually taken to be the speech community, defined as a group of people who share rules for interpreting and using a language/s or a language/s variety as is the case with the diverse student population at UWC (Duranti, 1985). In view of this fact, students needed knowledge of the communicative competence of fellow students, as well as knowledge of their own communicative competence during siding activities during lectures. So, students had specific linguistic capital available which included a specific mode and medium, and which stratified into linguistic repertoires. For this specific speech community who engaged in siding while a lecturer was teaching, the spatial and relational distance between sender and receiver was important.

Antia (2017) advanced that spatial and relational proximity (closeness versus distance) in lecture halls influences the meaning-making mode, medium, topic and duration of siding activities. The present study concurs and extends the current knowledge on the medium used in relation to the relational and spatial distance when engaged in siding activities. The study demonstrated that students are more likely to engage in siding with close friends (Table 5.10) through the medium of paralanguage and texting (Table 5.11). However, for 'friends' who are not relationally close, the medium of communication was predominantly 'talk' (Table 5.11). As showed in Table 5.9, students who are seated in close proximity, indicated talk as the preferred medium of communication (75%); nonetheless, writing a note was also indicated as doable (45%). Students who were sitting a row from each other indicated paralanguage as the mode/medium of communication (51%). The next section discusses the frequency of siding.

The frequency of siding events, which has only been studied by Antia (2017) and Lemke (1991), was a point of interest. Antia (2017) found that 84% of students engage in siding while a lecturer is teaching to various degrees of 'always', 'often' and 'sometimes'. Lemke (1990) found that 30–40% of learners in a high school

class engage in siding. The current study confirms Antia's (2017) findings in view of the fact that most students (95%) indicated that they engaged in siding to various degrees, but contradicts Lemke's (1990) findings that only 30–40% of students engage in siding. Due consideration is given to the fact that the Lemke study was done in 1990 and that the data might be outdated. Thus, the current study agrees with Antia (2017) that siding in higher education has been normalised and students have academic and non-academic motivations for engaging in siding activities.

Lemke (1990) noted that the possible motivations for siding are to sustain personal relationships, to speak with someone other than the teacher about what is going on in the class, or to provide students with an opportunity to disengage with the lesson activity completely. Koole (2007) posited that it is impossible for one teacher to answer 30 students. Thus, according to Koole (2007), students engage in siding activities to clarify a point the teacher has made, or to ask a fellow student a question regarding a lesson that is in progress. Antia (2017) confirmed that siding practices are to a degree academic in nature in view of the fact that students with insufficient language skills use siding to scaffold academic knowledge. Furthermore, Antia (2017) alluded to the fact that students engage in siding when they find the lecture boring, but also when they want to clarify a point the lecturer has made. The current study confirms that not all siding is phatic in nature, but enhances the current literature on siding with quantifiable data which verifies that students do engage in siding on academic matters predominantly, but then again, sometimes engage in siding that is convivial in nature. A total of five motivations (Table 5.3) were presented to students, of which four were academic and one was non-academic. The non-academic item is convivial in nature in Malinowskian (1923) fashion. A total of 88.25% students (an amalgamation of four academic motivations items: 94%, 93.3%, 90.4%, 75.2), indicated that they engage in siding on topics related to academia, while 93% of students (non-academic motivation item), indicated that they would disengage from a lesson if they were uninterested. Siding, which encapsulates small talk (Malinowski,

1923), is viewed as informal, unofficial and is a perceived contradiction of the pedagogical discourse of the teacher in classroom settings.

Thus, siding has been viewed by teachers as an act which is against the rules of the class as demonstrated by Lemke (1990), Heap (1991), Mehan, (1979), Strout (2007), and Molinari, Mameli, and Gnisci (2013), to name but a few. Rampton (2006) contributed to student-to-student talk while the teacher is teaching by demonstrating how outspoken students could help the lesson progress. However, student-to-student talk was always in relation to teacher talk and the lesson that was in progress. Rampton (2006) never investigated student-to-student talk which was not in relation to teacher talk. Lemke (1990), Koole (2007) and Antia (2017) demonstrated that although siding is perceived as against the rules of the class, it has pedagogical value and could allow for greater epistemological access if the topics or the 'what' under discussion is academic in nature.

Although many studies have evidenced that students do participate in classroom activities other than those involving the teacher, these studies did not discuss the 'what' students are talking about among themselves when the teacher is teaching (Bloome & Theodorou, 1988; Nuthall & Alton-Lee, 1993; Rampton, 2006). Furthermore, the siding described in multiple classroom studies is predominantly seen as convivial in nature (Heap, 1991; Mehan, 1979; Strout, 2007; Molinari, Mameli, & Gnisci, 2013).

Contradictory to the mentioned scholars, Lemke (1990) posited that student siding provides a channel for repartee between students and is important for a class spirit; siding gives students the opportunity to talk to someone other than the teacher about what is going on in the class and further provides an opportunity

for students to disengage from the lesson to talk about something that has nothing to do with the lesson in progress.

Koole (2007) postulated that the parallel activities students engage in show an orientation to the teacher talk. Antia (2017) evidenced that siding helps to scaffold incomprehension of teaching content and that siding acts as a bridging discourse between lived experiences and academic knowledge. The current study contributes to our knowledge of the topics students engage in during side conversations. Table 5.4 shows that a total of 102 students participate in siding to varying degrees about general academic matters, while only three students indicated that they 'never' engage in siding while the lecturer is teaching. The highest number of students indicated that they 'never' engage in siding *on personal matters* while a lecturer is teaching.

In this way, the study confirms Koole's (2007) argument that siding topics show an orientation to the teaching topic, Lemke's (1990) postulation that students talk to other students about the lesson in progress, and Antia's (2017) notion that siding has pedagogical value in view of the fact that students predominantly indicated *academic matters* as siding topics, while few students indicated that they engage in siding that is convivial in nature. However, lecturers do not always agree with the views of these scholars, as indicated in Table 5.14.

The current study shows (Table 5.14) that lecturers view siding as an unofficial classroom discourse as postulated by Koole (2007) and Lemke (1990). The data showed (table 5.15) that the participating lecturers did not mind whether students used or did not use *notes* and *paralanguage*, but making or answering a *call* during a lecture was out of the question. *Talking* was further seen as a sign of disrespect from the lecturers' perspective. In the opinion of participating lecturers, students were not discussing work and they could not multitask, meaning they could not be listening and doing something else. Lecturers further indicated that

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students had language barriers and could not understand or follow the lesson, therefore they engaged in siding on topics unrelated to academia.

The data (table 5. 14/15/16) confirms that lecturers view siding as an act that is against the rules of the class. In lecture halls, students are allowed to use their mobile phones, and thus the mobile phone has become part of the siding phenomenon. Many researchers found that mobile phones are a distraction to students and lecturers (Burns & Lohenry, 2010; Froese, Carpenter, Inman, Schooley, Barnes, Brecht & Chacon, 2012; Duncan, Hoekstra & Wilcox, 2012; Wei, Wang & Klausner, 2012; Olufadi, 2015). A South African study by Fernandez (2018) presented data which evidenced that in the perception of students, they are not acting against the rules of the class when they use their phones during class. Students also noted that they can listen to the lecture and use their phones simultaneously. The notion that students can listen to a lecture and use their phones is corroborated by studies which relate to the behavioural patterns of millennials. These studies indicate that millennials need multiple sources of stimulation and prefer to multitask (McGlynn, 2005; Robinson & Stubberud, 2012; Sweeney, 2006). Thus, although lecturers view siding as against the rules of the class, the above-mentioned studies evidenced that millennials are able and prefer to multitask; however the study could not establish to what degree students with language deficits in the language of learning and teaching are able to multitask.

Furthermore, students not participating in siding activities did not see siding as an activity that is against the rules of the class as demonstrated in Table 5.13/14/15, thus confirming the findings of Fernandez (2018) and Sweeney (2006). The majority of the students did not mind when fellow students engaged in siding and would mostly never ask fellow students to be quiet when they did engage in

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siding. *Table 5.12* further indicates that most students would not join other students in siding and most thought it was disrespectful to do so while a lecturer was lecturing. So, as shown in the current study, lecturers and students have opposing views with regard to siding (including the use of the mobile phone) and the study confirms Lemke's (1990) and Koole's (2007) argument that most teachers view siding as against the rules of the class. The next section reports on the use of paralanguage as employed during siding.

Valuable contributions were made to the study of gesture, gaze in relation to speech and context by Kendon (2004), Goffman (1981), and others before the development of the concept of multimodality to illuminate the connections between the different means of meaning making. Stivers and Sidnell (2005), Heath and Luff (2007) and Modada (2013) demonstrated the 'co-speech representational package' which does not have hierarchal combination patterns and does not indicate the dominance of the spoken language through the looking glass of multimodality (Ensfield, 2004). Thus, the study of the co-representational package is not absent in research, but absent in research on siding as a classroom discourse. Antia (2017) confirmed that verbal and non-verbal combinations of the speech representational package are used during siding. The current study confirms Antia's (2017) research in view of the fact that Table 4.7 demonstrates that paralanguage items (seen as the media of paralanguage) are important during siding, extending our current knowledge of paralanguage by showing the preferred media of use during siding. Nodding the head and facial expressions were reported as the most important paralanguage media used during siding, while a wink and rolling the eyes were seen as the least important. The next section gives a summary of findings discussed in chapter four.

5.15 Summary

The chapter displayed and discussed the quantitative data as follows: In the first section, the general data of participating students was considered, then data pertaining to the frequency of siding was presented and scrutinised; next the students' motivations for siding while a lecturer is lecturing were displayed; thereafter the topics of siding while a lecturer is teaching were explored; then the media used during siding were demonstrated. The section that followed reviewed physical and relational closeness/distance as it related to the media used during siding, and lastly lecturers and non-participating students' attitudes towards siding students were shown. The chapter was concluded with a discussion on relevant literature. The main findings in this chapter is:

- Antia (2017) showed that students at UWC side in English and in isiXhosa. The current study showed that the scope of language combinations students side in, is much broader than Antia's (2017) study indicated. Table 5.5 suggest that a total of 27 respondents speak up to 5 different languages. Table 5.5 further suggest that the language most spoken during siding is English, and the language least used is Venda.

- Students indicated, in the raw data, that they cannot always write in the languages they side in. This indicates that only certain features of a language are used, depending on the conditions under which it is used.

- *General frequency of siding:* Only five of 105 students indicated that they 'never' engage in siding during lectures. Thus, table 5.2 suggest that many students engage in siding to a high degree.

- *Frequency of siding in relation to gender:* Rampton (2006), Guba and Lincoln (1994) and others showed gender related patterns during classroom interactions, but not in relation to siding activities while a lecturer is teaching. The current study shows that female students engage in siding to a greater degree than their male counterparts as indicated in table 5.2.

- *Frequency of siding in relation to faculty:* Table 5.2 suggest that there is no significant difference in the siding practices of students from the Faculty of Arts and Science.

- *Frequency in relation to mode:* Table 5.6 suggest that English is predominantly used through the medium of speech. Besides English, isiXhosa, isiZulu than Afrikaans (in this order) was chosen by students to engage in siding through the medium of speech. Table 5.6 further suggest that English was the language most frequently used for text messages.

- *Frequency in relation to medium:* Table 5.6 suggest that the mediums most frequently used, was talking and texting.

- *Relational proximity:* Table 5.10 suggests that relational proximity influences the siding phenomenon in view of the fact that students indicated that they are more likely to engage in siding with close friends through the medium of paralanguage and texting (table 5.11).

- *Spatial proximity:* Table 5.9 suggest that the spatial proximity is influences the siding medium. Students indicated that they talk to someone sitting next to them (75%), but writing a note was also do-able (45%). Students sitting further away from each other indicated that they use paralanguage (51%).

- *Motivations for siding:* Table 5.3 suggests that students do engage in siding for academic reasons (88.25%), however 93% indicated that they would side if they were uninterested in the topic.

- *Topics of siding:* Table 5.4 indicate that students do side on academic matters (104 – raw score), they also engage in small talk on academic matters (71 – raw score).

- *Lecturers view of siding:* Table 5.13 suggests that most (8 – raw score) lecturers have observed students siding and a suggested by table 5.14, have a negative attitude towards siding students and furthermore (table 5.15) suggest that most see talking and calling someone during a lecture

as disrespectful, but do not mind when students communicate through paralanguage.

- *Non-participants view of siding:* Table 5.12 suggest that students did not mind when fellow students engaged in siding, but would not join fellow students who engaged in siding.

The next chapter expands the quantitative data which was collected on siding activities. The ethnography of speaking was used as an analytical tool to show the patterns of communication during siding and was complemented by multimodality where applicable.

Chapter Six

Presentation of qualitative data

Siding, an under-researched phenomenon, occurs parallel to teacher talk and includes features of different languages. To communicate effectively in a community, people need information about the linguistic and sociolinguistic rules for communication, together with information about the rules that govern interactions in that specific community. Thus, communication is mediated by cultural rules and knowledge that function in a specific context, and is a shared understanding of what specific hand signals, gestures, facial expressions, words and sounds mean. The current study used the ethnography of communication and multimodality as an analytical frame, as it allowed for an in-depth systematic probing of classroom discourses.

Chapter five reports on qualitative data pertaining to lectures, and siding events which occurred while the lectures were in progress, to answer the following research *objectives*: 1. To establish what factors *shape* the occurrence of siding; 2. To find out which semiotic resources are employed during siding; 3. To ascertain what factors determine the choice of semiotic resources; 4. To determine what functions siding have in the experience of participants; and 5. To find out why siding has to take on these functions.

The chapter is divided into four sections, and each section answers all the above research objectives in a unique way. Data was collected through diary entries, interviews and classroom observation. Artefacts were collected (mostly as diary entries) and are indicated to the reader in specific sections. Siding does not occur in a vacuum, as this chapter shows. Many siding events take a particular form and function as a result of a particular lecturing style, thus a description of lectures is included in the presentation of data.

6. 0 Introduction

The chapter is structured as follows: Section 6.1 is a description (by two students) of a lecture in the Faculty of Natural Science, and two 'translanguaged siding' events that occurred during that particular lesson. This particular combination of lecturer talk and siding events (Section 6.1) was selected in view of the fact that the lecture was in English and the students engaged in siding in a mixture of isiXhosa and English. Section 6.2 describes a lecture and siding combination in the Faculty of Natural Science and includes screenshots. The data was selected for presentation as the lecture was based on a social constructivist learning theory, and the accompanying siding occurred through the medium of text speak (texting via mobile) in Afrikaans. Section 6.1 and Section 6.2 present data which relates to all the above-mentioned research objectives. The relevant literature is discussed in Section 6.5. Section 6.1 and 6.2 relate to Antia's (2017) 'translanguaged siding', and can be defined as the use of a combination of languages and paralanguage during a social practice for social action as an agentive resource for getting things done, while a teacher is teaching in a different language.

Section 6.3 is a description of a lecture and siding combination from the researcher's perspective of class observations in the Faculty of Arts. The lecture and siding events are discussed as a unit as the siding is not multilingual in nature and includes data on siding which occurs through paralanguage. Likewise, *Section 6.4* as a unit answers *all* the mentioned research questions in a unique way.

Section 6.4 is a description of a lecture and siding combination and was selected as the lecturing style represented radical behaviourism, while the siding event shows the form siding takes when students could face admonishment if caught siding. Similarly, *all* research objectives are addressed. Only the data is presented in Sections 6.1 to 6.4; the discussion follows in the discussion section.

6.1 'Translanguaged siding' in isiXhosa

6.1.1 The lecture: a monotonous monologue

The data for the following lecture was collected through a face-to-face interview with two students who co-constructed the lecture as they experienced it. Questions for the interview are in Chapter Four (Section 4.7.1, Table 4.4). The lecturing style *shaped* the siding events which occurred while the lecture was in progress.

<u>Summary of the lecture</u>

> The lecture was presented in the Faculty of Natural Science for students in their first year. The students (approximately 120 -150) were from different ethnic groups, and spoke multiple languages among themselves, while the lecturer delivered the lecture in English (as stated by students). The lecturer was lecturing and the students only had to listen and take notes, as the lecturer seldom asked questions, and the students never asked questions. The lecturer just '*talked and talked*'. Even when students talked among themselves, he did not comment on it, he just '*talked and talked*'. It seemed as if he was not interested in the students. No technologies were used. The lecturer just '*talked and talked*', moving from one concept to the next.

The narrative describes a lecture from the perspective of the two participating students. The semiotic resources used, were talking. The two students confirmed that they believe talking to each other is against the rules of the class; they talked among themselves, and were not reprimanded. The lecture was delivered in English, and the home language of the two participating students was isiXhosa. The students were not presented with any aids, possibly pictures via a PowerPoint presentation, to help them construct knowledge. Students were never asked questions to consolidate the knowledge presented to them. Thus, the two students who were interviewed were expected to construct abstract knowledge in a

language (English) that was not their mother tongue through a monotonic medium. Students stated that it was difficult to keep listening to a monotonic tone, in a second language, as their attention kept wandering. In this way, the lecturing style and the LoLT helped to shape the occurrence of the siding events that followed.

The next section presents two 'translanguaged siding' events between two students. The two student participants reconstructed the siding event as it occurred.

6.1.2 Murmured conversations in isiXhosa

In view of the fact that siding occurred between the same two students, during the same lecture, the s-p-e-a-k-i-n-g model (represented as a mnemonic) was followed; however the ends and acts are doubled to accommodate Extract 6.1 and 6.2 not to duplicate the same information.

Extract 6.1 and 6.2 are from two BSc first-year students from the Faculty of Natural Science who were attending a lecture required for their course. From the interview data, students indicated that they did not always understand the concepts the lecturer was explaining, as the English used at school was different from the English used at university in view of the fact that the vocabulary used is more complicated. Extract 6.1 and 6.2 are reconstructions of whispered conversations between the two students and are accompanied by an English translation.

Extract 6.1: Siding in my mother tongue for comprehension

(IsiXhosa)

               Student C: Uthi usandukuthini?

               Student F: Andiyazi

               Student C: Ndathemba akukhonto ibhaliweyo

<u>Translation</u>

               (English)

               Student C: What did he just say?

               Student F: I don't know

               Student C: I hope there're notes

Extract 6.2: Murmuring my disagreement

(isiXhosa)

               Student C: Andiqondi ukuba lento ayithethayo

                     inyanisile

               Student F: Ayivakali kakuhle

               Student C: Kuthetha ukuthini uba globalization?

<u>Translation</u> (English)

                 Student C: I don't think what he said is right

                 Student F: It doesn't sound right

                 Student C: What does globalisation mean then?

These two students stated that they speak a 'broken English', and always try to confirm with each other that their interpretation is correct. The next section follows the *s-p-e a-k-i-n-g model* to analyse the siding event.

S-P-E-A-K-I-N-G model

Situation: Two first-year students were sitting next to each other in a lecture in the Faculty of Natural Science, listening to a lecturer speaking, thus they could not have a loud conversation. The physical distance (seating) and the context (a lecture) *determined* the semiotic choice, as students *had* to whisper, and *were* close enough to whisper.

Participants: The two students have been friends for years, as they attended the same high school. They know each other well enough to whisper in each other's ears. As they went to the same school, they have more or less the same knowledge (as indicated by students during the interview); thus when the lecturer provided a definition, the students shared a knowing look and disagreed with the lecturer, but to each other as indicated in Extract 6.2. Thus, the relational closeness helped to shape the siding event, and was further a determining factor in the choice of semiotic resource.

Ends

<u>*Speech event one (Extract 6.1)*</u>

Student C did not understand a point the lecturer had made and asked his fellow student if he knew. The purpose of the siding was to get a definition from a friend. Siding has to take this *function* as students were listening to a lecture in a language not their mother tongue.

<u>*Speech event two (Extract 6.2)*</u>

The speech act occurred as the students did not agree with a point the lecturer had made. The goal of the siding (disagreeing with the lecturer, but telling it to a friend instead) was reached. The lecturing style was a *determining factor* as the lecturer did not encourage students to ask questions or to question. Also,

the students' English language ability, as well as perceived class rules, was a *determining factor* for the choice of semiotic resource.

Act sequence
<u>*Speech event*</u>
<u>*Episode one (Extract 6.1)*</u>
The speech event was in isiXhosa about a science definition which the students did not understand. The act had a sequential sender and receiver order:

[Paralanguage: Student C leans to the side towards his friend]
Student C: Uthi usandukuthini? [What did he just say?]

Student C initiates the sequence by leaning to the side to ask a question. The axial orientation of student C announces to student F that student C wants to initiate a conversation. Student C did not understand the definition the lecturer had put forward, thus he asked his friend to paraphrase what the lecturer had said. The students indicated during the interview that the acoustics in the hall were good, but the problem was the complicated vocabulary the lecturer used.

Student F: Andiyazi [I don't know] {Paralanguage – shake of the head from side to side}

Student F indicated verbally and through paralanguage that he too did not understand. Thus, the function of the siding event was scaffolding a miscomprehension; however the communicative goal was not reached.

Student C: Ndathemba akukhonto ibhaliweyo [Student C: I hope there're notes]
{Paralanguage: Student C leans back to his original sitting position}

The statement from Student C requires no answer. As indicated by the word 'hope', students are not always given notes, as confirmed by the interview. The

speech event is ended when Student C changes his axial position to the normal sitting position.

Episode two (Extract 6.2)
The speech event was in isiXhosa, and the goal of the interaction was to disagree with a point the lecturer had made, but to a friend, and not to the lecturer.

{Paralanguage: A knowing look}
Student C: Andiqondi ukuba lento ayithethayo inyanisile [Student C: I don't think what he said is right]

The speech event is preceded by a *'knowing look'*. The students look at each other at the same time. For this to be possible, students must know each other very well (relational closeness). It is followed by a statement, but functions as a question. (As students reconstructed the event after the fact, the pitch and intonation could not be established.)

Student F: Ayivakali kakuhle   [Student F: It doesn't sound right]

In this utterance, Student F agrees that it is possibly not correct. By using the word *'sound'*, he is possibly not one hundred percent sure of being correct, as he could have said, 'It is correct.' In this instance the word 'sound' is inscribed with high modality (low certainty).

Student C: Kuthetha ukuthini uba globalization?   [English: What does globalisation mean?]

The utterance is a question that remains unanswered as the students are distracted by other students. Student C further asked Student F *'Kuthetha ukuthini uba globalization?'* or in English 'What does globalisation mean?' Both isiXhosa and English are used. When asked why the sentence included both

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isiXhosa and English, the students noted that isiXhosa does not have a word for globalisation, necessitating the English word. A cursory note here is that isiXhosa was never developed as an academic language (Deyi, 2013; Neethling, 2010). For this act, English and Afrikaans as well as paralanguage were used.

Key: The tone of the interactions is friendly with a serious undertone.

Instrumentalities: Both students have isiXhosa as their home language and English as their second language. They attended an English high school, but the teachers mostly spoke isiXhosa. As shown by Extract 6.1 and 6.2, students engaged in siding in isiXhosa. The mother tongue or home language of the siding students influences the mode in which the siding occurs. In Extract 6.1 the semiotic resources used are language, isiXhosa as well as paralanguage. The media used for paralanguage were the axial position and a head shake, and the medium for language was talking. In Extract 6.2 the semiotic resources used were language (isiXhosa and English through speaking) and paralanguage (a knowing look).

Norms: To make this conversation possible, both students had to be fluent in isiXhosa. They were both sitting in the same lecture listening to the same content. Hence, when Student C asked a question, Student F knew what he was talking about. Also, the students had experienced previous lectures where no notes were offered. The students posited that they sometimes translated the notes into their mother tongue, to have a better understanding of concepts they do not understand in English.

Genre: Lecture (Sub genre: Siding)

In this section, the factors that shaped the siding event are English as the LOLT, in view of the fact that the two students spoke isiXhosa as a home language and

miscomprehension occurred when the vocabulary of the lecturer was too high. The students were studying in their second language, thus although the terms were not new in the sense of 'new,' but in a different language. Furthermore, one of the definitions the lecturer gave was possibly incorrect. These factors provided a reason (ends) for students to engage in siding. The semiotic resources that were used (instrumentalities) were language (isiXhosa through talking) and paralanguage (axial position, a head shake and a knowing look). The determining factors for the use of the specific semiotic resources were the relational closeness and the physical closeness. In the experience of these two students, 'translanguaged siding' functions as a scaffolding tool for language deficits.

The next section briefly describes a lecture in the Faculty of Natural Science, then the Afrikaans 'translanguaged siding' which occurred during the lecture via a mobile phone, is presented. The data presented in this section was collected through an electronic diary kept by the participating student. The screenshot was the diary entry. This particular diary entry was followed up with multiple phone call interviews for a description of the lecture where the siding occurred as well as background information which pertains to the screenshot.

6.2 Translanguaged siding: Afrikaans texting
6.2.1 A multimodal lecture
Extract 6.3 depicts a lecture in the Faculty of Natural Science. As mentioned, the lecture is a reconstruction by the participating student.

Extract 6.3: A multimodal lecture

Summary of the lecture

The lecture was in the Faculty of Natural Science. There were approximately 120 students in the lecture hall. The students were all first years. A lecturer (approximately 50 something) was presenting a lesson with the aid of PowerPoint. Each slide was followed by a discussion, and students were asked to share their perceptions and understanding of concepts. He allowed students to raise their hands when they had a question. The lecturer also allowed fellow students to answer a question asked by a student. The students were mostly quietly writing or taking notes. The lecturer was serious, but interested in the students. The student described the atmosphere in the lecture as non-threating and exciting.

In the depicted lecture in Extract 6.3, the atmosphere was non-threatening, and the lecturer did not make any comments when students were messaging on mobile phones. The description of the lecture is from a student's perspective. The lecturer used PowerPoint and knowledge was consolidated through the asking and answering of questions. This particular lecturing style did not shape the siding event; however the non-threatening atmosphere played a determining role to make the siding event possible.

6.2.2 Translanguaged mobile siding

The student who participated in the study kept an electronic diary comprising mostly screenshots. The student was also interviewed for particulars regarding this specific speech event via mobile phone.

Translation:	English
Student E:	*Hi, what is an example of that chemical?*
Student D:	*Don't know*
Student E:	*Don't you have an Afrikaans book*
Student: D	*of this stuff?*
Student E:	*Where will I find Afrikaans notes?*
Student E:	*Will there be in the library?*
Student D:	*Don't know*

Figure 6.1: Mobile siding in Afrikaans text speak

Two first-year students are engaged in 'translanguaged siding' regarding a chemical while listening to a lecture in the Faculty of Natural Science. They are both new to the university, and Student E hopes to find notes on chemicals in Afrikaans. The next section looks at the siding event using the s-p-e-a-k-i-n-g model.

S-P-E-A-K-I-N-G model

Situation: The two siding students were in a lecture hall in the Faculty of Natural Science with approximately 120 other students. They were sitting a few rows from each other, and could not have a face-to-face interaction. In this way the physical distance *determined* the semiotic resource.

Participants: The students engaged in the siding event were first-year female students. These two students were very close friends at school, but Student D has

shown that she is not as interested in continuing the friendship. Nevertheless, they know each other well, and have each other's numbers. Thus, the relational closeness was a *determining factor* in the choice of semiotic resource.

Ends: The purpose of the interaction was to enquire about an example of a chemical the lecturer was talking about, and further to enquire about Afrikaans notes. For Student E, this siding event was intended (*functions*) as an endeavour to acquire knowledge and information.

Act: The messages were written in Afrikaans texting language with the use of an English word. Both students spoke Afrikaans as a home language and Student E did not quite grasp the content the lecturer was teaching in English. Student E wanted an example of a chemical, and wanted to know if notes were available in Afrikaans. Student D contributed very little to the conversation. Student E initiates the communication with the first turn as follows:

Student E: Hi wt is di voorbeeld vn chemical
English: Hi, what is an example of that chemical?

The very informal 'Hi' is used to initiate the communication, but is still considered a greeting. No punctuation is used, which further indicates that the conversation is informal. Furthermore, text speak is used, which sees Afrikaans words abbreviated in a particular way as if the speaker is speaking and not writing (later discussed in Section 6.5). The English word 'chemical' is used. The word is fully written out, although the student could have used phonetic language. This could be indicative of the hegemony of English as the formal superior language that should be written in this way. The student later confirmed that she writes words in full when writing in English, as there is always a spell checker available in English. The message is a question, but the question mark is omitted. Turn two is very short:

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Student D: 'X witi'
English: 'Don't know'

The second turn is initiated without a greeting, and with simple short words. The tone is uninterested and unfriendly. The words might mean, 'How should I know?' or 'Why are you asking me?' or even 'Don't bother me!' Student E persists, seemingly not bothered by the tone in the message. During the interview, Student E intimated that Student D did not want to be friends any longer. The researcher thus deduces that Student D is giving Student E the symbolic 'cold shoulder'. The third turn is as follows:

Student E: 'Ht jy ni n AFR boek ni'
English: Don't you have an Afrikaans textbook?

Student E symbolically bulldozes on, even when she knows the conversation is one-sided. She asks her 'friend' if she has an Afrikaans textbook. Text speak with no punctuation is used. No explanation is needed as they are both in the same class. In the interview, Student E alluded to the fact that Student D had kept some of her Grade 12 textbooks. The two students thus had a common understanding of what was implied in the message beyond text level. The reply was as follows:

Student D: 'Vn die goed'
English: [Some] of these things

The fourth turn is also a question in Afrikaans text speak without punctuation. Student D is enquiring if her 'friend' is looking for a Grade 12 textbook on the concepts being taught.

Student E: 'Wr gn x dt kry?'
English: 'Where will I find it'

The 'it' in the fifth turn refers to the textbook. Student E's question was not answered in the fourth turn; however she assumed that the answer was 'no', as she indicated in the interview. Without waiting for her friend to reply, she takes the next turn:

Student E: 'Sl di bib ht'
English: Will the library have?

The sixth turn was again in the form of a question, without the use of a question mark. The student messaged that she thought the library might have Grade 12 textbooks. The last turn (seven) follows quickly:

Student D: 'X witi'
English: 'Don't know'

The seventh turn is a repetition of the second turn and encapsulates the tone of the interaction. As none of the questions were answered, the goals of the communication were not reached.

Key: The language used in the messages is called text speak, which is a very informal form of writing. Student D was not eager to engage in chatting and shows signs that she is not interested in the conversation. By answering, 'I don't know,' (this was her answer on two occasions) she shows her lack of interest in the siding event and in the person who is sending the message. In this way, an unfriendly tone is created.

Instrumentalities: The semiotic resources used were Afrikaans and English through the medium of writing, using a mobile phone.

Norms: Although the tone in the message was unfriendly, Student D still answers. By answering, she demonstrates habitus (the way things are always done). The students were close friends, and close friends answer each other's messages.

Genre: Lecture (Sub – genre: siding)

In the section above, the LoLT and the non-threatening atmosphere created by the lecturer were determining factors that shaped the occurrence of the 'translanguaged siding'. The student wanted to know an example of a chemical in a language different from the LoLT. The semiotic resource employed for this siding event was Afrikaans and English through the medium of writing with the mobile phone. The choice of semiotic resource can be attributed to the fact that the two students were previously close friends, as the conversation was in text speak in Afrikaans. Thus, the relational closeness shaped the siding event and determined the semiotic resources. Furthermore, these students were sitting a few rows from each other and could not have a whispered conversation. Thus, relational closeness as well as the physical proximity determined the semiotic resource the students used to communicate. The function of the siding event for Student E was to corroborate information with a friend in a language other than English and to enquire about notes for these particular concepts. Thus, for Student E, this siding is viewed as a tool to clarify concepts. Relevant literature for Section 6.2, which includes multilingualism and texting, is discussed in Section 6.5.

Section 6.3 describes a lecture in the Faculty of Arts as observed by the researcher. The lecture was video-recorded and provided an opportunity to study the siding events as they occurred. Section 6.3 presents five different siding events that include siding with a mobile phone and paralanguage as an independent and dependent siding tool.

6.3 Classroom observation

The following data was collected through class observation and is thus from the perspective of the researcher.

6.3.1 A well rounded lecture

This section shortly describes the lecture to situate the informal siding events which are discussed in Sections 6.3.2 to 6.3.7. Figure 6.2 depicts honours students seated around a table in a formal lecture.

Figure 6.2: Students seated around a table for a lecture

Description of a lecture as observed by the researcher

The lecture took place in the Faculty of Arts. The room was small. The participants in the event consisted of ten students and two lecturers. The lecturers were in their late 30s and, as observed, a lot of effort went into preparing the lecture. The language of learning and teaching was English. The lecturer responsible for the teaching component was experienced and enjoyed teaching the class. The students were definitely invested in their own learning and enjoyed the class. The lecturer explained a concept; he would then give examples drawn from his own experience. The students then asked questions or gave examples from their own experiences. A PowerPoint and

examples on a phone were the semiotic resources used. Notes were handed
out before the class started.

The teaching style resonates with the social construction of knowledge as students
were given opportunities to co-construct knowledge. The lecture was filled with
excitement, and a practical activity was introduced in the second part of the
lecture, when the students' attention was wavering. As the lecturers required
active participation from students, it shaped some of the siding events as
demonstrated in the siding events that took the form of paralanguaging
exclusively; however Student A was the exception (Figure 6.3). Thus, the size of
the student component and the lecturing style *shaped* some of the siding events
and *determined* the choice of semiotic resources.

Section 6.3.2 discusses siding events Student A participated in with the mobile
phone. The data for Sections 6.3.2, 6.3.3 and 6.3.4 was collected through
classroom observations which were video-recorded. The data was then
complemented by telephonic interviews with students. Furthermore, student A
provided the researcher with screenshots of observed siding events.

6.3.2 Academic mobile siding

Communication is one of the primary means of socialising and identity
construction. Shifts in the way people, especially younger people, communicate
and access information in contemporary society have reshaped the
communication landscape over the last three decades. The advent of technological
devices is considered the foremost catalyst in changing the communication
landscape. Kress (2003) posited that we are moving towards visual representation
as opposed to language as the primary mode of communication. When we look at
the navigational interface of smartphones, we see that writing is displaced as the
only form of communication. The advent of the mobile phone, that can take

pictures, make videos, send messages and so on, impacts communication in view of the fact that the mentioned media are always available and easy to use.
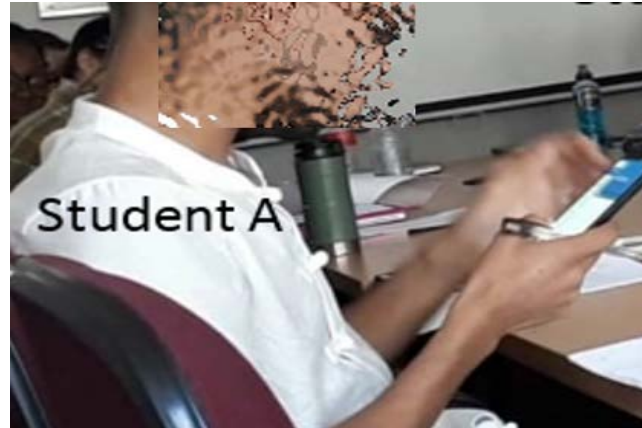
Figure 6.3: Student A: Siding away while the lecturer is teaching

Student A (Figure 6.3) was the most notable student participant in the lecture. He asked interesting questions, did not hesitate to ask follow-up questions, and voiced his opinion to the class whether he agreed or disagreed with the topic under discussion. He was present in class, yet he had an online presence while the class was in progress. He never engaged in siding with the student next to him. However, between listening, and asking and answering questions, he was constantly on his phone. He was very open about using his phone during the lecture. The lecturers never reprimanded him, thus Student A's siding was not viewed to be against the perceived rules of the class. The factors that shaped siding events were the perceived rules of the class and the non-threatening atmosphere. In a later telephonic interview with the researcher, he disclosed the following conversation among many others as shown in Figure 6.4. The section after Figure 6.4 describes the siding event through the s-p-e-a-k-i-n-g model.

Figure 6.4: Siding with a friend in a different class

S-P-E-A-K-I-N-G model

Setting: Student A is listening to a lecture, and student X (the sender of the message) is in a completely different class. The sender and receiver of the messages are thus spatially removed and communication has to take the form of a WhatsApp message.

Participants: The siding event occurs between Student A and Student X. They share a close relationship and are the same age.

Ends: The speech act occurred when Student X wanted to know the meaning of the word 'fratricide'. The objective of the speech act is information and to negotiate knowledge. Thus, the aim is to obtain the meaning of the word 'fratricide'. Student X achieved her objective.

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Acts: The sender (Student X) starts the interaction and greets shortly: 'hey' with no full stops, and asks her question. Not using any full stops is an indication that the conversation is casual in nature (Lyddy, Hanney, Farrell & Kelly O'Neill, 2014). Student A, who is the receiver of the message, answers her question, but follows the answer with:

'I'm in class.'
'Good afternoon.'

Student A is the receiver of the message and has the responsibility of answering the message. The recipient of the message has the most power, as he can choose to answer or not answer the message. However, Student X expects him to answer the message or the researcher could infer that she is demanding an answer. Thus, Student X is greeted, after answering her question, but reminds her that he is busy. The *'good afternoon'* is also a reminder that the sender should have waited for a response greeting before asking her question. She makes a quick apology and proceeds to ask him for a synonym. Both Student A and X are English home language speakers. The message is written in Standard English and no text speak is used. The receiver of the message can also be seen as the more knowledgeable other, who knows these complicated words. He is someone that friends contact when they need information. In this way, the receiver of the message has more power, since he is the one with the information. Student X is very informal (she uses no punctuation), while Student A retains his formal form of writing. He uses punctuation and writes in full sentences, which is an indication of a more formal attitude towards the conversation (Lyddy et al., 2014). He gives her a synonym, and the conversations ends. There was no sequential order, and the underlying belief was that he had to answer the question. The turn taking is irregular as the receiver of the first message takes three turns before the sender of the first message gets a turn to 'speak'. The communication is socially appropriate with undertones of conviviality, and from Student A's perspective, it is the norm for

these two participants to have these types of interactions. It is also noted that the WhatsApp application allows for multiple modes of communication which include symbolic signs; however writing was the only medium used.

Key: The tone of the interaction is friendly, with undercurrents of sarcasm as can be inferred by the 'good afternoon', meaning 'you did not even greet me'. The *tone* of the message is casual or informal.

Instrumentalities: The two interlocutors were not in the same space, therefore the available semiotic resources were speaking and writing via a mobile phone. The participants chose to write messages.

Norms: Both interlocutors had to be fluent in English to ask and answer questions. A greeting was expected before any questions were asked as indicated by student A. The conversation is informal, thus to have this conversation required the participants to be close friends, as was confirmed in the interview after the lecture. Rules that usually govern these students' acts are that you greet before you ask for something and you do not disturb fellow students when they are in class (as per the student).

Genre: Lecture (sub-genre siding)

In the section above, the factor that *shaped* this siding event is the relational closeness of the interlocutors. They are friends who have each other's numbers. The lecturing style did not *shape* the siding actions of the student; however, the lecturers' non-threatening attitude *shaped* the occurrence of siding. The researcher can also speculate that the student possibly lives by his own rules. The physical distance of the interlocutors *determined* the semiotic resource in view of the fact that they were physically in different places and thus had to communicate through the medium of texting. Student X wanted a synonym for a word and she approached a friend whom she considers a more knowledgeable other. The role

of siding in this interaction was thus to construct knowledge. As noted by Student A, friends asking him questions regarding academic matters is a common phenomenon. In this way, the siding *functions* as a way of acquiring academic information. It also gives the student listening to the lecturer a brief moment to disengage from the lecturer to keep connected with friends.

The next section (Section 6.3.3) presents siding that is phatic in nature and includes paralanguage through the medium of emoticons.

6.3.3 Convivial mobile siding

The second event Student A participated in, was with a non-student (Participant Y) outside of campus as depicted in Figure 6.5.

Figure 6.5: Convivial siding for an unopened bottle of perfume

S-P-E-A-K-I-N-G model

Situation: The sender (Participant Y) and the receiver (Student A) are at different locations, thus spatially far removed. Student A is in class, actively listening to a lecture. The sender of the message is at work. Hence, they are unable to have a face-to-face conversation. The sender and the receiver are using WhatsApp as a medium for communication. The communication is initiated by Participant Y who needs an unopened bottle of perfume.

Participants: The sender of the message is an old friend of Student A *(Figure 5.3)* that opted to go work after both friends finished Grade 12. Relationally they are close, and have been since their school years. They are from the same area and frequently socialise.

Ends: The communication is initiated by Participant Y who needs an unopened bottle of perfume. As per a later interview, Participant Y had to gift someone, but forgot to buy something. She knew that Student A had multiple perfumes and wanted an unopened bottle of perfume to give as a gift. Student A answered that he did not have an unopened bottle, and in this way achieved the *goal* of the interaction.

Act: Participant Y sent five voice notes to Student A, which he didn't answer. The first voice note was sent 20 minutes before the second set of four voice notes. The sender of the messages (Participant Y) possibly became impatient as the function she had to attend was after work. Then a message followed that was deleted by the sender. It was a scolding (information obtained through interview data) and was followed by:

'I'm in class!'

The response is more of a reprimand and ends with an exclamation mark. Student A indicates that he is in class and cannot listen to her voice notes. She responds by laughing or sending multiple laughing emoticons, which demonstrates their relational closeness, confirmed by Student A. She might feel that being in class is not an excuse for not answering. Student A has previously answered her voice notes even when he was in class. The messages that followed are typed in text speak. She is obviously in a hurry for the answer.

'Do u hv'

Standard English: Do you have…

The message is incomplete, in all probability sent in haste. The following message is complete:

'Do u hv closed perfume at home'

Standard English: Do you have closed perfume at home?

Student A answers 'No…' ending the conversation.

It is noted that there is a difference in the use of language. Student A does not use any abbreviated text speech in his messages, but understands her message. Thus, Student A uses Standard English and Participant Y uses text speak. Student A contributes very little to the conversation, and later discloses that he was a bit irritated.

Key: The conversation is informal and convivial in nature. The answer to Participant Y's first message sets the tone of the interaction. *'I'm in class!'* The response is more of a reprimand and ends with an exclamation mark. There is irritation inscribed in the message, and the perceived 'irritation' was confirmed by Student A. Thus, the tone of Student A's messages is one of irritation, as she is disturbing him in class. Participant Y's responses indicate that she is either not

aware of the sarcastic undertone, or she chooses to ignore it. Her tone is excited and light-hearted as can be inferred by the multiple laughing emojis. Student A noted that Participant Y has a light-hearted and frivolous nature, and does not take anything seriously. Thus, her general attitude towards life is inscribed in her use of semiotic resources available to her during siding.

Instrumentalities

Writing, speaking and emoticons/symbolic gestures were the three media available to the two participants, as they were spatially removed and were texting via mobile phone. All three semiotic resources were used at different intersections of the speech event. However, Student A was in class and could not send or listen to voice notes. The alternatives were writing and emoticons/symbolic gestures. Student A chose writing. Participant Y texted ten laughing emoticons (Figure 6.6) to emphasise her level of amusement when her friend told her he was in class. The emoticon is a symbolic gesture in online affinity. These gestures are highly conventional and lexicalised (Goodwin, 2003). Participant Y might be having a laughing fit. There are no words accompanying the message, since this sign has cultural meaning and can stand alone as demonstrated in Figure 6.6.

Figure 6.6: Paralanguage with emoticons as medium

Norms

Both participants were fluent in English and both were familiar with abbreviated text speech as well as the meaning of the paralanguage symbol used. An intimate relationship is needed for this kind of exchange. Letters such as 'u' and 'hv' have been resemiotised or repurposed to have a specific meaning in texting in English and in Afrikaans. As was the case with 'X' meaning 'I' or '*ek*' in Afrikaans (Dyers, 2013). Turn taking was a rule of engagement; however the two interlocutors had

different sets of personal rules when it came to speech events in online affinity. Participant Y expected an immediate response and demanded attention or a response even when the receiver of the message was in class listening to a lecture. However, Student A stated that he was in class, thereby meaning he did not want to be disturbed, but his phone was switched on and he was reading messages.

Genre: Lecture (sub-genre – siding)

In the above section, the siding was *shaped* by the fact that the interlocutors are close friends. The close friendship enabled Participant Y to ask her friend for an unopened bottle of perfume. The physical distance did not allow a face-to-face conversation and thus *determined* the choice of semiotic resource. Thus the semiotic resources employed were language (English) through the medium of text and text speak (writing), and paralanguage through the medium of emoticons. Participant Y was not in the co-presence of Student A, and thus could not ask him personally. So, for Participant Y, sending Student A an electronic message was a quick way of obtaining information. In this instance siding was used to obtain information regarding a personal matter. Although Student A was a bit irritated as he was in a lecture (Student A said this during the interview), he still answered the question. Thus, Student A might like the idea of temporarily being distracted from the lecture to connect with a friend. It was observed that the constant answering of messages did not distract him from the lesson in progress, as he was always one of the first students to ask or answer a question. From Student A's perspective, this particular siding event was appraised as a way of staying connected to friends.

The next section (Section 6.3.4) is the last of Student A's siding to be presented (there were more). As mentioned, the data for these sections was collected through classroom observations which were video-recorded. The data was then

complemented by telephonic interviews with Student A. The siding event includes writing and paralanguage.

6.3.4 Business mobile siding

In the third siding speech event, Student A was having a conversation with his business partner as indicated in Figure 6.7.

Figure 6. 7: Mobile business siding

S-P-E-A-K-I-N-G model

Situation: Three messages were sent while Student A was in class and his business partner at work.

Participants: Student A exchanges messages with his business partner. The business partner is not a student, and has a full-time job. He is male and in his late

20s. The business is a few months old, and the partners are constantly looking for new avenues to get more clients. The relationship between the two partners is formal in nature. The business partner is a respected person held in high regard by Student A. Thus, the business partner has a higher status than Student A, and is the person with the most authority in the business relationship.

Ends: The purpose of the siding was to confirm a business meeting.

Acts: The speech event's tone was serious in nature. It starts with a partially displayed message that is formal and suggests ways of getting more clients. The message was sent earlier that morning. Students A's first reply was, 'I hear you' and his second reply was two emoticons: one with a smiling face and another blushing face as indicated in *Figure 6.8*. The 'I hear you' means 'I understand and agree'. With the emoticons he means, 'I agree with what you say.'

Figure 6. 8: Emoticons inscribed with meaning

Student A replies and even corrects his own error. While he was in class, his partner replied to his message, as they had a meeting later that evening as seen in Figure 6.8.

The *'All good'* means *'Yes, we will meet at the same place.'*

Thus, the partners will meet at the same location as the previous Monday, a confirmation of the agreement of that morning. Student A answers with four thumbs-up emoticons/symbolic gestures as depicted in Figure 6.9.

Figure 6.9: Emoticons as symbolic gestures

The thumbs-up emoticon could be interpreted as '*I'll be there*' or '*It is okay with me*' or '*I agree*.' It is a common symbolic sign with cultural meaning inscribed and has conventional and lexicalised meaning. It is worth mentioning that the symbolic gesture, the thumbs-up sign, comes in multiple skin colours. It is the user's personal choice which colour symbol he/she uses as seen in *Figure 5.10*. The student indicated that he chose the colour since he identifies himself as a black male.
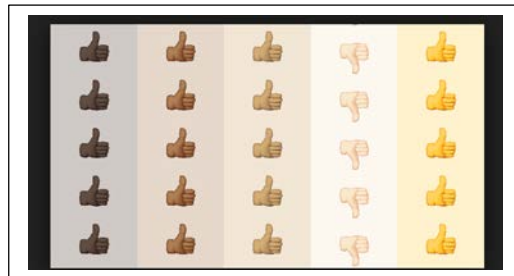
Figure 6.10: Emoticons as identity markers

Key: The interlocutors were having a serious conversation, thus the tone was serious.

Instrumentalities: The interlocutors were at a distance from each other. Therefore, the *semiotic resources* for communication were speaking, writing and emoticons via their mobile phones. The sender of the first message chose writing as the medium of communication, and the receiver of the message answered in writing. Student A could not call his partner to confirm, neither could he send a voice note as the lecturer was teaching. He opted for an emoticon which had a message inscribed in it.

Norms: The business partners' conversation was serious in nature. The conversation showed no signs of conviviality or small talk. It was a conversation about business and business only. He confirmed that his partner is a business acquaintance and not an intimate friend, therefore he felt it necessary to correct a mistake although the message was legible. He did not want to give the impression that he was incompetent and always acts professionally irrespective of the communication platform. From the student's perspective, people who make mistakes in messages are considered incompetent. Thus, making a mistake could be seen as an identity marker. For the message to be successful, the sender and receiver both needed knowledge of how to interpret the paralinguistic symbols. The '*I hear you*' has cultural knowledge inscribed into it. The literal meaning is '*I can year your voice,*' which was not the meaning of this message, but had to do with the lived experiences and precursor conversations for a mutual understanding of the meaning of the words. A rule for this interaction was also a mutual respect for opinions and ideas.

Genre: Lecture (sub-genre: siding)

In the above section, the siding is shaped by the fact that the business partners are spatially removed from each other. The two business partners must confirm the time and place for a face-to-face meeting. Thus, the message had to take the form of an electronic message with writing as the medium for language and emoticons as the medium for paralanguage, as opposed to other semiotic resources. This message is also shaped by the fact that the two partners are relationally distant. Thus, the message takes a very formal business-like tone. For this particular communication event, siding is used as a tool to communicate with someone that is not in close proximity.

The next section (Section 6.3.5) presents data from the observed lecture which pertains to the use of paralanguage as it was orchestrated by students using different paralanguage media and writing.

6.3.5 Paralanguaged siding through multiple media

Language will never be fully understood unless it is observed from a particular cultural perspective and fully accounts for the paralanguage elements which are observable during interaction. In this way, the nature of language is specific to a particular culture, and cultural knowledge is needed to fully participate in interactions. We have less control over paralanguage components which accompany speech, than we do over speech. Sometimes paralanguage spontaneously co-occurs while people are engaged in verbal communication acts. In the following section symbolic and deictic gestures are discussed.

Figure 6.11: Paralanguaged gestural orchestration

These three students in Figure 6.11 were sitting very close on the last chairs at the far end of small the boardroom. The student in the middle was sitting back in her chair to 'speak' to the student next to her. As mentioned, students were seated around the boardroom table. The two at the far end, sitting next to each other

engaged in communication without speaking. Their communication was non-verbal, enabling the researcher to observe the interaction. The following section depicts the communicative event through the s-p-e-a-k-i-n-g model.

S-P-E-A-K-I-N-G model

Situation: A lecture in the Arts Faculty

Participants: The two participants were both in class listening to a lecture. They were sitting in a corner and were visible to all the students and the lecturer. Student Q is very quiet and seems introverted, Student R voices her opinion, asks questions or will challenge the lecturer. Student R has the right not to be disturbed, but they have known each other since first year.

Ends: The purpose of the interaction is to confirm a date for an assignment.

Act: In Table 6.1, two students are sitting next to each other. The 'speech' event occurs in the following sequence.

Table 6.1: A silent conversation

Speech event			
	Move	Mode/form/signifier	Meaning/signified
1	Student Q writes a note on a notepad	Writing	Becomes clear later – scribbling a note to a friend
2	Student Q turns her body towards Student R	Axial orientation	I want to say something
	Student Q nudges Student R	Haptics (touch)	Look here
3	Student Q and Student R make eye contact Student Q nods her head – chin pointing toward the notepad	Eyes Head nodding with a pointing chin	Look at what I wrote
4	Student R looks at notepad	Gesture/eyes	Reading what is written

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		gesture/head nodding	
5	Student Q and Student R make eye contact	Gesture/eyes	I've read it
6	Student R nods her head	up and down	Yes

Student Q scribbles a note on her notepad which asked, 'Is the English assignment due on this date?' Student R replied, 'Yes.' The 'conversation' took place in silence.

Key: A tone of cooperation.

Instrumentalities: Since the students were sitting next to each other, the media available to them were speaking, writing a message or texting a message. Student Q choose to scribble a message on her notepad. The students confirmed that they thought it would be disrespectful to talk to each other while the lecturer was teaching, and preferred a method that was less visible and that would not disturb the teaching or their fellow students. The media used were writing, axial orientation, haptics, eye contact and head nodding, and pointing with a chin.

Norms: Both the students had experience of 'being students' and doing assignments. Both students knew what the note was about. Both knew that non-verbal actions were required for the interaction. Student Q knew that Student R does not like being talked to in class. Knowledge of what the nudge and the positive headshake meant was needed. Both students interpreted the paralanguage signs correctly. The students knew that the perceived classroom rules were applicable and adhered to the rules. The communication in this situation was culturally appropriate.

Genre: Lecture (sub-genre – paralinguuitic siding)

In this section, students were listening to the lecture and indicated that it would be disrespectful to speak to each other while the class was in progress. In this way the lecturing style (co-construction of knowledge) in progress and the perceived rules of the class shaped the occurrence of the siding event and determined the semiotic resource. The students were also social friends, but not close friends; thus student Q knew that Student R does not want to be talked to during class. Furthermore, siding could take this function as students were sitting next to each other. Thus, the seating, knowledge about the receiver of the message and knowledge about common classes enabled the use of particular semiotic resources. The resources used were writing, axial orientation, haptics, eyes, head nodding and pointing with a chin. For these two students, siding functioned to confirm a date for an assignment.

The next section (Section 6.3.6) presents more siding events from the lecture the researcher observed depicting silent conversations. Data was collected and video-taped, thus allowing for screen grabs of observed paralanguage siding phenomena.

6.3.6 'Paralanguages siding' through gestural media

As mentioned in the previous section, Student R is an extroverted student who actively participates in class discussions.

S-P-E-A-K-I-N-G model

Situation: Listening to a lecture.
Participants: Student R and students that were facing her on the opposite side of the table.
Ends: To show her disagreement with a point the lecturer has made.

Act: Student R was addressing a group of students sitting opposite her. The students who sat opposite her, had to interpret her paralinguistic sign, and needed

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knowledge of what the drawn-down mouth with the protruding bottom lip meant. The communication could be seen as appropriate, since none of the students challenged the lecturer during the lecture because he was the more knowledgeable other and they were all perceived as 'good students' by him. She pulled a face when disagreeing with the lecturer, but made a face to the students opposite her and not the lecturer as depicted in Figure 6.12.

Figure 6.12: A mouth signalling disagreement

Two of the students were looking at her, and nodded their heads in agreement. In this group she had a higher status than the students sitting opposite her. The act is described according to orchestration as indicated in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2: A grimace of disagreement

Speech Act		
Move	Mode/meaning/ signifier	Meaning/ signified
1 The lecturer disagrees with the student's viewpoint verbally	Speaking	He disagrees with what she said
2 The student grimaces	Gesture	Is that so
3 Two students who sit across from her nod their heads	Gesture/ Nodding Head	We agree

The student used non-verbal signs to demonstrate to her fellow students that she disagreed with the lecturer. She made a paralinguistic sign to the students opposite her that could be interpreted as *'Oh really!'* At this point she was disagreeing with something the lecturer has said, but did not say it to the lecturer. She later confirmed that she would never challenge a lecturer intentionally. The act was intended for the group of students sitting opposite her as opposed to the lecturer who was teaching.

Key: The tone in the interaction is serious.

Instrumentalities: She had multiple resources at her disposal, but chose the para-linguistic sign out of respect for the lecturer. Two of the students confirmed with a head nod that they agreed with her.

Norms: The general rule of not openly challenging a lecturer/and adhering to the perceived rules of the class is applicable. She rather showed her disagreement to the students sitting opposite her.
Genre: A lecture.

In the above section, the perceived rules of the class were a factor that *shaped* the siding event, in view of the fact that the student did not want to be disrespectful towards the lecturer (as pointed out by the student during a telephone conversation). Thus, the student did not want to verbalise her disagreement. The seating arrangement as well as the perceived rules of the class *determined* the choice of semiotic resources. The semiotic resources used were the following media for paralanguage; a grimace with a protruding bottom lip by student R, and a few nods from the students opposite her to demonstrate their disagreement. Siding takes the *function* of students temporally disconnecting from the lecturer, to jointly disagree with other students on a point the lecturer has made. This gesture establishes reciprocity with other students that contributes to the general atmosphere of co-operation during the lecture.

The next section (Section 6.4) is a brief description of the lecture, followed by a siding event against all odds. The student kept an electronic diary, and sent the message from the lecture. The mentioned screenshot was followed up with an interview call for a description of the lecture and participants as well as a screenshot of the planning as depicted in Figure 6.16.

6.4 On pins and needles

6.4.1 The pins and needles lecture

The siding event that occurred while the lesson was in progress is also presented.

> Lecturer to student ratio was 1:80/90. The students are in their second year, attending a lecture (Ethics) in the Arts faculty. The responsibility of the students was to sit still and listen, *and not to move*. The students were all sitting up straight, as they were instructed to do at the beginning of the class. The event was mainly a monologue, the lecturer was the addressor and the students the addressees. The topic was taught to quiet students

with the aid of a PowerPoint presentation. The lecturer would introduce a screen, and stay on it while she explained concepts on the screen; she would then move onto the next screen and follow the same pattern. However, she deviated from the pattern to scold students. If a student was caught talking, he/she would be asked a question and there would be consequences if they could not answer. The tone of the interaction was very serious, and at some points very sarcastic in nature. The class was governed by very strict rules: The lecturer speaks and the students sit very still. Students are not allowed to move while the lesson is in progress. Students are also not allowed to whisper or click their pens as per student's siding diary note (Figure 6.13).
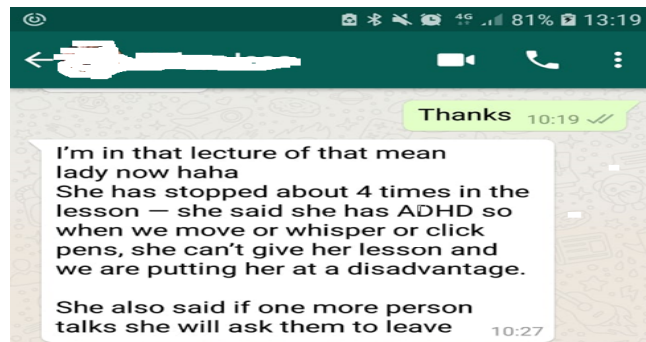
Figure 6.13: Sitting quietly: the obedient student

The lecturer explained to students that she has attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) and that students who move, click pens or whisper, place her at a disadvantage as she forgets what she wanted to say. When a student breaks a rule of the class, the lesson is stopped, and the student is reprimanded. To be part of this class, students have to adhere to the rules of this class.

6.4.2 Novel siding against all odds

This section describes the siding event that took place while the main lecture was in progress.

S-P-E-A-K-I-N-G model

Situation: A lecture.

Participants: Four female students are seated next to each other in the lecture hall listening to the main lecture. The four students are all English home language speakers.

Ends: The purpose of the siding event was to discuss an English group assignment.

Act: The act took the form of very passive movements when the lecturer was not looking. One student wrote what was needed for the project, she pretended to take notes and made regular eye contact with the lecturer (as indicated by the participating student). The book was then passed to the other three students when the lecturer was not watching. One of the students wrote comments with a green pen, while the other two confirmed their agreement with a nod (Figure 6.16). The act was not visible to the lecturer. The four students waited for the lecturer to turn away, before they passed the note.
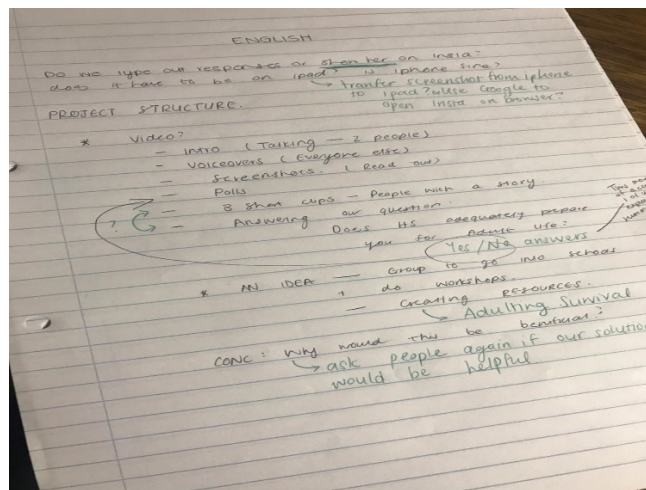
Figure 6.14: Planning an assignment against all odds

Key: The tone of the transactional talk was cooperative in nature.

Norms: The rules of engagement for the speech act was to communicate without detection.

Genre: Lecture

In the above section, the students' fear of the lecturer *shaped* the siding event and determined the semiotic resources to be used. The *semiotic resources* were writing and a passive nodding of the head. The *function* of siding in this instance was to get a discussion going against all odds regarding an assignment. The siding is appraised as an emergency procedure, as they had to do a presentation in another lecture.

This concludes the presentation of the data section. In the next section, relevant literature which relates to the presented data is discussed. The discussion follows the same pattern as the presented data. Section 6.1 and 6.2 are discussed first as they relate to translanguaged siding. Second, Section 6.3, which relates to siding with paralanguage, is discussed. Third, Section 6.4 depicting novel siding, is discussed. The last section gives a brief summary of Chapter six.

6.5 Discussion

The discussion is structured according to points of interests and does not necessarily follow the presentation of data layout. The discussion puts forward five points of interest which encapsulate the research questions. The first point of interest is multilingualism, as LoLT is the main determining factor that shapes 'translanguaged siding'. The second point of interest is the lecture and lecturing style which shape siding and determine the semiotic resources. The third point of interest is the use of semiotic resources. This section discusses the semiotic resources students employed during siding and 'translanguaged siding', as well

as the factors that determined the semiotic resources. A fourth point of interest was the siding events in Section 6.3 which pertain to general siding, and include mobile siding and paralanguaged siding. In the final section the study discusses the role of siding in the experience of participants and furnishes reasons for siding's having to take these functions. The study is then concluded with a summary of the chapter.

The first point of interest is 'translanguaged siding', which occurs parallel to the teacher talk. A cursory note here is that translanguaging was coined by Williams (1994), and siding by Lemke (1990). However, Antia (2017) was the first scholar to use 'translanguaged siding' as a unique concept to describe siding practices in classrooms that occur in a language different from the LoLT. The current study confirms Antia's (2017) study that the LoLT is the main determining factor that shapes 'translanguaged siding'. The next section elaborates on literature which pertains to UWC as the site of research, as the LoLT was the main determining factor that shaped 'translanguaged siding'. Then, multilingual literature relevant to the study is discussed.

An increasing number of higher education classrooms globally and locally use English as their LoLT (CHE, 2002:4). UWC published its language policy in 2003 as directed by the South African Language Policy for Higher Education (2002). In the UWC policy document, English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa are acknowledged as the three official languages of the university with clear direction for use in four areas: languages for assessment and learning, languages for teaching, languages for internal and external communication, and commitments for initiatives to promote academic literacy and language acquisition. Although the implementation of the policy was left to individual departments or faculties, English is used for assessments, lectures and tests. However, lecturers competent in alternative languages were encouraged to use these languages when the situation necessitates it. The policy also supports individuals and groups to lead

any relevant language initiatives of language diversification (Brock-Utne, Desai & Qoro, 2003; UWC, 2003; Stroud, 2007; Antia, 2015).

Thus, the LoLT is English, and many students enter higher education linguistically underprepared for challenges at university level. Roman and Dison (2016) posited that the underpreparedness of students for higher education includes the inability to speak, write and read fluently in the language of instruction (Jansen, 2003; Antia & Dyers, 2015; Antia, 2015; Morrow, 2015). Moscaritolo and Schreiber (2014) further postulated that students who are underprepared experience an articulation gap, in view of the fact that there is a huge disparity between the learning requirements of higher education and the content knowledge and language competencies of students entering higher education. The participating students (Section 6.1 and 6.2) proved that they were indeed linguistically underprepared for English for academic purposes and were experiencing an articulation gap as posited by Roman and Dison (2016) and Moscaritolo and Schreiber (2014). As evidenced by Banda (2007), switching to the mother tongue to explain concepts at high school level is a common phenomenon in South African schools. The two isiXhosa students confirmed that teachers code-switched to their learners' home language, to explain difficult concepts (Probyn, 2001; Banda, 2007). Thus, at school level difficult concepts were explained in the learners' mother tongue, even though the LoLT was English. Although the code switching practice at school level helped learners to understand difficult concepts, it contributes to their linguistic underpreparedness in higher education in view of the fact that the LoLT is English. Language diversification initiatives are employed to grant marginalised students from diverse language backgrounds amplified levels of participation; however these initiatives are not possible in overcrowded lecture halls (Banda, 2003; Arkoudis & Tran, 2010; Antia & Dyers; 2015; Antia, 2015;). Thus, while a lecture is in progress, students use siding (Lemke, 1990) or 'translanguaged siding' (Antia, 2017) as a means of scaffolding knowledge.

Hence, in the current study, all content during lectures was taught in English, and not all students understood the scientific concepts, seeing that the language of instruction was not their mother tongue. They were, however, allowed to engage in siding quietly, without reprimand from the lecturer as demonstrated in Section 6.1 and 6.2. The study has found that the main determinant for 'translanguaged siding', is the LoLT that is different from the students' home language. In Section 6.1, the two siding students speak isiXhosa as a home language, and in Section 6.2, the two students speak Afrikaans as a home language.

The siding event in Extract 6.1 occurred in isiXhosa and was directly related to the lecture in progress. The two students could hear the lecturer, but they did not understand the concept the lecturer was explaining, as English was not their mother tongue. The students later admitted that they translated course material, if notes were made available, and further noted that English for academic purposes was difficult.

The second siding event (Extract 6.2), was also in isiXhosa and was similarly related to the content of the lecture. These two students had attended the same high school, and were taught a different definition for the scientific concept the lecturer was explaining. Both students disagreed with the lecturer, but said it to each other instead of voicing their disagreement to the class. The last question in Extract 6.2, 'Kuthetha ukuthini uba globalization? [What does globalization mean?]' includes the English word 'globalisation'. Student A used the word globalisation as there is no isiXhosa equivalent for globalisation. The answer to this question was drawn-up shoulders (a shrug) – indicating 'I don't know'. The drawn-up shoulders are a symbolic gesture which accompanied the speech. The two students later admitted that it was too embarrassing to speak English in class, but when they spoke to a friend in class, at least they could speak in a language of their choice. Figure 6.1, the WhatsApp screenshot, further demonstrates the dilemma of students when the mother tongue is different from the language of

teaching. The student confirmed that she had more or less an idea of what the chemical was. However, she wanted an example in Afrikaans to clarify her own understanding, thus she asked a friend if she knew of an example, 'hi wt is di voorbeeld vn chemical' / 'Hello, What is the example of the chemical?' The text message was mostly text speak in Afrikaans, but the word 'chemical' was in English. Thus, the student was using her knowledge of text speak, Afrikaans, English and her skills in using a mobile application to scaffold her own knowledge. In this way, 'translanguaged siding' as evidenced by Antia (2017) is confirmed by the current study, as a hybrid space in which students scaffold their knowledge in a language of their choice.

The next section elaborates on components of multilingualism evident in Section 6.1 and 6.2.

Heller (2007) posited that language does not stay neatly in separate domains; on the contrary, traces of alternative languages constantly emerge in the speech of individual bilinguals. Thus, the use of language is not bound by time and space, but by use and users (Heller, 2007). Hudson (1996) and Makoni and Pennycook (2012) advanced that multilinguals in contemporary society employ all available features of multiple languages at their disposal to communicate in informal communication situations. Garcia (2009) and others postulated that multilingual individuals use their full linguistic repertoire, whether it is knowing a few words in another language or knowing a range of words in multiple languages, these language users are still practising translanguaging. The bits and pieces of language students know and use as an ensemble outside of educational context were termed 'crossing' by Rampton (1991) and languaging by Jørgensen (2010).

The current study contributes to the body of knowledge, particularly to Antia's (2017) 'translanguaged siding', as Section 6.1, 6.2 evidenced that students have multiple linguistic resources at their disposal that they use during informal

communication. The students, more so the student who sent the last text message (Figure 6.1), demonstrated that language is no longer a bounded static entity, but a dynamic situated unit which is always in flux. In this particular context, the students in Figure 6.1 used their full linguistic repertoire (Afrikaans, English and paralanguage) to find an alternative avenue to construct knowledge, particularly Student C (Figure 6.1). Thus, these students are multilinguals that employ whatever sets of languages or language features at their disposal during their siding interactions, which is evidence of translanguaging, crossing and languaging.

Hence, during informal siding interactions, students use their full linguistic repertoire, but during classroom interactions (as part of the formal lecture) they are only allowed to use English to accommodate all participants in the lecture. The students in Extract 6.1 and 6.2 both knew isiXhosa (they were sitting next to each other and whispered), and the students in Figure 6.1 both knew Afrikaans and specifically text speak (they were sitting at a distance from each other and sent messages via mobile phone). The students in Figure 6.1 used texting, demonstrating idiomatic practices since both multilingual talk and an electronic medium were present. The students in Figure 6.1 showed that they have the linguistic and cognitive skills to function in co-present coinciding communicative frames. The language they used (Figure 6.1) is a localised practice which is imbued with prevailing cultural knowledge. Hence, these texting students knew the linguistic signs prior to the production of the message in view of the fact that it makes no sense for speakers to invent signs that nobody understands.

Thus, Bakhtin (1934) and Fishman (1980) alluded that text (texting) has the potential for performance and has social, political and cultural knowledge inscribed into it. So, we see traces of Fishman's (1980) diglossia in the texting, given that a language variety and an alternative language (English) are present in the texting (Extract 6.2 and Figure 6.1). Furthermore, we see evidence of

heteroglossia which addresses the differences in registers or language varieties as well as the larger socio-political and socio-historical context. In this way, the language/s and language varieties these students speak, which include their accent, is an identity marker which illuminates class and culture (Pavlenco & Blackledge, 2004).

The two isiXhosa students are not completely fluent in the language of learning and teaching at UWC. They are from a disadvantaged area, and they are the first children of their respective families to attend university. These students also speak an accented English. The girls in Figure 6.1 speak an Afrikaans dialect called 'Kaaps' (a variety of Afrikaans spoken by coloureds from the Cape Flats), and live in a poor neighbourhood. The dialect spoken is associated with a low variety of Afrikaans. From Bourdieu's (1991) symbolic capital perspective, 'Kaaps' has a very low exchange rate on the South African linguistic market. During the interview process, all three students acknowledged that they did not ask the lecturer for an explanation or ask a question, as speaking English could potentially be embarrassing.

As posited by Gardner and McIntyre (1991), anxiety influences the rate at which a second or a third language is acquired. Hence, the fear of speaking in a stigmatised English resulted in students not asking questions in lectures. All three students were invested in their own learning and made efforts to acquire knowledge when they did not understand certain concepts because of language issues (Dulay, Krashen & Burt, 1982).

The current study extends our current knowledge of 'translanguaged siding' as a scaffolding tool for students who are linguistically underprepared for English as a LoLT. This would inform practice, specifically lecturers of first- and second-year students, of an alternative strategy students' should be allowed to use while a lecture is in progress.

A second point of interest is the lecture and the lecturing, as they are determining factors that shape siding and 'translanguaged siding'. Behaviourism, social and individual constructivism are expanded to describe how the lecture and the lecturing style influence the siding phenomenon.

The traditional classroom viewed the students' acquisition of knowledge as the passive passing of knowledge from a professionally trained person to a student. The students were therefore seen as empty vessels to be filled with knowledge (Stylianou, Kulinna & Naiman, 2016). In contemporary society, teachers are encouraged to identify strategies which encourage students to identify their own learning styles, find their own voices, and to scaffold their own knowledge to learn new concepts (Paris, Byrnes & Paris, 2001).

Students are thus slowly introduced to new materials, to enable the learning of new terms or concepts. As depicted in Section 6.1, the lecturer was presenting students with new knowledge; however from the students' perspective, he was just 'talking and talking'. He was not following the popular IRF model (initiation – response – feedback) to consolidate new information (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975). Furthermore, he did not use any visual aids to assist students to understand concepts, instead he just talked and talked.

As demonstrated in Section 6.1 and 6.2, students did not always grasp the concepts the lecturer was explaining, primarily because they were being taught in English. Furthermore, the concepts were never reinforced with questions to make sure students understood the concepts being presented to them.

The lecturer did not reprimand students when they whispered softly to each other, but students were too scared to really talk. Some aspects of behaviourism and individual constructivism are noticeable in this lesson. Piaget believed that social interaction was not a primary impetus for learning; he believed that acquiring

knowledge comes from the reflection and coordination of thought. Thus, the learning of new concepts is constructed by reorganising previous knowledge, and is not a reflection of the external world. For this lecture, there was evidence that some of the concepts were familiar when one of the students attending the lecture said he thought the definition of a concept was wrong, but he said it to a friend next to him, instead of to the class. There is little evidence that the lecturer was concerned whether the students understood the concepts that were explained to them or not. These were first-year students who were underprepared, particularly pertaining to language challenges at university level since they did not always understand what the lecturer was saying.

So, internalising concepts the lecturer was explaining, as posited by individual constructivism, would have been impossible. There were also some signs of behaviourism, since the students were seen as empty vessels that need to be filled with knowledge. The students were 'good' students who never asked questions or disagreed with the lecturer. It is further Piaget's belief that students own exploration is more important than teaching. In this way, the lecturer might be encouraging students to discover their own knowledge since he never admonished students for whispering softly among one another.

The lecturer (Section 6.1) was the more knowledgeable other, but was not scaffolding new concepts through the ZPD (zone of proximal development). The lesson cannot be associated with social constructivism; however, signs of collaboration (a component of social constructivism) among students are evident. According to Panitz (1996), collaboration is a way of working with others which respects differences in opinion, shared authority and a way of working with others that have the same goal. Thus, the students work in collaboration, demonstrating learner autonomy (Littlewood, 1999). Learner autonomy is 'the ability to take charge of learning' (Holec, 1981:3) or 'the capacity to take control of one's own learning' (Benson, 2001: 47). The lecture and lecturing style were determining

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factors in the siding that occurred in Section 6.1, as no teaching aids were used, and no attempt was made to consolidate students' knowledge. Thus, the 'translanguaged siding' was an attempt by students at collaboration. Therefore, with Antia's (2017) 'translanguaged siding', students demonstrated learner autonomy by using siding as a collaborative tool to further their own learning experience.

The lectures in Section 6.2 and 6.3 were similar. In Section 6.2, the atmosphere was non-threatening, and the lecturer did not make any comments when students were messaging on mobile phones. The lecturer used a PowerPoint presentation and knowledge was consolidated through the asking and answering of questions. In this way, the non-threatening atmosphere and the LoLT were determining factors that shaped the 'translanguaged siding' which occurred during the lesson.

The lecture and lecturers in the third example were different. In the lecture described in Section 6.3.1, the students were focused on the lesson and participated actively. A cursory note here is that all students were fluent in English, thus siding occurred, and not 'translangued siding'. Before the class started, students were presented with notes they could follow. Thus, students were free to listen. The lecturer also had a PowerPoint presentation. While one of the lecturers explained a concept, the second lecturer would walk around demonstrating to students a concept on his mobile phone that the main lecturer was explaining, for example, the sentence-completion feature in Gmail.

The atmosphere in this particular class was non-threatening, and students were not admonished for siding. The students participated actively during the lesson and had many stories of their own to tell. They were very excited about the 'sub-titling'. The sub-titling was introduced more than an hour into the lesson, just at a point when students were getting tired and started fidgeting. The practical activity filled the class with renewed energy and excitement. The lecturer was

excited about the lesson, and was well prepared. Active participation and the co-construction of knowledge were evident for the duration of the class. The experienced lecturer was the more knowledgeable other and successfully scaffolded students through the ZPD. This particular lesson was based on principles of social constructivism as knowledge was co-constructed and negotiated by the lecturer and the students. Although the lesson was well prepared, notes were provided, there was a PowerPoint presentation, and many lively discussions ensued, students still engaged in multiple siding events as demonstrated in Section 6.3. Thus, this lecture and these lecturers were determining factors for multiple siding events which occurred during the lecture, in view of the fact that the lecturers created a non-threatening atmosphere which allowed students to engage in siding.

In the lecture presented in Section 6.4, the students were scared of the lecturer. The students who participated in the siding event were all English home language students. They were not allowed to whisper or even click their pens. The student described the lecturer as 'mean', since they were constantly reprimanded if they moved or fiddled. When a student was caught fiddling or talking, she would stop talking and stare at that person. Students then knew that person would be asked the next question, and reprimanded if he/she couldn't answer the question. She further threatened students; she would ask them to leave if she caught anyone talking. However, she explained to them that she had ADHD, and that they were putting her at a disadvantage when they spoke, moved or played with a pen. ADHD is a pattern of inattention, impulsiveness or hyperactivity that may be quite severe (Faraone, 2000; Davidson, 2008). The lecturer was teaching screen by screen, and as she has ADHD, we understand that the lecture has to take this form. She could possibly get distracted if students talk, move or ask questions.

However, the continuous reprimands had a negative effect on the class, as they perceive her as 'mean', and according to the student, she treats them like small

children. The student also said she is a completely different person when you talk to her on a one-on-one basis – then she is very helpful. The lecturer had a PowerPoint presentation she wanted to finish, and had a good way of explaining concepts, but as related by the student, 'We don't want to listen to her because she keeps screaming.' While academics are the key to education, education should also teach individuals to live and work in cooperation with all kinds of people, including the lecturer with ADHD. Thus, it is good that she made students aware of her condition, but to expect students to sit absolutely still for two hours places them at a disadvantage.

They were not allowed to ask questions or fiddle. Students were only asked questions as a form of punishment. The lesson became an extreme form of behaviourism which might not have been the intention of the lecturer. A quick Google search let me to quite a few web pages for teachers with ADHD who offer good alternatives and life hacks such as timed talks for teachers with ADHD. An incidental note is that the researcher could not find any studies with regard to teachers/lecturers with ADHD. Nonetheless, students in this class demonstrated that siding is a reality even in classes where lecturers are very strict, and talking is not allowed as demonstrated in Figure 6.16. The four students found an indiscernible way of siding. Like the students in Section 6.1 and Section 6.2, they are demonstrating learner autonomy in 'discussing' an assignment with the aid of writing and paralanguage. In this way, students found a passive way of actively communicating. In the researcher's opinion, the lecturing style was a determining factor in the siding event as it charged the students negatively, to a point where they did not want to listen. However, siding used as an emergency plan for a presentation in a lecture later that day, is counterproductive.

The current study thus makes an original contribution to 'translanguaged siding' in positing that lecturing style is a determining factor that shapes the occurrence

as well as the semiotic resources students use during 'translanguaged siding' and siding.

The next section describes other factors that shape the occurrence of 'translanguaged siding' and siding in general. As posited by Antia (2017), relational closeness and distance, as well as physical closeness or distance, are factors that shape the occurrence of siding.

With the exception of Section 6.3.4 (business siding), Section 6.3.5 (a silent conversation asking for an assignment date) and Section 6.3.6 (a grimace), all the other siding events posited in this chapter demonstrate relational closeness. Thus, students are more inclined to engage in siding with relationally close friends. The current study thus confirms that relational closeness or distance shapes the occurrence of siding as postulated by Antia (2017). The current study further found that physical closeness/distance only influences the semiotic resources students use when they want to engage in siding, but does not affect siding negatively or deter students from siding, as they use their mobile phones when they are spatially removed from interlocutors, but relationally close.

The third point of interest is the use of semiotic resources. The next section discusses the semiotic resources students employed during siding and 'translanguaged siding', as well as the factors that determined the semiotic resources. The first section briefly discusses semiotic resources, including mode and medium, then the semiotic resources used in Sections 5.1–5.4 are discussed. As this section includes siding with a mobile phone, identity in online affinity is included in this section.

An individual (the sign maker) chooses a semiotic resource from the available resources at his or her disposal and brings together a semiotic resource (a signifier) with the meaning (the signified). Therefore, students expressed meaning through

the semiotic resources they had at their disposal, or the semiotic resources that were available to them at that moment of interaction. The choice of resource was socially located and regulated how modes and media were used by students (Jewitt, 2009; Kress, 2010). Mode can be defined as an organised set of social and cultural resources for making meaning. The organisation and meaning of modes are the outcomes of the material shaping of meaning as used by a culture over a period of time. The more a mode has been used socially by a community, the more fully developed it will be. Thus, in order for it to be or become a mode, it must be a shared cultural resource with a specific meaning in a specific culture. Hence, all modes are expressed by signs, and all signs have a signifier and a signified (Jewitt, 2006; Jewitt, 2009; Kress, 2010). In the current study, language and language combinations are referred to as the mode, and the medium is the abstraction through which communication takes place, for example, writing (texting) and speaking (calling). The medium is the abstraction selected to carry the message, for example, writing or speaking, which encapsulates texting and calling. According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001), linguistics has primarily ignored the medium and focused on the mode of communication, but the medium has received renewed attention with the advent of the technological revolution. The medium influences and is influenced by the context of communication, the physical and relational closeness and distance of interlocutors, and by the language/language combinations/paralanguage (mode) used during communication (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2001).

The main semiotic resources already discussed are language, language combinations and 'translanguaged siding'. These semiotic resources were discussed in the first section of the discussions. The semiotic resources used in Section 6.1 were language (isiXhosa through talking) and paralanguage (axial position, a head shake and a knowing look). The determining factors for the use of the specific semiotic resources were the relational and physical closeness in view of the fact that the students were close friends and seated next to each other.

The semiotic resources employed in Section 6.2 were Afrikaans and English through the medium of writing via the mobile phone. The choice of semiotic resources can be attributed to the fact that the two students were previously close friends, as the conversation occurred through text speak in Afrikaans. Thus, the relational closeness shaped the siding event and determined the semiotic resources. Furthermore, these students were sitting a few rows from each other and could not have a whispered conversation. Thus, relational closeness as well as physical proximity determined the semiotic resources the students used to communicate.

In Section 6.3.2, the physical distance of the interlocutors determined the semiotic resource in view of the fact that they were physically in different places and thus had to communicate through the medium of texting.

In the siding in Section 6.3.3, the physical distance did not allow a face-to-face conversation and thus determined the choice of semiotic resource. Thus, the semiotic resources employed were the mobile phone as language (English) through the medium of text and text speak (writing), and paralanguage through the medium of emoticons. In the siding event in Section 6.3.4, the two business partners had to confirm the time and place for a face-to-face meeting. Thus, the message had to take the form of an electronic message with writing as the medium for language and emoticons as the medium for paralanguage.

In Section 6.3.5, students were listening to the lecture and indicated that it would be disrespectful to speak to each other while the class was in progress. Furthermore, siding could take this form as students were sitting next to each other. Thus, the seating, knowledge about the receiver of the message, and knowledge about common classes enabled the use of particular semiotic resources. The resources used were writing, axial orientation, haptics, eyes, head nodding, and a pointed chin. In Section 6.3.6, the student grimaces in disagreement with the lecturer. The seating arrangement as well as the perceived rules of the class

determined the choice of semiotic resources. The semiotic resources used were the following media for paralanguage; a grimace with a protruding bottom lip by Student R, and a few nods from the students opposite her to demonstrate their disagreement. In Section 6.4, the students' fear of the lecturer shaped the siding event and determined the semiotic resources to be used. The semiotic resources were writing and a passive nodding of the head.

In this way, the current study contributes to the siding literature that relational/physical closeness and distance are the biggest determining factors of the semiotic resource. When interlocutors were relationally close, they would whisper, write notes and communicate via mobile phone, irrespective of physical distance. When interlocutors are relationally distant, the mobile phone is probably not possible, but siding through paralanguage is an option. Alternatively, the perceived rules of the class are factors which contribute to siding.

The students in Section 6.1 and 6.2 had a language deficit and did not want to feel embarrassed when speaking a second language. In the case of the students in Figure 6.4 and Figure 6.5, as well as in the observed group discussions, the students speak English as a first language. Thus, their reasons for wanting to engage in siding were different from those of the students in Section 5.1 and Section 6.2. The interview data indicated that these students thought it would be disrespectful if they spoke to fellow students while the teacher was teaching. This concurs with the IRF model's patterns of communication which are still evident in contemporary society.

This dominant model of classroom interaction, the IRF, informs all participants in the classroom who is to speak, when the speaker may speak, and in what order the speaker may speak. As demonstrated in Chapter one and two, learners were admonished for speaking among one another while the teacher was teaching, in view of the fact that student-to-student talking was seen as Malinowski's small talk.

Thus, the 'good' students were conditioned to believe that only 'bad' students engage in siding. The conditioning is part of the behaviourist theory, and is very well demonstrated by Pavlov and his dog, the famous Skinner box, and Watson's white rabbit. Although many behavioural theorists came to realise that humans are not the same as animals, some of the conditioning concepts are still very prominent in classrooms, and have a lasting effect on learners as is demonstrated by students' reluctance to ask an academically related question of neighbouring students, in view of the fact that they could be admonished. The students were possibly admonished by teachers at school and possibly by other lecturers for engaging in siding during lectures. Thus, they were conditioned to believe that siding is wrong and punishable, and in some cases, as can be seen in Section 5.4, siding is indeed an act to be reprimanded. This has implications for using siding as a scaffolding tool in higher education as the behavioural conditioning would need to be addressed first. The extent of behavioural conditioning which relates to siding practices in higher education could be an extension of the current study.

A fourth point of interest was the siding events in Section 5.3 which pertain to general siding. As this is the first study to demonstrate through screenshots and screen grabs the actual topics and functions of mobile siding, the next section discusses the siding events of Section 6.3.

The first siding event observed by the researcher is described in Section 6.3.2. The texting between Students X and A is about a general academic matter (Section 6.3.2), and is slightly convivial in nature. As both students were spatially distant, Student A could not talk to his friend, but he could text message her. Student A could not talk, because he was sitting very close to the lecturer and it would be disruptive to the class if he called or sent a voice note. Student A confirmed that they (X and A) are close intimate friends, which confirms that students prefer siding with close intimate friends.

The siding that takes place uses writing via a mobile phone application. Student X demonstrates agency since she endeavours to scaffold her own leaning by asking a more knowledgeable other to scaffold her own understanding through peer support. Thus, she is not asking the lecturer, but rather depends on a fellow student. The collaborative co-construction of knowledge by students means that lecturers would not necessarily be seen as the more knowledgeable others. The co-constructed development of cognition with others can be seen as a goal-orientated activity where students learn from each other.

Neither student uses text speak, and student A uses full punctuation normally reserved for formal conversations. Although the talk is informal, the English they use has a high value in the linguistic marketplace, as opposed to the use of Afrikaans text speak in Section 6.2 that has a low market value in the South African language market (Bourdieu, 1991). In online affinity, the use of or the omission of punctuation could be considered an identity marker. As three of the siding events from one student were used, the next section takes a closer look at Student A's identity markers.

Identity refers to an individual's uniqueness and is difficult to define empirically. It is the process by which a person develops a distinctive personality or characteristics by which that person is recognised. Students are simultaneously part of diverse groups or discursive spaces, which help individuals to form a social identity. However, Blommaert (2005:203) reminds us that the 'who and what we are' is dependent on the context, occasion and purpose. Student A had more than one identity available to him. Through his use of punctuation, he positions himself as an educated intelligent person. The enactment of this identity in online affinity needs 'specific ways with words ... [that are] fully integrated with specific ways of thinking, believing, valuing, acting, interacting and often ways of coordinating and being coordinated by other semiotic systems, other people, various objects, tools, settings and technologies' (Gee, 2000: 413).

The way he writes his WhatsApp messages is notable. However, people are usually disembodied in online affinity and only 'project positive, attractive, and even profitable idealistic representations of themselves' (Boon & Sinclair, 2009: 100). Thus, Student A's writing style could be consciously or unconsciously done. If he is purposefully writing in a specific way, he is projecting a specific image to online interlocutors. In class he performed identity acts which labelled him a good student. The acts of identity were actively listening, asking relevant questions, answering questions, or giving examples from his own lived experiences. He is thus seen as an intelligent male by his lecturers and fellow students.

For this particular siding event (Figure 6.4), he is seen as the more knowledgeable other who can assist you if you need help with academic matters in an online affinity. Student A has demonstrated that he is a good student; hence we can also assume that he is a good friend who helps other friends with general academic matters. Identities are constructed by discourses that give value to subject positions. Subject positions refer to behaviour which influences the way others see us or the way we see ourselves. Student A becomes a subject by being subjected to particular social, cultural and natural environments which positioned him in a hierarchy as a friend and as a student. Student A is thus recognised as an intelligent person who can be contacted if information is needed. The next section presents data on a second speech event student A participated in.

Student A confirmed during an interview that Participant Y is always in need of something and is always asking him for 'stuff'. The asking for 'stuff', in this interaction, is an unopened bottle of perfume and can be seen as an act of identity. Participant Y shows herself as someone who doesn't have 'stuff', and always asks for stuff from her friend, Student A. On the other hand, Student A is the person we identify who always has 'stuff'. Socially, the 'having of stuff', positions him as a more affluent person than Participant Y. The discursive spaces people find themselves in shape their identities.

Pavlenko (2002) argues for language as symbolic capital as it links individuals to language practices that are valued or devalued in the social arena. In the language market, text speak has a very low value, while using Standard English during texting has a very high value. Thus, Participant Y's texting habitus (deeply ingrained habits) could be viewed in a negative light and she could possibly be performing an act of identity which possibly positions her as an uneducated person (Bourdieu, 1991). Student A is an honours student, and Participant Y is a shop assistant. So, they come from completely different discursive spaces which is evident in their use of language.

Although the interaction is convivial in nature, it has a specific purpose, unlike Malinowski's (1923) earlier perception that small talk is aimless and irrelevant. The demonstrated small talk is more in line with Coupland's (2000) view of purposeful talk. Participant Y needs an unopened bottle of perfume, and therefore the conversation is not academic in nature. However, the small talk in this conversation is transactional in nature. Small talk that is transactional includes requests, enquiries and instructions (Holmes, 2000; Kuiper & Flindall, 2000). The next section covers a third speech event Student A participated in. Since the interaction is personal in nature and occurs via texting, it further confirms that texting is the preferred mode when speaking is difficult and personal matters are discussed.

With the two previous siding events, Student A was the more knowledgeable other who could help with information and the person from whom Participant Y could request an unopened bottle of perfume. However, in the last siding event, his business partner is the more knowledgeable other. The business partner positions himself as a person who knows business and someone who comes up with ideas. The use of the dark thumbs-up symbolic gesture is an identity marker; the student takes pride in being a black South African.

In the business siding event, both interlocutors speak Standard English. Student A acts respectfully and even corrects a mistake he has made. The business partner, in his monologue, identifies himself as a person to whom others listen, thus a response is not needed. The conversation is not convivial in nature, nor is it personal or small talk, although it is a siding act while the class is in progress. The next section examines paralanguaged siding that can be defined as the use of paralanguage as a mode, with a list of non-verbal items (rolling eyes, axial position, and so on) as the medium.

The students (Q and R in table 6.1) were sitting close to each other, but did not talk as a lecture was in progress. The contradiction, or maybe the exception, could be the small lecturing space as described in Section 6.3.1. The lecturers could see all the students, as there were only ten. This made talking to one another while the lecturer was teaching very difficult. In this way, the communicative event was extended to a whole range of representational and communicational modes, and language was not one of them.

Ensemble 2 of table 6.1

	Student Q turns her body towards student R	Axial orientation	
2	Student Q nudges Student R	Haptics (touch)	Look here

Two motivated signs are used to realise the sign maker's intention. In the first move, the student leans forward. This is called axial orientation (different types of paralanguage) and is described in Chapter two). In the second move, Student Q nudges Student R. She thus touches her with her elbow, known as haptics.

Communication is established and is followed by an ensemble (3). The students make eye contact, followed by a deictic gesture. Deictic gestures are seen as 'pointing gestures' in the direction of real people or objects. Thus, student Q

shakes her head, pointing to Student R to read the note she has scribbled. The ensemble is understood by both interlocutors.

Ensemble 3 of table 6.1

3	Student Q and Student R make eye contact Student Q nods her head – chin pointing toward the notepad	Eyes Head nodding with pointing chin	Look at what I wrote

They move on to the next two moves which consist of eye contact (they make eye contact) and a deictic gesture is made by Student R. Thus, she is indicating that the date is correct. Student R's axial position changes from a slant towards Student Q, back to sitting up straight, indicating the end of the communicative act. Current literature on multimodality focuses restrictively on modes, for example, verbal mode, writing mode, visual mode. The current study focused on language and paralanguage as modes. Writing, speaking, facial expressions, a nod, were taken to be media. Thus, the terminology of multimodality will be modified and indicated in inverted commas, as the mode is replaced by the medium.

In the 'multi-medium orchestration' of media for this particular interaction, each of the 'media' carries an equal load. Thus, there is no dominant 'medium orchestration' in Figure 6.1. Each of the media carry a part of the 'meaning-making load'. The 'materiality of a medium' refers to the material or signs a culture has selected for a specific medium. Thus, each sign is shaped into a specific cultural resource with a specific meaning.

The meaning of the sign depends on the purpose the sign maker wants to use it for. For the sign makers in Figure 6.1, different material possibilities were available during the paralanguage event; however specific 'media' were chosen to best communicate a specific meaning in a specific situation. For example, Student R could have used her hand and not her head to make the deictic gesture.

All the 'media' used are shaped by the materiality of each 'medium', or simply by what it has repeatedly meant in a specific speech community. Thus, the two students 'talked' without speaking, as in their opinion it is disrespectful to engage in siding while a lecturer is teaching. Through paralanguaging, students managed to verify a date for an assignment without speaking.

In the final section, the study discusses the role of siding in the experience of participants and furnishes reasons for siding taking these functions. Lemke (1990) noted that the possible motivations for siding are to sustain personal relationships, to speak with someone other than the teacher about what is going on in the class, or to provide students with an opportunity to disengage from the lesson activity completely. Koole (2007) posited that it is impossible for one teacher to answer 30 students. Thus, according to Koole (2007), students engage in siding activities to clarify a point the teacher has made, or to ask a fellow student a question regarding a lesson that is in progress. Antia (2017) confirmed that siding practices are to a degree academic in nature in view of the fact that students with insufficient language skills use siding to scaffold academic knowledge. Furthermore, Antia (2017) alluded to the fact that students engage in siding when they find the lecture boring, but also when they want to clarify a point the lecturer has made.

The students in Section 6.1 engaged in siding to disagree with a definition the lecturer had given. In Section 6.3.6, siding takes the function of students temporally disconnecting from the lecturer to jointly disagree with other students on a point the lecturer has made. In Section 6.3.5 and 6.3.6, students engaged in paralanguaged siding, as siding is perceived as against the rules of the class. In Section 6.1 and 6.2, students engaged in 'translanguaged siding' to scaffold language deficits in the LoLT. The study thus confirms Antia's (2017) postulation

that 'translanguaged siding' can be used as a scaffolding tool to address deficits in the LoLT. Furthermore, the same data confirms Koole's (2007) argument that one teacher cannot possibly answer all students during a lesson. In Section 6.3.2, 6.3.3 and 6.3.4, Student A engaged in siding to stay connected with friends and business acquaintances. In this way, these students confirm Antia's (2017) and Lemke's (1990) propositions that students want to speak to someone other than the teacher. Thus, the current study extends literature on the possibility that siding can be used as a scaffolding tool, if habitual classroom behaviour is addressed in higher education. In this chapter, students showed that the perceived rules of the class influence the siding phenomenon.

6.7 Summary

As mentioned, Lemke (1991), Koole (2007) and Antia (2017) are the only researchers known to the author to have contributed to the siding phenomenon. Antia (2017) presented us with the term 'translanguaged siding'. The current study contributes to our knowledge of siding and 'translanguaged siding' as demonstrated in this chapter. Chapter six presented data collected on 'translanguaged siding' as is shown in Section 6.1 and Section 6.2, and answered the research questions through the ethnography of speaking. Components of multilingualism were than elaborated on in the discussion in section 6.5. Section 5.3 presented data on academic and convivial siding, and demonstrated multiple instances of paralanguaging. Paralanguaged siding, as a classroom phenomenon, is an under-researched phenomenon, thus not much literature on this topic was available. Section 5.4 presented data on novel siding practices and expanded data on classroom practices. The following are the main findings in this chapter:

- As suggested in extract 6.1 (episode one and two) as well as extract 6.2, the students engaged in siding as they did not understand the terminology presented to them in the LoLT, suggesting that when the LoLT is different

to the mother tongue of students- translanguaged siding could function as a scaffolding tool in a language/language variety and medium of their choice.

- Extracts 2-4 (lectures) were based on the same learning theory, social constructivism. Students were invited to collaborate in the co-construction of knowledge. During these lectures, the most siding occurred suggesting that the learning theory on which the lecture is based determines the form siding practices takes.

- As showed in section 6.1-6.4 relational closeness/ distance as well as the physical closeness/ distance influences the semiotic resources students used.

- The perceived rules of the class (as determined by the lecturer) influences the used of semiotic resources during siding.

Chapter seven answers all the research questions individually. Thereafter the main findings are presented followed by the conclusion and recommendations.

Chapter Seven

Recommendations and Conclusion

The first section reminds the reader what the study set out to research and includes the research objectives. The second section presents the findings and conclusions per research objectives. The section that follows outlines the contribution to knowledge the research has made. Thereafter, recommendations are given specific to classroom discourses, followed by possibilities for future research.

7.0 Introduction

The study set out to illuminate 'unofficial' classroom talk in view of the fact that student-to student-discourse, which occurs on the margins of the class, was an under-researched topic. Researchers have been drawn to classroom discourse, but the focus has been on teacher talk as demonstrated by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) who developed the IRF model to systematically study student-to-teacher interactions. Mehan (1979) developed the IRE model to capture the evaluation (E) during lessons as was discussed in Chapter one and Two. Although the aims of these studies were diverse, they showed that students do participate in classroom activities other than those involving the teacher. Lemke (1990) thoroughly discusses each of the interactive classroom discourses and provides multiple examples to show how these discourses are teacher and activity centred. Equally, he discusses *siding* or parallel talk which occurs between students while the teacher is teaching in a language that is the same as the students' mother tongue. He demonstrated that 'unofficial' siding in the classroom is an activity that is admonished, as it is believed to break the official rules of the class, and is related to personal issues that can be associated with Malinowskian small talk (1923). Koole (2007) reported on parallel student-to-student discourse while a lesson was in progress. He concludes that students in secondary education do engage in *siding* (Lemke, 1990); however these siding activities were always in relation to teacher talk. The LoLT for the

above-mentioned studies was English, and the first language of the students was predominantly, but not exclusively English. Antia (2017) coins the term 'translanguaged siding' as student-to-student talk in a language or a combination of languages different from the LoLT. He further postulates that 'translanguaged siding' sometimes functions as a *scaffolding* tool which students use to bridge the *underpreparedness* for academic English they experience in lecture halls. Antia (2017) also included paralanguage as part of the 'translanguaged siding' package. Paralanguage constitutes the non-verbal language features which are used with speech (for example a wink or a facial expression), or independently. Student-to-student talk was traditionally seen as disruptive and convivial in nature. Thus, a paucity of studies on this form of classroom discourse meant that literature on siding and 'translanguaged siding' was limited. For the purpose of this thesis, siding is considered student-to-student talk when the LoLT is the same as the students' mother tongue, and 'translanguaged siding', is the student-to-student talk when the LoLT is different from the students' mother tongue.

Parallel to the work on forms of classroom discourse, numerous researchers have focused on the changing landscape of higher education. Higher education institutions in general, and the University of the Western Cape (UWC) in particular, have experienced a massive increase in student enrolment over the last 25 years. The increase in student numbers has occurred without an increase in resources (Jansen, 2003; Antia, 2015; Morrow, 2015; Antia & Dyers, 2015). Consequently, lecture halls are over-crowded. Many of the enrolled students are underprepared for the challenges at university level. *Underpreparedness* includes the inability to speak, write and read fluently in the language of instruction, which affects verbal and written communication (Roman & Dison, 2016). Students who are underprepared for university, experience an *articulation gap* as there is a huge disparity between the learning requirements of higher education, and the content knowledge and language competencies of

students entering universities (Moscaritolo & Schreiber, 2014). Furthermore, an increasing number of higher education classrooms globally, and the majority of South African higher education institutions, including UWC, use English as the LoLT (CHE, 2002:4). Consequently, many South African and international students enter the higher education arena with a linguistic disadvantage, primarily because the LoLT is different from their home language.

The study employed a mixed-methods approach. Chapter Five presented quantifiable data with a quantitative description. Chapter Six presented qualitative data with the ethnography of communication as the primary analytical frame, and multimodality as the secondary analytical frame. EC is a branch of sociolinguistics which endeavours to describe the verbal and non - verbal communicative behaviour in a particular social and cultural context. In contrast to structuralism and transformational grammar, EC is based on the premise that an utterance can only be described in relation to the speech event in which it is uttered. Therefore, the locus of the study was on the practice of communication in context. Hence, EC is best described by asking 'what does a speaker need to know to communicate appropriately within a particular speech community, and how does he/she learn to do so?' (Saville-Troike, 2003: 18). Hymes (1972) emphasised that language cannot be separated from 'how, where and when' it is used, as language is first and foremost a socially situated cultural tool.

The study aimed to explore siding and 'translanguaged siding', with the following objectives:

1. To determine how frequently siding occurs.
2. To determine what factors shape the occurrence of siding/ 'translanguaged siding'.

3. To establish which semiotic resources are employed during siding/ 'translanguaged siding'.

4. To determine what factors shape the choice of these semiotic resources.

5. To determine what functions siding/'translanguaged siding' have in the experience of participants.

6. To establish why siding/'translanguaged siding' has to take on these functions.

7. To determine how siding is appraised by non-participants and by lecturers.

In the next section the research objectives are presented individually.

7.1 Summary of findings

This section amalgamates the quantitative and qualitative data to answer the research objectives.

7.1.1 The frequency of siding

The quantitative data in Table 4.2 (Chapter four) showed that only 5 of 105 students (4.8%) indicated that they *never* engage in siding during lectures. Thus, 95.2% of students engage in siding to various degrees of 'always, often and sometimes'. Furthermore, the same set of data showed that female students engaged in siding more frequently than their male counterparts. The lecturer questionnaire (Table 4.12) showed that all lecturers have seen students engage in siding. Similarly, qualitative data concerning descriptions of lectures, as well as actual siding activities, showed that students are constantly engaged in siding activities (Sections 5.1 to 5.4). The siding practice that was most frequent, was talking, and least frequent, was calling. In the section labelled 'other' in the questionnaire, students indicated that they cannot always write in the languages they can speak. Thus, when engaging in siding with a fellow student who spoke an alternative language, students preferred to talk. Alternatively, calling someone from a lecture would possibly disrupt the class, and all would be able to hear the

call. Thus, the current study concludes that siding, as a student-to-student phenomenon, is relatively frequent at the research site.

7.1.2 Factors that shape the occurrence of siding and 'translanguaged siding'

Firstly, the study showed that *English as the LoLT* is the biggest factor that shapes and determines *translanguaged siding.* As suggested in extract 5.1 (episode one and two) as well as extract 5.2, the students engaged in siding as they did not understand the terminology presented to them in the LoLT, suggesting that when the LoLT is different to the mother tongue of students- translanguaged siding could function as a scaffolding tool in a language/language variety and medium of their choice. Furthermore, the quantitative data showed that the site of research (UWC) is linguistically super-diverse in view of the fact that 15 different home languages were recorded for 105 participants. Linguistic super-diversity, first termed by Verotec (2007), refers to a diverse range of ethnic groups in one location who speak a range of languages made possible by globalisation. The quantitative data indicated that a total of 27 participants spoke up to 5 language combinations, and English formed part of 20 of the language combinations as indicated in Table 5.5, Chapter 5. The two isiXhosa-speaking students (Section 5.1, Chapter five) confirmed that teachers code-switched to their home language to explain difficult concepts (Probyn, 2001; Banda, 2007). Thus, at school level, difficult concepts were explained in the learners' mother tongue, even though the LoLT was English. Although the code-switching practice at school level helped learners to understand difficult concepts, it contributed to their linguistic underpreparedness in higher education as demonstrated by Banda (2007). The Afrikaans student in Section 6.2 (Chapter Two) was taught in her mother tongue (Afrikaans) at school. Thus her English language proficiency for academic purposes was still in the process of developing. Secondly, the nature of *the student's need to participate in a siding* event shaped the occurrence of siding. In the first lecture in Section 6.1 (Chapter 6), the two students indicated that they

engaged in 'translanguaged siding' to clarify a point the lecturer has made, and to disagree with the definition of a concept. In Section 6.2 (Chapter five), the student wanted the Afrikaans word for a chemical and enquired about Afrikaans notes. In Section 6.3.2 (Chapter six), Student A engaged in siding events as follows: Student X wanted a synonym for the word 'fratricide', Participant Y needed an unopened bottle of perfume, and Student A had to confirm a business meeting for later that day. In Section 6.3.5 (Chapter five), Student Q scribbled a note to a fellow student to ask for an assignment date, and in Section 6.3.6, Student Q pulls a face in disagreement with a point the lecturer has made. Furthermore, the students in the last example (Section 6.4), plan an assignment as an emergency procedure against all odds. All the above- mentioned students had various *reasons or needs* for siding, which shaped the occurrence of siding.

The quantitative data showed that 94% of participants (combining always, often, and sometimes) would ask a fellow student to clarify a point the lecturer had made. A total of 93.3% of students indicated that bad acoustics would motivate them to ask a friend to repeat a point and 94.4% of students showed that they would agree or disagree with a lecturer, but mention it to a friend instead. In this way, the qualitative and quantitative data shows that the *nature or the need* for siding shapes the occurrence of siding.

7.1.3 Semiotic resources employed during siding

The semiotic resources participating students employed during the study were diverse in nature. The semiotic resources employed during siding and 'translanguaged siding' were multiple languages and combinations of languages, including paralanguage (as indicated in Table 5.1, Table 5.5 And Table 5.7) as modes. The media students employed for language and language combinations were talking (which included calling) and writing (which included texting and writing notes). Paralanguage was regarded as a mode, while the following were

seen as media: axial orientation, hand and arm gestures, facial expressions, rolling eyes, a knowing look, a wink, and nodding the head, to name but a few.

The *quantitative* chapter showed that students used up to five language combinations when they engaged in 'translanguaged siding.' Furthermore, the *qualitative* data indicated that students engaged in siding through text speak in English and in Afrikaans on mobile phones through the media of writing (texting) and paralanguage (emoticons). Moreover, the siding as demonstrated in Sections 6.1 to 6.4 was accompanied by selection of paralanguage media (axial orientation, nodding and so on), and on occasion, paralanguage acted as an independent mode. In the siding event described in Table 6.1 of Chapter six, it showed two students having a silent conversation in a combination of paralanguage and a scribbled note, while the students in Section 6.4 of Chapter six used a combination of writing and paralanguage. The *quantitative* data also demonstrated that students viewed media of paralanguage as important overall, with facial expressions and nodding the head as the most important media of paralanguage.

7.1.4 Factors that determine the choice of semiotic resources

The study showed that *relational closeness or distance determined* the choice of semiotic resources. As shown in Table 4.10 of Chapter four, students that know each other intimately and share the same space (90%) are more likely to engage in siding through paralanguage (66.6%), followed by texting (42.8%). Furthermore, fellow students that were relationally distant, as shown in Table 5.10, chose talking as the medium of communication. In Section 6.1 of Chapter six, the two students were relationally close, and could have a whispered conversation, and the two students in Section 6.2 of Chapter six, could message each other as they were friends and had each other's mobile phone numbers. Student A, in Section 6.3 of Chapter six, had multiple conversations with close friends via his mobile phone, while Student Q in Section 6.3.5 (Chapter six) used paralanguage with fellow students that were relationally distant.

Physical closeness and distance also determined the choice of semiotic resource. A total of 75% of students indicated that they would use the medium of talk when sitting next to someone (Table 5.9 in Chapter five). The two students in Section 6.1 of Chapter six demonstrated that talking in the form of a whispered conversation was a preference as they were sitting in close proximity. Furthermore, a total of 45% students indicated that writing a note was also doable when a fellow student was sitting in close proximity as shown in Table 5.9 of Chapter five. The writing of notes was further demonstrated as a feasible medium in Section 5.4, when three students could pass a note to plan an assignment because they were sitting next to each other. When students were sitting a few seats from each other, the medium of preference was paralanguage (51%) which scored the highest percentage for 'a few seats away' in Table 5.9 of Chapter four. Moreover, when someone was not in the same class, the preferred media were texting (41%) and calling (93%). Texting was a medium of preference when two people were spatially removed (41%), which was also qualitatively demonstrated by Student A in Section 5.3, who engaged in multiple siding events through texting when the interlocutors were not in the same space. Furthermore, Student E and D (the two Afrikaans texting students in Section 6.2) engaged in texting as they were sitting a few rows apart.

The rules that governed the interaction in the class also determined the choice of semiotic resource. In the lectures described in Section 6.1 to 6.3, the siding of students was enabled by the lecturing style and the lecturers' sense of 'the rules of the class'. In these lectures, the students were not reprimanded for talking to each other (Section 6.1), texting each other (Section 6.2 and 6.3) or for using paralanguage (Section 6.3) to communicate. In Section 6.4, students quietly planned an assignment through writing and head movements, as speaking and moving were against the rules of the class.

7.1.5 The functions siding play in the experience of participants

Siding plays the following roles in the experience of participants as demonstrated by qualitative and quantitative data:

- 'Translanguaged siding' is used as a scaffolding tool (bridging) when the language of instruction differs from the home language of students. Students seek confirmation primarily, but not exclusively, in their mother tongue or in a language they understand better than the language of learning and teaching.

- Siding is used to clarify a point the lecturer has made by whispering to a friend, writing a note or circulating a picture of a written definition. Table 5.3 (Chapter five) indicated that a total of 94% of students would ask a fellow student to clarify a point the lecturer had made.

- Student Q engaged in siding with a fellow student to ask a question about a general academic matter, which was the date for an assignment.

- The students in Section 6.4 engaged in siding to discuss a group assignment and to establish which person should do which part of the assignment.

- Student A engaged in siding to help a fellow student with a synonym.

- The two siding students in Section 6.1 of Chapter six disagreed with a definition the lecturer had given, but told it to each other instead. In Table 5.3, a total of 75.2 % of students indicated that they would tell a friend if they disagreed with something the lecturer had said, but not the lecturer.

- Student A in Section 6.3 of Chapter six engaged in siding with a close friend to discuss personal matters (an unopened bottle of perfume), as well as confirming an appointment with a business partner.

- A total of 93% of students indicated that they would engage in siding to curb boredom when uninterested in lectures (Table 5.3).

- Students also indicated (93%) that they would ask a fellow student to repeat something if the acoustics were bad (Table 4.3).

7.1.6 Reasons why siding has to take on these functions

As most lectures are large in number, students use siding as a tool to clarify a point the lecturer has made, or to agree/disagree with the lecturer, but tell it to a friend instead. As posited by Jansen (2003), access to education for South African students has increased in the last 25 years. However, the access to education has not been not accompanied by an increase in resources (Morrow, 2003). As stated in Chapter One, lecture halls are overcrowded, and lecturer-to-student ratio fluctuates between 1:100/200. As posited by Lemke (1990), the teacher cannot respond to the needs of 30 learners while a lesson is in progress. In the same way, the lecturer cannot respond to 100–200 students during a lecture. Furthermore, the lecturer cannot possibly accommodate the diverse learning styles of all students during a lecture.

Students engage in 'translanguaged siding' to seek confirmation in a language or language combination of their choice. As shown in Table 5.1 (Chapter five), 15 different home languages were recorded for 105 students, and 6 students indicated that they speak an international language as a home language. As indicated in Chapters One, Two, Five and Six, English is the LoLT at UWC. As demonstrated by Banda (2003; 2007), Morrow (2003), Pludderman (1999), Antia and Dyers (2017) and Jansen (2003), many South African students enter higher education underprepared for English as an academic language. As it is impossible for UWC to accommodate the super-diverse nature of the student population, 'translanguaged siding' is used by students as a tool to bridge low English language proficiency as demonstrated by the two isiXhosa-speaking students in Section 6.1, and the Afrikaans students in Section 6.2 of Chapter six.

Student A (Section 6.3.2, Chapter six) participated actively in the lecture and had an active virtual presence afforded by the mobile phone. He engaged in siding regarding personal and academic matters. Duncan, Hoekstra & Wilcox (2012),

Wei, Wang and Klausner (2012) and Olufadi (2015) presented data which showed that mobile phones distract students during lectures. Fernandez (2018) presented data from a South African university which indicated that in the perception of students, they can listen to a lecture and engage in online conversations. This notion of participating in multiple realities is corroborated by studies on behavioural patterns of millennials. These studies indicated that millennials want multiple sources of stimulation and prefer to multitask (Robinson & Stubberud, 2012; McGlynn, 2005; Sweeney, 2006). Thus, students need multiple sources of stimulation or want to be engaged in more than one activity (see discussion in Chapter six).

Students disagree (or agree) with a point the lecturer has made, but voice it to a neighbouring friend instead. The students in Section 6.1 and 6.2 had a language deficit and did not want to feel embarrassed when speaking a second language. Gardner and McIntyre (1992) and Mitchell and Myles (1995) demonstrated that voicing an opinion or speaking to an audience caused anxiety. The anxiety demotivates students to speak when an audience is present as discussed in Chapter two. Thus, a fellow student is perceived as a better option, and a safe space to voice an opinion. As discussed in Chapter six, the 'rules of the class' were applicable at primary and secondary school level and followed students into higher educational spaces. Students were labelled as 'bad' students when they behaved against the rules of the class, and were therefore conditioned to behave in a particular way in a Skinner and Pavlov fashion. Students who did not participate in siding during a particular lecture (99 students) saw the siding of students as disrespectful (Table 5.12, Chapter five), possibly depending on the lecture and lecturer, and not within the same lecture. In some ways, the rules of the class are perceived as not a reality, as indicated in Section 6.1 to 6.3 in Chapter six, when students were not reprimanded for engaging in siding activities.

7.1.7 The appraisal of siding by non-participants (students) and by lecturers

Engaging in siding is a common phenomenon in classrooms as demonstrated in Table 5.2 of Chapter five. As shown in Table 5.12 in Chapter five, a total of 43 students indicated that they do not agree or disagree when other students engage in siding. The students who did not participate in siding (48) indicated that they would not ask students who were talking to be quiet and 41 students showed that they would not join students who were engaged in siding. Furthermore, a total of 99 students indicated that they thought it was disrespectful to engage in siding activities when a lecturer was teaching. As demonstrated in Table 5.13 in Chapter five, all participating lecturers (100%) have seen students side in one of the semiotic resources. A total of 62.5% of lecturers were of the opinion that siding students were not engaged in discussions regarding academic matters. The next section shows the contribution to knowledge the study has made.

7.2 Main Findings

In this thesis, 12 contributions that relate to classroom discourse and multilingualism are made:

1. Although the analysis of talk has been analysed through the ethnography of speaking on a wide variety of subjects, to the researcher's knowledge, it has never been applied to student-to-student interactions while the teacher was teaching. It allowed for a fine- grained account of semiotic choices participants made, and showed the reasons that *shaped* the *occurrence* of siding.

2. A prior study, Antia (2017), has shown that students participate in translanguaged siding in English, isiXhosa and Afrikaans. To the researcher's knowledge, the current study is the only study that has shown *the extent of the students' linguistic repertoire* during translanguaged

siding in view of the fact that 27 students indicated that they could speak up to five language combinations during translanguaged siding.

3. To the knowledge of the researcher, only one prior study, Antia (2017), mentions factors that *shape the choice of semiotic resources*. The current study contributes to the theory on siding with data collected through classroom observations. With the ethnography of communication as an analytical lens, the factors that shaped the choice of semiotic resource were demonstrated.

4. Antia (2017) posited that translanguaged siding functions as a bridging discourse that helps to consolidate the incomprehension students experience because of insufficient language skills in the LoLT. To the researcher's knowledge, no other study is available on the autonomous strategies employed by students during siding to scaffold their own knowledge. The current study confirms Antia's (2017) study that translanguaged siding is used as a *scaffolding tool*. However, the extent to which 'translanguaged siding' can scaffold English for academic purposes, is still unknown.

5. The previous studies on siding and translanguaged siding did not report on *siding in relation to gender*. To the researcher's knowledge, the current study is the only study that reports on siding in relation to gender. The current study showed that female students engage in siding to a greater degree than their male counterparts.

6. As mentioned in Chapter one and Chapter two, many studies have shown how spoken language and non-verbal language are used in different spheres of life. Antia (2017) contended that paralanguage could be an important tool for siding as a form of unofficial classroom talk as it can occur without speech, and can thus go undetected. To the researcher's knowledge, no study has been done on the extent to which paralanguage is used during siding activities as part of the classroom discourse. The

current study is novel in view of the fact that it gives a detailed analysis of the *extent to which paralanguage is used* as a classroom discourse.

7. The quantitative data of the current study shows that lecturers view siding as contrary to the rules of the class; however the qualitative data showed that of the four lecturers, only one admonished students for siding while the class was in progress. The evidence of the current study is thus inconclusive as qualitative and quantitative data yielded different results.

8. It was clear that the size of the class influenced the semiotic choice. In the current study, the class and venue (researcher observation) were small and all the students were seated in full view of the lecturer. Students did not talk among each other, but used paralanguage and their mobile phones.

9. Antia (2017) alluded to the fact that English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa are the most frequently used siding languages. The current study confirms that the mentioned languages are indeed the most frequently used during siding at the research site, with 20 language combinations which all included English.

10. Antia (2017) postulated that the numbers were lower for written 'translanguaged siding'. The current study concurs, as students indicated that they prefer speaking to writing (texting) during 'translanguaged siding', as they cannot necessarily write in all the languages they can speak.

11. Lemke (1990), Koole (2007), and Antia (2017) proposed possible motivations for siding. The current study concurs with these studies, and enhances current literature on classroom discourse with quantifiable and qualitative data which showed that students engaged in siding and 'translanguaged siding' on academic topics predominantly; however the study showed that students also engage in siding which is convivial in nature.

12. As a point of interest, the study endeavoured to establish if there was a difference between the siding frequency of students in the Faculty of Natural Science and the Faculty of Arts. The data in Table 5.2 showed that

there is not a significant difference in the siding activities of the natural science (36) and arts (64) students.

The next section makes recommendations in light of the study's findings.

7.3 Recommendations

The study set out to explore siding and translanguaged siding as an under-researched form of classroom discourse. As our knowledge of siding has been updated, we now know that not all siding is convivial in nature. Furthermore, the study has shown that students are millennials and therefore seek multiple sources of stimulation. Currently, siding practices are mostly whispered conversations, asking and answering questions through paralanguage and engaging in siding through texting while the lecturer is teaching. The study recommends that siding as a classroom discourse should be legitimised. Thus, the study recommends that lecturers have an agreement with students for moments during the lecture when students can or should engage in siding practices. Legitimisation could be done with a nod of the head or with a hand gesture. This would give the lecturer more options for managing siding when student numbers in classes are large. Pairing students into language groups would infringe their rights 'to be' or 'learn with' whomever they prefer; however, they could be encouraged to seek clarification in respect of incomprehension in the language of their choice with more knowledgeable others. The study has shown siding as an informal social discourse which co-occurs with the formal academic discourse; however the researcher is still unsure of how to marry the two as this was not the purpose of the study. The following are suggestions for future studies:

- Experimental educational research on how to amalgamate institutionalised talk with siding as an informal classroom discourse.
- A longitudinal study to trace to what extent translanguaged siding functions as a pedagogical bridging tool, and to establish at which point during the course of a degree the scaffold becomes redundant.

- Multiple studies have posited that millennials need multiple sources of stimulation and prefer to multitask. Student A would be a case in point. A comparative study of the top ten of a class, middle tier of a class and bottom of a class (with regard to performance) would thus be of interest, as we do not know if it is within every student's capacity to multitask.
- The current study could not establish to what degree the language combinations were used by siding students during 'translanguaged siding'. A study which focuses on languages used during translanguaged siding with students who have different first languages is suggested.

7.4 Conclusion

The study set out to extend literature on siding and translanguaged siding as an under- researched phenomenon which happens parallel to the main teaching. Literature on this particular classroom discourse (siding) were insufficient, as researchers are drawn to an analysis of classroom discourse as it relates to the teacher talk. Classroom talk has been characterised as an institutionalised speech-exchange co-ordination between the teacher and the student, with a high degree of predictability. The teacher was viewed as the initiator of talk (I), the student would respond (R) and the teacher would give feedback (F) and/or evaluate (E) the response (IRF or IRE) as posited by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) and Mehan (1979).

Alternatively, siding or translanguaged siding was associated with small talk or phatic communion (Coupland, 2000; Malimowski, 1923). Small talk was posited as a purposeless social interaction which had no specific aims and was at most immaterial and non-institutional. In this way, the social, informal nature of small talk seemed unrelated, and far removed from institutionalised discourse. The students were also restricted to whom they may speak, when they may speak and who does and does not get a turn to speak. A very detailed account of classroom

discourse was done by Lemke (1990), and he proposed the term 'siding'. He describes siding as unsanctioned talk which occurs between students who momentarily disengage from the class to tell a friend something or to have someone else to talk to besides the teacher.

There have also been significant developments in higher education in the South African context as higher education institutions have significantly expanded access to education for South Africans from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds. Furthermore, the access to higher education has resulted in overcrowded lecture theatres with a student ratio of 1:100/200. However, changes in the educational landscape have not received much research attention. Koole (2007) and Antia (2017) illuminated siding/translanguaged siding as a possible tool to scaffold underpreparedness for challenges that relate to epistemological access. Thus, the current study was interested in siding as a classroom discourse that occurs on the margins of the class. We thus knew relatively little of the agentive strategies adopted by students in South Africa to support their educational 'investment' and to counteract the hegemony often imposed by monolingual language policies and language ideologies (Foucault, 1991; Garcia, 2009; Norton, 1997; Van Lier, 2008).

The study employed a mixed method approach. Hymes's (1972) ethnography of communication represented as the s-p-e-a-k-i-n-g mnemonic was employed as a primary analytical frame, and multimodality as a secondary analytical frame to analyse qualitative data. Three lessons and siding events were presented from the perspective of students, and one lecture with multiple siding events, from the researcher's perspective. Quantitative data was collected through two questionnaires: a student questionnaire and a lecturer questionnaire. The quantitative data was described in a qualitative fashion.

The study showed that English as the LoLT shaped the occurrence of translanguaged siding, and that translanguaged siding is further shaped by the 15 different home languages students reported speaking, as well as the five different language combinations students indicated they use when they engage in siding. The study further demonstrated the factors that shape the occurrence of siding, the semiotic resources employed during siding, the factors that shape the choice of semiotic resources, and the role of siding from non-participant and participant perspectives.

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Appendices

Appendix A

FACULTY OF ARTS

Linguistics Department

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South Africa
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PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Title of research: Translanguaged siding in lecture halls: an ethnography of speaking at the University of the Western Cape.

My name is _Coral Forbes_, and I am conducting research on the above topic as part of my Doctoral degree course in Linguistics.The mentioned study explores classroom discourse, specifically side-chats by students (which include speaking, notes, phone messages and so on) which occur parallel to teacher talk in lecture halls.

I will be looking at 100 first-, and 100 second year students, and 10 lecturers to complete a questionnaire. I would further like to do follow-up interviews to clarify some answers in the questionnaire. I also require 4/6 students to keep a diary for the period of a month to write down their siding habits. The questionnaire can be completed at a time convenient to you. The interview will be scheduled at a time that is convenient for you. The information in the questionnaires, interviews and diaries is considered confidential. Your identity will remain anonymous. If at any time you do not want to continue with the study, you are allowed to withdraw and your data will not be included. A copy of the study will be sent to you after the research has been completed in order for you to see the results.

My contact details are: (mobile) **0824720108** or (email) **meyer.coral@gmail.com**

If you require any additional information, please contact my supervisor, Professor Bassey

Antia bantia@uwc.ac.za.

Appendix B

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FACULTY OF ARTS
Linguistics Department

PARTICIPANT CONCENT FORM

My name is *Coral Forbes*, and I am conducting research on the above topic as part of my Doctoral degree course in Linguistics. The mentioned study explores classroom discourse, specifically side-chats by students (which include speaking, notes, messages and so on) which occur parallel to teacher talk in lecture halls. I need participants to keep a diary for a week, then a follow-up interview to verify diary information. Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. Should agree to participate, you still have the right to withdraw from this study at any time and to ask that any information already recorded be deleted. Your identity will not be revealed in the course of the research to anyone else apart from me. I pledge that your privacy will be respected. Should you agree to assist in the research project, please sign the consent form below.

Statement of Consent

The researcher CORAL FORBES has explained what she needs from me clearly. I understand that my name will not be used in this thesis and that I can withdraw from the interview and have the recording deleted at any time. I hereby give my permission to be interviewed and recorded.
(Signed)………………….
Date……………………………………...Place…………………………….…………….

My contact details are: (mobile) **0824720108** or (email) **meyer.coral@gmail.com**

If you require any additional information, please contact my supervisor, Professor Bassey

Antia /bantia@uwc.ac.za.

A place of quality, a place to grow, from hope to action through knowledge

Translanguaged Siding

Dear 1st /2nd year student,

I'm Coral Forbes, a PhD candidate in the Faculty of Arts: Department of Linguistics at the University of the Western Cape. I'm researching the communication which takes place between students while a lecturer is teaching. In this questionnaire I refer to this communication as siding. I would therefore be grateful if you could complete the questionnaire. The questionnaire would take approximately 10-15 minutes to complete. The questionnaire is to be completed on Google forms.

My research proposal has been approved by the relevant Faculty and the Ethics committees. The data you'll be providing will be reported anonymously. Thank you for agreeing to participate in the study. The information you provide is valuable and will contribute to a better understanding of siding during lectures.

Thank you in advance

* Required

Gender

1. **Sex** *
   Mark only one oval.

   ( ) Male

   ( ) Female

2. **Year of study** *
   Mark only one oval.

   ( ) Year one

   ( ) Year two

   ( ) Year three (For example - If you repeated/ are repeating your first or second year)

3. **Faculty** *
   Check all that apply.

   [ ] Faculty of Arts

   [ ] Faculty of Science

4. **Which language / languages do you speak at home?**

8. **Below is a list of possible reasons why students engage in 'side chats' while a lecturer is teaching. How frequently do you engage in 'side chats' because of the following reasons?**
*

Check all that apply.

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
When I'm bored or disinterested in the topic.	☐	☐	☐	☐
When I don't understand the lecturers' point and need clarification.	☐	☐	☐	☐
When I simply want something repeated that I didn't hear because of bad acoustics.	☐	☐	☐	☐
When I would like to challenge/ or disagree with something the the lecturer has said, but I say it to a person (using a medium of my choice) instead.	☐	☐	☐	☐
When I agree/ support something the lecturer has said, but tell the person close to me.	☐	☐	☐	☐

9. **When you 'side chat' with someone while a lecture is in progress... *How far away from you are the person (distance), and what medium (text, talk or phone call) do you use to convey a message? ***

Check all that apply.

	Right next to me.	A few seats from me.	In the next row.	On the other side of the class.	Not in the same class
Talk to them (verbal).	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Write a note or scribble a drawing or an emoticon.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Gesture someone (waving hand, wink etc.)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Call someone on the phone.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Send a text message	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

10. **Who are you more likely to have a 'side chat' with while the lecturer is teaching? ***
Check all that apply.

☐ Only my close/ intimate friends.

☐ Social friends/People I know and talk to who are not part of my close / intimate friends.

☐ Assignment friends/Intellectual friends - People who I share academic interests with, but I don't socialise with them.

☐ People I always see in class, but I've never been introduced to them/ Their faces are familiar.

☐ Fellow students I don't know at all / I have never seen them in class.

☐ Other:

13. **How frequently is your 'side chat' in a language which is not the language used by the lecturer? *Remember: You are 'side chatting' while the lecturer is teaching. ***

Mark only one oval.

- ◯ Always
- ◯ Often
- ◯ Sometimes
- ◯ Never

14. **Note: I want to know if the language you 'side chat' in, changes when the language of the lecturer is different. * When a lecture is given in English, Afrikaans, Xhosa, French and so on, which language/ languages are you 'side talking' in , while the lecturer is lecturing? Tick -off one of the languages then please type in which language you would 'side chat' in . ***

Mark only one oval.

- ◯ English
- ◯ Portugese
- ◯ Shona
- ◯ French
- ◯ Ndebele
- ◯ Northern Sotho
- ◯ Sotho
- ◯ SiSwati
- ◯ Tsonga
- ◯ Tswana
- ◯ Venda
- ◯ Xhosa
- ◯ Zulu
- ◯ Afrikaans
- ◯ Arabic
- ◯ Other: _____

21. The language you 'side chat' in possibly depends on... *

Check all that apply.

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
if the person is a close friend.	☐	☐	☐	☐
if the person is a social friend, but not a close friend.	☐	☐	☐	☐
if we are assignment friends, but we don't socialise.	☐	☐	☐	☐
if I've talked to them before.	☐	☐	☐	☐
If we speak the same language.	☐	☐	☐	☐

22. How would you rate the following non-verbal communication in your 'side chats'? *

Mark only one oval per row.

	Very important	Important	Not important
Hand/arm gestures	◯	◯	◯
Facial expressions	◯	◯	◯
Rolling of eyes/wink	◯	◯	◯
A knowing look	◯	◯	◯
A wink	◯	◯	◯
Nodding the head	◯	◯	◯

23. When in a lecture that you want to listen to, but other students are 'side chatting' in some way... *

Check all that apply.

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
You don't mind.	☐	☐	☐	☐
You ask them to be quiet.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Be angry, but say nothing.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Think its disrespectful.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Feel embarrassed for this behaviour.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Join them.	☐	☐	☐	☐

24. Which of the following categories best describe your academic standing? I am more towards the... *

Mark only one oval.

◯ Top of the class

◯ Middle of the class

◯ Bottom of the class

15. **While a lecture is in progress, and you 'side chat' with someone in a language other then the language of instruction, which medium do you use for which languages?** *

Check all that apply.

	Send them a text.	Make a gesture.	Write them a note or a drawing.	Talk to them.	Give them a call.
English	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Portugese	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Shona	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
French	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ndebele	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Northern Sotho	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sotho	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
SiSwati	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tsonga	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tswana	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Venda	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Xhosa	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Zulu	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Afrikaans	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

16. **When you 'side chat' in a lecture while the lecturer is teaching, which language / languages do you use when you're bored or disinterested in the topic?** *

17. **When you 'side chat' in a lecture while the lecturer is teaching, which language/ languages do you use when you don't understand the lecturers' point and need clarification from a fellow student, close friend etc. ?** *

18. **When you 'side chat' in a lecture while the lecturer is teaching, which language/ languages do you use when you simply want something repeated that you didn't hear because of bad acoustics.** *

19. **When you 'side chat' in a lecture while the lecturer is teaching, which language/ languages do you use when you'd like to challenge/ or disagree with something the the lecturer has said, but you say it to a person close to me instead.** *

20. **When you 'side chat' in a lecture while a lecturer is teaching, which language/ languages do you use when you agree/ support something the lecturer has said, but tell the person close to you instead.** *

11. **Below is a list of the different types of acquaintances you might have 'side chats' with in a class while a lecturer is teaching. Select the medium you would use for the different types of acquaintances. ***

Check all that apply.

	Send them a text.	Make a gesture.	Write them a note or a drawing.	Talk to them.	Give them a call.
Only my close/ intimate friends.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Social friends/People I know and talk to who are not part of my close /intimate friends.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Assignment friends/Intellectual friends - People who I share academic interests with, but I don't socialise with them.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
People I always see in class, but I've never been introduced to them/ Their faces are familiar.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Fellow students I don't know at all / I have never seen them in class.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

12. **When people 'side chat', they do so in a language or a combination of languages. Please name the language/languages you 'side chat' in. ***

Check all that apply.

☐ Venda

☐ Zulu

☐ Ndebele

☐ Northern Sotho

☐ Sotho

☐ SiSwati

☐ Tsonga

☐ Tswana

☐ Afrikaans

☐ English

☐ Xhosa

☐ Portugese

☐ French

☐ Shona

☐ Arabic

☐ Hindi

☐ Other:

5. **When a lecture is in progress, how often do you... ***

Check all that apply.

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
talk to a fellow student while the lecturer is teaching?	☐	☐	☐	☐
write a fellow student a note (or drawing) while the lecturer is teaching?	☐	☐	☐	☐
gesture to a fellow student (gesture with your hands, eyes or other movements to convey a message) while a lecturer is teaching?	☐	☐	☐	☐
text someone while the lecturer is teaching? (The person you want to send a message to, could be inside or outside of class).	☐	☐	☐	☐
phone someone while the lecturer is teaching?	☐	☐	☐	☐

6. **When you engage in 'side chats' (whisper to a friend; write a message, scribble a note; make a facial/or hand gesture etc.) while the lecturer is teaching, how frequently do you engage in the listed topics. ***

Check all that apply.

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
Personal matters.	☐	☐	☐	☐
A discussion about a point the lecturer has made.	☐	☐	☐	☐
General academic matters /Matters not necessarily related to the lecture in progress, for example an assignment.	☐	☐	☐	☐

7. **Below is a list of 'side chats' (whisper to a friend; write a message, scribble a note; make a facial/or hand gesture etc.) students possibly engage in. Which medium do you use when you want to send a message about one of the following topics: (medium refers to different ways a message can be conveyed for example a text, phone call or a gesture) ***

Check all that apply.

	Send them a text.	Make a gesture.	Talk to them.	Write a note or a drawing.	Phone call.
Personal matters.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A discussion about a point the lecturer has made/ Tell a fellow student something about a point the lecturer has made.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
General academic matters / matters not necessarily related to the lecture but still academic in nature. For example an assignment.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Siding in lecture halls

Dear lecturer,

I'm Coral Forbes, a PhD candidate in the Faculty of Arts: Department of Linguistics at the University of the Western Cape. I'm researching the communication which takes place between students while a lecturer is teaching. In this questionnaire I refer to this communication as siding. I would therefore be grateful if you could complete the questionnaire. The questionnaire would take approximately 5 - 10 minutes to complete. The questionnaire is to be completed on Google forms.

My research proposal has been approved by the relevant Faculty and the Ethics committees. The data you'll be providing will be reported anonymously. Thank you for agreeing to participate in the study. The information you provide is valuable and will contribute to a better understanding of siding during lectures.

Thank you in advance

* Required

1. **Do you see students do the following while you're lecturing: ***
   Check all that apply.

   ☐ Chat to each other

   ☐ Text (phones)

   ☐ Write notes to each other

   ☐ Have group discussions while you're teaching

   ☐ Use signs like gesture, eye movement, head movements etc to communicate

   ☐ Play card games while you're teaching

   ☐ Do assignments of other subjects while you're

   teaching Other: _____

2. **How frequently do they chat to each other? *** *Mark only one oval.*

   ◯ Sometimes

   ◯ Always

   ◯ Never

3. **How frequently do they text each other? *** *Mark only one oval.*

   ◯ Sometimes

   ◯ Always

   ◯ Never

4. **How frequently do they write notes to each other? *** *Mark only one oval.*

   ◯ Sometimes

   ◯ Always

   ◯ Never

5. **How frequently do they communicate through non- linguistic means? *** *Mark only one oval.*

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○ Sometimes

○ Always

○ Never

6. **How frequently do they chat in groups? *** *Mark only one oval.*

○ Sometimes

○ Always

○ Never

7. **How frequently do they have groups' discussions about other subjects? ***

○ Sometimes

○ Always

○ Never

8. **Students are chatting. What's your reaction? *** *Check all that apply.*

☐ I   don't care

☐ It irritates me

☐ They are disrespectful

☐ I trust that they are discussing points I have covered

9. **Students are chatting/texting on their phones. What's your reaction? ***

☐ I   don't mind

☐ It irritates me

☐ They are disrespectful

☐ I trust that they are discussing points I have covered

10. **Students are writing notes to each other. What's your reaction? *** *Check all that apply.*

☐ I don't mind

☐ It irritates me

☐ They are disrespectful

☐ I trust that they are discussing points I have covered

11. **Students are using non- linguistic communication methods to communicate while you're teaching. What's your reaction? *** *Check all that apply.*

☐ I   don't mind

☐ It irritates me

☐ They are disrespectful

☐ I trust that they are discussing points I have covered

12. **Students are discussing other subjects while you're teaching. What's your reaction? *** *Check all that apply.*

☐ I   don't mind

☐ It irritates me

☐ They are disrespectful

☐ I trust that they are discussing points I have covered

13. **In your opinion, what are the possible reasons students are chatting, texting, communicating non verbally etc. while you're teaching. *** *Check all that apply.*

☐ They are discussing the work I'm teaching.

☐ They don't care about their studies.

☐ They are not interested in the topic

☐ They have language barriers and don't always understand.

They can multitask in a big way.

14. **In your opinion, what are the students' talking/texting/signaling/ writing notes about? *** *Check all that apply.*

☐ They are discussing the work I'm teaching.

☐ They are having personal conversations

☐ They are discussing another

☐

subject Other:

Appendix E

Qualitative question guide:

Word/s and mnemonic		Explanation	Sample questions the researcher asked
Ethnography of communication (mnemonic)			
S	Situation/setting/scene	The setting refer to the time and place. The scene defines the cultural setting	**Where** is it? What does it look like there? What is the atmosphere? Is it a public or private place? What is the physical arrangement of the artefacts? How does the physical arrangement impact what's going on? How are the participants organised spatially? How does it influence what's going on? What is the significance of the occasion? What is the cultural significance?
P	Participants	Speaker or audience — Addressor or addressee — Hearer or sender	Who is taking part in the event? Number of participants? Are they absent or present? What are their ages? Gender? Ethnicity? What is the physical proximity between interlocutors? Is it a dialogue, monologue or polylogue? What are the participant's roles? What are the participant's responsibilities? What is the balance of turn – taking? What is the order of authority? Who has the most power? What are the participant's rights? What are their expectations and obligations? What are their attitudes/toward each other/ the event? Do we get an idea of the ideologies? Do we get an idea what the participant's status is in life? What's are the participants language proficiency? Are there language varieties present?
E	Ends	Purpose, goal or aim	Why is this event happening? Why is it happening in this way? What is this event about? What do they want to achieve with the event? Information? Negotiate knowledge? To develop a closer relationship? To entertain? What outcomes were actually achieved?

A	Act	The sequential organisation of speech acts	What was the form and the content of the message? Why does the message take this from? What is the topic? What was the content of the speech act about? Does the speech act have a sequential order? What is the sequential order? Why does it have this order? Addressing a group or an individual? Which mode/medium was used? Why was it used?
K	Key	Tone	What is the tone /spirit of the exchange? Serious or playful? Casual or friendly? Sarcastic or cooperative?
I	Instrumentalities	Channels, forms, styles of speech	Which mediums are used? Why are these mediums used? When are the use of this medium necessary? What linguistic resources are available? So, why was this specific one used? What is the style of communication? Why is it this way?
N	Norms	Rules of the interaction	What are the perceived rules for the interaction? Or which rules govern the interaction? What are the norms for what is being interpreted? What cultural knowledge is needed for the message to be interpreted correctly? Are there standards? Things you must know to be part of this community? Thus, what is the underlying cultural belief system? Is the communication socially appropriate?
G	Genres	Type of speech event	What type of event is it? Information/ negotiation/ debate/ problem solving/ phatic exchange – small talk/ transactional talk/ interpersonal talk

Appendix F

Face to face interview

Two siding students.

Researcher:	What year of study are you in?
Student C:	…first year
Student F:	[first]
Researcher:	In which faculty?
Student C:	In the science faculty
Student F:	… [science]
Researcher:	How do you find life on campus?
Student C:	Nice…very nice @
Student F:	… [different] ….good…@
Student F:	we like it… (cough)… we meet new people from everywhere
Student C:	we see….(cough)…we see… lots of Gugs people [Gugulethu]
Student F:	…people are going somewhere… they are successful …we will be them… (cough)… we learn…
Student C:	[we become]…good students.
Student F:	[good students]
Researcher:	You want to be successful like the other students?
Student C:	[yes]@

Student F: [yes] @

Researcher: How do you come to campus?

Student C: …with the…[bus]

Student F: … [taxi]

Student C: lift….we sometimes get a lift

Researcher: Do you live in one area?

Student F: yes (both shake heads)… in Gugs… (Gugulethu)

Researcher: Tell me about where you live

Students C: you know….

Student F: [people] are poor.

Student F: very poor…

Student C: people don't go to varsity….. they work for white people..

Student F: I'm not working for white people.

Researcher: What are the houses like?

Student F: …we live in small houses

Student C: [very small]… have you been in one of those small houses?

Researcher: Yes, many times

Student F: ….@…(cough)…..

Researcher: Who lives with you {student C}

Student C: … (cough) mother, sisters and mothers mother and uncle

Researcher: And you?

Student F: … (cough) mother, brother, sister and uncles

Researcher: What would make your lives better right now?

Student C: Car…..@@@or a place close to campus… phone@@

Student F:	…. [laptop, phone]
Researcher:	Is university very different from school?
Student C:	yes….people don't care
Student F:	[yes]
Researcher:	What people?
Student C:	…(cough)…teachers….they not like …(cough)…teachers at school
Researcher:	What were teachers at school like?
Student F:	… (cough) …they helped us
Researcher:	Did you go to the same school?
Student F:	[yes]
Student C:	[yes]
Researcher:	What were teachers like?
Student C:	… nice… they helped us…they… (cough)… talked to us in Xhosa
Student F:	[explained]…..we talked….
Researcher:	But your language at school was English?
Student F:	…yes, but the teachers were Xhosa
Student C:	… (cough)…we asked questions in Xhosa
Student F:	It was better to understand….
Student C:	[better]
Researcher:	To understand what?
Student F:	… (cough)…anything…anything… that… that…(cough) you want to know

Student C:	…say…say you don't…you don't …(cough) understand a …a sum, they…the teacher…they… explain it in Xhosa
Student F:	[that is better]
Researcher:	What about English?
Student F:	….ehm….my English …@@is not good. I will learn…
Student C:	[me too]….next year… we …we do better.
Researcher:	What languages do you speak?
Student C:	Xhosa, Zulu and English
Student F:	[same…. same]
Researcher:	You seem to be good friends?
Student F:	We …bf@@
Student C:	Yes bro@
Researcher:	Have you been friends for long?
Student F:	…From grade nine.
Student C:	[yes]
Researcher:	Do you have English friends?
Student F:	no only Xhosa friends…… I …I…I don't like talking English
Researcher:	Why not?
Student F:	… (cough)…its…its broken
Researcher:	What is broken?
Student C:	The English ….when…when… we speak
Student C:	I watch English movies@@
Student F:	yes! @@

Researcher: Where was the lecture you told me about?

Student F: In the science building.

Student C: [science]

Researcher: How long did the lecture last?

Student C: one and a half an hour?

Student F: No two hours.

Researcher: Okay.

Researcher: How many students do you think was in the lecture hall?

Student C: A lot.

Student F: [many…yes]

Researcher: Can you say more or less how many?

Student F: Maybe…(cough)… 150 … (cough)…or more

Student C: [more]

Researcher: Okay

Researcher: Do you think they were all first years?

Student F: No!

Student C: [some of them were old…]

Student f: [yes]

Researcher: They looked old?

Student F: …. did not look like first years.

Student C: some failed…… remember that old guy?.....@@

Student F: Yes@@

Researcher: Were the other students all English?

Student C: yes…but others were Xhosa and other languages

Student F: …some are not our people.

Researcher: Where were you two sitting?

Student F: …on… (cough)…on the side……more in the middle…on the side

Student F: yes…[yes]

Student C: yes…. I…I always…always…(cough) sit next to him.

Student F: …his…he is…he is my friend…. @

Researcher: What was the lecture about?

sssssssssssssssssssssssssssssssssss

Researcher: Do you two like the topic?

Student C: yes

Student F: [yes]…..liked it…liked it… at school.

Researcher: Was the lecture interesting?

Student C: …that man…that man…(cough)…the teacher… just talks

Student F: yes...he talks and talks.

Researcher: What do you mean?

Student F: he…he talks and talks….like…(cough) he talks….he stands still…he talks and talks.

Student C: He…he looks at the sky…and talks and talks…(cough)…so..@

Researcher: How do you mean?

Student C: He talks to himself…@@

Student F: @@

Researcher: @

Researcher: Were students interested in the lecture?

Student F: …people…people were sitting…

Student C: [quiet]….they…

Student F: [they] were quiet.

Student C: [quiet]

Researcher: Was there a power point?

Student F: No.

Student C: [No] just talking…he talked.

Student F: ….(cough) just talking and talking..

Student C: talking…

Researcher: Did he ask you questions?

Student F: No.

Student C: [Talking]

Researcher: Did you ask him questions?

Student F: No!....I don't talk in class!

Student C: [No]…..my English is broken… people …people laugh.

Student F: ….they think…they think… we…that we stupid.

Researcher: Why would they think that?

Student F: …our English …because…(cough) English not good….

Student C: [next year]…our English will…will…(cough) be good.

Researcher: Why next year?

Student F: We'll learn…learn this year.

Researcher: What was the whispered conversation about?

Student C: I…(cough)…I…I didn't understand….so I …(cough)…asked him in Xhosa.

Researcher: What did you ask him? You can say it in Xhosa.

Student C: ….. I said ….Uthi usandukuthini?

Student F: … and I told him….Andiyazi

Student C: …. Then I asked…Ndathemba akukhonto ibhaliweyo

Researcher: Did you just look at him and ask?

Student C: …(cough)…no…you know…I …I whispered in his ear…(cough)…he…he shake head…he…said no. I…I hoped…there…there was notes.

Researcher: Why didn't you ask the lecturer?

Student C: No!.....we..

Student F: [We] don't!

Student C: He…(cough)…he doesn't speak Xhosa.

Researcher: You want someone to say it in Xhosa?

Student C: Yes.

Student F: [yes]

Researcher: So, what did you do about this?....(cough) I mean later….after class?

Student F: We…(Cough) we asked another…another student to… to explain.

Researcher: Did you understand? I mean did you understand when the other student explained?

Student F: Yes.

Student C: [yes]… (cough)… he explained…he eplained in Xhosa and English

Researcher: Tell me about what else you whispered about?

Student F: that man…

Student C: [the lecturer]…

Student F: He got…he got…that… explanation wrong.

Student C: [wrong] …is was not right. We did….we did not learn that at school.

Researcher: In which language did you whisper?

Student F: Xhosa

Researcher: Can you tell me the words you said?

Student C: I said…….Andiqondi ukuba lento ayithethayo inyanisile

Student F: I said…..Ayivakali kakuhle

Student C: I said: Kuthetha ukuthini uba globalization?

Researcher: Why don't you use the Xhosa word for globalisation?

Student F: There is no….

Student C: [there is no] Xhosa word…no word

Student F: We asked this other student….

Student C: Yes…we ask him…(cough)he said… we were…we were right

Student F: we were right…….he was wrong

Researcher: Did you tell him he was wrong? The lecturer? Did you tell him he was wrong?

Student F: No!

Student C: [No!] You don't say a teacher is wrong.

Student F: We…we know. So … (cough) that's okay.

Appendix G

Researcher interview answer sheet for voice notes/ calls

1.   How old are you? __/__   Year of study ___/__

2.   What is your home language/s?

_____

3.   How long have you been friends?

_____

_____

_____

4.   Do you usually sit with him/her in a lecture? _____

5.   During which lecture did you have the side chat?_____

6.   Where was the lecture? _____

7.   How manty students were there? _____

8.   Was there notes, a power point? Anything else?

_____

9.   How did you find the lecture?

_____

_____

_____

10.   What about the lecturer? (Strict, active and so on)

_____

_____

_____

11.   What was the side chat about?

_____

_____

_____

12.   Why did you need to do this or that?

_____

_____

13.   Why did you use this method and not another one?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Appendix H

Interview sheet for section 6.4

English Student: Planning Assignment

(2)

Planning Ass. in whatsapp group during class.

Participant interviews 19, 19, 18 - Ask for other age.

1. How old are you? _/_ Year of study 2/ for all
2. What is your home language/s? English
3. How long have you been friends?
   All from last year. We are friends at Univ. Not close friends.
   We don't do weekends.
4. Do you usually sit with him/her in a lecture? No - Each have own Uni friends.
5. During which lecture did you have the side chat? Earth Science
6. Where was the lecture? Science building
7. How many students were there? about 120
8. Was there notes, a power point? Anything else? Ask again
   A PP + notes.
9. How did you find the lecture?
   Good. He had pictures of different   The students asked many
   questions. Expl. and talks about different stuff.
10. What about the lecturer? (Strict, active and so on)
    No, he is funny. He likes to make jokes. He says nothing if we talk or
    chat on phones. like to listen to him   Sitting not against rule of class.
11. What was the side chat about?   most   Some are serious
    The whatsapp group for   . Pple saying what they would
    contribute for presentation. And some more just making fun. You see the
    laughty emoji's.
12. Why did you need to do this or that?
    We have many classes. So we did not have time to get together.
13. Why did you use this method and not another one?   get on group together - which - so, specially.
    We get together on the group. We can discuss / we divide work / or, we give
    ideas of what to do + then make a date when thing are ready.
    Everybody must speak - Give input. Rule
    Pple don't take turns - they say what they want to - at anytime - some pple tell
    others to stop - Lets decide on this or that.
    We are friendly - very friendly. We like working together /.We all have nice
    phones.
    Sometimes we only get together when we do the assignment or presentation.
    - like these ppl. like group.

Appendix I

Interview sheet for section 6.2

Afrikaans Student

(9)

Participant interviews

1. How old are you? 19 __   Year of study 1
2. What is your home language/s? Afrikaans [she can speak English] Afrikaans school
3. How long have you been friends?
   We went to the same school. Lives in the same area. Eerstejaar Afrikaans school. Close friends for
   years. Not so close now. She does not want to be my friend. I want to be her friend. We can come to class together. {I sit with other people / I want to sit with her} She does not want to be my friend?
4. Do you usually sit with him/her in a lecture? Not any more. She does not want
5. During which lecture did you have the side chat? Science
6. Where was the lecture? Science gebou | Science building
7. How manty students were there? But about - more than 100. Misken 150-200.
8. Was there notes, a power point? Anything else? Basic lekker. Ek hou vi die man. Hy verduidelik.
   He had a PP, and notes. He asks many questions / we also ask questions. lekker. Hy vra bare vrae - ons moet luister. Hy is soos 'n hal.
9. How did you find the lecture?
   I like the lecture. I always like his lectures. The lectures are well prepared.
   You want to listen to him. You want to answer the questions. I like chemicals.
10. What about the lecturer? (Strict, active and so on) I like learning about chemicals
    Yes and No - A person must pay attention. You are there to learn, not to play
11. What was the side chat about? Ons het al ons geeet in Afrikaans gekei. Nou is alles in
    Engels. Ek luister. Ek vertaal in my kop. As ek nie weet nie, vra ek altyd vir Lani. Si is slim.
    I went to school in Afrikaans. At UWC, everything is in English. So I have to listen to the lecture, then I translate it in my head. Then when I don't know. I ask my friend.
12. Why did you need to do this or that?
    I did it. I thought I know the chemical he was talking about. I just wanted an Afrikaans example
13. Why did you use this method and not another one? [had to explain in a few voice nots?]
    She was sitting far away. She was not next to me. The lecturer would 'skel' admonish me if I shouted. I had her number that is why I sent the msg. Why did'nt you ask someone next to you? People I dont know. I cant talk to people I dont know. Who was sitting next to you? People I dont know. Were they Afrikaans? No, English and Xhosa or Zulu. They were not Afrikaans. Why did you write chemical in English? Soms is die Afrikaanse woorde te lank. Sometimes the Afrikaans words are too long. Are you sure that your friend(s) understood what you are saying. Yes, everybody understands the letters. Even your family - Yes, all my family understands. Everybody writes like this. It's nice. It is fast. Did you find the book you are looking for? Yes, I have 2. I wanted to study at Stellenbosch, because it is Afrikaans, but I did'nt get in.

Scr. shot - after class.

Appendix J

Basic Symbols for Discourse Transcription

Level 3+ by Topic

MEANING	SYMBOL	COMMENTS
Unit		

word	_SPACE_	space before and after marks word
intonation unit *Participation*	_LINE_	one new line for each intonation unit
speaker attribution *Pause*	JILL;	semicolon follows name in CAPS
pause, timed	(1.2)	pause duration in seconds and tenths of seconds
hold/micropause	..	< 150 milliseconds; brief silence, break in phonation
pause, untimed	...	0.2 seconds or more (timed pause is preferred)
lag/prosodic lengthening *Sequence*	:	colon marks slowing of local tempo, segment lengthening
overlap (first pair)	[ ]	align left square brackets vertically
overlap (2nd pair) *Boundary Tone/Closure*	[₂]	align left brackets, co-indexed with subscript numeral
terminative	.	intonation morpheme signaling finality (period)
continuative	,	intonation morpheme signaling continuation (comma)
truncated intonation unit	—	aborting projected IU (em dash; OR: two hyphens)
appeal *Dysfluency*	?	combines with final/continuing: ?. ?,
truncated/cut-off word *Vocalisms*	wor–	aborting projected word (en dash)
breath (in)	(H)	audible inhalation
exhale	(Hx)	audible exhalation
laugh	@	one per pulse or particle of laughter
laughing word	@you're @kidding	laugh symbol marks laughter during word
vocalism	(COUGH)	various notations: (SNIFF), (AHEM), etc.
click	(TSK)	alveolar click

| glottal stop, creak | (%) | separate vocalism = separate "word" |
| | | |

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