

APPENDIX A: ----- INFORMATION LETTER

University of the Witwatersrand
Applied English Language Studies
 Tel: (011) 717 4160 (Secretary)

Language, immigration and ethnicity: Implications for the development of multilingual practices in DRC immigrant families

Information letter

Dear Parents, Principals and Teachers

My name is GIASUMA Kasandji KAMUANGU. I am an immigrant from the Democratic Republic of Congo and a PhD student in the Department of Applied English Language Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am currently undertaking research on language, immigration and ethnicity in some DRC immigrant families. I would like to invite you to participate in the research project. Please note that your participation in this study is entirely voluntary and you may withdraw from it at any time, if you wish.

As the title indicates, the aim of the research is to investigate language practices in DRC immigrant families: what languages children use and how they use them with the family and their peers at school.

The project will be conducted in two stages: (1) *observations* at home and at a later stage (2) *interviews* at home and school.

In families, I will look at 'who uses what languages with whom, when, where and why?' And at school, 'how immigrants' children interact with teachers and peers in classrooms and in the playground'.

In order to help me to carry out my project, I would like to obtain access to your families and schools with your co-operation. In accordance with the '*Ethics in Human Sciences*' for the research using human subjects, all the participants have the right to remain anonymous and to their own privacy, respect and dignity. No name of any research sites and participants will appear in the project. Any information I obtain from observation or interview will be used for educational research purposes only. I request your permission to use this information in my research report and publications.

After completion of my project, I will share my findings both with parents and schools.

Thank you.

Giasuma K. Kamuangu

APPENDIX B: ----- INFORMED CONSENT**Informed consent statement**

I have received a copy of the Information Letter and have understood its content. I voluntarily consent to take part in this research project. I also understand that I may withdraw my family and my child(ren) from the project at any time.

Parent's signature

Date: _____

Tel: (011)

Cell: 0

Principal's/Teacher's signature

Date: _____

Tel: (011)

APPENDIX C: ----- INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Semi-structured Interview Questions (Sample)

A. Life account and family language policy

1. Briefly, please tell me about yourself before migrating (job, reasons for leaving the DRC).
2. What is your language policy in the home in SA, and why?
3. What languages were you speaking in the family in the DRC, and why?

B. General questions to family members

1. DRC languages:

- 1.1. Do you speak DRC languages?
- 1.2. How well do you speak them? (Very well, fairly well, a little)
- 1.3. Which ones can you understand?
- 1.4. Which ones can you read or write?
- 1.5. How well do you read or write them?
- 1.6. How did you learn them?
- 1.7. Which ones have you studied?
- 1.8. Which one do you need most here?

2. South African languages:

- 2.1. Do you speak South African languages?
- 2.2. How well do you speak them? (Very well, fairly well, a little)
- 2.3. Which ones can you understand?
- 2.4. Which ones can you read or write?
- 2.5. How well do you read or write them?
- 2.6. How did you learn them?
- 2.7. Which ones have you studied?
- 2.8. Which one do you need most here?

3. What languages do you use in these places?

- 3.1. With family in the home
- 3.2. With family outside the home
- 3.3. The DRC community
- 3.4. Church
- 3.5. Your own area

Appendix C: ----- Interview schedule

4. Which languages are you often addressed in at these places?

- 4.1. On a bus
- 4.2. While shopping
- 4.3. In the street/at a bus stop (for information need)
- 4.4. In the DRC community

C. Specific questions (to)

5. Parents

- 5.1. What languages do you usually use with your partner?
- 5.2. What languages do you speak most in to your partner?
- 5.3. What languages do you usually feel more comfortable in?
- 5.4. What languages do you speak in to your children?
- 5.5. Why do you use these languages with them?
 - a. How do you feel when you speak your DRC languages?
 - b. How do you feel when you cannot speak/understand children's languages?
 - c. What languages do you speak or are addressed in at work?
 - d. Can you speak DRC languages freely anywhere?
 - e. Do you prefer an African language as a medium of instruction over English for children?

6. Immigrant children

- 6.1. Which languages do you speak in to your sister/s and brother/s, or among yourselves when parent are not there?
- 6.2. Which languages do you speak in to your parents: (I) father and (II) mother?
- 6.3. Which languages are you usually addressed in by (I) father and (II) mother?
- 6.4. Which language/s do you feel more comfortable in?
- 6.5. Do you feel free to speak your DRC languages anywhere?
- 6.6. How do you feel when you speak or can understand DRC languages?
- 6.7. How do feel when you cannot speak / understand parents' (indigenous) languages?
- 6.8. What languages are you often addressed in at school?
- 6.9. Do you prefer an African language as a medium of instruction to English?
- 6.10. Which language do you use for school work at home?

Appendix C: ----- Interview schedule

7. Principals and schoolteachers

- 7.1. Which languages are most recommended in school?
- 7.2. Do school structures and attitudes favour/enhance the integration of new or foreign learners?
- 7.3. Do you sometimes or often speak to immigrant after classes in SA languages?
- 7.4. If, yes, what are your attitudes to their languages?
- 7.5. What are the advantages of teaching immigrants' children in the class?
- 7.6. Do you experience any difficulties having immigrants' children in the class?
If so, what is the nature of these difficulties and how do you manage them?
- 7.7. What difficulties do immigrants' children experience and from your observations, how do they manage them?

8. South African peers

- 8.1. Do you have friends among immigrant children?
- 8.2. What are your attitudes to foreign African children who do not speak your indigenous languages?

APPENDIX D: ----- ETHICS CLEARANCE

Dy: youngest daughter
Fc: fellow countryman

APPENDIX F: ----- FIELD NOTES

1. English-only family

Discussing the Johannesburg road map (mother and father)

- Finku: Donne-moi la carte de Jo'burg [French]
 Anaka: Unajua njila? [Swahili] (Do you know the way?)
 Finku: Oui, je sais. Donne- moi d'abord la carte. [French] (Yes, I know. First, hand me the map.)
 Laisse-moi lire la carte. [French] (Let me read the map)
 Anaka: Unajua? [Swahili] (Do you know?)
 Nous risquons de nous perdre. [French] (We may get lost.)
 Finku: Toi, tu connais? [French] (Do you know?)
 Anaka: Unafata nini? [Swahili] (What are you doing?)
 Mais appelle Hila pour demander. [French] (But call Hila for direction.)
 Finku: Ne t'en fais pas. [French] (Don't worry.)
 Anaka: Iko njila i highway? [Swahili, with an English word] (Is this a highway?)
 Finku: Non, non. C'est ça le highway. [French – Swahili] (No, no. This is the highway.)
 Anaka: Comment y aller? [French] (How to get there?)
 Tuende. [Swahili] (Let's go)
 On ne va pas se perdre. [French] (We will not get lost)

Talking about shopping (mother and father)

- Anaka: Frinku, il n'y a pas de fufu. Il faut acheter. [French]
 (Finku, there is no mealie-mealie. We have to buy it.)
 Finku: Envoie la fille au shop. Je suis fatigué. Je ne peux conduire. [French]
 (Send the daughter to the shop. I am tired. I can't drive.)
 Anaka: Akuna franca. Ngu patiyé R100. Franca yangu yote inaisha. [Swahili]
 (No money. Give me R100. All my money is finished.)
 Finku: Comment cela? [French] (How come?)
 Anaka: Si tuna kuwiza bintu. Je n'ai rien. [French] (But we bought items. I have nothing.)
 Finku: Aah, aah. Kamata makuta yaku ya business. [Swahili + English]
 (No, no. Take some money from your business.)
 Anaka: Akuna kintu. [Swahili] (There is nothing)
 Finku: Je n'ai rien sur moi. [French] (I have nothing on me.)
 Anaka: Si tuende ku ATM, ku banque. [Swahili + French] (Let's go to the ATM, to the bank.)
 Finku: Et Mr Giasuma va rester seul ici? [French] (And Mr. Giasuma will stay alone here?)
 Anaka: Akuna problème. Allons avec lui. [Swahili – French] (No problem. Let's go with him.)
 Finku: Mon cher, les femmes ont toujours des programmes improvisés. Allons-y. [French]
 (My dear, women always have unplanned programmes. Let's go there)

Talking about shopping (mother to father)

- Anaka: Finku, il n'y a pas de fufu. Il faut acheter. [French]
 (Finku, there is no mealie-mealie. We have to buy it.) [French]
 Finku: Envoie la fille au shop. Je suis fatigué. Je ne peux conduire. [French]
 (Send the daughter to the shop. I am tired. I can't drive.)
 Anaka: Akuna franca. Ngu patiyé R100. Franca yangu yote inaisha. [Swahili]
 (No money. Give me R100. All my money is finished.)
 Finku: Comment cela? [French] (How come?)
 Anaka: Si tuna kuwiza bintu. Je n'ai rien. [French] (But we bought items. I have nothing.)
 Finku: Aah, aah. Kamata makuta yaku ya business. [Swahili + English]
 (No, no. Take some money from your business.)
 Anaka: Akuna kintu. [Swahili] (There is nothing)
 Finku: Je n'ai rien sur moi. [French] (I have nothing on me.)
 Anaka: Si tuende ku ATM, ku banque. [Swahili + French] (Let's go to the ATM, to the bank.)

Appendix F: ----- Field notes

Finku: Et Mr Giasuma va rester seul ici? French] (And Mr. Giasuma will stay alone here?)
 Anaka: Akuna problème. Allons avec lui. [Swahili – French] (No problem. Let's go with him.)
 Finku: Mon cher, les femmes ont toujours des programmes improvisés. Allons-y. [French]
 (My dear, women always have unplanned programmes. Let's go there)

Talking about general matters (Parents and visitors) [Swahili only]

Kipi: Habari, mama? (Hi, mum?)
 Anaka: Muzuri (fine)
 Kipi: Habari za batoto? (How are the children?)
 Anaka: beko bien (They are fine)
 Kipi: Habari, Prof? (Hi, Prof?)
 Finku: Muzuri: Mambu yote inaenda bien. (Good. Everything is okay)
 Muto: Njo leo bariri kabisa? (It's cold very today?)
 Anaka: Iko bule (terrible)
 Finku: Bule sana. (Awful)

Talking about friends still in the DRC (Parents and visitors)

Kapen: Prof, habari ? (Prof, how are you?) [Swahili]
 Finku: Muzuri sana. (Very well) [Swahili]
 Kapen: Habari za kazi? (How is your job?) [Swahili]
 Finku: Ca va bien. On essaie de tenir bon. (Good. We keep on trying) [French]
 Kapen: Habari za Zeng? (How is Zeng?) [Swahili]
 Finku: Oui, il va bien. (Yes, he is fine.) [French]
 Kapen: Anatelephoner? (Does he give you a ring?) [Swahili + French]
 Finku: Mais pas ce dernier temps. Il semble qu'il a été promu. Il serait très occupé avec son nouveau boulot. [French]
 (But not this time. It seems that he was promoted. He would be very busy with his new job.)

At Finku's: news about a deceased (Parents and visitors)

Visitor: Ko ko ko (Knocking at the door)
 Anaka: *Karibu. Habari?* [Swahili] (Welcome. How are you?)
 Visitor: Prof, bonjour. [French] (Hi, Teacher)
 Finku: *Bonjour. Comment ça va?* [French] (Hi. How are you?)
 Visitor: Pas tellement. [French] (Not good.)
 Finku: *Semaka* [Swahili] (What's wrong?)
 Visitor: Le bébé de notre frère-là est décédé. [French] (That brother's baby is dead.)
 Anaka: *Mungu w'etu. Jua nini unapermettre iyi mambu?* [Code mixing: Swahili – French - Swahili]
 (Our God. Why do you allow such a situation?)
 Finku (to researcher): *Mon cher, nous devons aller là maintenant.* [French]
 (My dear, we must go there right now.)

Talking about homework (father and children)

Finku: Tevora, did you get any homework?
 Tevora: Yes.
 Finku: Have you already done it, or you want Papa Giasuma to help you?
 Tevora: It's already done. We've already done it. We are finished.
 Finku: What about Kisi and Shaady?
 Tevora: Their teacher helped them.
 Finku: What is going on here? You are too quiet. Anything wrong?

Appendix F: ----- Field notes

Tevora: No, papa. We are just relaxing, listening to music. Others are watching TV.

Father and Shaady, the youngest son (Talking about Diba)

Finku: Shaady: Where's Diba?

Shaady: She is not in. She went to Yeoville.

Finku: What for?

Shaady: She is in the market with mum. Mummy said she must join her.

(Pause)

Shaady: Daddy, will you go out with me when you take Papa Giasuma back?

Finku: Yeah, if you have already done your homework.

Shaady: Yes, I am finished. Ask Papa Giasuma.

Kisi to father (Asking for money)

Kisi: Daddy, we need some money for coke. Please.

Finku: Get the key and look in the car.

Kisi: Thank you, daddy.

Shaady: What about me? For all of us?

Finku: Yes. But leave some for mummy and your sister.

Shaady: Thank you, daddy.

Mother and children (Miscellaneous)

(1)

Anaka: Shaady, qu'est-ce que tu fais là ? Ton prof est déjà ici. [French]
(Shaady, what are you doing? Your teacher is already in here.)

Shaady: I'm coming.

Anaka: Dépêche-toi. Tevora, dis-lui de sortir vite. [French] (Be fast. Tevora, tell him to come out quickly)

Tevora: He has finished.

Anaka: Tevora, donne-moi de l'eau fraîche. Angaria mu frigo. [French – Swahili]
(Shaady, give me some fresh water. Look into the fridge.)

Tevora: It's frozen. All is frozen.

Anaka: Mets-y de l'eau du robinet. [French] (Put in some water from the tap.)

Anaka: Ngu patiyé biscuits, ni gâteau. [Swahili + French] (Bring me some biscuits and cake.)

Tevora: Where are they?

Shaady: I can see them in the kitchen.

Kisi: So go and take them.

(2)

Anaka: Ngu patiyé basani ya mbele [Swahili] (Give me some plates)

Tevora: (silence).

Anaka: Unasikiya? [Swahili] (Do you understand?)

Tevora: Where are they? [English]

Anaka: Angaria mu kikuku. [Swahili] (Look in the kitchen)

Tevora (acts without saying a word).

(3)

Anaka: Kisi, ngupatiye tricot yangu. Il fait froid. [Swahili - French] (Kisi, bring me my jersey. It's cold)

Kisi: (Silence – seems not to hear)

Anaka: Unasikiya? [Swahili] (Did you catch me?)

Kisi: Where is it? [English]

Anaka: Kuna ku chambre. Angaria mu chambre yetu. [Swahili - French word]

Appendix F: ----- Field notes

(Over there, in the bedroom. Look in our bedroom.)
Kisi (brings the jersey without saying a word)

(4)

Anaka: Diba anaenda wapi? [Swahili] (Where has Diba gone?)
Tevora: I don't know. We did not find her in the house. Maybe she is at her friends' house. [English]
Anaka: Anaenda avec la permission de qui? Elle ne m'a pas dit! [Swahili – French]
(She went out with whose permission? She did not tell me!)
Tevora: I don't know. [English]
Anaka: Apprêtez les histoires-là à la cuisine. [French]
(Take care of those things which are in the cuisine)

Children and children (Discussing the children's movie on SABC Education, in the kitchen)

Jemo: Hey, did you watch that movie?
Tevora: Yeah, I like it. It was great, wonderful.
Jemo: I liked more the cartoon part. The way those animals, the pets were jumping.
Shaady: I liked the superman. You know, when he flew to save that woman, you know. Hey, it was great.
Tevora: My friends told me they watch this movie every Thursday.
Kisi: Hey, you always want to watch TV but don't finish your work. Wait, your teacher will punish you tomorrow at school.
Shaady: Oh no. He does not. I will finish tonight before I go to bed.
Kisi: When? You always say so. Wait. Our daddy is coming. Hah, you'll see.
Jemo: Do you know how he speaks? Wait. Hah, wait. You'll see.
Shaady: Daddy never beats me. I will tell him you are lying. And he'll blame you.
(Daddy comes in, and all keep quiet.)

Children and children (Discussing the washing the dishes)

Diba: Who is going to wash the dishes today?
Tevora: It's Kisi's turn.
Kisi: No, it's Shaady.
Shaady: No, no. Mummy said I should not do it.
Kisi: Why? You don't eat?
Shaady: Because I am too young to do it. I cannot do it well.
Tevora: So, what can you do well, eating only?
Shaady: If I don't do it, Diba is going to do it.
Tevora: That's fine. She can do that for you.
Diba: Okay. I can do it. But who's going to cook?
Shaady: And if she does it, you will not eat until mummy comes back.
Jemo: But you can wash them. It's easy. You must try to do it.
Shaady: No, no. It is too early for me. I'm too young. Do it.
Jemo: When will you know?
Shaady: No. If I break some, mummy will blame you. I will tell daddy that.
Diba: Okay. Tevora, do that. Mummy and daddy will be back soon. I have to cook.
(Finally, Tevora and Jemo obey and wash the dishes, following their older sister's instructions.)

Children, researcher and children (researcher entering the house)

Diba: Shaady, your teacher is waiting for you.
Shaady: I'm coming. I'm taking my books.
(All the sons come out to greet the researcher.)

Appendix F: ----- Field notes

Res: Hi. How are you? (to each son)

Sons (in turn): *Fine*.

(With the older son, inside the house)

Res: What are you doing inside there?

Tevora: *We are watching TV. But others are doing their homework.*

Res: Why don't you come out and are always shut in your bedroom?

Tevora: *Because we like watching movies on TV, children's programmes: cartoon, education, and listening to music. We have our own TV. But sometimes we do work in the kitchen.*

Researcher, Diba and Shaady

(At the gate, with the older daughter)

Diba (daughter): *Bonjour* (Good morning)

Res: Bonjour. Papa et maman sont là? (Hi. Are dad and mum in?)

Diba: *Ils sont sortis. Mais Shaady et les autres sont là.*

(They are out. But Shaady and the others are there)

Res: Ça va. Je suis venu pour Shaady. (Ok. I came for Shaady)

(Field notes 1: Appendix F)

(At the gate, then in the house and finally at the exit, using French, Swahili and then English)

Diba: *Bonjour, Papa* [French] (Good day, father)

Res: Bonjour [French] (Good day)

Diba: *Karibu. Shaady is having a shower.* [Swahili – English]

(Come in, please. Shaady is having a shower.)

Res: All right. I can wait.

Diba (to Shaady): *Shaady, Shaady, your teacher is here.*

Shaady: *I am finished.*

Diba (to researcher): *He is coming.*

(Researcher leaving the house)

Res: Can anyone open the gate for me?

Diba: *Ah, vous partez déjà?* (Are you leaving?) [French]

Res: Oui. Au revoir. [French] (Yes. Bye)

Researcher – Shaady interaction

(1) [Tutorial]

Res: Hi. How are you?

Shaady: Fine.

Res: Are you ready for me today?

Shaady: Yes. My big brother also wants you to help him with his homework.

Res: Oh, that's lovely.

Res: Please do your work.

(While performing the task)

Shaady: Papa Giasuma, mina isha. [Swahili] (Papa Giasuma, I am finished)

Res: Muzuri. Unasemaka Kiswahili? [Swahili] (Good. Do you speak Swahili?)

Shaady: Yeah. But a little. What about you?

Res: Kidogo, a little. Who taught you (to speak) Swahili? [Swahili – French]

Shaady: Myself. When people speak, I copy. I speak with mummy.

Res: And with your daddy?

Shaady: No, no, English. With my daddy, I speak English, and with my mum, English, French and sometimes Swahili.

Appendix F: ----- Field notes

(2)

(Performing a task on a different day)

Res: Just the last exercise.

Shaady: I 'm finished. Mina'enda kubamba mu chambre. [English – Swahili + French]
(I'm finished. I 'm going to relax in the bedroom).

Res: How well do you speak DRC languages?

Shaady: A little.

Res: Can you say something in French?

Shaady: Bonjour. Comment ca va? [French] (Good day. How are you?)

Res: Qu'est-ce que tu fais là? [French] (What are you doing over there?)

Shaady: Mina liya. [Swahili] (I'm eating)

Res: Good.

2. French-only family

Parent – parent interaction (1)

(father – mother)

Jate: Amenez du pili-pili-pili à Papa Alfred. [French- African word borrowing]
(Bring some peri-peri for Papa Alfred)

Tebe: Bosilisa fufu wana. Ezali ya bino mibale. Etikala te. [Lingala]
(Please eat up that meal. It is for you. It must be finished.)

Jate: To ko meka Mama. [Lingala] (We will try, Mum)

Tebe: Te. Bo zo *travailler* mingi. *il faut* bolia mingi mpe. Bozua makasi ya mosala.
[Code-mixing Lingala – French]
(No. You are working hard. You have to eat. Become strong for the work (academic))

Jate: Mais toi aussi, viens manger. [French]
(But you come and eat with us)

Tebe: Te. Wana eza ya bino. Na kolia *après*. Papa Alfred aza *célibataire*. Aza
na muasi awa te. [Lingala & code switch Lingala – French]
(No. That is yours. I will eat later. Papa Alfred is single. He has no wife here)

Jate: Oui. Surtout lui. [French]
(Yes. Especially him)

Jate: Nalingi Mama Annia aya kosuanisa ngai te: *que* natalaka ye te. [Code switch Lingala – French *que*
'that'] (I don't want Mama Annia to blame me that I don't take care of him)

Parent – parent interaction (2) (mother to father)

[Talking about the university]

(1)

Tebe: Jate, lelo okokende université te? [Lingala – French borrowing]
(Jate, you are not going to university?)

Jate: Parfois, c'est fatigant de faire des tours, surtout quand on sait qu'on n'a pas grand chose
à faire là. [French]
(Sometimes it is tiring to make trips there, especially when you don't have a lot to do
there.)

Tebe: Alfred, eza pe malamamu ko pema moke ata mokolo moko. [Lingala] Alfred, it's also good to relax a
little for at least one day.)

Jate: C'est pas facile d'étudier à cet age-ci. [French] (It's not easy to study at this age)

Tebe: Okosala nini? Il faut obongisa avenir ya famille na yo. Il faut osala sacrifice. [Lingala – French]

Appendix F: ----- Field notes

(What can you do? You have to improve your family's life standing. You have to sacrifice yourself.)

Jate: Je l'espère. (I hope so.) [French]

(2)

[South African weather, and miscellaneous]

Tebe: Lelo penza, malili. Hah, mboka oyo! [Lingala] (It is cold very cold today. Hah, this country!)

Jate: Mais c'est ça l'Afrique du Sud. Chez toi il fait très chaud. Ici, c'est le contraire. [French]
(But this is what we call South Africa. In your country it is very hot. Here, it is the contrary.)

Tebe: Tokende kaka na Jumbo koluka biloko ya kolia, lokola ozali na motuka. [Lingala]
(Let us go to Jumbo to buy food as we drive.)

Jate: Mais tu as dit qu'il fait froid. Je voudrais travailler un peu à la maison, revoir ce chapitre et imprimer demain à Wits. [French].

(But you said it is cold. I would like to do my work at home, fix this chapter and print it out tomorrow at Wits.)

Tebe: Kasi toza na motuka. Tokowumela te. Eza mosika te. [Lingala]

(But we are driving. We won't be long. It is not so far.)

Jate (hesitating, thinking)

Tebe (in a sweet voice): Quelques minutes seulement, pas même deux heures. Après tout, je suis ta femme, n'est-ce pas? [Lingala – French]

(Just some minutes, not even two hours. After all, I am your wife, am I not?)

Jate: Ça va, tokende noki. Zua documents ya voiture. [French – Lingala code switch]

(Fine, let's be fast. Take the driving licence.)

Je ne veux pas qu'Alfred me condamne. [French] (I don't also want Alfred to blame me.)

Father – children interaction

(1)

Jate: Seno, regarde s'il y a quelque chose dans le congélateur. Donnez-nous avec Papa Alfred. [French]

(Seno: See if there is something in the refrigerator, give us) [French]

Seno: Oui, mais c'est pas froid. [French]

(Yes. But it is not chilled)

Jate: Regarde bien là en dessous. Tu peux trouver quelque chose de froid pour nous. Dépêche-toi. [French]

(Look well there at the bottom. You may find something chilled for us. Be quick) [French]

Seno: Papa, essaie ça. Ça va? [French]

(Dad, try this. Is it okay?) [French]

Jate: Oui. Mets-ça pour nous. Lepri, amène-nous les verres. [French]

(Yes. Insert it for us. Lepri, bring us glasses.)

Lepri: Combien, Papa? [French]

(How many, dad?)

Jate: Même deux. Merci. [French]

(Even two. Thank you)

Jate: Seno. Allez, sers-nous. [French]

(Seno, do serve us)

Sega: Papa, je peux vous servir? [French]

(Dad, can I serve you?)

Jate: Non, merci. [French]

(No, thank you)

Appendix F: ----- Field notes

(2) [Switching the television on]

Jate: Sega, il n'y a pas match de football à la télé? [French]
(Sega, isn't there any soccer match on TV?)

Sega: Oui, il y en a. [French]
(Yes, there is)

Seno: Did you see it? [English]

Sega: Yes. [English]

Seno: Do you see it? Hey, move from there. [English]

Jate (to Sega): Essaie encore bien. [French] (Try again well)

Sega: *Papa, tu vois ça?* [French] (Papa, do you see this?)
Let me check. I know, leave me. Papa sent me, not you. [English]
(Fighting with Seno and searching for the right channel)

Seno: *Quitte là.* Move away. *Move!* [French – English code switch]
(Move away. Move away. Move!)

Sega (obeys without saying a word.)

Parents – children interaction

[Sending children to buy bread]

Tebe (mother): Bosala noki. Bokende kosomba lipa. [Lingala]
(Be quick. You're going to buy some bread.)

Sega: Nous, on va acheter du pain. [French] (We are going to buy some bread.)

Peja: I want to go there alone. [English]

Jate (father): *Non.* Allez tous. Seno, Sega, Chris, accompagnez Peja. [French]
(No. Go all of you. Seno. Sega. Chris, go with Peja.)

Seno: Sega, put this jersey into the bedroom and bring me the yellow one. Be quick. [English]

Sega: *Ça? Look. This one?* [French - English] (This? Look. This one?)

Seno: Yes [English]

Jate: Peja, faites vite. Gardez bien les enfants. [French] (Peja, be quick. Take care of the children.)

Jate (to the researcher): Mon cher, ici il faut être sérieux pour l'éducation des enfants. [French]
(My dear, here you must be serious about the children's education.)

Mother – children interaction (1)

Tebe: Botshiela bango miziki ya Koffi. [Lingala] (Put on Koffi's music cassette for them.)

Seno (inserts the video cassette and tries to fix the screen.)

Tebe: Otshieli bango miziki ya Koffi? [Lingala]
(Did you put Koffi's music in for them?)

Mother – children interaction

(2)

[Turning on the stove: actors seated in the lounge]

Tebe: *Lepri? Debout. Va à la cuisine.* [French] (Lepri? Stand up. Go into the kitchen.)

Lepri: *One minute, I am watching cartoons.* [English]

Tebe: *Telema! Kende na cuisine kotia moto.* [Lingala – French]
(Stand up! Go into the kitchen and switch on the stove!) (high pitched)

Lepri (first hesitates and then obeys).

3)

Tebe: *Khriss, attention. Je vais te taper.* [French]
(Khriss, pay attention. I will slap.)

Appendix F: ----- Field notes

Khriss (does not seem to understand or stop doing what he was busy with)

Tebe: *Yo! Na ko beta yo. Keba!* [Lingala with high tone].

(You, I will hit you. Pay attention)

Khriss (this time obeys.)

(4)

[Putting music on by mother's order]

Tebe: *Botshiela bango miziki ya Koffi.* [Lingala] (Put on Koffi's video-cassette for them.)

Seno (inserts the video cassette and tries to fix the screen.)

Tebe: *Otshieli bango miziki ya Koffi?* [Lingala]

(Did you put Koffi's music in for them?)

Seno: *Ça ne se voit pas.* [French] (The TV screen is not clear.)

Tebe: *Sala yango malam.* [Lingala] (Fix it well.)

Seno: *Mais ça ne se voit pas. Regarde toi-même.* [French] (But it is not clear. Look.)

Sega (first SA-born son): *Laisse-moi faire cela.* [French] (Let me do it.)

Seno: *Laisse. Quitte.* [French] (Leave it. Go away.)

Sega: *But I know.* [English]

Seno: *You see. Did you see it? Did you see it? Leave it!* (with anger-like expression, high intonation, pushing him away.) [English]

Jate (to Sega): *Laisse ta grande soeur le faire.* (Let your big sister do it.) [French]

Seno: *You see, there is nothing. C'est pas clair.* (You see, there is nothing. It's not clear.)

Peja: *C'est pas clair, papa. It is not clear, you see.* [French – English]

Sega (obeys without resisting again.)

Jate: *Okay. Mets-nous de la musique alors.* (Okay. Then play on music for us.) [French] Tebe: *Botshiela bango radio cassette.* (Switch on the radio cassette for them.) [Lingala – French]

Seno: (turns the radio cassette on, playing DRC music.)

(5)

Tebe: *Bokitisa mongongo ya miziki. Bokanga yango.* [Lingala]

(Turn the volume down. Turn the radio off.)

Peja: *Mais maman, on écoute la musique.* [French] (But mum, we are listening to music.)

Tebe: *Cloclo, bokanga miziki! Botiya television.* [Lingala]

(Cloclo, turn off the music! Switch on the television.)

Cloclo: (hesitates and then obeys mum, i.e. turns the radio off and then switches TV on.)

Peja: *Leave it! Switch off the TV! Put on the music.* [English]

Seno: *No. We like music. It is nice.* [English]

Cloclo: (resists her siblings' wish.)

Peja (in aggressive high voice): *Switch on the music!* [English]

(Negative facial expressions of anger, and gestures)

Cloclo: (obeys Peja's command reversing her mother's.)

Tebe (keeps silent.)

(6)

Peja: *I like that music.* [English]

Seno: *Yeah, it's nice.* [English]

Tebe: (utters no word but keeps silent.)

(Peja and Seno carry on commenting in English, to the exclusion of their mother.)

Children – children interaction

[SA-born children playing in the balcony]

Lepri: (watching them)

Sega: *Look. C'est le sucre.* [English – French] (Look. It is sugar.)

Appendix F: ----- Field notes

Khriss: *On the door! Segá, pas comme ça.* [English – French] (Khriss, not like that.)

Sega: *Mets ça dedans.* [French] (Put it in.)

Khriss: *Let's do it again.* [English]

Sega: *Yes, of course.* [English]

Khriss (to the toy): *You can stop beating me: pow pow pow.* [English]

Parents – visitors interaction

(1)

[Peja's academic performance: actors seated in the lounge, conversing in French]

Jate: *Peja a fait 90% des points.* (Peja got 90% average.)

Cithe: *Il a fait 90%?* (He got 90%?)

Jate: *Oui. Il a été 2ème de la classe. Le premier a eu 92%.*

(Yes. He got second position. The first student got 92%.)

Cithe: *C'est un challenge dans une école où il y a des blancs.*

(It's a challenge in a school where there are white learners.)

Jate: *Mais oui. Pendant les vacances il ne se repose pas.*

(Of course. On holidays he does not relax.)

Cithe: *C'est pas possible. Parmi les blancs?*

(Not possible. Among whites?)

Jate: *Oui. Le 1er a eu 92%.*

(Yes. The first learner obtained 92%)

Maurice: *C'est sa 1ère année dans cette école?*

(Is it his first year at that school?)

Jate: *C'est pas sa 1ère année. Mais c'est sa 2ème année, je crois.*

(It is not his first year. But it is his second year, I believe)

Cithe: *Aah. Il est maintenant en 3ème?*

(Aah. He is now in Grade 9?)

Jate: *Non. Il est maintenant en 4è ou Grade 10. Il a fait 90%.*

(No. He is now in Grade 10. He got 90%)

(2)

Tebe: *Prof, boni?* [Lingala]

Res: *Malamu. Boni bino? ?* [Lingala] (Good. How are you, Prof?)

Tebe: *Bien kaka. Jate aza na chambre.* [French – Linagala]

(Very well. José is in the bedroom)

Jate: *Dis mais nge, on ne sait pas te voir. Ton cellulaire sonne, personne ne prend.*

prend. [French – Kikongo - French]

(But. You, it's hard to see you. Your cellphone rings but no one responds.)

Res: *Je crois que la batterie était faible. Je suis toujours au Graduate School.* [French]

(I think the battery was weak. I am always in the Graduate school)

(3)

(Conversation goes on about Peja's schooling)

Cithe: *C'est sa première année là-bas?* [Frenchxh] (Is it his first year at that school?)

Jate: *Non, c'est sa deuxième année. Il est en 3ème. La fois passée, il a demandé:*

'Papa, qu'est-ce que tu veux que je fasse? [French]

(No, it is his second year. He is in Year Three [i.e. Grade 9]. Last time he asked me: 'Papa, what do you want me to do?')

Cithe: *Comme études universitaires?* [French] (As university studies?) [French]

Jate: *Oui. Mu nde, 'toi, que veux-tu faire d'abord?* [French – Kikongo Switch]

Peja nde: *médecin ou expert comptable. Je dis: 'tu dois choisir l'un d'eux'.* [French]

Appendix F: ----- Field notes

Cithe: *Oui, il doit choisir.*

(Yes. He must choose.) [French]

Jate: Ya nde non. Je dois faire les deux. Je tiens à avoir les degrees dans les deux. [code-switching *Kikongo* – French]

(He replied: no. I must do both. I want to get degrees in both disciplines)

Cithe: Et Cloclo? [French] (And Clacla ?)

Jate: Cloclo, elle aussi veut devenir ... nani, hôtesse de l'air ou quelque chose de computer. [French mixed with *Kikongo*]

(Cloclo also wants to become *something like* air hostess or something *computer*.)

3. French-Tshiluba family

Parent – parent interaction (1)

[Topic: miscellaneous]

Tilo: Tatu, bishi? [Tshiluba] (Father, how are you?)

Bantu: Bimpa. [Tshiluba] (Good)

Tilo: Comment ça va, mon frère? [French] (How are you, my brother?)

Gik: On tient bon. [French] (All right)

Tilo (to Bantu): Ça marche à l'université? [French] (What about your university studies?)

Bantu: Cela semble marcher bien. [French] (It seems to work well.)

Loma (to Bantu and Gik): Bonjour. Ça fait bien des jours. Tu as disparu. Tu nous as oubliés? [French] (Hi. We have met for days. You disappeared. Did you forget us?)

Tilo (to wife): Maman, est-ce que tu peux nous donner quelque chose à boire? [French] (Mum, can you please give us something to drink?)

Loma (to Bantu and Gik): Que prenez-vous, s'il vous plait? [French] (What do you have, please?)

Bantu: Du sucré pour Gik, et de la bière pour moi. [French] (Soft drink for Gik and beer for me.)

Loma: Quelle bière? [French] (What kind of beer?)

Bantu: N'importe laquelle. [French] (Any)

Tilo (to Loma): Tu as quelque chose avec toi? (Do you have something [some money]?) [French]

Loma: Je crois que oui. (I believe so.) [French]

Tilo: Achète quelques 3 bières pour nous et 2 boissons sucrées pour Gik et toi. [French] (Buy 3 beers for us and 2 soft drinks for Gik and you.)

Loma: Je peux prendre cela chez notre voisin? [French] (Can I get them from our neighbour?)

Tilo: Non. Essaie ailleurs. Son congélateur ne marche pas bien. [French]

(No. Try elsewhere. His freezer does not work well.)

Vois un peu au 3^e niveau chez ce sénégalais-là. [French] (Just check on the 3rd Floor at that Senegalese's?)

Loma: Il est souvent sorti. Mais je vais quand même vérifier. [French] (He is often out. But I can check.)

Tilo: Essaie d'abord. S'il y a un problème, on saura quoi faire. [French] (Try first. If there is a problem [i.e. if he is out], we will sort it out.)

Tilo (to Bantu). Ici, c'est pas comme chez vous à Yeoville où il y a des bars partout. [French] (Here, it is different from Yeoville where there are pubs everywhere.) [French]

Parent – parent interaction (2)

(Talking about the children)

Tilo: Ma'mu, mpesha remote control. [Tshiluba – English] (Mum, give me the remote control)

Loma: Où est-il? Je ne le vois pas. [French] (Where is it? I can't see it.)

Tilo: Regarde un peu en chambre. Peut-être que les enfants l'ont déplacé. [French] (Please look in the bedroom. Perhaps the children put it there.)

Loma: Je crois qu'ils l'ont mis quelque part. [French] (I believe they put it somewhere else.)

Appendix F: ----- Field notes

- Tilo: Tangila à côté de la garde-robe. [Tshiluba-French] (Look near the wardrobe.)
- Loma: Enfin, il est là. Les enfants mettent les histoires n'importe où. Ils ne s'en font même pas. [French]
(Finally, I found it. Children put things anywhere. They don't even care.)
- Bantu (to Loma): Le boulot, ça va? Tu t'adaptes quand même avec l'anglais? [French]
(What about your work? Do you adjust to the English language?)
- Loma: J'essaie de m'adapter. Au début, c'était difficile pour moi. Mais maintenant, ça marche. Je dois parler l'anglais; c'est l'outil du travail. [French]
(I keep on trying. At the beginning, it was difficult for me. But now it seems to work. I must speak English; it is the tool of work.)
- Tilo (intervenes): Elle se débrouille un peu bien pour le moment. Sauf que parfois on la regarde un peu avec dédain puisqu'elle est étrangère. [French]
(She speaks a little well this time. Save that she is sometimes looked down because she is a foreigner.)
- Loma: Oui, de fois. Les gens croient que parce qu'on est étranger, on ne connaît rien. Mais mon patron m'apprécie. Et certains comprennent que c'est la langue qui faisait défaut. Chez nous, en Belgique, les études sont sérieuses. C'est pas comme dans les autres pays européens. Il faut travailler dur pour obtenir son diplôme. Mais j'ai négligé l'anglais. C'est pourquoi j'ai des problèmes ici. [French]
(Yes, sometimes. People believe that because you are a foreigner, you know nothing. But my boss has good impression of me. And some other people understand that the problem was the language. In our country, Belgium, studies are serious. It is not like in the other European countries. You have to work hard to get your degree. But I overlooked English. That's why I have problems here.)
- Tilo: Je crois qu'elle a raison. Quand vous travaillez bien, il ne sera plus question d'étranger. Mais on va apprécier le travail que vous produisez. Quelques fois nous avons souvent des préjugés sur ce point-là. [French]
(I think she is right. When you work well, there won't be question of stranger. But they will praise the work that you are doing. Most of the time, we have prejudice about that point issue)
- Loma: Cela arrive n'importe où. On ne vous connaît pas bien, c'est pas facile de vous faire confiance. Vous devez vous confirmer. [French]
(It happens anywhere. They don't know you well, it is difficult to be trusted. You have to confirm yourself [by your ability])

Father – children interaction (1)

(Adivising children)

- Tilo (to G2 son): Attention. Wamania kuba fuku mu nzubu kua pambela. Kudi mashi. [Tshiluba]
(Pay attention. Don't move out of the house. It is cold.)
- Bati: Non, papa. Je n'ai pas froid. (No, daddy. I am not feeling cold.)
- Tilo (again): To. Ambila balunda betu bapinga ku mabu kidjiba dja kunanya to. Compris?
[Tshiluba - French]
(No. Tell your friends to go back home. It is not the right time [for you] to play. Understood?)
- Bati: (obeys and lets his friends go back)
- Tilo: Bati, mais que fais-tu mu nzubu wabulala? [French - Tshiluba]
(Bati, but what are you doing in the bedroom?)
- Bati: Rien, papa. [French] (Nothing, daddy)
- Tilo (to Loti, G2 playing): Oh, non. Pas ça. Kutumpiki to. Udji wenza mutoyi. [French - Tshiluba]
(Oh, no. Not like that. Don't jump. You are disturbing us.)
- Loti: (stops playing in the lounge)
- Bantu (to Tilo): Est-ce qu'il te comprend? [French] (Does he understand what you say?)
- Tilo : Il doivent parler Tshiluba à la maison. Badji bakula anglais mu kalasa. [French - Tshiluba]

Appendix F: ----- Field notes

(They must speak Tshiluba at home. They have English at school.)

Tilo (again): Bimpa bana bakula mwakula wa kwetu. [Tshiluba]
(It is good for children to grow up speaking our language.)

Bantu (to Bati): (They must speak Tshiluba at home. They have English at school.)

Tilo (again): Bimpa bana bakula mwakula wa kwetu. [Tshiluba]
(It is good for children to grow up speaking our language.)

Tilo (replies): **To, udji usamba.** (No, he is sick.) [Tshiluba] (Field notes 3: Appendix F)

Father – children interaction (2)

Tilo (to G2: Bati): Somba, tangila television. Somba talala. Gardez silence. Les papas suivent la télé. (High tone) [Tshiluba – French]
(Sit down and watch the TV. Keep silent. Keep silent. The fathers are watching television.)

Bati: (acts without resisting)

Tilo (on another occasion): Hey. Luaku lukasa, ela tonton Peter moyi. [Tshiluba - French]
(Hey. Be quick. Come and say hi to Uncle Peter.)

Tilo (to Litshi): Stop doing that. C'est pas bon. [French – French] (Stop doing that. It is not fair.)

(With insistence): Lekela kwenza manku. Ki bimpa to. [Tshiluba] (Stop doing that. It is not fair.)

Litshi (obeys without saying a word)

Mother – children interaction

Loma: Litshi, est-ce que je peux avoir du savon dans la douche, s'il te plait? [French]
(Litshi, may I please have the soap from the bathroom?)

Litshi: Quel savon, maman? De toilette? [French] (What soap, mama? Bathroom soap?)

Loma: N'importe lequel. Viens donner au papa pour se laver les mains. [French]
(Any. Give it to Papa to wash his hands.)

Bati: Maman, je peux aller jouer avec mes amis en bas? [French]
(Mum, can I go and play with my friends on the ground floor?)

Loma: Quelle sorte de bière ? [French] (What kind of beer?)
(No, not now. Have you finished your homework? I have to see it first.)

Bati: Maman, tu vois? J'ai fini. Je peux aller, maman? S'il te plait, maman. [French]
(Mum, you see? I am through. Can I go, mum? Please, mum.)

Loma: Vas-y mais pas pour longtemps. [French] (Go but not for a long time.)

Bati: Merci, maman. [French] (Thank you, mum.)

Children – children interaction

(Playing outside home)

Litshi: Go and play outside. I am watching TV. Your friends are waiting for you. [English]

Loti : Papa a dit que nous ne sortions pas dehors. Il va nous punir. Moi, je ne vais pas. [French]
(Papa said that we should not go outside of the home. He will punish us. For me, I won't go out.)

Bati: I can go. Yes. Come on. Uncle is here. *Papa will not punish us.* [English]

Bantu: Mais soyez prudents. Pas de jeux dangereux. Faites vites. Ne faites pas longtemps. [French]
(But be careful, Not dangerous games. Be quick. Don't be long.)

Bati: Vous voyez. J'avais raison. You see, uncle is nice. He will tell papa, Let's go. Cham is already here. [French – English]

Litshi: Et si l'oncle part avant que papa n'arrive, que ferez-vous ? Vous verrez. C'est votre problème. [French]

(And if uncle goes back before papa comes back, what will you do? You will see. It is your problem)

Bati: Okay, I go. [English]

Appendix F: ----- Field notes

Loti: Me too. But I am coming soon. [English]

Parents – visitors interaction (1)

- Tilo: Moyi weba manseba. Udji bishi? Bishi ku kalasa? [Tshiluba]
(How are you, uncle. How are you? And your studies?) [Tshiluba]
- Bantu: Bintu bionso bimpa. (Everything is alright.) [Tshiluba]
- Loma: Bonjour, tonton. Ça fait beaucoup de jours. Quoi, tu étais malade? [French]
(Good morning, uncle. We haven't met for days. What, were you sick?)
- Bantu: Non. C'est question de temps simplement. Nous sommes étudiants, et il a trop d'exigences académiques, comme vous le savez. [French]
(No. It is matter of time only. We are students, and there are too many academic requirements, as you know.)

Parents – visitors interaction (2)

- Loma: Bonjour, papa. Tu as quand même songé à nous aujourd'hui. [French]
(Hi, dad. You have surely thought of us today.)
- Kika: J'étais très occupé avec mon travail. Je ne me sentais pas bien non plus. [French]
(I was busy with my dissertation. I was not feeling well either.)
- Loma: Papa, tu connais ces gens-là? (Papa, do you know those people?) [French]
- Bantu: Pas très bien. Mais ce sont des compatriotes. [French]
(Not very well. But there are our fellow countrymen.)

(And some time later, the conversation changes the medium between ethnics.)

- Tilo: Manseba, kuneku makelela udji bikola. Bantu badji mu malu makola. [Tshiluba]
(Uncle, here life is hard. People are complicated)
- Bantu: Eyo, tatu. Bimpa bana balonga kalasa kuneku. Makelela udji kwetu. Kimba tumanga to [Tshiluba].
(Yes, father. The children must have good schooling here. The future is in our country. They don't like us.)

4. Multilanguage family

[Miscellaneous]

- Lufo: Anto, dépêche-toi maintenant. Tozongisa mesa oyo. [French – Lingala]
(Anto, be quick. Let's put this table back in its right place.)
- Lufo: Jules est très compliqué. Mu *ke zaba ve kana nki mpila yandi ta vivre na nkento na yandi. Il est vraiment irresponsable.* [French – Kikongo - French]
(Jules is very complicated. I don't know how he will be living with his wife. He is truly irresponsible.)
- Mafo: Tu comprends, muntu ke vivre na beno mais ke communiquer ve na beno. Ata kulomba conseil ya pamba na Tata na yandi. Et puis ya ke kabula bana: ya ke zola bana yankanka, yankaka ve. Moi, je n'aime pas cela. [Code shifting: French-Kikongo-French]
(Do you understand? Someone living with you but cannot communicate with you. He can't even ask for advice from his father. Again, he likes some children and dislikes others. I don't accept that.).
- Lufo: Qu'est-ce que tu prends? Beto ke na vin, ti jus. [Code switching/code-mixing: French – Kikongo
French: vin 'wine'] (What do you take? We have wine, juice)
- Res: Le vin me va. (Wine is okay for me) [French]
- Mafo: Ah, pourquoi ozo pesa ye vin ya moto. Ewuti frigo te. Tia ngo nano na frigo. [Codemixing: French-Lingala]

Appendix F: ----- Field notes

(Why do you give unchilled wine? It is not from the refrigerator. Put it first into the fridge before giving him)

Lufo: Ou bien tosomba coca omelanger. [French-Lingala] (Or we can get coke for you to mix)

Res: Non, ça va comme cela. [French] (No, it is okay like that)

Lufo: Hey, boyela biso ba verres noki. [Lingala – French ‘verres’] (Can someone bring us glasses?)

Mutu: Papa, je veux aussi prendre? [French] (Papa, I also want to take wine)

Lufo: No, it is not for children. Go and get juice from the fridge. [English]

Lufo (to Anta): You, go there, outside and do your homework. [English]

Mafo: Papa, tolongola nano biloko oyo. [Lingala] (Papa, let's remove these things from the table)

Father – children interaction

(1)

[Talking about coming home late]

Firo (to her father): Bonjour, Papa. [French] (Hi, Dad)

Lufo: Bonjour. [French] (Hi)

Firo (to researcher): Bonjour, Papa. [French] (Hi, Dad)

Lufo: Pourquoi tu viens en retard maintenant? [French]
(Why are you returning home late now?)

Firo: J'étais punie parce que je suis arrivée en retard à l'école. Je devais ramasser les papiers après les cours. Je n'étais pas seule, mais avec les autres. [French]
(I was punished because I arrived late at school. So I had to pick up all waste paper. I was not alone, but with other schoolmates.)

Lufo: Bien. Cela t'apprend à arriver à l'école à temps. [French]
(Good. That teaches you to arrive at school on time).

Firo: Nous étions nombreux. [French] (Many students were also punished.)

Lufo (to researcher): Avec les filles, il faut toujours être prudent. Ici les valeurs morales sont renversées. [French]
(With girls, you must always be careful. Here moral values are reversed [i.e. contrary to ours])

(2)

Lufo: Mutu, allez jouer là-bas. [French] (Mutu, go and play over there.)

Mutu: Où, Papa? A la cuisine? [French] (Where, Papa? In the kitchen?)

Lufo: Oui. Kobima libanda te! [French – Lingala] (Yes. Don't go outside of the house!)

Mother – children interaction (1)

[Talking about foodstuff]

Mafo: Alpha, yaka awa Ozo sala nini? [Lingala]
(Alpha, come here... What are you doing?)

Mafo (speaking out): Tuna nano Papa soki asombaki 'mbisi ya kokawuka'. [Lingala]
(Ask Papa if he bought smoked fish)

Alpha: Papa, Mama wants to know if you bought 'mbisi ya kokawuka'. [English - Lingala]
(Papa, Mama wants to know if you bought smoked fish)

Mother – children interaction (2)

[Shopping]

Mafo (to youngest son): Yaka ozua mbongo osomba mapa. [Lingala]
(Come and get money, and go and buy loaves of bread.)

Mutu (SA-born son): Maman, c'est moi? [French] (Mum, is it me?)

Fatou: Tokende osokola na douche. [Lingala – French] (Go and have a shower)

Appendix F: ----- Field notes

Mutu: Tika ngai. Ah non. Laisse-moi. Leave me alone. [French & English]
(No. Leave me. Ah no, Leave me alone)

Parents- visitors interaction

(1)

Lufo (father): Ginathu ayemuza! [Kipende] (Uncle, there you are!)
Res: Hein (yes) [Kipende]
Lufo: Gutshi? Ngina. (How are you? Come in, please) [Kipende]
Res: Muabonga (Fine) [Kipende]
Mafo (mother): Nguashi, ebwe? Nge ke bien? [Kikongo – French] (Uncle, are you fine?)
Res: Mu ke mbote Maman. (I'm fine, Mum) [Kikongo]
Mafo: Nge ke na chance. Beto me katuka na *shop* sesebi yayi. Eh, be' nata nsapi beno kanguila Papa. Bokende kofongwela Papa. [Kikongo – English – Lingala]
(Hey, take the key, go and open for Papa/Dad. Go and open for Papa)

(2)

Lufo: Ginathu, gudimona ndo. Gikwatshi? [Kipende] (Uncle, we no longer meet. How are you?)
Res: Eihn. Muabonga (Yes. Fine) [Kipende]
Mafo: Mbote, papa. Nge me kuisa. Ebwe? [Kikongo]
(Hi, papa. Welcome. How are you?)
Res: Mbote. (Hi. Fine) [Kikongo]
Lufo: Ebwe na nzo, makambu na nge ya classe. [Kikongo-French]
(How is your home, and your research?) [Kikongo]
Res: Mua mbote. (A little fine)

(3)

(Researcher comes in)

Mafo: Nguashi mbote. Kota sii. [Kikongo] (Uncle, good day. Do come in)
Lufo: Beto me katuka na zandu sesebi yayi kaka. [Kikongo] (We are just back from shopping)
Res: Ah bon. (Are you?) [French]
Mafo: Nguashi kwenda na salon. Beto ke kuisa. (Uncle, go to the living room. We are coming.)
[Kikongo + French word: *salon* 'living room']
Mafo: Ehein, nguashi beto ke na kukuisa. [Kikongo] (Emphasis: Uncle, we are coming back in a few minutes)

Parents – visitors interaction (4)

[Discussing children's language proficiencies]

Res: You don't speak French very well, do you?
Alpha: Not very well. [English]
Kele (to father): Celle-ci ne parle pas français? [French] (This one doesn't speak French?)
Lufo: Celle-ci parle plus en anglais qu'en français. [French]
(This one speaks more in English than in French.)
Anaka: Ah. C'est pourquoi elle mélange anglais et français et Lingala. [French]
(Ah. That's why she mixes English and French and Lingala.)
Lufo: Mais elle comprend et parle aussi lingala. Elle est faible en français mais le lingala, elle comprend. [French] (But she also understands and speaks Lingala. She is not good at French but she understands Lingala)
Res: Pourquoi cela? [French] (Why?)
Lufo: Leur maman ne leur parle qu'en lingala. [French]
(Their mother speaks to them in Lingala only.)

Appendix F: ----- Field notes

Parents – visitors interaction (3)

[Miscellaneous]

Mustafa (to mother): Bonsoir, tantine. [French] (Good evening, Auntie)

Anaka: Bonsoir. [French] (Good evening)

Mustafa: Bonsoir, Papa [French] (Good evening, Papa)

Lufo: Bonsoir. [French] (Good evening)

Lufo (to Mustafa): Comment ça va? [French] (How are you?)

Mustafa: Ça va bien. [French] (Fine)

Mustafa (to mother): Boni, tantine? Mikolo ebele. [French – Lingala 'tantine'] (How is it, Auntie? I have seen you for long)

Anaka: Ah. Mais yo oyaka nayo awa lisusu te. [French – Lingala] (But you longer come here)

Mustafa: Nayaka oh; mais ozalaka nayo te. [Lingala – French] (I do come but you are always not there)

Anaka: Boni classe na yo? [Lingala – French 'classe'] (Good. What about your classes/studies?)

Mustafa: Nazo approfondir nano ba'Anglais na bango. Tokolisa nano langue. Dans l'entre-temps, na zo travailler. [Code mixing: Lingala – French]

(I am improving my English. Let's first improve the language. In the meantime, I am working)

Parents – visitors interaction (4)

[Talking about SA and DRC cultures]

Mafo: Papa, bana na ngai na yebisaka bango que epayi na biso BaPende bana basi il faut bazala vierges ti libala. Okoyeba nionso na ndako ya libala, ndako ya mobali na yo. C'est ça l'éducation de chez nous. [French – Lingala]

(Papa, I always tell my daughters that in Pende culture young girls should remain virgin until marriage. You will know about/experience sexual act in your marriage. This is our education/culture) [Lingala mixed with French & French]

Kele: Oui, c'est en principe ça l'éducation chez nous. (Yes. In principle this is our culture).

Mafo: Bakoki ko changer te parce que tozali na Afrique du Sud. Tout ce qu'on leur dit à l'école, elles viennent me demander les explications. Par exemple, la piqûre anti-grossesse appliquée ou imposée à l'école. Elle n'existe pas dans nos écoles du pays. [French – Lingala]
(They cannot change because we are in South Africa. Everything they are told at school, which they don't understand they come and ask for explanations from me. For example, the anti-pregnancy injection applied or imposed at school doesn't exist in our home country's schools).

Kele: On leur donne ça à l'école? [French] (Do they recommend it at school?)

Mafo: Oui. Les enfants leur ont dit qu'avant d'accepter, il faut la permission de la maman. Et les autres filles se moquaient d'elles. Elle m'en ont parlé et j'ai dit: 'non'. C'est une façon de pousser les filles à chercher les hommes. Le lendemain, on se moquait d'elles encore à l'école. La maîtresse et les autres n'ont compris. [French]

(Yes. Children replied that before accepting, they should seek permission from our mum. And the other girls were laughing at them. They told me about it and I said 'No'. Next morning, they laughed at them again. The teacher and others could not understand this) [French]

Kele: Mama, nge lenda permettre kima ya mpila yai ve. C'est un encouragement au mal.
[Kikongo – French]

(Mum, you cannot allow such a thing. It is an encouragement to engage in the evil behaviour)

Mafo: Papa, je dois travailler dur pour mes filles. Awa nge ta mona mama, nkento ya libala ti collant ou bien jupe ya nkufi kibenini. Na beto ve. [French – Kikongo]

(Here you may come across a mother, a married woman wearing thighs and or a very short skirt. Not in our culture/country) [Kikongo & French: code-switching & code-mixing]

Appendix F: ----- Field notes

Children – children interaction

(1)

[Children talking among themselves in the living room]

Firo: Na silisi. Bokende kosukola basani. [Lingala] (I'm through. Go and wash the plates)

Alpha: (No response/reaction. Watching a movie on TV)

Firo: Ozoyoka te? Allez laver la vaisselle. [Lingala – French]
(Don't you understand? Go and wash the plates)

Alpha: I'm watching a movie. [English]

Firo: Mets-toi debout! Vas laver les assiettes. (Stand up! Go and wash the plates) [French]

Alpha: I'm watching a movie. Let me finish. (Murmur)

Firo: Stand up! Go to the kitchen! (high tone) Stand up now or I switch off the TV.

Alpha: (After murmurs, stands up and moves to the kitchen.)

Firo: Attendez. Je vais dire à Maman. Don't play with me, hein. [French – English] (Wait, I will tell Mum.
Don't play with me, hein)

(2)

(Again, in the living room)

Firo: Yo osali déjà devoir na yo? [Lingala + French: 'déjà devoir']
(Have you already done your homework?)

Fatou: Te. [Lingala] (No)

Firo: Allez, va à la cuisine. Kende na cuisine. [Lingala + French: cuisine 'kitchen']
(Then go to the kitchen. Go to the kitchen)

Fatou: (No response, but executes the order)

APPENDIX G: ----- INTERVIEW DATA

1. English-only Family

1.1. Interview with Shaady

Res: What South African languages do you speak, beside English?
 Shaady: *English, isiZulu, seSotho, Shaangan, Afrikaans*
 Res: How did you learn them?
 Shaady: *I copy from my friends. I copy and keep it. I speak isiZulu, seSotho, Shaangan, with my friends at school.*
 Res: How did you learn Afrikaans?
 Shaady: *I copy. When people speak, I keep it.*
 Res: Who speaks?
 Shaady: *Our teacher, on the telephone*
 Res: That's all?
 Shaady: *One day, a traffic cop asked my daddy in isiZulu about the driving license. He just guessed.*
 Res: What language do you use in the family?
 Shaady: *English. But with my mother English, Swahili, French.*
 Res: What languages do you like speaking everyday?
 Shaady: *English. But I wish I could speak French. I prefer French and Swahili because I spoke French and Lingala in Congo. And I learned English here.*
 Res: If you meet your DRC friends and cannot speak French, how will you feel?
 Shaady: *I will feel bad because I am Congolese.*
 Res: Do you have Congolese friends at school?
 Shaady: *Yes, e.g. Ndaya.*
 Res: What languages do you speak?
 Shaady: *French and Lingala.*
 Res: Do you have South African friends?
 Shaady: *Yes, many.*
 Res: Are they happy when they hear you speaking DRC languages?
 Shaady: *No o. They say what languages you speak. Sometimes they call us 'makwere-kwere'.*
 Res: What does it mean?
 Shaady: *Foreigners.*
 Res: What do you do when your friends don't understand your DRC language?
 Shaady: *When they don't understand, I hit them.*
 Res: Why?
 Shaady: *I prefer French to isiZulu. I wish all teachers could become French teachers.*
 Res: Now you are in SA, are you more South African than Congolese?
 Shaady: *Congolese. At school they know that I am Congolese.*

1.2. Interview with Tevora

Res: Can you remember what languages you were speaking in family in DRC?
 Tevora: *French and Lingala.*
 Tevora: *Swahili.*
 Res: How well do you speak it?
 Tevora: *Fairly well.*
 Res: What languages can you understand?
 Tevora: *Lingala, French. Some words*
 Res: How did you learn them?
 Tevora: *French, at school. Swahili and Lingala in the community.*
 Res: What DRC languages can you read or write?
 Tevora: *None.*
 Res: Which language did you study at school?

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Tevora: *French.*

Res: Which one do you need more here?

Tevora: *Swahili.*

Res: What SA languages do you speak?

Tevora: *English.*

Res: How well do you speak it?

Anaka: *Very well.*

Res: What languages can you understand

Tevora: *Few words of isiZulu.*

Res: How did you learn them?

Tevora: *English at school as media of learning. isiZulu with friends and Afrikaans at school.*

Res: What languages can you read and write?

Tevora: *English.*

Res: How well do you read or write them?

Tevora: *Well.*

Res: Which ones have studied at school?

Tevora: *English.*

Res: Do your South African peers speak to you in African languages?

Tevora: *Yeah, sometimes seSotho or isiZulu.*

Res: What's your feeling?

Tevora: *I feel okay because I can understand them. I can catch some words, e.g. isiZulu:*

Buya la': Come here.

Res: Do they know that you're Congolese?

Tevora: *They know but want me to learn the language.*

Res: What language do you use in the family?

Tevora: *English with my father. English, French and Swahili with my mother.*

Res: What languages do you like speaking everyday?

Tevora: *English.*

Res: What language do you use with your sister?

Tevora: *French or Bemba. But when I don't understand, she speaks English.*

Res: If you find yourself in the DRC community and cannot speak the language they use, how will you feel?

Tevora: *Very bad, because it is not good to be in your community and not understand what they are saying.*

Res: Do you have South African friends?

Tevora: *Yes, I do.*

Res: How many?

Tevora: *Many, but I walk with one friend because one is better than more.*

Res: South African?

Tevora: *Yes.*

Res: Do South African children like you?

Tevora: *Yeah, most of them. Othersjust..*

Res: What? Do they call you names?

Tevora: *Yeah, sometimes.*

Res: For example?

Tevora: *I'm very black. I come from Congo under the volcano. I was cooked by the Volcano.*

Res: If you want to go to the DRC, will you improve your spoken French {since it the dominant language)?

Tevora: *No. I understand almost all words but cannot say some of them.*

Res: Do you understand Lingala?

Tevora: *I can't speak Lingala but can understand it.*

Res: Now you are in SA, are you more South African than Congolese?

Tevora: *Congolese*

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Res: Why?

Tevora: *Because I was born in the DRC.*

Res: If you obtain SA citizenship, will you still consider yourself Congolese?

Tevora: *Yes, Congolese because that's my country; it's where I was born.*

Res: Do you have anything that reminds you of your homeland?

Tevora: *Mostly, we eat DRC food.*

Res: How do you feel?

Tevora: *I feel good.*

Res: What else?

Tevora: *Music. My grandparents' photo, the flag. There was a flag but they removed it.*

Res: Can you one day go and visit your relatives in the DRC?

Tevora: *I might go there (DRC) to visit but not to stay because I am planning to go to another country like Brazil. I try to speak Portuguese. Portuguese is a bit like French.*

1.3. Interview with Anaka

Res: Please tell me briefly your life story (job, reason for leaving the DRC).

Anaka: *J'étais une épouse-ménagère mais faisais aussi des petites choses. Nous avons quitté le pays pour rejoindre Papa. C'est normal, eihn.* [French]

(I was a housewife but also involved in small things [i.e. business]. We left the country to join Papa (father). It is normal, isn't it?)

Res: Have you ever experienced xenophobia or been personally affected by it?

Anaka: *Pas de considération, sans valeur. Pour eux, nous sommes venus arracher leurs boulots, toutes Les bonnes choses. C'est pourquoi ils ne veulent pas des étrangers noirs en Afrique du Sud.* [French]

(No consideration, useless. For them we came to grab their jobs, all good things. That's why they don't want foreign Africans in South Africa.)

Res: How did you interact with South Africans for the first time?

Anaka: *Quand je suis arrivée ici, je ne pouvais pas sortir parce que je ne pouvais pas parler le zulu. C'est une façon d'éviter d'être identifiée comme une étrangère. Ici ils veulent seulement que vous parliez dans leurs langues partout. Si vous êtes noir, vous devez parler leurs langues. Comme ça, vous êtes accepté.* [French]

(When I came here, I could not go out because I was unable to speak isiZulu. It is a way to avoid being identified as a foreigner. Here they only want you to speak their languages everywhere. If you are a black person, you have to speak their languages. That is the way to be accepted.)

Res: Can you speak your DRC languages freely in public?

Anaka: *Non. Pas librement. Vous aurez des problèmes. Vous serez identifiée comme une étrangère. Dans le bus ou en public, je parle anglais.* [French]

(No. Not freely. You will get into trouble. You will be identified as a foreigner. On the bus or in public, I speak English.)

Res: How can you be differentiated from local Africans?

Anaka: *Après que je sois arrivée ici, j'étais debout à la porte avec mon bébé au dos, portant les pagnes¹. Quand un jeune homme m'a vue, il s'est écrié: 'Kweere-kwere'. J'avais peur et suis rentrée vite dans la maison. Depuis ce jour-là j'ai peur de porter des pagnes. Ici les femmes portent des pantalons et grands essuie-mains, etc au lieu des pagnes. Ils vous identifient facilement.* [French]

(After I had arrived here, one day I was standing at the door with my baby on the back

¹ *Pagnes* is a French term used in French-speaking African countries to mean culturally-defined and feminized three-piece garment worn by African women or mothers, covering the body from neck to feet. They are naturalised or socially legitimated women's attire in those French-speaking African nations.

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wearing the *pagnes*. When a gentleman saw me, he shouted 'Kwere-kwere'. I was afraid and got quickly into the house. Since then I feel scared to put on the *pagnes*. Here women put on trousers and large scarves, etc instead of *pagnes*. They identify you easily.)

Res: Do you have South African friends?

Anaka: *Ici il est difficile d'avoir des amies. Elles ne nous font pas confiance. On ne nous aime pas.*

[French] (Here it is difficult to have friends. They don't trust us. They don't like us.)

Res: Tu parles quelques fois à tes enfants en swahili. Est-ce qu'ils comprennent le swahili? [French]

(You sometimes speak to your children in Swahili. Do they understand Swahili?)

Anaka: *Oui, même le français. Mais ils ne peuvent pas le parler.* [French]

(Yes, they do; even French. But they can't speak it)

Res: What language/s did you use in your family in the DRC?

Anaka: *Swahili et français entre les parents; français et Lingala avec les enfants, Mais le français était dominant.* (Swahili and French between parents. French and Lingala with the children.

But French was dominant.) [French]

Res: If a decision could be reached to use a DRC indigenous language as a language of interaction in your family, which one would be implemented?

Anaka: *Bemba, ma langue maternelle.* [French] (Bemba, my mother language)

Res: What language do you use in the family?

Anaka: *English*

Res: Why did you choose English as the only language of interaction in the family in SA?

Anaka: *Le problème est que quand ils [les enfants] sont arrivés ici, ils étaient âgés de 12 à 13 ans (les aînés) et assez vieux pour apprendre l'anglais. Au début ils ne parlaient que français seulement. C'était difficile pour eux de parler l'anglais. Nous nous sommes dits, 'il est bon qu'ils ne parlent qu'anglais'. L'anglais les aidera dans le future, n'importe ou. Maintenant ils ont besoin d'anglais. Ils parleront français plus tard les études universitaires. Si nous parlons français du matin au soir, cela ne les aidera pas à l'école. C'est pourquoi nous avons adopté l'anglais.*

(The problem was that when they [children] arrived here, they were 12 – 13 years (the eldest ones) and old enough to learn English. At the beginning they spoke French only. It was difficult to speak English. We said to ourselves, 'it is good for them to speak English only'. English will help them in the future, anywhere. Now they need English. They will speak French later after completing their university degree courses. If we speak French from morning to night, it will not help them at school. That's why we have adopted English.)

Res: Would you be happy if your children did not speak your DRC languages?

Anaka: *Pour moi, je ne voulais pas que les enfants oublient nos langues comme le français et le swahili. Elles peuvent les aider, par exemple, à traduire les documents. S'ils vont au Congo et que quelqu'un leur parle en dans ma langue maternelle, Bemba, et qu'ils ne comprennent pas, ils peuvent utiliser Swahili. C'est pourquoi, je leur parle dans ces langues.* [French]

(For me, I didn't want the children to forget our languages like French and Swahili. These can help them in life, for example to translate documents. If they go to Congo and someone speaks to them in my mother language, Bemba, and they don't understand, they can use Swahili. That's why I use these languages with them.)

Res: Quelle langue parlez-vous à votre fille? [French] (What language do you use with your daughter?)

Anaka: *Anglais, parce qu'elle a aussi besoin d'anglais. Mais quand nous restons seules, nous trichons.* [French]

(English, because she also needs English. But when we are left alone, [while laughing] we cheat.)

Res: What languages do you use more to your husband?

Anaka: *Swahili. Mais il répond en anglais.* [French] (Swahili but he answers in French.)

Res: What language do you feel more comfortable in?

Anaka: *Swahili*

Res: What language do you usually speak in to your children?

Anaka: *La plupart de temps l'anglais et quelques fois le français, le swahili, ou mélange l'anglais et le français.* [French] (Mostly English and sometimes French, Swahili, or mix English with French.

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Res: Why do you use these languages with them?

Anaka: *Parce que l'anglais est la langue de l'éducation pour les enfants. Le swahili est ma langue de naissance. Même quand je parle [français], je mélange avec le swahili.* [French]

(Because English is the medium of learning for the children. Swahili is my native language. Even when I speak, I prefer mixing with Swahili. It is my native language.)

Res: Do you think that if children speak French, they cannot perform well at school?

Anaka: *Les enfants peuvent toujours bien travailler, sauf nous qui avons imposé la langue.* [French]

(The children can always perform well, but we have imposed the language.)

Res: Don't you fear that they can lose French?

Anaka: *Ils ont déjà le français en eux et devront seulement s'en rappeler. Ce ne sera pas une nouvelle langue pour eux. Ils ont arrêté de l'utiliser par ce que nous leur avons demandé de le faire pour faciliter leurs études en anglais. Ils le comprennent mais ne peuvent pas parler. Ils ont perdu l'habitude de parler. Même s'ils vont dans un groupe congolais, ils ne seront pas frustrés parce qu'ils comprennent.* [French]

(They already have French in them and will only have to recall it. It won't be a new language for them. They have stopped using it because we have asked them to in order to facilitate their studies in English. They understand it but cannot speak it. They lost the habit of speaking it. Even if they go into a DRC group, they will not be frustrated because they understand [DRC languages])

Res: Est-ce que parler les langues du Congo a un impact sur vos relations avec tes enfants?
[French]

(Does speaking DRC languages have an impact on your relationships with your children?)

Anaka: *Cela les rend plus proches de nous.* [French] (It makes them closer to us.)

Res: Cela leur rappelle-t-il quelque chose? (Does it remind them of something?)

Anaka: *Oui. Quelques fois Kinshasa et Lubumbashi où ils ont vécu.* [French]

(Yes. Sometimes Kinshasa and Lubumbashi where they had lived.)

Res: Quelle est, selon vous, la meilleure langue pour éduquer vos enfants en Afrique du Sud? [French]

(What do you think is the best language to educate your children in South Africa?)

Anaka: *Ma langue maternelle. Malheureusement, je ne la parle pas bien, excepté le Swahili. Je leur parle souvent en Swahili.* [French]

(My mother language. Unfortunately, I don't speak it well, except Swahili. Yes, Swahili. I often speak to them in Swahili.)

Res: Can you allow your children to go and visit their relatives in the DRC?

Anaka: *Visiter? Oui. Nous pouvons y aller mais pas rester là pour le moment. Ce serait une grande erreur parce que les enfants étudient déjà en anglais maintenant et auront à réapprendre le français. Travailler là? No. Peut-être faire des affaires. A moins que ils [les enfants] décident eux-mêmes d'aller travailler là. 'est pas aux parents de suggérer.* [French]

(Visit? Yes. We can go but not stay there for the time being. It would be a great mistake because children are studying in English now here and will have to re-learn French. Working there? No. Perhaps doing business. Unless they [children] decide themselves to go and work there. It's not up to the parents to suggest.)

Res: Do you think you can lose your control over the children if they speak South African languages only?

Anaka: *Non. Le français, ils le connaissent. Nous pouvons aussi utiliser l'anglais pour les éduquer.* (No. French, they know. We can also use English to educate children.) [French]

Res: Y a-t-il une différence entre la culture sud-africaine et la culture congolaise? [French]

(Is there any difference between South African culture and DCR culture?)

Anaka: *Oui. Les filles apportent les copains à la maison. Ici les enfants sont conseillés d'appeler la police si les parents les blâment, etc.* [French]

(Yes. Girls bring boyfriends home. Here children are advised to call the police if parents blame them, etc.)

Res: Est-ce que les enfants ont changé depuis leur arrivée en Afrique du Sud?

(Have children changed since their arrival in South Africa?)

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Anaka: *Pas du tout. Ils sont encore tous respectueux. Sauf le deuxième garçon. Il est trop exigeant. Quand il voit quelque chose avec ses amis, e.g. nouveaux habits, nouvelles chaussures, il doit les obtenir. Il a un peu changé. Il est toujours avec ses amis. Mais ils n'ont pas changé du point de vue culturel.* [French]
 (Not at all. They all are still respectful. Except the second son, he is too demanding. When he sees something with his friends, e.g. new clothes, new shoes, he must get them. He has changed a little. He's always with his friends. But they have not changed from the cultural point of view.)

Res: What DRC languages do you speak?
 Anaka: *Swahili, français, bemba, lingala.* [French] (Swahili, French, Bemba, Lingala)

Res: How well do you speak them?
 Anaka: *Swahili et français: très bien; bemba: bien; lingala: un peu* [French] (Swahili and French: very well; Bemba: well; Lingala: a little)

Res: What languages can you understand?
 Anaka: *Tshiluba, kiluba, arund*

Res: What languages can you read and write?
 Anaka: *Swahili, français, bemba, lingala* [French] (Swahili, French, Bemba, Lingala)

Res: How well do you read or write them?
 Anaka: *Lire et écrire: Swahili, français, bemba: correctement, très bien; lingala: un peu.* [French] (Read and write: - Swahili, French, Bemba: correctly, very well; Lingala: a little)

Res: How did you learn them?
 Anaka: *Swahili et français à l'école; les autres dans la société. Aussi le Swahili dans le voisinage* [French] (Swahili and French at school; others in society. Also Swahili in neighbourhood)

Res: Which ones did you study at school?
 Anaka: *Français et swahili.* [French] (French and Swahili)

Res: Which one do you need more here?
 Anaka: *Français et swahili.* [French] (French and Swahili)

Res: What languages did you use in family in the DRC?
 Anaka: *Français et swahili pour les parents; le français dominant; français et lingala avec les enfants.* [French] (Swahili and French for parents, French: dominated; French and Lingala: with children)

Res: And here in SA?
 Anaka: *Anglais* [French] (English)

Res: How well do you speak it?
 Anaka: *Assez bien* [French] (Fairly well)

Res: What language can you understand? And how well?
 Anaka: *Zulu: un peu* [French] (isiZulu: a little)

Res: What SA languages can you read and write?
 Anaka: *Anglais* [French] (English)

Res: And how well do you read and write it?
 Anaka: *Assez bien* [French] (Fairly well)

Res: How did you learn it?
 Anaka: *Anglais au Language Lab, et dans la société en parlant aux gens; zulu: dans le voisinage.* [French] (English at Language Lab, and in society by talking to people; isiZulu: in neighbourhood)

Res: Which one do you need more here?
 Anaka: *Anglais, parce que vous en avez besoin partout ici.* [French] (English, because you need it everywhere here)

1.4. Interview with Finku

Res: Please tell me briefly your life story (job, reason for leaving the DRC).
 Finku: *After my first University degree, I was an English teacher at High School in Lubumbashi for four years and then became a researcher at Kinshasa Centre for Theoretical and Applied Linguistics (CELTA) as Head of English Section for 10 years. After my MA in UK, I taught English at the British Embassy 'English Language Centre' for three years while*

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carrying on my duties at the CELTA and teaching English at the Intercontinental Hotel for two years. This was a way to survive. Because of high inflation rate, economic collapse, political instability and educated people's despair to live a normal life, I left the country to find a place where I could achieve my dreams. I first wanted to do my PhD and thus do more research on material development, write books. But I went again into teaching ESL at the Language Centre where I have been teaching English for 7 years now. I am also a sworn translator-interpreter.

Res: How did you travel from the DRC to South Africa?

Finku: *First of all, I wanted to attend the Book Fair in Harare where I was invited. Then I went to Malawi for two weeks via Zambia. After that, I went to Zimbabwe for the Book Fair and finally came to South Africa. In those countries I went through, I had easy communication because I could communicate in English. But when you speak English, people look at you and identify you as a stranger.*

Res: Why did you choose to live away from the ethnic community?

Finku: *Living in the ethnic residential areas offers no privacy to family life. Above all, I wanted my children to learn the language as quickly as possible. In practice, living away from our community helped my children to speak English without any homeland language interference, faster and even more easily than they could not if they were in those areas. They had no other choice than to communicate among themselves in English and with us, using English only in the family.*

Res: Have you ever experienced xenophobia or been personally affected by it?

Finku: *Yeah, yeah. Xenophobia. Well, even in your own country, it may happen. But here it could happen with the police, especially at Home Affairs. When you speak English, they look at you as nothing; they call you names. But at the University, they don't take you as a foreigner. It could happen when you are fighting for the same thing, e.g. job. Then they apply the 'Affirmative Action' where they say: 'This position is reserved for South Africans only. Don't raise your hand; it's not your job'. It's also a kind of xenophobia. People sometimes feel that money you're earning is not yours. Things you have are not your things, even though you are working legally.*

Res: How did you communicate with them?

Finku: *It was not easy to communicate with South Africans at the grass roots level. There was this kind of animosity... They expect you to speak one of the indigenous languages. It's the language they speak to you in. And when you can't speak, they wonder why? Black people are expected to speak one of the African languages, wherever they come from. This is the perception they have.*

Res: How did they know that you were a foreigner?

Finku: *Sometimes the police or someone else greets you in a local African language. You say a word. But the second time you don't know, you get stuck, and they identify you as a stranger. They can also greet you in a fancy way, e.g. in French: 'Bonjour'. And when you respond, they find out that you're not from here. That's why some foreign African immigrants get themselves into trouble.*

Res: But you speak English?

Finku: *I think that English spoken in South Africa has got a local language accent. They clearly find out that you are not from there. They really think that you're not speaking the way they sound. They would say you come from somewhere else, although you speak English.*

Res: And if you speak English without any accent?

Finku: *It is easy to identify a foreigner, not only by the way you speak but also by the way you walk, look at people, react. The body itself is enough for them to find out that you are not from here... Dress, colour, fashion, hairstyle are taken into account.*

Res: What local African languages can you speak?

Finku: *I was not lucky enough to have friends who could speak African language and I lived in an area where there were no isiZulu users. I had some who spoke English. I want(ed) to*

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speak local languages. I want(ed) to feel at home. Speaking, for example isiZulu, can make you accepted. But it's frustrating because South Africans don't want to give foreign Africans a chance to learn their languages. They've a policy of exclusion. But people from the neighbouring countries are easily accepted.

Res: Can you speak your parents' native language?

Finku: *I grew up in Lubumbashi where Swahili is the lingua franca. My parents spoke to me in Kiluba and I responded in Swahili.*

Res: What language/s did you use in your own family in the DRC?

Finku: *French only.*

Res: Why did you decide to use French only with your children in the DRC?

Finku: *I preferred speaking to them [children] in French to help them at school and become fluent. Apart from that, they could speak Lingala. It was difficult for me to speak Lingala.*

Res: You almost always use(d) French to your wife. Is French special to you?

Finku: *Yeah. When we met for the first time, we started speaking French. Also, she wanted someone who could express himself in French, and so did I.*

Res: So French is special to you?

Finku: *Yeah. Swahili is the language of people who don't know French. When you speak Swahili, you seem to be someone who has never been to school.*

Res: If a decision could be reached to use a DRC indigenous language as a language of interaction in your family, which one would be implemented?

Finku: *My mother language, Kiluba, of course, because in family children identify with the father. They identify with me. Definitely, they will identify with my language.*

Res: What language do you use in the family?

Finku: *English only*

Res: What language/s do you use with your wife?

Finku: *We use all languages. It depends on the mood. We can speak Swahili when we have visitors and also talk about interesting stories.*

Res: What language do you speak more to your wife?

Finku: *I use French, and Swahili when we have visitors.*

Res: What language/s does your wife speak to you?

Finku: *She does speak Swahili, and she speaks French as well. She got used to it, to both languages, anyway. It depends on the circumstances. When she wants to convey a message when there are visitors, she speaks Swahili.*

Res: Why did you choose English as the only language of interaction in the family in SA?

Finku: *Because it's the language of education. It's a way of promoting direct contact by using the language. Direct communication is one way of helping the children to be fluent, work out the language of instruction from home. It's a kind of direct switch to the language of schooling used around here. The children become more fluent and do well at school. And the children feel comfortable using English, anyway.*

Res: You are not concerned that your children will lose Swahili or French?

Finku: *No. They still have it. They just stopped using it in a productive way.*

Res: If I understand well, you are one who initiated the language policy in your family?

Finku: *Yeah, yeah, yeah. Definitely, I think that as a teacher of English, a natural way of speaking a language is to make it used by everyone at the family level. And the children find it easy and interesting, anyway.*

Res: Did you try to negotiate with the mother?

Finku: *I think that mum got used to English, and she sometimes speaks Swahili with the children.*

Res: What do you think of your language policy?

Finku: *I think there is no dictatorship. It came simultaneously as I did in Congo when I was speaking French.*

Res: How do you ensure that everybody is happy with the policy?

Finku: *Yes. The children are more than happy. They don't want to speak to their mother in Swahili.*

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They never reply in Swahili. They have taken a kind of a step forward and express themselves more easily in English than in Swahili. It becomes a second nature. It is something they do at school and at home. No one looks at them. They are free to use the language.

Res: What language do you use more to your wife?

Finku: *I use French. And Swahili when we have visitors*

Res: What language does she use to you?

Finku: *She speaks Swahili and French as well. She's got used to it, to both languages, anyway. It depends on the circumstances.*

Res: What language do you feel more comfortable in speaking to her?

Finku: *French*

Res: What DRC languages do you speak?

Finku: *French, Swahili, Kiluba (MT), Lingala.*

Res: How well do you speak them?

Finku: *French and Swahili: very well/fluent. They are the media of learning. Kiluba and Lingala: a little.*

Res: What languages can you understand?

Finku: *Tshiluba, Kisenga and Kiluba, my other language.*

Res: How come that you don't speak Kiluba, your parents' mother language?

Finku: *I grew up in Lubumbashi where Swahili is the lingua franca. My parents spoke Kiluba to me and I responded in Swahili.*

Res: What languages can you read or write?

Finku: *French, Lingala, Swahili, Kiluba or Kisenga.*

Res: How well can you read or write them?

Finku: *Read and write: French, Swahili: very well; Lingala, Kisenga/Kiluba: fairly well .*

Res: How did you learn them?

Finku: *French at school; Swahili: in society and at school; Lingala: in political speeches, music/songs, contact, and environment; Kiluba in family; and the rest in neighbourhoods.*

Res: Which one did you study at school?

Finku: *French and Swahili*

Res: What language do you need more here?

Finku: *French within the family and DRC community.*

Res: Which language was the dominant one in your family in DRC?

Finku: *French. I preferred to speak to them in French to help them at school and to become fluent. Apart from that, they could speak Lingala. It was difficult for me to speak Lingala.*

Res: What South African languages do you speak?

Finku: *English.*

Res: How well do you speak it?

Finku: *Very well, fluently.*

Res: What languages can you understand?

Finku: *isiZulu: few words. I was not lucky enough to have friends who could speak the language and lived in an area where there were no Zulu users.*

Res: Why did you not come across Zulu-speaking friends? How do you feel when you can't speak SA African languages?

Finku: *I had some who spoke English. I want to speak local languages. I want to feel at home. Speaking, e.g. Zulu, can make you accepted. But it's frustrating because South Africans don't want to give foreign Africans a chance to learn/speak their languages. They've a policy of exclusion. Some neighbours, e.g. Mozambicans, Zimbabweans, Swazis, Sothos, speak South African languages and are accepted because they share ethnolinguistic backgrounds with South African ethnic groups.*

Res: What languages can you read and write, and how well?

Finku: *English: very well. None of African languages.*

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Res: How did you learn them?

Finku: *English was a MOI at University (English Department) and is a tool of work. I learned few Zulu words through speaking to the cleaners from time to time. .*

Res: Which one/s have you studied?

Finku: *English.*

Res: Which one do you need more here?

Finku: *English.*

Res: Can you allow your children to go and visit the DRC?

Finku: *They should trace their roots, and we're not here to live and stay. We're here to prepare for the future. If they really want to go back, why not? Those who want to stay here can. But going back to Congo will be one of the best things they would do. When we get older, definitely we'll go back to Congo.*

Res: Do you think you cannot your authority at home from them if they speak South African languages only?

Finku: *I teach my children not the English way. I teach them the way I learned it from my parents or home. I don't want to be away from our own culture. I try to teach the culture I was brought up in by using another language [i.e. English].*

2. French-only family

2.1. Interview with Lepri

Res: What DRC languages do you speak?

Lepri: *French only.*

Res: How well do you speak it?

Lepri: *Kind of .. Fairly well. Yeah.*

Res: How did you learn it?

Lepri: *French, in the family.*

Res: What languages do you understand?

Lepri: *Lingala.*

Res: What languages can you read and write?

Lepri: *None.*

Res: Which language do you feel comfortable in?

Lepri: *French.*

Res: Which language do you like speaking in the family?

Lepri: *English.*

Res: Why?

Lepri: *Because it's easy.*

Res: What language do you feel comfortable in?

Lepri: *English*

Res: What languages do you like speaking?

Lepri: *English.*

Res: Why?

Lepri: *Because it's easy (i.e. easier than French).*

Res: What language do you use to your brothers and sisters?

Lepri: *English.*

Res: Why?

Lepri: *Because we (i.e. I) understand it better.*

Res: Do you think that if you speak Lingala they will blame you?

Lepri: *No. But mum doesn't like you to speak Lingala.*

Res: Do you know 'why'?

Lepri: *Yeah. For example, if you speak to me in English or French, I'll be able to answer.*

Res: Can you speak Lingala?

Lepri: *I sometimes speak Lingala, but they don't allow me [looking at her father].*

Res: Who?

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- Lepri: *My mother. She always tells me to speak French or English.* [Mother is absent.]
- Res: Why?
- Lepri: *I don't know.*
- Res: What about your father? [Looking at the father]
- Lepri: *I don't know* [Looking back at the father]
- Res: How would you feel if you were in the DRC community but can't speak or understand DRC languages?
- Lepri: Bad.
- Res: Why?
- Lepri: *I sometimes speak Lingala but they don't allow me.My mother tells me to speak French or English.*
- Res: What South African languages do you speak?
- Lepri: *English.*
- Res: How well do you speak it?
- Lepri: *Very well.*
- Res: How did you learn it?
- Lepri: *At school as the medium of learning, and in society.*
- Res: What languages can you understand?
- Lepri: *Bits of Zulu and Sotho.*
- Res: How did you learn them?
- Lepri: *With friends.*
- Res: What languages can you read and write?
- Lepri: *English.*
- Res: How well do you read and write it?
- Lepri: *Very well.*
- Res: Which language have you studied?
- Lepri: *English.*
- Res: Do you prefer African languages to English as MOI?
- Lepri: No.
- Res: Why?
- Res: Where did you start schooling?
- Lepri: *Here, I'm comfortable in English. I am very good at English. At the beginning I was not good because of French.*
- Res: Do you have South African friends at school?
- Lepri: Yes.
- Res: Do they know that you are not a South African?
- Lepri: Yes, *they do.*
- Res: How do they know that?
- Lepri: *I told them. Most of my friends come from Congo.*
- Res: What languages do you speak with them?
- Lepri: *Sometimes we speak English for others to understand.*
- Res: When you have a secret, what language do you use?
- Lepri: *French. Like, when people speak, we don't care. But when we speak, they say we are swearing them. For example, if we say 'Tais-toi' (Be quiet!), they say we are swearing at them. Others care but we don't care. It's our own language; we can speak it anywhere, anytime.*
- Res: Do your friends call you names?
- Lepri: *Yeah. Sometimes they do. They tease me.*
- Res: What, for example?
- Lepri: *Pripri, instead of Lepri.*
- Res: How do you feel?
- Lepri: *Sometimes bad.*

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Res: Don't they call you 'kwere-kwere'?

Lepri: *Sometimes.*

Res: What does it mean?

Lepri: *Foreigners.*

Res: Why?

Lepri: *I don't know.*

Res: When they call you 'kwere-kwere', how do you feel?

Lepri: *Sad.*

Res: What happens then? How do they (local peers) feel?

Lepri: *They feel happy. Sometimes they laugh.*

Res: How do you feel when you speak French or Lingala?

Lepri: *I feel more comfortable because they are languages I can understand.*

Res: Do you remember how old you were when you arrived in SA?

Lepri: *I can't.*

Res: What things in SA remind you of your native country?

Lepri: *Language, photographs, music*

Res: In SA, do you feel more a South African or a Congolese?

Lepri: *Half SA but more Congolese.*

Res: How do you feel Half-South African?

Lepri: (No answer)

Res: Do you consider yourself a Congolese or a South African?

Lepri: *No, Congolese.*

Res: Why?

Lepri: *Because I'm Congolese. It is where I was born.*

Lepri: *Ah, no.*

Res: Why?

Lepri: *It's a bad country.*

Res: And if your parents decide to return home, can you go back with them?

Lepri: *No, just for one week.*

Res: Don't you like your country?

Lepri: *Yes, I do. It's where I was born.*

Res: Can you remember how old you were when you arrived in SA?

Lepri: *I don't know.*

2.2. Interview with Peja [English & French]

Res: What DRC languages do you speak?

Peja: *French and Lingala.*

Res: How well do you speak them?

Peja: *French: very well; Lingala: fairly well.*

Res: What languages can you understand?

Peja: *None.*

Res: What languages can you read and write?

Peja: *French.*

Res: How well do you read and write it?

Peja: *Read and write French well; Read Lingala fairly well.*

Res: What languages did you speak at home in the DRC?

Peja: *French and Lingala.*

Res: What DRC language do you feel more comfortable in?

Peja: *French.*

Res: Is French offered in your school?

Peja: *Not in our school. In others..*

Res: Can you remember how old you were when you arrived in SA?

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Peja: *Perhaps 6 – 7 years.*

Res: Did you feel any difference on your arrival?

Peja: *I can't remember. I was still young.*

Res: How did you learn them?

Peja: *French at school as MOI and at home; Lingala in the community and also at home.*

Res: Which one do you need more here?

Peja: *French.*

Res: Can you remember why you left the DRC for SA?

Peja: *Je ne me souviens de rien. J'étais trop jeune.* [French]
(*I remember nothing. I was too young.*)

Res: Do you sometimes feel rejected or hated in any way or another?

Peja: *Non* (No)

Res: How are you considered in South Africa?

Peja: *Comme un sud-africain, sauf quand nous sommes arrivés ici pour la première fois, nous étions appelés 'makwere-kwere'.* [French]
(As a South African, save when we arrived here for the first time, we were called 'makwere-kwere'.)

Res: Meaning?

Peja: *Etrangers* [French] (Foreigners).

Res: How did you feel at that time when you were called 'makwere-kwere'?

Peja: *Je n'avais rien senti parce que je ne savais pas ce que cela signifiait. J'étais trop jeune. Même maintenant je ne sens rien.* [French]
(I felt nothing because I did not know what it meant. I was too young. Even today I feel nothing.)

Res: What South African languages do you speak?

Peja: *Anglais, Afrikaans, isiZulu* (English, Afrikaans, isiZulu.) [French]

Res: How well do you speak them?

Peja: *Anglais: très bien, Afrikaans: bien, isiZulu: un peu.* [French]
(English: very well, Afrikaans: well and isiZulu: a little.)

Res: What languages can you understand?

Peja: *seSotho and seTswana.*

Res: How did you learn them?

Peja: *Anglais comme langue d'instruction, Afrikaans comme deuxième langue, isiZulu, seSotho et Tswana avec des amis à l'école.* [French]
(English as the medium of instruction; Afrikaans as a second language and isiZulu, seSotho, Tswana with friends at school.)

Res: How would you feel if you were in the DRC community but can't speak or understand DRC languages?

Peja: *Mal à l'aise. Il n'est pas bon d'être dans un endroit où les gens parlent les langues que vous ne comprenez pas.* [French]

(Uncomfortable. It's not good to be in a place where people speak languages that you don't speak)

Res: Do you have DRC friends?

Peja: *Oui. Mais pas des amis comme tels mais des connaissances. Je ne veux pas communiquer avec des congolais pour éviter des problèmes, seulement avec de sud-africains.* [French]
(Yes. But not friends as such but acquaintances. I don't want to communicate with Congolese guys to avoid problems. Only with South Africans.)

Res: Do you then have South African friends?

Peja: *Pas beaucoup, surtout des camarades.* [French] (Not many, mainly schoolmates)

Res: What things in SA remind you of your native country?

Peja: *Oui, la langue.* [French] (Yes, language)

Res: Will you one day go and work or visit relatives in DRC?

Peja: *Visiter? Oui. Travailler? Perhaps.* [French] (Visit? Yes, Work? Perhaps.)

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Res: But if your parents advise you?

Peja: *Ah, je ne sais pas. Je ne suis pas sûr de l'avenir là-bas. Je ne peux pas aller vivre en RDC. Je ne sais pas.* [French]

(Ah, I don't know. I am not sure of the future there. I can't go and live in DRC. I don't know.)

Res: Anything else?

Peja: *Je voudrais aller aux Etats-Unis. C'est pourquoi je m'américanise.* [French]
(I want to go the USA. That's why I want to Americanize myself.)

2.3. Interview with Tebe

Res: Please tell me briefly your life story (job, reason for leaving the DRC).

Tebe: *Nazalaki liboso maître de école primaire. Natika na ngai. Nazalaki kosala b'affaires na ngai ya mike. Toyaki awa après pillages, l'heure Jate aye kozua biso na Brazza. Pillage moko terrible esalemaki na Kin. Vie ekomaki impossible. Alors Jate atindelaki biso mbongo ya visa. Toyebaki kutu te. Et puis ayebisi biso tokatisa na ngambo ya Brazza. Tokutani na Brazza et puis toyé na Afrique du Sud.* [Lingala – French]
(I was first a primary school teacher and then I resigned. I was doing small business. We came here after the pillages when Jate came to fetch us from Brazzaville. There was a terrible pillage in Kinshasa. At that time life became impossible. Then Jate sent us some money for visas. We did not expect that. He asked us to leave for Brazzaville where we joined him and flew to South Africa.)

Res: What was your first impression when you arrived in SA?

Tebe: *Awa namonaki difference na environnement: ba ndako ya minene, banzela, banzela ya minene, bamagasins ya minene. Lisusu, anglais ezali pasi. Minoko na bango pe ezali different na oyo ya biso. Okoki ko comprendre yango te. Jate motu abandaki kolobela biso. Na mboka na biso, bamama balataka na ndenge ya respect mpo na kolakisa que bazali mariées. Awa bazo lata bajupes yamikuse, pantalons serrés, bajupes transparentes. Balobaka lisusu que okoki kovanda na mobali moko te bambula ebele.*
[Lingala – French]

(Here [i.e. South Africa] I was amazed at the difference in the environment or infrastructure: buildings, roads, highways, larger shopping malls. Again, their languages are different from ours. They are hard to understand. Jate managed to interpret for us.

In our country, mothers dress up in a respectful way to show that they are married. Here they wear short skirts, tight trousers, transparent skirts. They also say that you cannot live with the same man for years.)

Res: How do they identify you as a foreigner?

Tebe: *Baza ko identifier biso facilement po na bilamba na biso: bubu, maputa. Balingaka bato muindu te kaka mindele. Tozali ndenge moko bato muindu, culture moko. Mais ba bengaka biso 'makwere-kwere'. Balobaka lisusu que biso toyaka kozua misala na bango. Yango wana balingaka biso te.* [Lingala - French]

(We are easily identified because of our clothing: *bubu*, *maputa*². They dislike foreign [black] Africans but like foreign Whites only. We are as Black Africans as they are, with the same culture. But they call us 'makwere-kwere'. They also say that we came to steal their jobs. That is why they do not like us.)

Res: What do you do then?

Tebe: *Soki nakei wenze, nalataka pantalons po na mibomba et po na koéviter curiosité.*
[Lingala – French]

(While shopping I wear trousers to disguise myself and also distract curiosity.)

Res: How do you feel when you speak your DRC languages in SA?

Tebe: *Na sepelaka n'ango penza.* (I really enjoy them.) [Lingala]

² *Bubus* are West-African large gown-like clothes worn both by men and women and covering the entire body from the neck to the ankles while *Maputa* is a DRC Lingala word for the French 'pagne' (Section 4.1.2).

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Res: When you are marginalised, what do you think of?

Tebe: *En tout cas kuna na mboka tozalaki bien. Tozangaki eloko ata moko te. Tozalaki bien. Mbongo tozalaki na'ngo. Kuna pe ba occasions eza ebele.* [Lingala – French]
(In reality we were well settled there. We lacked nothing. We had money. There are a lot of opportunities in the homeland.)

Res: Can you one day return to the DRC?

Tebe: *Oui, awa baétrangers balingi bango te. Il faut tozonga na mboka parce que soki paix ezali, tokoki kozua makambu ya bien kuna, promotion kuna que awa.* [French - Lingala]
(Yes. Here foreigners are not accepted. We can get better opportunities, social promotion there if there is peace.)

Res: Why aren't you willing to learn English?

Tebe: *Ba mots mike kaka ya anglais, mpo naza na ngai intéressée te n'anglais. Nalingi yango te. Eza malamu te.* [Lingala - French]
(Few words from English because I am not interested in English. I don't like it. It is not good.)

Res: To what extent?

Tebe: *Mpo na ndenge bazo considérer biso neti ba étrangers. Bayinaka biso mpe balingi minoko na biso te.* [Lingala - French]
(Because of the way we are treated as foreigners. They hate us and don't also like our languages.)

Res: Why don't you want to learn local (African) languages?

Tebe: *Eza volonté na ngai, mpo na b'habitudes ya basi ya mabala. Balingi ba boyfriends, et pourtant Babala, ndenge na bango ya kolata: bacollants, bajupes ya mikuse. Lisusu, y'olingi bango kasi bango balingi bino te. Yango wana natika na ngai, nafanda na ngai.* [Lingala – French with English borrowing]
(It's my will, because of married women's behaviours. They need boyfriends, and yet they are married, their way of dressing up: tights, very short skirts. Also, you like them but they don't like you in return. That's why I dropped everyone. I live by myself [i.e. without local female friends])

Res: Don't you plan to learn one day?

Tebe: *Na koyekola yango. Na tango nayaki n'Afrique du Sud, nazalaki kaka na ndako, mpo nazalaki lisusu na zemi. Moyen na bima libanda te mpo nayekola anglais. Bana batangisaka ngai anglais mpo balingi ngai naloba yango, surtout bana mike mpo balobaka anglais moko ya bien, ya simple, clair. Ba tangisaka ngai. Balobaka que na za têtue et nalinga koretenir te. Ba oyo ya mikolo balobaka: 'bamama misusu oyo bayaka sima na ngai bayebi koloba anglais, kaka ngai. Pourquoi ?* [Lingala - French]
(I will learn it. When I arrived in SA, I was always in the house and also pregnant. So I could not go out and learn English. The children also teach me English because they want me to speak it, especially the youngest [i.e. the SA-born] because they speak good and simple, clear English. They teach me and say that I am stubborn and don't want to keep it. The older ones say: 'other mums who arrived here after you know how to speak English, except you. Why?)

Res: Who recommended the languages to speak in the home in the DRC?

Tebe: *Jate*

Res: Was it imposed?

Tebe: *Na Kinsahsa bazalaki kotanga na école privée. Togarder kaka langue wana na famille. Ngai pe nazalaki liboso maîtresse na école primaire na Congo. Yango wana todecidaki que bana na biso baloba kaka français na famille.* [Lingala - French]
(In Kinshasa, they [i.e. children] were schooling at a private French-medium school. We maintained the language in family. I was once a primary school teacher in the DRC. So we decided that our children should speak French only.)

Res: Did you discuss it or he imposed it?

Tebe: *Tosololaki. Toyokanaki na likambo yango.* [Lingala]
(We talked about it. We agreed on that issue.)

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Res: Will you one day return to the DRC?

Tebe: *Oui, awa baétrangers balingi bango te. Il faut tozonga na mboka parce que tokoki kozua makambu ya bien kuna, promotion kuna que awa soki paix ezali.*

(Yes. Here foreigners are not accepted. We can get better opportunities, social promotion there if there is stable peace.) [Lingala – French]

Res: Why do you encourage your children to speak English rather than local African languages?

Tebe: *Anglais eza bien. Muana akoki koutiliser anglais partout po eza language internationale.* [Lingala – French]

(English is good. A child can use English anywhere because it is an international language)

Res: How do you feel when you speak your DRC languages in SA?

Tebe: *Na sepelaka n'ango penza.* (I really enjoy them.) [Lingala]

Res: Which language do you feel more comfortable in?

Tebe: *Lingala.* (Lingala) [Lingala]

Res: What things in SA remind you of your native country?

Tebe: *Miziki, biloko na biso ya kolia (eza parfois importé mais cher), kolata, monko, etc.* [Lingala -French]
(Music, our food [sometimes imported but expensive], clothing, language, etc.)

Res: Will you allow your children to go back to the DRC?

Tebe: *Oui, pourquoi pas. Il faut bayeba mboka na bango. Oyo eza mboka mopaya. Bango, bato Soki kimia ekoti na mboka et que tozongi, I faut bayeba kosolola na bakoko na nyonso kuna.* [French – Lingala]

(Yes, why not? They must know their homeland. This is a foreign country. If there's peace in our home country and t we go back home, they must be able to communicate with their grandparents and everybody there.)

Res: If you have a secret at home, what languages do you use?

Tebe: *Lingala to français. Ezo dépendre nani aza wana.* [Lingala – French]
(Lingala, or French, depending on who is there.)

Res: Why do you speak French or Lingala to the children?

Tebe: *Eza ba langues na bango, donc il faut bayeba yango.* [Lingala – French]
(These are their languages. So they must know them. If there is peace at home and we go back, they will know to communicate with their grandparents, everybody there.)

Res: What are the advantages of using many languages?

Tebe: *Partout okoi koloba monoko oyo ekoki. Ba kozua yo neti ndeko na bango ya muaso to mobali soki olobi monoko na bango, e.g. isiZulu, Afrikaans, Sotho, anglais, français, Lingala.* [Lingala – French]
(Anywhere you can use the isiZulu, Afrikaans, Sotho, English, French, Lingala.)

Res: Do they understand when you use Lingala to them?

Tebe: *Oui, mais il faut oloba malembe po ba comprendre, surtout oyo ya mike.* [French - Lingala]
(French or Lingala, depending on who is there.)

Res: Have your children changed?

Tebe: *Po na respect, te. Malgré que bayaka très jeunes, bazalaka te lokola bana ya awa.* [Lingala –French]
(For respect, they have not changed. Although they came here young, they do not behave like the local children.)

Res: What DRC languages do you speak?

Tebe: *Français na lingala.* [Lingala] (French and Lingala)

Res: How well do you speak them?

Tebe: *Français, un peu bien; Lingala: tres bien.* [French] (French: fairly well; Lingala: very well)

Res: How did you learn them?

Tebe: *Français eza langue ya education; lingala eza monoko na ngai ya kobotama.* [Lingala - French]
(French is the medium of instruction and Lingala is my native language) [Pause]

Tebe: *Français eza langue ya education; lingala eza monoko na ngai ya kobotama.* [Lingala - French]

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- (French is the medium of instruction and Lingala is my native language) [Pause]
Naza Mungala. [Lingala] (I'm Mungala, i.e. from the Bangala ethnic group)
- Res: What languages can you understand?
 Tebe: *Kikongo* [Husband: Kikongo speaker]
- Res: What languages can you read and write?
 Tebe: *Français na Lingala*. [Lingala - French] (French and Lingala)
- Res: How well do you read and write them?
 Tebe: *Kotanga français bien. Mais kokoma, mua ndambu parce qu'il faut okanisa liboso okoma.*
 [Lingala - French] (I read French well but write it fairly well because you have to think before writing)
- Res: What languages do you feel more comfortable in?
 Tebe: *Lingala*.
- Res: What South African languages do you speak?
 Tebe: *Bamots mike ya anglais, parce que naza na gai intéressée na anglais te. Na lingaka yango te.*
 [Lingala - French] (Few words from English because I'm not interested in English. I don't like it)
- Res: Why?
 Tebe: *Po na ndenge baza ko traiter biso. Ba lingaka biso te, na minoko na biso.* [Lingala - French]
 (Because of the way we are treated as foreigners. They hate us and don't like our languages)
- Res: Do you have South African friends?
 Tebe: *Te*. [Lingala] (No)
- Res: Why?
 Tebe: *Po na bizaleli ya basi na bango. Baza na balingi boyfriends pendant que baza mariées. Ndenge na bango ya kolata: bilamba serrés, bajupes ya mikuse, etc.* [Lingala – French - English] (Because of wives' behaviours. They need boyfriends while they are married'. Their way of dressing up: tight clothes, very short skirts, etc.)
- Res: You don't have SA friends. Is it your choice or lack of contact with them?
 Tebe: *Eza volonté na ngai po na bizaleli ya basi na bango. Lisusu, olingi ye, kasi ye alingi yo te.* [Lingala]
 (It is my will because of the married women's behaviours. Also, you like her but she does not like you in return)

2.4. Interview with Jate

- Res: Please tell me briefly about your life story (job, reason for leaving the DRC).
 Jate: *J'étais Chef des Travaux à l'Institut Supérieur Pédagogique de Mbandaka où j'enseignais les langue et littérature françaises pendant des années. En 1991, Président Mobutu a signé une ordonnance portant fermeture des universités et collèges d'enseignement supérieur dans lesquels les étudiants avaient marché ou s'étaient révoltés. Donc j'ai décidé de quitter le pays pour l'Afrique du Sud. D'abord je suis allé à Wits University pour ma maîtrise. Ensuite, je suis rentré au pays pour voir si la situation avait changé. Mais elle n'avait pas changé. Finalement, je suis revenu ici avec un visa touristique.* [French]
 (I was a senior lecturer at Mbandaka College of Higher Education where I had been teaching French Literature and Language for years. In 1991, President Mobutu signed a decree closing all universities and colleges of higher education where the students have marched or revolted. So I decided to leave the country for South Africa. Firstly, I went to Wits University for my MA. Then I went back to the country to see if the situation had changed [i.e. whether the closed institutions were reopened]. But it did not change. Finally, I came back here. [i.e. to South Africa] on a tourist visa.)
- Res: How did you travel from DRC to SA?
 Jate: *It was an adventure as everyone does. First, I traveled by plane from Kinshasa to Johannesburg in 1991. Then after a few months I went back home to see whether the situation had changed. But it did not change to the best. And I came back here. I traveled from Lubumbashi [2nd largest city of the DRC] to Johannesburg by road via Zambia and Botswana. On the way and even here*

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relationships between with natives were good. We were well-considered by Whites. Blacks were reserved. Congolese didn't need visas to come to SA but obtained them at the port of entry without any problem. But after Mandela's election, things started changing/collapsing'.

Res: Avant de venir en Afrique du Sud, aviez-vous des amis ou des connections? [French]
(Before coming to South Africa, did you have any friends or connections?)

Jate: *Non. Mais quand je suis arrivé ici, j'ai cherché des concitoyens.* [French]
(No. But when I arrived here, I looked for fellow countrymen.)

Res: Where did you first settle?

Jate: *Esselen, Résidence de Wits University à Hillbrow. Ensuite, je suis allé à Ponte City, Berea, où je vis depuis 10 ans près.* [French]
(Esselen, Wits University Residence in Hillbrow. Then I went to Ponte City, Berea, where I have been living for almost 10 years.)

Res: Why?

Jate: *Parce que nous étions marqués et agressés et devrions donc aller où la plupart des congolais vivaient. J'étais aussi encouragé ou conseillé par des compatriotes qui y vivaient.* [French]
(Because we were marked and assaulted and thus had to go where most DRC nationals were living. I was also encouraged or advised by fellow countrymen who were living there.)

Res: Was it the only reason?

Jate: *J'avais certaines difficultés pour comprendre l'accent de leur anglais et aussi pour parler de façon compétente.* [French]
(I had some difficulty in understanding the accent of their [South Africans'] English and speaking competently.)

Res: Any cultural difference or shock on arrival?

Jate: *Pas du tout.* [French] (Not at all)

Res: What was your first impression when you met other Africans?

Jate: *En route et même ici, les relations étaient bonnes. Nous Zairois étions bien considérés, bienvenus, particulièrement par les blancs. Les noirs étaient réservés. Les congolais n'avaient pas besoin de visas à partir du pays ou de Kinshasa mais les obtenaient à la frontière.* [French]
(On the way and even here, relationships were good. We Zairians were well-considered, welcome, particularly by the Whites. Blacks were reserved. Congolese nationals did not need to apply for visas in their country or in Kinshasa but obtained them at the port of entry.)

Res: As a foreigner, how are you treated?

Jate: *Je suis considéré étranger avec toutes les réalités que nous rencontrons ici.*
(I am constructed as a foreigner with all realities we are facing here.) [French]

Res: What are those realities?

Jate: *Nous les vivons chaque jour. Dans la rue à cause de l'habillement vous êtes appelés 'makwere-kwere'. A cause de votre habillement, vous êtes agressés et volés, et aussi à cause de l'utilisation des langues sud-africaines.* [French]
(We face them everyday. In the street, because of your attire, you are called 'foreigners'; because

of

your clothing, you are assaulted and robbed, and also because of the use of South African languages.)

Res: How do you feel then?

Jate: *Honnêtement, je me sens mal à l'aise. A mon avis, nos frères ne comprennent pas ce qu'ils appellent 'amakwere-kwere'. Pour eux, 'amakwere-kwere' sont des gens qui parlent des langues inintelligibles. Et pourtant, quand ils parlent isiZulu ou seSotho, nous ne comprenons pas non plus ou quelques fois comprenons un peu. Finalement, je me demande qui est 'amakwere-kwere et qui ne l'est pas. Pour eux, un étranger noir, c'est quelqu'un qui a quitté son pays et est venu arracher leur travail, etc. Ce qui est incroyable, ils ne considèrent pas les blancs et les autres comme étrangers, seulement les étrangers noirs africains.* [French]

(Honestly, I feel uneasy. In my view, our brothers don't understand what they call 'amakwere-kwere'. According to them, 'amakwere-kwere' are people who speak unintelligible

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languages. Yet when they speak isiZulu or seSotho, we don't understand or sometimes understand a little. Finally, I wonder who is 'amakwere-kwere' and who is not. For them, a black foreigner is someone who left his native land and came to grab their jobs, etc. What is unbelievable is that they don't consider Whites and other foreigners as strangers, only foreign black Africans.)

Res: When you are marginalised, what do you think of?

Jate: *Je pense à mon pays et me dis que je dois rentrer dans mon pays et me sentirais plus à l'aise là-bas.* [French]

(I think of my country and say to myself that I must go back and would feel more at ease there)

Res: What do you think of their attitudes?

Jate: *Je pense que ceci est dû aux souffrances qu'ils ont endurées pendant l'apartheid. Certains disent que 'quand nous souffrions, les noirs ne nous ont pas aidés'. Mais ceci est le contraire. Je pense aussi que les statuts sociaux de différents groupes ethniques sont encore enracinés dans leurs esprits. Voilà pourquoi ils tolèrent les blancs.* [French]

(I think that this is due to the sufferings they endured during the apartheid era. Some say that while we were suffering, foreign blacks did not assist us. But this is the contrary. I think that the social statuses of different ethnic groups are still rooted in their minds. That is why they tolerate whites.)

Res: Do you speak local African languages?

Jate: *Non.* [French] (Non)

Res: What do you think is the best way to learn local languages?

Jate: *Apprendre dans la rue, avec des amis, être intégré.* [French]

(To learn in the streets, with friends, being socially integrated)

Res: Is it important to speak them?

Jate: *Parler les langues sud-africaines est une façon de s'intégrer dans leur milieu social pour mieux comprendre les réalités locales.* [French]

(Speaking South African languages is a way of integrating into their social networks in order to better understand local realities.)

Res: When did your family join you, and why?

Jate: *En 1992, j'avais appris qu'il y a eu des pillages terribles pendant lesquels des femmes et des filles étaient aussi violées. Alors j'ai décidé d'aller les prendre à partir de Brazza. Nous avons voyagé par avion.* [French]

(In 1992 I was told that there were terrible pillages during which women and girls were also raped. So I decided to bring them from Brazzaville. We traveled by plane.)

Res: What languages were you using at home in the DRC?

Jate: *Français seulement.* [French] (French only)

Res: Why?

Jate: *Tu n'es pas cultivé si tu ne parles pas ou ne connais pas le français. Lingala, c'est la langue des illettrés, des voyous, moins éduqués. Et puis moi, je suis professeur de français. Les enfants qui parlent français sont même plus intelligents que les autres qui ne parlent pas.* [French]

(You are not cultured if you don't speak or know French. Lingala is the language of the illiterate, the delinquent, the less educated. Also, I am a French teacher. Children who speak French are even more intelligent than others who don't.)

Res: Can you speak your parents' native language?

Jate: *Non, parce que nous sommes partis tôt et vivions en ville où le kikongo et le français sont tous deux des langues d'instruction. C'est pourquoi je parle plus Kikongo que Sakata. Mes parents me parlaient en Sakata et je répondais en kikongo ou français.* [French]

(No, because we moved to and lived in an urban area early where both Kikongo and French were media of instruction. That's why I speak more Kikongo than Sakata. My parents spoke to me in Sakata but I responded in Kikongo or French.)

Res: What is the language policy at home in SA?

Jate: *Français.* [French] (French)

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Res: Why?

Jate: *Nous venons d'un pays francophone où la langue officielle est le français. Et puis, ils ont commencé l'école en français. Et ici l'anglais est la langue dominante. C'est pourquoi je veux qu'ils maintiennent le français.* [French]

(We come from a French-speaking country where the official language is French. Also, they started schooling in French. And here English is the dominant language. That's why I want them [children] to maintain French).

Res: What does French mean to you?

Jate: *Il représente mon pays, ma culture, ma tradition. Il est très important pour moi.* [French]
(It represents my country, my culture, my tradition. It is very important to me.)

Res: And for the children?

Jate: *Quand ils parlent français et lingala, c'est comme s'ils parlaient leur propre culture.* [French]
(When they speak French and Lingala, it is like speaking their own culture.)

Res: Why do you speak French or Lingala to the children?

Jate: *Je veux qu'ils maintiennent le français et parlent l'anglais parce que n'importe où ils seront capables de communiquer dans ces langues. Les deux langues pourront aussi les aider dans le futur.* [French]

(I want them to maintain French while speaking English because anywhere they will be able to communicate. Both languages French and English can also help them in future.)

Res: To keep the language/s, they have to love it. Is there anything likely to help them to maintain their homeland languages?

Jate: *Oui, la pratique de la langue, la musique. La musique est très importante. Je leur dis 'voici votre musique'.* [French]

(Yes: language practices, music. Music is very important. I tell them 'listen to your music'.)

Res: What things in SA remind you of your native country?

Jate: *Les habits, la langue, la musique, la nourriture, l'église.* [French]
(Clothing, language, music, foods, church)

Res: Will you one day allow them to return to the DRC?

Jate: *Absolument. C'est leur pays d'origine. Il n'y a pas de mal d'y rentrer et y travailler.* [French]
(Absolutely. It's their country of origin. It is not wrong to go back and work there.)

Res: What language do you need more in SA?

Jate: *Je pense que c'est l'anglais, parce que nous vivons en Afrique du Sud. Mais la connaissance de, par exemple: Zulu, Sotho, serait aussi avantageux parce que les noirs sont au pouvoir.* [French]

(I think that it is English because we are in SA. But the knowledge of isiZulu or seSotho would be advantageous since Blacks are in power.)

Res: What language do you often use with children?

Jate: *Français, et anglais de temps en temps.* [French] (French, and English from time to time.)

Res: Why?

Jate: *Parce que la plupart d'eux ne maîtrisent plus le français. Et très souvent à l'école ils parlent anglais avec des amis. L'anglais les aide à communiquer facilement. Ils perdent la compétence en français.*

(Because most of them no longer master French. And at school they use English with friends. English helps them to communicate easily. They are losing competence in French.)

Res: What DRC languages do you speak?

Jate: *Français, lingala, kikongo, swahili et sakata, ma langue maternelle.* [French] (French, Lingala, Kikongo, Swahili and Sakata, my mother language)

Res: How well do you speak them?

Jate: *Français, lingala, kikongo: très bien; sakata et swahili: assez bien.* [French] (French, Lingala, Kikongo: very well; Sakata and Swahili: fairly well)

Res: Why don't you speak Sakata well?

Jate: *Parce que nous vivions en ville. C'est pourquoi je parle mieux kikongo que sakata.* [French]

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(Because we were living in a town. That's why I speak more Kikongo [vernacular & MOI] than Sakata)

Res: What languages can you understand?

Jate: *Tshiluba, quelques mots*. [French] (a few words of Tshiluba)

Res: What languages can you read and write?

Jate: *Toutes les langues citées ci-dessus, sauf le tshiluba*. [French] (All languages cited above, save Tshiluba)

Res: How well do you read and write them?

Jate: *Lire et écrire: Français, kikongo, lingala: très bien; et swahili: assez bien*. [French] (Read and write French, Kikongo, Lingala very well and Swahili: well)

Res: How did you learn those languages?

Jate: *Français à l'école; kikongo à l'école et dans la communauté; lingala dans la communauté*. [French] (French at school; Kikongo at school and in the community; Lingala in the community)

Res: Which ones have you studied?

Jate: *Français, kikongo et swahili*. [French] (French, Kikongo and Swahili)

Res: Which language do you feel more comfortable in?

Jate: *Français*. (French)

Res: What South African languages do you speak?

Jate: *Anglais et zulu*. [French] (English and isiZulu)

Res: How well do you speak them?

Jate: *Anglais: bien et zulu: un peu*. [French] (English: well, and isiZulu: a little)

Res: What languages can you understand, and how well?

Jate: *Zulu, un peu*. [French] (isiZulu, a little)

Res: What languages can you read and write?

Jate: *Anglais: assez bien*. [French] (English: fairly well)

Res: How did you learn SA languages?

Jate: *Anglais à l'université et dans le voisinage; zulu, dans le voisinage*. [French] (English at university and in the neighbourhood; isiZulu in the neighbourhood)

Res: Which one have you studied?

Jate: *Anglais*. (English)

Res: Which one do you need more here?

Jate: *Anglais*. (English)

Res: Why?

Jate: *Parce que c'est la langue que bien des gens comprennent, ou le lingua franca*. [French] (Because it's the language that most people understand, or the lingua franca)

Res: Do you have South African friends?

Jate: *Amis? Pas comme tells mais des camarades*. [French] (Friends? Not as such, but comrades)

Res: Why?

Jate: *Il y a ce sentiment de mépris ou de haine, par lequel nous sommes traités comme étrangers. Les relations n'ont pas toujours été franches du tout*. [French] (There's that feeling of repulsion or resentment, where we are treated as foreigners. Relations have not been frank at all)

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3. French-Tshiluba family

3.1. Interview with Litshi

Res: What DRC languages do you speak?

Litshi: *French and some Tshiluba.*

Res: How well do you speak them?

Litshi: *French, very well. Tshiluba: a bit.*

Res: Which one can you read or write?

Litshi: *No one.*

Res: What languages can you understand?

Litshi: *Tshiluba, a bit.*

Res: What South African languages do you speak?

Litshi: *Except English.*

Res: Why?

Litshi: *I don't like them. They are not nice.*

Res: Don't you have South African friends?

Litshi: *Yes, but we speak English only.*

Res: Do you know the DRC?

Litshi: Yes

Res: Where is it?

Litshi: *In the middle of Africa.*

Res: When you complete your studies, will you go back to the DRC?

Litshi: Yes

Res: Why not stay in SA?

Litshi: *I don't like it. Just like that, I'm not free.*

Res: Do you have South African friends?

Litshi: Why?

Litshi: *Yes. To know them and their culture.*

Res: Do you have DRC friends?

Litshi: Yes.

Res: Can you speak French at school with them?

Litshi: Yes

Res: Do your local friends worry about it?

Litshi: *No. They ask me to teach them: 'Hello – How are you? – What's the matter with you?'*

Res: Do you also ask them to teach you isiZulu or seSotho?

Litshi: *No.*

Res: Why?

Litshi: *Just like that. They are not nice. isiZulu is not important in SA, not for me.*

Res: Which language is nice, or important?

Litshi: *English, because everybody can speak it.*

Res (to the TG): What languages do you use with your daddy?

Litshi: *French and Tshiluba*

Res: And with your mum?

Litshi: *French*

Res: What DRC language do you like much?

Litshi: *Tshiluba*

Res: Why Tshiluba?

Litshi: *Because it is nice.*

Res: What languages do you often use with your family when you go out?

Litshi: *French*

Res: Why French, and not Tshiluba?

Litshi: *Because I speak it better than Tshiluba.*

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Res: Can you speak local African languages?

Litshi: *They are not nice. I don't like them.*

Res: You are now living in SA. Do you feel South African?

Litshi: *No. Congolese.*

Res: Why?

Litshi: *Because I speak French and Tshiluba.*

Res: A Nigerian or Cameroonian can also speak French but he is not Congolese.

Litshi: *Because I was born there and because of the names.*

3.2. Interview with Loma

Res: Please, tell me briefly about your life before coming to SA.

Loma: *Je suis juriste de formation et étais avocate à Kinshasa. Et je suis une femme mariée et mère de famille avant même de venir ici. Nous avons suivi Papa.* [French]
(I am a trained legal expert and was a lawyer in Kinshasa. And I am a married woman and mother before coming into South Africa. We came to join Papa (the father.)

Res: Why did you choose to live in this area?

Loma: *En tout cas, on n'avait pas de choix. Papa avait déjà trouvé une place qu'il croyait convenable. Nous avons simplement adopté le lieu. Mais je crois qu'avec tout ce que nous sommes en train de vivre, il avait raison. On se sent un peu en sécurité quand on vit à côté de nos frères et sœurs. On peut s'entraider, se consoler et avoir des nouvelles du pays.* [French]
(In all cases we had no choice. Papa had already found a place that he thought convenient. We simply adopted the place. But I believe that with everything we are facing he was right. We feel somewhat more safe when we are living next to our brothers and sisters. We can assist one another, comfort one another and get news from home.)

Res: How are you treated here?

Loma: *Là où je travaille, je sens ce manque de considération. En tout cas, certains collègues croient que tu n'existes même pas à leurs yeux. Tu n'as pas de valeur. Tu ne connais rien, surtout que tu viens d'un pays francophone. Et pourtant nous avons de l'expérience. Mais il faut endurer cela pour survivre. D'autres commencent à comprendre, surtout quand tu fais mieux.* [French]

(Where I am working, I can feel that lack of respect. In all cases, some colleagues believe that you don't even exist in their eyes. You are worthless. You know nothing because you come from a French-speaking country. Yet we have some experience. But you have to endure that to survive. Others start believing in what you are, mainly when you do better.)

Res: What language policy did you establish in the home in the DRC?

Loma: *Pour moi, je parle souvent ou toujours en français. Je suis née en Belgique et ai grandi et étudié là-bas. En famille, on ne parlait qu'en français. Même au Congo, on ne parlait souvent qu'en français. Une question d'habitude, quoi? C'est leur papa qui veut qu'ils connaissent le Tshiluba. J'ai appris le Tshiluba au Congo.* [French]

(In all cases for me the choice was clear. I often or always speak French. I was born, grew up and schooled in Belgium. At home we spoke French only. Even in the DRC we often spoke in French. It is a question of habit, isn't it? It is their father who wants them to know Tshiluba. I learned to speak Tshiluba in the DRC.)

Res: What language do you use to communicate at home in SA?

Loma: *Français et Tshiluba.* (French and Tshiluba)

Res: Why?

Loma: *Mon père est professeur d'université. Je suis habituée à ne parler que le français. Je me sens plus à l'aise en français. D'ailleurs, je ne parle pas très bien Tshiluba.* [French]

(My father is a university professor. I got used to speaking French only. I feel more comfortable in French [than in Tshiluba]. In fact, I do not speak Tshiluba very well.)

Res: Why did you decide on the use of two languages?

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Loma: *Pour moi, le choix est clair. Je ne parle presque toujours qu'en français. C'est la langue dans laquelle j'ai été élevée et ai grandi. Le Tshiluba, c'est leur papa qui leur apprend à parler. Je ne connais pas bien l'anglais que les enfants parlent très bien.* [French]
(For me, the choice is clear. I almost always speak in French only. It is the language in which I was raised and grew up. As to Tshiluba, it is their father who teaches them to speak.)

Res: What language do you often use to your husband?

Loma: *Très souvent je parle français, sauf quand papa me parle ou a quelque chose de secret à me communiquer. Parfois nous parlons Tshiluba quand nous recevons les nôtres, une façon de les accueillir à la manière de chez nous, surtout que nous sommes loin du pays.* [French]
(Very often I speak French, save when papa speaks to me or has something secret to tell me. I got used to speaking French only. Sometimes we use Tshiluba when we receive our ethnics, a way of welcoming them as we do in our homeland, particularly as we are far from home.)

Res: Do you think that you have changed since you arrived in SA?

Loma: *Je n'ai pas changé du tout. On ne peut pas changer comme cela, surtout que nous sommes exclus, pas intégrés. Nous vivons chacun dans son coin.* [French]
(I have not changed. We cannot change like that, given that we are excluded, not integrated. We are living each group separated from the other.)

Res: What DRC languages do you speak?

Loma: *Un peu de tshiluba.* [French] (A little Tshiluba)

Res: Why?

Loma: *Parce que je suis née et ai grandi en Belgique.* [French] (Because I was born and raised in Belgium)

Res: What languages do you understand?

Loma: *Un peu de lingala.* [French] (A little Lingala)

3.3. Interview with Tilo

Res: Please give me briefly your life account before coming to SA

Tilo: *J'étais fonctionnaire de l'Etat, enseignant de profession. Et j'étais aussi impliqué dans le syndicat des enseignants. D'abord, le pays commençait à dégringoler économiquement et politiquement. Alors, quand Mandela est sorti de la prison, on s'est dit que pourquoi ne pas aller à l'extérieur, en Afrique du Sud? Est-ce que c'est une porte d'entrée pour quelque chose de meilleur dans le futur?* [French]

(I was a public servant, a teacher by profession. And I was also involved in the teachers' union. Firstly, the country [i.e. DRC] started tumbling economically and politically. And when Mandela was released from prison, we said to ourselves 'why not go abroad, to South Africa? Perhaps, it is the gate to better opportunities in future?')

Res: How did you communicate when you arrived in SA?

Tilo: *Je pouvais balbutier un peu d'anglais et me faire comprendre, cet anglais appris à l'école secondaire. Et puis, j'ai la facilité de langues.* [French]
(I could speak some English and make myself understand, that secondary school English. Also, I learn languages more easily and faster.)

Res: Why did you choose to live in the ethnicsed area?

Tilo: *Je pense que le choix est clair. Premièrement, quand on est nouveau dans un pays, on se sent perdu quelque part, n'est-ce pas? Tout devient différent: la culture, la nourriture, la mentalité. Il faut d'abord chercher les compatriotes pour être initié aux langues et culture du milieu, trouver du logement. Et surtout, on ne connaissait pas bien l'anglais, encore moins le zulu. Il faut bien connaître le milieu avant de pouvoir chercher le boulot et consort. Enfin, devant les atrocités perpétrées contre les étrangers noirs, on ne peut que se réfugier auprès des siens pour trouver consolation et protection.* [French]

(I think that the choice is clear. Firstly, when you arrive in a new country, you get lost somewhere, don't you? Everything becomes different: culture, food, way of thinking. You have first to seek the fellow countrymen to be initiated into languages and culture, to find

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accommodation. And above all, we could not speak English well, neither isiZulu. You have to know the community well before applying for a job and looking for other things. Finally, in view of all the atrocities perpetrated against black Africans, we have to seek refuge with our own ethnic members with a view to obtaining comfort and protection.)

Res: That's all?

Tilo: *Après tout, il faut se situer quelque part, appartenir à un groupe. Je suis congolais et ne dois pas oublier cela, même si on vit à l'étranger dans des conditions sociales que tu connais.* [French]
(After all, we have to locate ourselves somewhere, belong to a group. I am a Congolese and must not forget that, even though we are living abroad in the social conditions that you know.)

Res: How are you identified as a foreigner?

Tilo: *D'ailleurs quand tu ouvres déjà ta bouche, on sent vite que tu es étranger. La langue, ah, ça accuse les gens. On ne parle pas de la même manière, même si tu essaies de camoufler le ton, on le saura, quoi? La façon dont on te regarde te fait voir également que tu es étranger.* [French]

(By the way when you open your mouth, they immediately realise that you are a foreigner. Language, of course, accuses you. We do not speak the same way, even if you try to hide the accent. The way they look at you also shows that you are a stranger.)

Res: What was your first impression of SA?

Tilo: *Quand je suis arrivé ici, venant de mon pays, Jo'burg était trop grande. Il y avait une propreté telle que je me disais 'sommes-nous sur terre ou dans un autre monde'? Parce que partout on ne pouvait pas voir un morceau de papier. On ne pouvait pas voir quelqu'un faire n'importe quoi dans un coin, par exemple: faire pipi ou se soulager. Mais maintenant ...Aussi, quand je suis allé à Windhoek, je suis rentré 30 ans en arrière quand mon père fut encore étudiant à Lovanium.* [French]

(When I arrived here, coming from my country, Jo'burg seemed too large. There was such cleanliness that I said to myself 'are we on another land or another world'? Because everywhere you could not see waste papers. You could not see someone doing anything in a corner, for example: urinate. But now ... Again, when I visited Windhoek [Namibia], I remembered Lovanium University 30 years ago when my father was still a student there.

Res: In what languages are you addressed in your neighbourhood or while shopping?

Tilo: *Généralement en anglais; très souvent en langues africaines locales.* [French]
(Generally in English; very often in local African languages)

Res: Why?

Tilo: *Je ne sais pas. Peut-être que je leur ressemble quelque part.*
(I don't know. Perhaps I look like some of them in some ways)

Res: Why do you think they speak to you in those languages?

Tilo: *C'est dans leur culture. Quand on voit un noir, on se dit qu'il est leur. Quelque part, quand on voit mon teint clair qui ressemble à celui des sud-africains, on se dit que je suis sud-africain, leur frère.* [French]

(It is their culture. When they see a black person, they say to themselves that s/he is their sister or brother. Sometimes they look at my skin complexion that resembles that of South Africans and, they think I am their brother.)

Res: Is there any difference between local culture and yours?

Tilo: *Il y a une certaine légèreté liée à leur culture mais très mal prise par d'autres personnes. Par exemple, l'habillement court chez les zulus, lié à leur culture traditionnelle. C'est tout à fait différent. Si nous comparons ce que nous avons chez nous, alors c'est différent. Mais quelque part en tant que Bantu, nous avons quelque chose de commun, par exemple, du point de vue culture: les noms des zulus ou sothos, il y a quelque chose de semblable chez les Bakongo. Aussi quand une jeune fille arrive et trouve les hommes, elle s'adresse à vous, se courbe avec beaucoup de respect, s'incline pour saluer. Elle vous parle sans vous regarder. Quand vous allez dans la profondeur des choses, il n'y a pas tellement de différence. C'est pas tellement très loin de nous.* [French]

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(There is a certain laissez-faire linked to their culture but misunderstood by other people. For example, short clothes for Zulus, connected to their traditional culture. It is very different. If we compare with what we have in our homeland, it is quite different. But at some points as Bantus, we have something in common. For instance, from the culture viewpoint, Zulu or Sotho names are similar to those of the Bakongo ethnic group. Therefore, when a young girl comes and finds men, she addresses them, bows with much respect, almost kneels to greet them. She speaks to you without looking at you. When you go deeper into the things, there is not much difference. It is not really far from us.)

Res: How are you treated in SA?

Tilo: *Quand nous sommes arrivés ici en Afrique du Sud, nous étions parmi les premiers noirs à habiter là où restaient les blancs. Les noirs sud-africains ne pouvaient pas y habiter. Alors ils se disaient: 'ces gens ont beaucoup d'argent; ils collaborent avec les blancs'. Il est normal qu'ils [i.e. noirs étrangers] soient rejetés.* [French]

(When we arrived here in SA, we were among the first black people to reside in the areas where whites were living. Then they said to themselves: 'these people have a lot of money; they cooperate with whites'. It is normal that they [foreign Africans] be rejected.)

Res: Have you ever faced xenophobia or any kind of marginalisation?

Tilo: *Oui. J'enseignais quelque part dans une école et j'ai dû arrêter. Après les vacances, je ne sais lesquelles, quand nous sommes rentrés, on nous dira 'voilà les gens de l'éducation étaient passés ici et ont trouvé qu'il y a beaucoup d'étrangers ici à l'école. Ils ont trouvé que nous devons employer les locaux. C'est une façon d'être rejeté. A partir de ce jour-là j'ai eu une idée d'aller dans d'autres domaines. Peut-être que là je n'aurai pas assez de concurrents.* [French]
(Yes. I was teaching somewhere in a school and I had to stop. After holidays, I don't remember which ones, when we resumed, we were told 'look, people from the Department of Education came here and found that there are so many foreigners at this school. They said that we have to hire local teachers only'. This was a way to get rid of us. From that time, I told myself that I must do something different. Perhaps I will have no competitors.)

Res: What do you think are the reasons for rejecting the foreign Africans?

Tilo: *Il faut d'abord se dire que c'est tout à fait normal. Pourquoi? Parce que le peuple a lutté pour sa liberté, et en luttant pour sa liberté, il espérait le gâteau. Maintenant que le gâteau est là, ils voient d'autres personnes peut-être bien éduqués venir le prendre. Quelque part ils sont un peu jaloux. Et non seulement ça, dans cette lutte-là, c'est souvent la masse qui lutte. Quand elle lutte, il y a des promesses politiques. Elle lutte avec un peu de démagogie ou la bonne volonté. Mais en réalité on n'arrive pas à mettre en pratique ce qu'ils avaient promis. Alors ça crée aussi de la frustration.* [French]
(We first have to say that it is quite normal. Why? Because people fought for their freedom, and in fighting they hoped to have the cake. Now that the cake is there, they see other people perhaps well qualified coming to share it. Somewhere they are a little jealous. And not only that, in that struggle, it is often the masses who fight. When they fight, there are political promises. People fight with some demagoguery or with good will. But in reality they don't implement whatever they promised. As a result, it creates frustration.)

Res: How are you then perceived?

Tilo: *Et puis, il ne faut pas rêver. Il n'y a que chez nous avec Mobutu qui disait que nous sommes hospitaliers. Evidemment, effectivement, le peuple congolais est hospitalier. Il s'était décidé de ne pas être hostile envers les autres. Mais c'est à prendre avec un peu de réserve. Quand on voit un peu ce qui s'est passé au Shaba avec les Kasaiens. Encore les années 60, les Kasaiens étaient considérés comme des immigrants. Dans mon propre pays, être considéré comme réfugié? Quand vous allez quelque part, vous ne pouvez pas vous attendre à être accueillis à bras ouverts par tout le monde.* [French]

(Again, don't dream. Only in our homeland with Mobutu who kept on saying that we are hospitable. Evidently, truly, Congolese people are hospitable. They have decided not to be hostile to others. But you have to be cautious. When we look back at what happened in Shaba with

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the Kasaïans. Again in the 1960s, Kasaïans were regarded as immigrants. In my own country being treated as a refugee? When you go somewhere, you cannot expect to be warmly welcomed by everyone.)

Res: Can you speak local African languages?

Tilo: *C'est à quelqu'un de s'intéresser. Bon. Mais dans un premier temps, j'ai été du côté du nord ou l'on parle Sotho. On s'est familiarisé avec des gens là-bas. Les gens là-bas sont plus bien et plus faciles à intégrer ou s'intéresser à quelqu'un qu'ici. Ici, c'est un milieu cosmopolitain où il y a tant de monde. Les parleurs du zulu semblent prédominer. La population n'est pas très accueillante. Le rejet qu'ils nous donnent a aussi une réaction dans l'autre sens, quoi?* [French]

(I am not interested in them. Well. But firstly, I was in the north where seSotho is spoken. We got familiar with the people there. They are better and easily integrate or are more interested in someone than here. Here, it is cosmopolitan with so many people. IsiZulu speakers seem to predominate. The population is not very kind. The rejection that they project onto us has a reverse negative impact on us, hasn't it?)

Res: What language were you speaking at home in the DRC?

Tilo: *La langue que nous parlions en famille au pays était le français. Le français est la langue nationale la plus dominante et la langue des hommes instruits ou intellectuels. Je voulais que mes enfants parlent français pour les aider aussi dans leurs études. En plus, mon épouse était née en Belgique et parle français en famille. Mais le Tsiluba était aussi utilisé avec d'autres frères et sœurs tribaux dans des conditions spéciales.* [French]

(The language that we spoke at home in the DRC was French: French is the dominant national language and the language of the highly educated or élites. I wanted my children to use French to help them in their schooling. In addition, my wife was born in Belgium and got used to speaking French at home. But Tshiluba was also used with our [ethnic] brothers and sisters in special conditions.)

Res: What language/s do you speak in the home in SA?

Tilo: *Le français, comme c'est une langue internationale, c'est quelque chose de positif que les enfants auront. Comme cela, ils ne la perdront pas.* [French]

(French, because it is an international language, it is something positive that the children will need. In that way, they will not forget it.)

Res: Why did you decide that your children learn to speak French and Tshiluba at home in SA, instead of English?

Tilo: *Non, non, non. Je considère d'abord la langue comme un ricochet. Le Tshiluba, c'est leur langue maternelle ou paternelle. C'est une langue, à mon avis, que les enfants ne doivent pas oublier ou ne pas connaître. Pour quelque chose de privé, on peut se le passer en Tshiluba.* [French]

(No, no, no. I regard language as a link. Tshiluba is their mother language or father language. It is a language, in my view, that the children must not forget or have to know. For something private, we can say it to each other in Tshiluba.)

Res: Why?

Tilo: *Parce qu'ils doivent reconnaître leur racine. Ils doivent savoir qui ils sont. Quelque part, on dit aussi que je suis conservateur. Oui, je suis conservateur parce qu'il ne faut pas qu'on perde notre origine. Les Juifs, par exemple, qui sont nés aux USA et ont fait des siècles ou des années là-bas, n'ont pas oublié leur culture ou racine. Quelque part-là ils sont américains mais juifs. Ça, c'est un exemple. Même dans la Bible, on nous donne la généalogie des Juifs. Je crois qu'il y a une raison pour cela.* [French]

(Because they must know their roots. They must know what they are. Somewhere people also say that I am conservative. Yes, I am conservative because we must not lose our origin. Jews, for example, who were born in the USA centuries or years ago, have not forgotten their culture or roots. Somewhere they say that they are Americans but also Jews. This is only an illustration.) Even in the Bible, we read the genealogy of the Jews. I believe that there is a reason for that.)

Res: That is about Tshiluba, what about French?

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Tilo: *Pour nous, c'est pour équilibrer. A l'école, c'est toujours l'anglais. Le français étant une langue pour leurs parents, mais pour leurs grand-parents, ils sont obligés de connaître le Tshiluba pour communiquer avec eux. N'oublions pas. Nous sommes de passage.* [French]
(For us, it is to balance. At school, they always use English. French being a language of parents, but for their grandparents, they must know Tshiluba to communicate with them. Don't forget. We are in SA we are in transit.)

Res: Aren't you here forever?

Tilo: *Nous sommes de passage à moins que certaines personnes ne soient venues vous dire que vous êtes sud-africains. Sud-africains, vous pouvez le devenir mais c'est sur papier. Mais quelque part là-bas quand on vient te dire qu'on a tué autant de personnes chez toi, tu ne seras pas indifférent. Voilà tu peux avoir des papiers comme sud-africain. Mais quelque part quand tu montres tes papiers, on te dit: 'In your country, there is something wrong'. Ça te touche directement. Tu es congolais d'origine, n'est-ce pas?* [French]
(We are in transit unless some people come and tell you that we are South Africans. You can become South African but on paper. But somewhere when they tell you that such a number of people were killed in your homeland, you will not remain unshaken. Well, you can have papers as South Africans. But somewhere when you produce your identity papers, they tell you: 'In your country there is something wrong'. It touches you immediately. You are Congolese of origin, aren't you?)

Res: Will you one day allow your children go back to the DRC for work or visit to relatives?

Tilo: *Quand on te dit que les enfants doivent connaître leur origine, c'est pas parler Seulement. Qu'ils aillent voir la grande famille.* [French]
(When we say that children must know their origin, it is not speaking our languages. They have to go and visit the great family.)

Res: What are your children's attitude to your homeland languages?

Tilo: *Ils sont tous contents d'apprendre et de parler nos langues. D'ailleurs ils insistent déjà que je leur parle du Congo, bien qu'ils soient nés ici. Je leur ai demandé l'hymne national et ils ont dit 'Nkosi sikeleli Africa'. Je dis 'non'; c'est le 'Debout Congolais'. Je leur ai donné le texte et ils chantent déjà.* [French]
(They are happy to learn and speak our languages. By the way, they already insist that I speak to them about Congo, although they [sons] were born here. I asked them about the national anthem, and they responded 'Nkosi sikeleli Africa'. I said 'no'. It is the 'Debout Congolais' [Stand up, Congolese!]. I gave them the text and they have already started singing it.)
[Pause]

Tilo: *Quand ils jouent, ils parlent anglais. Pour intervenir, je leur parle aussi en anglais. Parfois je joue avec les enfants. Et on se rend compte qu'au lieu de continuer de jouer avec les enfants en anglais, on stoppe pour revenir en Tshiluba. On dit 'ce que tu as dit là, en Tshiluba, c'est ceci'. C'est une façon de leur enseigner la langue.* [French]
(When they play, they speak English. To intervene, I also use English. Sometimes I play with the children. And then we realise that instead of carrying on in English, we stop[speaking English] and return to Tshiluba. I say 'what you said is this in Tshiluba'. It is a way of teaching them the language.)

Res: What languages do your children use to you?

Tilo: *Français.* (French.)

Res: Not Tshiluba?

Tilo: *Tshiluba, quand ils sont en train de poser des questions en français pour dire: 'que signifie ceci, comment est-ce que ceci s'appelle, comment est-ce qu'on appelle cela?' Mais il y a des jours où ils ont vraiment envie de parler Tshiluba. Alors là ils parlent carrément le Tshiluba.* [French]
(Tshiluba, when they are asking questions [in French] to say: 'what does this mean', 'how do you call this', 'what does that mean'? But there are days when they really desire to speak Tshiluba. Thus they truly speak Tshiluba.)

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Res: Why did you choose to join the English-speaking community?

Tilo: *Bon, pour des raisons personnelles. C'est une façon de perfectionner l'anglais. Tout le monde sait que l'Afrique du Sud est un pays anglophone. Un jour nous pourrions quitter l'Afrique du Sud et rentrer chez nous pour occuper des postes de responsabilité. Il ne faut pas que quand on me donne soit un petit texte à traduire, que je commence à recourir à quelqu'un d'autre ou à hésiter, que je balbutie. C'est mieux aussi d'évoluer dans une communauté anglophone pour des avantages sociaux.*

(Well, for personal reasons. It is a way of improving English. Everybody knows that South Africa is an English-speaking country. One day we would return to our homeland and hold management positions. It is no good getting a small text to translate and then resort to another person or hesitate. It is better to live in an English-speaking community for social advantages.)

Res: Do you think that if a child speaks two or more languages s/he cannot perform well at school?

Tilo: *Non, c'est pas la raison. D'ailleurs, à leur niveau je pense que l'enfant ne pose pas tellement de problèmes de langue. Puisque j'ai la facilité de langue, je n'ai jamais rencontré cette incompatibilité.* [French]

(No, this is not the reason. By the way, at their age I think that a child doesn't have much difficulty. Since I learn languages faster, I never faced such incompatibility.)

Res: In what language do you feel more comfortable?

Tilo: *En Tshiluba, la langue maternelle et aussi en français. En dehors de ma famille, quand je suis parmi les gens de mon coin, j'utilise ma langue maternelle. En tout cas, je me sens plus à l'aise en Tshiluba. En dehors de ceci, cela dépend. Le Congo est un pays multilingue. Quand je suis avec les swahiliphones, je parle Swahili et avec les lingalaphones, j'utilise le Lingala, et ainsi de suite.* [French] (In Tshiluba, my mother language and French as well. Outside of my family, when I am among

people

from my area of origin, I use my mother language. In all cases, I feel more comfortable in Tshiluba. Beside this, it depends on the interlocutor. DR Congo is a multilingual country. When I am with Swahili-speaking people, I speak Swahili and with Lingala speakers, I use Lingala, and so on.)

Res: What languages do you use to your wife?

Tilo: *Français, inconsciemment et Tshiluba consciemment.* (French unconsciously and Tshiluba consciously)

Res: In what languages does she speak to you?

Tilo: *Français* (French)

Res: Your wife always almost speaks French. Any reason for this?

Tilo: *Non. Je ne pense pas. Peut-être ... Elle est née en Belgique. Elle connaît Tshiluba, parle très bien. Mais peut-être c'est l'habitude ou l'environnement où elle a grandi où tout le monde parlait français. C'est devenu langue première pour elle.*

(No. I don't think so. Perhaps ... She was born in Belgium. She knows Tshiluba, speaks very well. But maybe it is question of habit or the environment in which she grew up where everybody speaks French. It has become a primary language for her.)

Res: Do you personally plan to go back home?

Tilo: *Absolument, absolument. Evidemment, avant de rentrer, je dois d'abord moi-même y aller voir. Ça fait 10 ans que j'ai quitté le pays. Il y a des gens qui disent que le pays a changé et qu'il faut y aller. Je sais que j'ai perdu tout ce que j'avais là. Il faudra reprendre à zéro.* [French]

(Absolutely, absolutely. It is true that, before going back, I must first go there and see personally what is happening. I left the country 10 years ago. People say that the country has changed and we have to go back. I lost whatever I had there. We have to start afresh.)

Res: What do you do to maintain Tshiluba?

Tilo: *De temps à temps je leur parle en Tshiluba. Je leur demande des histoires en Tshiluba. Et une chose pour laquelle ils doivent se sentir liés à cela, il y a des prières Tshiluba. Par exemple, 'Notre Père', nous le faisons en Tshiluba. Cela dépend de celui qui dirige les prières: en Tshiluba ou en Français ou même en anglais. Toutes ces trois langues s'utilisent: 'Je vous salue Marie',*

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'le Credo', 'Notre Père'. *C'est une façon pour eux de maintenir la langue.* [French]
 (From time to time I speak in Tshiluba. I ask them for stories in Tshiluba. And one thing for which they must hold on, there are prayers in Tshiluba: For instance, 'Our Father'. We say it in Tshiluba. It depends on who leads the prayer in Tshiluba or French or even in English. All these three languages are used'. 'I greet you Mary', 'Credo', 'Our Father'. It is a way for them to maintain the language.)

Res: Why?

Tilo: *Quand ils seront grands, ils ne pourront pas oublier. Ils doivent connaître, par exemple, que notre pays est situé là. Nous vivons pour le moment dans la misère. Mais c'est un pays riche, et cette misère est causée par ça, ça, et entretenue par tel ou tel individu. Ils vont grandir avec ça au lieu qu'on lui dise que c'est un pays pauvre. Non, non.* [French]
 (When they grow older, they will not forget. They must know, for example, that our country is located there. We [our country] are living in misery for the time being. But it is a rich country, and this misery is caused by that, that, and created by certain individuals. They have to grow with that instead of being told that it is a poor nation. No, no.)

Res: Do you think you have changed?

Tilo: *Je ne crois pas que nous avons changé, ma femme et moi. Nous sommes toujours les mêmes. Changer, parce que nous sommes à l'étranger? Ça, non. Nous gardons encore notre culture. Voilà pourquoi nous parlons nos langues et culture ici et enseignons notre manière de vivre, notre pays à nos enfants. Ils ont un comportement différent.* [French]
 (I don't believe that we have changed, my wife and me. We are always the same. Changing, because we are abroad? No. We are still keeping our languages and culture here. That is why we speak our languages here and teach our children our way of life, our country. They [children] behave differently [from local children])

Res: What DRC languages do you speak?

Tilo: *Français, tshiluba (ma langue de naissance), lingala, kikongo et swahili, et aussi LoMongo.* [French]
 (French, Tshiluba [my native language], Lingala, Kikongo and Swahili, and also LoMongo)

Res: How did you learn them?

Tilo: *Français à l'école; tshiluba, dans la famille, et les autres dans la société.* [French] (French at school; Tshiluba, in the family, and the others in the community)

Res: Which ones can you read or write?

Tilo: *Mieux en français et tshiluba que dans les autres.* [French] (Very well in French and Tshiluba than in the others)

4. Multilanguage family

4.1. Interview with Fatou

Res: Do you have an idea of the DRC?

Fatou: *No.*

Res: When you grow up, will you one day like to visit relatives in the DRC or work there?

Fatou: *No.*

Res: Why?

Fatou: *I don't feel like going back.*

Res: Do you feel comfortable here?

Fatou: *Yes*

Res: What do you think of, or what are your attitudes to isiZulu or seSotho?

Fatou: *I won't be able to talk to somebody else. I need English for work and to talk to someone else.*

Res: How do you feel when you speak DRC languages?

Fatou: *I feel fine because it's a language that I can speak*

Res: And if you cannot understand or speak?

Fatou: *Unhappy.*

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Res: Why?

Fatou: *Because if they say something I won't be able to understand.*

Res: Do you feel like learning DRC languages?

Fatou: *Some of them do not sound nice.*

Res: Which ones sound nice?

Fatou: *English, French*

Res: If you have something secret to tell the family so that other people cannot understand, what language can you use?

Fatou: *English, because all my family members speak English.* (Interviews 4.1: Appendix G)

Res: What language do you feel comfortable in?

Fatou: *English.*

4.2. Interview with Firo

Res: How old were you when you arrived in South Africa?

Firo: *Between 13 and 14 years.*

Res: How did you feel then?

Firo: *I felt bad. I felt like I was not welcome and wanted to go back.*

Res: Why?

Firo: *Because everybody looked different, their reactions; everything was different.*

Res: What do you mean?

Firo: *Culture, people, food, weather, behaviour.*

Res: Who taught you Kikongo?

Firo: *My grandmother in the DRC.*

Res: Who do you use Kikongo with in SA?

Firo: *My mum, dad, cousin.*

Res: What about English?

Firo: *I can't speak it thoroughly. I am not used to it.*

Res: When you complete your studies, will you one day visit your native land or relatives?

Firo: *Yeah.*

Res: Why?

Firo: *That's where I was born.*

Res: How do you perform in English at school?

Firo: *Pas tellement bien par ce que je dois répéter Grade 11 à cause d'anglais. Ils m'ont dit que je dois trouver quelqu'un pour m'enseigner en anglais et dans ma langue. Je suis bonne à l'oral et par écrit. Mais je ne peux pas lire et comprendre ce que je lis.*

(Not quite well because I must repeat Grade 11 because of English. They told me that I must find someone to teach me in English and my language. I am good at speaking and writing. But I cannot read and understand what I am reading.)

Res: So you wish you could learn in French?

Firo: *Oui, parce que quand je fais le français comme langue seconde. Je travaille bien par ce que c'est ma langue de famille.*

(Yeah, because when I do French as a second language. I do well because it is my home language.)

Res: Do you have South African friends?

Firo: *Yeah*

Res: Do they like you?

Firo: *Yeah. They want me to teach them French, and they also want me to learn isiZulu.*

Res: Do you feel free to speak your DRC languages anywhere?

Firo: *Yeah, with my DRC friends.*

Res: Do other schoolmates worry about it?

Firo: *No. When they bother me, I tell them 'I can't speak your home languages'.*

Res: How do they bother you? How do they react?

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Firo: *They laugh and say: 'your language is funny'.*

Res: Do they sometimes call you names?

Firo: *Yeah, only some of their friends who are not my friends. Yeah, for example, sometimes 'kwere-kwere'.*

Res: What does it mean?

Firo: *They say it means 'immigrant' or something like that. They say we do bother them*

Res: In this case what do you think of?

Firo: *I feel like I could go back to my home country.*

Res: How do you feel when you speak DRC languages?

Firo: *Very nice, very comfortable*

Res: Does living in South Africa make you feel more South African than Congolese?

Firo: *I still feel Congolese. I am not used to being South African. At the beginning they (i.e. South Africans) act fine for a while. But in the end they make you feel that you are not one of them.*

4.3. Interview with Mafo

Res: Can you briefly tell me your life story?

Mafo: *Moi, j'étais mariée. Je travaillais aussi. J'ai tout laissé pour suivre papa.* [French]
(I was married and was also working. I left everything to join papa)

Res: When did you arrive here?

Mafo: *Je suis arrivée d'abord en 1994 pour visiter Papa, et puis en 1995 avec les enfants par route pour de bon.* [French]

(At first I came in 1994 to visit Papa [i.e. her husband], and then in 1995 with the children by road to live here)

Res: When you came, how did you communicate?

Mafo: *Papa était obligé d'être avec nous partout pour interpréter.*
(Father was compelled to be with us anywhere to interpret.)

Res: Why did you choose to live in here?

Mafo: *Papa, awa tozali na biso un peu bien. Soki olinga eloko ya kolia ya mboka, okozua yango facilement. Par exemple, mbisi ya kukauka, mfumbua. Na commerce oyo tosalaka, biloko totekaka ewutaka na mboka na biso. Okoki kozua qualité oyo te awa. Biloko eyaka na bagences ya bandeko na biso awa na Yeoville. Lisusu, soki ozali na problem, bandeko bakoki kosunga yo.* [Lingala - French]

(Papa, here we are a little fine. If you want something to eat from homeland, you will get it easily. For example, fish, fresh green vegetables. For the business we are doing, the items we sell come from our country. You cannot get this quality here. The items come via our brothers' forwarding agents located here in Yeoville. Again, if you have a problem, your fellow countrymen are able to assist you.)

Res: Are you and your children accepted here?

Mafo: *Ici la situation est très différente de celle des Etats-Unis, Canada, France où les enfants nés là-bas deviennent des citoyens de ces pays. Ici nos enfants sont traités comme des étrangers parce que leurs parents sont des étrangers. Ils ne sont pas acceptés comme sud-africains, par exemple, mes enfants qui sont nés ici. Ils sont encore réfugiés malgré leurs certificats de naissance. Mais les blancs et les autres sont acceptés à cause de leurs peaux claires.* [French]

(Here the situation is very different from that of the United States of America, Canada, France where children born there become the citizens of those countries. Here our children are still considered foreigners because their parents are foreigners. They are not accepted as South Africans, for example: my children who were born here. They are still refugees despite their birth certificates. But Whites and others are accepted because of their light complexion.)

Res: What were your first feelings about your first contact with the South African society?

Mafo: *Des gens se baisant en public. Les enfants disaient que ceci n'existe pas dans notre pays. Le rejet: Nous ne sommes pas acceptés. Des voisins tels que des Zimbabweans, Mozambicains*

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et autres sont plus acceptés que nous à cause de quelques langues et cultures communes, voisinage. Par exemple, au marché les Zimbabwéens sont tolérés et peuvent payer l'avance sur le loyer et plus tard le solde, mais pas les Congolais. Si tu es en retard d'un jour pour payer le loyer, ton magasin est fermé jusqu'à ce que tu paies la totalité du montant. Les Zimbabwéens nous appellent même 'makwere-kwere' pendant qu'ils sont aussi étrangers. Nous étions les premiers à ouvrir ce marché-là. Nos articles viennent du Congo, i.e. l'argent entre aussi en Afrique du Sud.

[French]

(People kissing in public. Children said that this does not exist in our homeland. Rejection: We are not accepted. Neighbours like Zimbabweans, Mozambicans and others are more accepted than us because of some common languages and cultures, neighbourhood. For example, at the market, Zimbabweans are tolerated and can pay a deposit and the balance later on, but not Congolese. If you are one day late for the rent, your shop is locked until you pay the full amount. Zimbabweans even call us 'makwere-kwere' while they are also foreigners. We were the first people to open that market place. Our items come [or are imported] from the DR Congo, i.e. money comes into SA.)

Res: What language/s do you use at home with other family members?

Mafo: *Anglais avec les enfants à la maison. Ils me forcent de parler. Ils me parlent aussi en anglais. J'essaie aussi de bricoler ou parler avec les clients au marché. Afrikaans, je bricole avec les clients, j'apprends au marché.* [French]

(English with the children at home. They force me to speak. They also speak to me in English. I also try to speak with the customers at the market. Afrikaans, I try with customers, I learn at the market.)

Res: What language/s do you speak at home in SA?

Mafo: Nionso toyebi. (All languages we know.) [Lingala]

Res : Why have you chosen to do so?

Mafo: *Les enfants doivent savoir d'où ils viennent, et aussi pour leur réadaptation en RDC. Ce sont nos langues et ils doivent les connaître.* [French]

Children must know where they come from, and also for their re-adjustment in the DRC. They are our languages and they have to know them.)

Res: Why is it important to use many languages in SA?

Mafo: *En Afrique du Sud, c'est pour communiquer facilement avec diverses personnes dans des différentes langues, et pour avoir l'ouverture dans la société. Dans la communauté congolaise ou ailleurs, ils n'auront pas de difficultés pour communiquer et donc n'auront pas besoin d'apprendre ces langues encore. Ba kozala pe na facilité ya kozua mosala na anglais to na français.* [French -Lingala]

(In South Africa, they will interact easily with different people in different languages, to have access to the society. In the DRC or elsewhere, they will have no difficulty to communicate and thus won't need to learn those languages again. They will also have the opportunity to work in both English and French languages.)

Res: What language/s were you speaking at home in the DRC?

Mafo: Toutes les langues: Kikongo, français, lingala, etc. [French]

(All languages: Kikongo, French, Lingala,)

Res: Why?

Mafo: *Tolingaki bayeba kosolola na bakoko na bango. Bayeba minoko nionso oyo bato bazo loba na esika bozali kovivre. On leur parlait aussi et les encourageait aussi à parler français à la maison pour faciliter leurs études.* [Lingala – French]

(We wanted them to know how to communicate with their grandparents. They have to know languages spoken in their living environment. We also spoke to them and encouraged them to speak in French to facilitate their studies.)

Res: If you have a secret to tell mum or the children that other people cannot understand, what language do you use?

Mafo: *Ça dépend. Tokoki koloba monoko ya biso oyo motu moko akoki koyoka te. Papa souvent alobelaka ngai na Kipende.* [French - Lingala]

(It depends. We can use a DRC language that no one else can understand. Papa often speaks

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to me in Kipende.)

Res: What are the children's attitudes towards DRC languages?

Mafo: Positives. Ce sont les langues de leur pays d'origine. Nous leur disons toujours qu'un jour nous rentrerons chez nous. [French]

(Positive. They are languages of their homeland. We always tell them that one day we will go back home.)

Res: Would you mind if your children speak DRC languages less than English at home?

Mafo: Non. Ils ont des devoirs de l'école à faire en anglais, qui est aussi la langue d'instruction. Mais ils doivent connaître nos langues. [French]

(No. They have schoolwork to do in English, which is also the medium of learning. But they must know our languages.)

Res: Can your children forget their homeland languages?

Mafo: Non. Bakoko na bango bazali kuna. C'est une erreur que beaucoup de parents commettent par ce que leurs enfants ne seront jamais acceptés ou intégrés. Deuxièmement. Il y a moins d'argent dans ce pays que dans notre pays. Nous leur disons toujours qu'ils doivent travailler dur pour rentrer et occuper des meilleurs postes au Congo où ils seront acceptés facilement par ce que c'est leur pays natal. [Lingala - French]

(No. Their grandparents are still there. It's a mistake that some parents make because their children will never be integrated or accepted. Secondly, there is less money in this country than in our country. We tell children that they have to work hard in order to go back and get better positions in Congo where they will be easily accepted or integrated because it is their homeland.)

Res: What do you think of, or what are your attitudes to isiZulu or seSotho?

Mafo: Sotho ou zulu sont seulement pour l'Afrique du Sud. Mais s'ils doivent aller à l'étranger, ils ont besoin d'anglais. Cette langue peut les aider à étudier aux Etats-Unis et ailleurs.

(SeSotho or isiZulu are just for South Africa. But if they [i.e. children] have to go abroad, they need English. This language can help them to study in the USA and elsewhere.)

Res: Do you think that DRC languages are still valued at home?

Mafo: Oui. Bana il faut bayeba bawuti wapi. Eza pe po na réadaptation na Congo. Et quand je voudrais les blâmer, je le fais souvent en lingala. J'utilise lingala pour leur donner des conseils et leur enseigner nos normes et valeurs. Ils sont toujours à l'église.

(When I want to blame them, I often do it in Lingala. I use Lingala to give them advice and teach them our values and norms. They are always in church.)

Res: If you have something secret to say, what language do you use?

Mafo: Ça dépend. Tokoki koloba monoko ya biso oyo motu moko akoki koyoka te. Papa souvent alobelaka ngai na Kipende.

(It depends. We can use a DRC language that no one can understand. Papa often speaks to me in Kipende.)

Res: Does living in South Africa make you feel more South Africans than Congolese?

Mafo: Non. Nous sommes encore congolais. Ils ne nous acceptent pas pour nous intégrer dans leurs réseaux. Nous sommes traités comme congolais ou étrangers. Si notre pays devient pacifique demain, ils nous demanderont de rentrer. Nous devons retourner. Mais si nous nous sentons sud-africains ou demi-congolais, que ferons nous ou deviendrons-nous?

(No. We are still Congolese. They do not accept us to be integrated into their networks. We are treated as Congolese or foreigners. If our country becomes peaceful tomorrow, they will instruct us to go back home. We will have to go back. But if we feel South Africans or half Congolese, what will we do or become?)

4.4. Interview with Lufo

Res: Can you briefly tell me about your life?

Lufo: J'étais pilote de l'air en RDC et pour des raisons personnelles j'ai décidé de ne plus voler. Je suis devenu directeur d'opération pour m'occuper des avions au sol. A cause de l'instabilité politique la société a commencé à tomber en faillite. Et aussi à cause de violences au pays,

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j'ai décidé de quitter la RDC pour l'Afrique du Sud. [French]

(I was an air-pilot in the DRC and for personal reasons, I decided not to fly any more. I became a field manager dealing with planes on the ground. The company started going bankrupt due to the political instability and violence in the country, I decided to leave the country for South Africa.)

Res: Why did you decide to live in this area?

Lufo: *Ici la criminalité envers les étrangers augmente chaque jour. Il faut trouver un lieu où vivent les compatriotes pour la solidarité. Et puis quand on vient dans ce pays, on se sent isolé. Donc il faut être ensemble pour avoir les nouvelles du pays et se supporter mutuellement.* [French]

(Here crime against foreigners increases every day. We have to find a place where fellow countrymen live for solidarity. In addition, when we come into this country, we feel isolated; so we must be together to receive news from the homeland and mutually support one another.)

Res: What was your first impression when you arrived in SA?

Lufo: *Effectivement, la situation en Afrique du Sud était différente. C'est un autre monde, des cultures et langues différentes,, excepté l'anglais dans lequel je pouvais communiquer.* [French]
(Effectively, the situation was different. It [i.e. SA] is another world, with different cultures and languages, except English in which I could communicate.)

Res: How are you treated as foreigners?

Lufo: *Hah, comme étranger ici c'est problématique par ce qu'ils ne font pas confiance aux étrangers. Ils ne les intègrent pas, ni ne les assimilent. Dans certains milieux, les étrangers ne sont pas acceptés. Ils croient que les étrangers sont venus pour dérober leurs boulots et ressources.* (Hah, as a foreigner here, it's problematic because they [members of the host society] don't trust foreigners. They don't integrate them or assimilate them. In certain communities foreigners are not accepted. They believe that foreigners came to grab their jobs and resources.) [French]

Res: Can you speak your languages freely in SA?

Lufo: *C'est très dangereux. Vous serez facilement détecté comme un étranger. Pour couvrir votre origine, vous devez parler l'anglais.* [French] (It's dangerous. You will be easily detected as a foreigner. To cover up your origin, you have to speak English.)

Res: How do they find out that you are a foreign African?

Lufo: *Par intuition. On peut savoir par l'accent. Ici l'anglais tire son accent sur les langues locales Bantu. Quelques fois quand vous ne répondez pas en zulu ou ne parlez pas le zulu.* (By intuition. One can know by accent. Here English draws its accent from local Bantu languages. Sometimes you do not respond in isiZulu or don't speak isiZulu)

Res: What do you think of their attitudes to foreigners?

Lufo: *L'Afrique du Sud est un pays qui a subi l'apartheid. Il y avait une séparation entre les différentes gens. Il a créé une séparation entre les noirs locaux et ceux venant des autres pays du nord de l'Afrique. Les blancs sud-africains ont créé cette situation: des blancs, des noirs, des métis, des indiens. Ceci à son tour a créé beaucoup de problèmes. Les blancs préféreraient collaborer avec des noirs étrangers plutôt qu'avec des noirs locaux. Ceci a créé la méfiance, la tension parmi les noirs.* [French]
(South Africa is a country that faced apartheid. There was already a separation between different people. It [i.e. apartheid] created a separation between blacks and those coming from other countries from the north of Africa. White South Africans created this situation: Whites, Blacks, Coloureds, Indians. This in turn gave way to many problems. Whites would prefer cooperating with foreign blacks rather than local blacks. This has created mistrust, tension among blacks.)

Res: What South African African languages do you speak?

Lufo: *Si nous étions intégrés ou facilement assimilés dans la société sud-africaine, nous parlerions ou apprendrions les langues sud-africaines sans problèmes. Nous vivons séparément, c'est-à-dire les étrangers d'un côté et les sud-africains de l'autre. C'est difficile de parler ou apprendre ces langues facilement.* (If we were integrated or easily assimilated into the South African society, we

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would speak or learn South African African languages without any problems. We live separately, i.e. foreigners on one side and local Africans on the other side. It is difficult to speak or learn those languages easily.)

Res: What was the language policy in the family in the DRC?

Lufo: *Nous parlions plusieurs langues: Kipende, lingala, kikongo, français, et aussi swahili. Cela dépendait de l'interlocuteur. (We spoke several languages: Kipende, Lingala, Kikongo, French, and Swahili as well. It depended on the interlocutor.)* [French]

Res: Why did you choose to speak many languages in the family instead of French only?

Lufo: *Une question d'habitude. Ils étaient nés dans un environnement où le lingala et le français sont des langues dominantes. En dehors de la famille avec des amis, ils parlaient français et lingala. C'était dur pour nous de leur enseigner ou imposer notre langue maternelle, Kipende. Le français et le lingala prédominaient. C'est comme cela que notre langue maternelle se perd en famille. Moi, je leur parle souvent en français. Nous avons aussi appris le swahili à Lubumbashi.* [French]

(A matter of habit. They were born in an environment where Lingala and French were dominant. Outside of the family with friends, they spoke French and Lingala. It was hard for us to teach them or impose our mother language, Kipende. French. Lingala predominated. That is the way our mother language gets lost. In the family I often speak to them in French. We have also learned to speak Swahili in Lubumbashi.)

Res: What language/s do you speak at home in SA?

Lufo: *Nous parlons beaucoup de langues, souvent français, lingala, Kikongo, anglais, swahili, et Kipende.* [French] (We speak many languages, usually French, Lingala, Kikongo, English, Swahili, and Kipende.)

Res: Why have you chosen to do so?

Lufo: *Nous sommes dans un pays anglophone. Et nous parlons souvent l'anglais pour communiquer. Mais si nous ne parlons pas nos langues ici en famille, nos enfants les perdront et auront des problèmes plus tard quand ils rentrent dans notre pays.* [French]
(We are in an English-speaking country. And we often speak English to communicate. But if we don't use our languages here in the family, our children will forget them and later on will have problems when they go back to our country.)

Res: If you have a secret to tell mum or the children, what language do you use?

Lufo: *J'utilise une langue que personne ne peut comprendre, dépendant de quelle langue les gens connaissent. Mais souvent j'utilise Kipende avec Maman.* [French]
(I use a language that no one can understand, depending on what language people know. But often I use Kipende with Mum.)

Res: Do you think that speaking many languages can prevent children from performing better at school?

Lufo: *Non. Le cerveau sait comment emmagasiner et dissocier les connaissances. Parler plusieurs langues est pour l'ouverture au monde. C'est très important.* [French]
(No. The mind knows how to store and dissociate knowledge. Speaking several languages is for openness to the world. It is very important.)

Res: Can you one day send or advise your children to visit or work in and or go back to the DRC?

Lufo: *S'il y a la paix, nous devons rentrer chez nous. L'avenir est dans notre pays d'origine. Il y a beaucoup d'opportunités, plus d'argent là-bas qu'ici. Vous pouvez travailler ici à l'étranger pendant des années mais vous ne seriez pas capables d'épargner or gagner beaucoup d'argent si vous n'êtes pas sages.* [French]
(If there's peace, we have to go back home. The future is in our homeland. There are many opportunities, more money than here. You may work for years here abroad but might not save or gain more money if you are not careful.)

Res: What are the children's attitudes towards DRC languages?

Lufo: *Ils les acceptent facilement et sentent que nous sommes en famille, et non pas à l'étranger.*

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Quand ils sortent de la maison, ils sentent qu'ils ne sont pas dans notre pays. [French]
(They accept our languages easily and feel at home. When they go outside of the household, they feel that they are not in our country.)

Res: Would you mind if your children speak DRC languages less than English in the home?

Lufo: *Oui, je m'en ferais. La famille est la seule place où nous devons maintenir nos langues. Mais s'ils ne les utilisent pas dans la maison, ils les perdront complètement. Et l'anglais prédominera dans la maison. Elles doivent être parlées et maintenues ici parce que c'est la seule zone où elles peuvent être apprises et maintenues ici en Afrique du Sud.* [French]

(Yes, I would. The family is the only place where they can maintain our languages. But if they don't use them in the home, they will lose them completely. And English will predominate in the home. They must be maintained in here because it is the only zone where they can be learned and maintained here in South Africa.)

Res: What is the meaning of the homeland languages to you in South Africa?

Lufo: *Elles représentent notre culture. C'est aussi un élément de comparaison avec d'autres langues ou cultures d'Afrique du Sud. Autrement nous les abandonnerions.* [French]

(They represent our culture. They are also an element of comparison with other South African languages or cultures. Otherwise we would abandon them.)

Res: What is the best language to educate children in SA?

Lufo: *Nous devons maintenir notre langue maternelle parce qu'elle représente notre culture et doit être maintenue.* [French]

(We must maintain our mother tongue (MT) because it represents our culture and must be maintained.)

Res: What languages do you use with your wife and/or children?

Lufo: *Personnellement, je parle français. Avec Maman, souvent français, lingala, kikongo, swahili parce que nous parlons ces langues correctement. Nous pouvons commencer, par exemple, avec le lingala et finir avec le swahili. Quelques fois nous entrons dans une langue que personne ne comprend. Avec les enfants, en général, les plus jeunes ou ceux qui sont arrivés en Afrique du Sud plus jeunes, je parle en anglais parce que quelques fois les écoles les obligent de parler anglais à la maison ou n'importe où. Quelques fois aussi je les interromps en français ou lingala pour les encourager à parler aussi nos langues. Tous les enfants parlent français et lingala.* [French]

(Personally, I speak French. With my wife, I often speak French, Lingala, Kikongo, Swahili because we speak all those languages well. We can start with, for example, Lingala and finish with Swahili. Sometimes we shift into a language that no one understands. With children, in general, the youngest or those who arrived in South Africa at a young age, I speak in English because schools sometimes are obliged to speak English at home or anywhere. Sometimes I also I interrupt them in French or Lingala to encourage them to speak our languages. All the children speak French and Lingala)

Res: Are you a member of a DRC association?

Lufo: *Oui, surtout religieuse: l'Eglise Congolaise où je suis.* [French]

(Yes, mainly religious: the DRC Church which I attend)

Res: Do you think that DRC languages still have value in family in SA?

Lufo: *Même si les parents parlent anglais avec les enfants, nos langues ont encore de la valeur, principalement si une personne est étrangère.* [French]

(Even if parents speak English with children, our languages still have value, mainly when a person is a foreigner.)

Res: How would you feel if a child gives up DRC languages?

Lufo: *Ils perdront leur origine et seront perdus quand ils rentrent au Congo. Nos langues ont toujours de la valeur.* [French] (They will lose their origin and be lost when they return to Congo. Our languages do always have value.)

APPENDIX H: SCHOOL REPORTS----- *Shaady*

Appendix H: School reports ----- Tevora

Appendix H: School reports ----- Lepri

Appendix H: School reports ----- Peja

Appendix H: School reports ----- Firo

Appendix H: School reports ----- Bénédicte

APPENDIX I: TABLES ----- *Family background information*

Table 1: English-only family

Subjects	Age Now	Arrival in SA	Gender	Education (Level)	Occupation	Generation
Finku (father)	46	1994	Male	M A (ESL), UK	-Teacher -Translator - Interpreter	G1
Anaka (mother)	38	1997	Female	Grade 12 Certificate	Small business	G1
Tevora (son 1)	17	1997	Male	Grade 9	Pupil	G1
Shaady (son 4)	9	1997	Male	Grade 2	Pupil	TG

Table 2: French-only family

Subjects	Age	Arrival in SA	Gender	Education (Level)	Occupation	Generation
Jate (father)	50	1991	Male	PhD (in progress)	French teaching Professional	G1
Tebe (mother)	40	1993	Female	Secondary education	Housewife	G1
Pejo (son 1)	14	1993	Male	Grade 9	Pupil	G1
Lepri (child 4)	10	1993	Female	Grade 5	Pupil	TG

Table 3: French-Tshiluba family

Subjects	Age Now	Arrival in SA	Gender	Education (Level)	Occupation	Generation
Tilo (father)	43	1991	Male	B.Sc. Hons (Food Science)	Unemployed; P/T Honours student	G1
Loma (mother)	35	1992	Female	LLB	Lawyer	G1
Neti (daughter1)	9	1992	Female	Grade 5	Pupil	TG
Bati (son 1)	7	Born in SA	Male	Grade 2	Pupil	G2

Table 4: Multilanguage family

Subjects	Age	Arrival in SA	Gender	Education (Level)	Occupation	Generation
Lufo (father)	54	1993	Male	-BA Hons. -Pilot's Degree	Businessman	G1
Mafo (mother)	42	1996	Female	Secondary education	Housewife	G1
Firo (daughter1)	19	1996	Female	Grade 11	Pupil	G1
Fatou (daughter4)	10	1996	Female	Grade 5	Pupil	TG

Appendix I: Tables ----- Family language repertoires

Table 5: English-only family

Subj.	Skills	Fren	Eng	Swa	Kilub	Bem	Ling	Tshil	Zul	Soth	Afr
Finku	Speak	x	x	x	x		x				
	Listen	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		
	Read	x	x	x	x		x				
	Write	x	x	x	x		X				
Anaka	Speak	x	x	x		x	x		x		
	Listen	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
	Read	x	x	x		x	x				
	Write	x	x	x		x	x				
Tevora	Speak		x	x							
	Listen	x	x	x			x		x		X
	Read		x								X
	Write		x								X
Shaady	Speak	x	x	x			x		x		x
	Listen	x	x	x			x		x	x	
	Read		x								
	Write		x								

Table 6: French-only family

Subj.	Skills	Fren	Eng	Kiko	Ling	Saka	Swa	Tshil	Zul	Soth	Afr
Jate	Speak	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		
	Listen	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
	Read	x	x	x	x		x				
	Write	x	x	x	x		x				
Tebe	Speak	x			x						
	Listen	x	x	x	x				x		
	Read	x			x						
	Write	x			x						
Peja	Speak	x	x		x				x		x
	Listen	x	x		x				x	x	x
	Read	x	x								x
	Write	x	x								x
Lepri	Speak	x	x								
	Listen	x	x		x				x	x	
	Read		x								
	Write		x								

Legend: Fren: French; Eng: English; Kiko: Kikongo; Kilub: Kiluba; Swa: Swahili; Bem: Bemba; Ling: Lingala; Tshil: Tshiluba; Zu: isiZulu; Soth: seSotho; Saka: Sakata; Afr: Afrikaans

Appendix I: Tables ----- Family language repertoires

Table 7: French-Tshiluba family

Subj.	Skills	Fren	Eng	Tshil	Swa	Ling	Kiko	LoM	Zul	Soth	Afr
Tilo	Speak	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	
	Listen	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		
	Read	x	x	x	x		x				
	Write	x	x	x	x		X				
Loma	Speak	x	x	x		x	x		x		
	Listen	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
	Read	x	x	x		x	x				
	Write	x	x	x		x	x				
Litshi	Speak	x	x	x							
	Listen	x	x	x							
	Read		x								
	Write		x								
Bati	Speak	x	x								
	Listen	x	x	x							
	Read										
	Write										

Table 8: Multilanguage family

Subj.	Skills	Fren	Eng	Kiko	Ling	Pend	Swa	Tshil	Soth	Zul	Afr
Lufo	Speak	x	x	x	x	x	x				
	Listen	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	
	Read	x	x	x	x	x					
	Write	x	x	x	x	x					
Mafo	Speak	x	x	x	x		x				x
	Listen	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x
	Read	x		x	x						
	Write	x		x	x						
Firo	Speak	x	x	x	x		x			x	
	Listen	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	
	Read		x		x						
	Write		x		x						
Fatou	Speak	x	x		x						
	Listen	x	x		x					x	
	Read		x								x
	Write		x								x

Legend: Pend: KiPende; LoM: LoMongo

Appendix I: Tables ----- Family language proficiencies

Table 9: English-only family

Subj.	Skills	Speak			Read			Write		
	Lang.	Very well	Well	Fairly well	Very well	Well	Fairly well	Very well	Well	Fairly well
Finku	Frenc	x			x					
	Eng	x			x					
	Swa	x			x					
	Kilub			x			x			x
	Linga			x	x					x
Maki	Frenc	x			x			x		
	Eng		x			x				x
	Swa	x			x			x		
	Bemb		x		x					
	Linga		x			x				x
Tevora	Eng	x								
	Swa			x						
	Afr							x		
Shaad	Eng	x			x				x	
	Swa			x						

Table 10: French-only family

Subj.	Skills	Speak			Read			Write		
	Lang.	Very well	Well	Fairly well	Very well	Well	Fairly well	Very well	Well	Fairly well
Jate	Frenc	x			x					
	Eng		x			x			x	
	Kiko	x			x					
	Linga	x			x			x		
	Swa			x		x				
	Saka			x						
Tebe	Frenc		x				x			x
	Linga	x			x			x		
Peja	Frenc	x				x			x	
	Linga			x			x			
	Eng	x			x			x		
	Afr		x		x			x		
	Zulu									
Lepri	Frenc			x						
	Eng	x			x			x		

Appendix I: Tables ----- Family language proficiencies

Table 11: French-Tshiluba family

Subj.	Skills	Speak			Read			Write		
	Lang.	Very well	Well	Fairly well	Very well	Well	Fairly well	Very well	Well	Fairly well
Tilo	Frenc	x			x			x		
	Eng	x				x			x	
	Tshil	x			x			x		
	Swa	x					x			x
	Linga	x								
	Kiko	x								
	LoM			x						
Loma	Frenc	x			x			x		
	Eng		x			x				x
	Tshil	x			x			x		
	Linga		x		x					
	Swa		x			x				x
Litshi	Fren		x							
	Eng	x				x			x	
	Tshil			x						
Bati	Frenc	x								
	Eng	x								

Table 12: Multilanguage family

Subj.	Skills	Speak			Read			Write		
	Lang.	Very well	Well	Fairly well	Very well	Well	Fairly well	Very well	Well	Fairly well
Lufo	French	x			x			x		
	English	x			x				x	
	Kikongo	x			x					
	Lingala	x			x					
	Swahili		x			x				
	Pende	x								
Mafo	French	x				x			x	
	Kikongo	x				x			x	
	Lingala	x				x			x	
	Swahili			x			x			x
Firo	French	x				x				
	English	x							x	
	Lingala	x								
	Kikongo			x						
Fatou	French									
	English	x			x			x		