

**IDENTITYJUGGLING AND JUDGMENTS– ESL
UNIVERSITY STUDENTS’ LINGUISTIC IDENTITY
EXPERIENCES IN THEIR FIRST YEAR OF STUDY**

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ABSTRACT AND KEY WORDS

This research project explores the linguistic experiences and the effects of these on the identities of two first-year ESL university students. Using a sociolinguistic framework, it explores the links between language and identity. The data for this study comes from examination essays written based on a first-year Sociolinguistics module in the English I course in the Wits School of Education and interviews conducted with two students. The analysis of this data reveals how these students' linguistic identities, structured by their different backgrounds, facilitate and constrain the ways in which they adapt to university life. Both students focused on in this research shift in their identities as they attempt to adapt to the increasing number of different fields they encounter at university. Linguistic identity shifts are also evident as they re-enter the old fields in the communities in which they grew up. The two students must work to negotiate these differing identities both within and outside of the university. Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital and field, guide this discussion and help to illustrate how students struggle to negotiate their identity. This study shows that owing to a conflict of capital and the fact that habitus is deeply entrenched layers of linguistic dispositions, linguistic identity is difficult to shift. Despite the fact that the University of the Witwatersrand is a super-diverse environment, with students bringing different kinds of linguistic capital to the various fields within this environment, this research project argues that students struggle to find a place for themselves within this variety. It shows that the participants seek out affinity groups within which they feel they have sufficient linguistic capital. However, within these groups there is jostling for a linguistic identity as, in the face of policing and linguistic prejudice, they struggle to assert their sense of self in relation to their developing linguistic identities.

KEYWORDS: *linguistic identity, Discourse, field, habitus, capital, policing, prejudice, investment, voice.*

DECLARATION

I declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Masters in Applied English Language Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university.



Tanya Ferraz Neves

19th day of July in the year 2015

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aims

This study examines the linguistic identity experiences of first-year university students for whom English is not a first language. This study is situated in a university in Johannesburg, in Gauteng, an area that is exceptionally diverse. Students bring with them different linguistic and cultural capital when they enter university, which is at times linked to their social class (indicated by the location where they live or have lived and the type of schooling they received). Although the university in which this study is located is an English medium institution, owing to the diversity in Johannesburg, the university is made up of a number of social spaces (formal academic spaces of the university and informal spaces of the university) each run by different linguistic and cultural rules. It is in these circumstances that students' linguistic and cultural capital (or lack thereof) leads or does not lead to successful negotiation of linguistic identity and group acceptance. In addition, owing to the diversity of university population, it is essential for students to learn to consider not only the ways of living of those around them, but also to become adaptive in the ways of the university. This adjustment can be a challenging one for first-year students. In investigating the linguistic identity experiences of first-year students, I explored how their backgrounds (languages, culture and education) facilitated and constrained their adjustment to university. I also aimed to discover the types of losses, gains, negotiations and conflicts these students faced as their linguistic identities developed both within and outside of university. Furthermore, what was of particular significance, was whether students shifted their linguistic identities during their first year at university. I was interested in knowing if shifts occurred, how these shifts impacted their lives outside of university, as well as how students felt about these shifts. The next section presents the research questions this study focused on.

1.2 Research Questions

1. What kinds of linguistic identity experiences do first-year ESL (English Second Language) university students face as they attempt to negotiate their linguistic identity within the Sociolinguistic module and beyond?

2. How have students' backgrounds facilitated or constrained their adjustment to university?
3. What sort of losses, gains, negotiations or conflicts do students experience through the process of developing their linguistic identities within and outside of university?
4. If students are experiencing shifts in their linguistic identities as a result of their exposure to English and university Discourses, have these shifts impacted their lives outside of university?
5. If students are experiencing shifts in their identities, how do they feel about these shifts?

When conducting research, it is crucial to study subject matter that is of importance both personally and professionally. The next section of this chapter provides a rationale that discusses the importance of my research on the linguistic identity experiences of first-year students.

1.3 Rationale

This rationale is divided into two sections. Firstly, the personal reasons that inspired this research project are discussed. Secondly, the relevance of this study to the University of the Witwatersrand (commonly known as “Wits” or “Wits University”) and the field of Sociolinguistics is examined.

I spent four years as an undergraduate student at the Wits School of Education (WSoE). During that time, I encountered different types of people, all of whom experienced linguistic identity shifts and conflicts in different ways. Through interaction with my peers, I became increasingly curious about the field of language and identity. The following are some of the many examples of linguistic identity experiences I witnessed among first-year ESL university students as an undergraduate. These experiences have shaped the research questions developed for this project.

The first example is of ESL students who were fluent in English, the language of instruction of Wits, having studied English as a first language at school. Their primary Discourses (rules for speaking, doing, being, believing and valuing acquired from the home) and secondary Discourses (rules for speaking, doing, being, believing and

valuing attained from schooling) (Gee, 1990) were similar to those promoted in the formal, academic spaces of the university. Even though their Discourses were similar, they still experienced shifts in their linguistic identity between the time they entered university and graduated. Some of my peers who fitted into this category seemed to experience an easier transition into the academic fields of the university in comparison to those whose primary and secondary Discourses were not compatible with the Discourses of the formal fields of the university and who did not speak fluent English.

Even though the transition into university was relatively easy, these classmates confessed to experiencing dramatic shifts in their linguistic identities by the time they graduated, as mentioned. Exposure to formal university Discourse increased their self-worth, changed how they related to certain people, governed the types of people they wanted to associate themselves with (increased the need to be surrounded by others who were exposed to university academic Discourse), changed the style of language they used in different social groups, influenced the type of person they aspired to be, as well as changed how people around them viewed them and treated them. These peers' linguistic experiences were not about conflict, but rather about how they could modify their linguistic identity to include an academic identity. These students experienced a comfortable transition into university, facilitated by social class.

The second example of linguistic identity experiences I witnessed is radically different from the one above. This example concerns the linguistic identity experiences of students who came from rural schooling backgrounds. The particular students I have in mind were not proficient in English, and their primary as well as their secondary Discourses were different to those used in the academic spaces of the university. Within the formal realms of the university, these students seemed to feel that they were foreigners. They found the values underpinning academic university Discourses difficult to come to terms with. For instance, within formal lectures, one student indicated that she felt uncomfortable with lecturer's calling on her to contribute in class, because she had been taught never to question authority.

In my first year at university, I witnessed many students in the above category dropping out, possibly because the gap between their Discourses and those of the university was

too large. However, some of these students managed to succeed at university and went on to graduate. A number found support in informal spaces at the university, in which they used common languages and their associated Discourses to form friendships that helped facilitate their transition through university. As formal university Discourses became more familiar, some of them began negotiating a place for the newly acquired Discourses in their identities. One of them confessed to me that this was not always positive, as, upon her return home during university vacations, she sometimes felt disconnected from her home environment and noticed people in her community treating her differently because of her new identity as a student at Wits University.

The University of the Witwatersrand's students have diverse multicultural and multilingual backgrounds. Efforts are made by the university to include some of the students' Discourses. I refer to attempts made by the university to introduce multiple Discourses into the academic environment as "Discourse introductions". "Discourse introductions" focus on what is said – content and language, as well as action and hierarchical relationships. For instance, with regard to what is said, the university choir sings a mixture of African, English and Afrikaans songs, and at undergraduate orientation as well as during some lectures students are greeted in various languages as they enter the room. In terms of action and hierarchical relationships, lecturers sometimes discuss the differences between Western (typically White) and African (typically Black) notions of respect when facilitating teacher training, as to avoid student teachers reprimanding students for performing acts of respect which conflict with the accepted Discourse of the teacher. For example, lecturers sometimes teach student teachers that a White person may find it rude if a learner does not look a teacher in the eye when being spoken to, whereas for many individuals belonging to Black cultures, it is seen as a sign of respect if a learner does this to an authority figure. Student teachers are sometimes taught to be aware of such differences.

It is important to note that Wits University is a "super-diverse" (Vertovec, 2007) site. Although the university attempts to include Discourses which are different to the Western Discourses perpetuated by an English medium university, there are students who still feel like outsiders, as indicated above. The status of an "outsider" however,

goes beyond problematising the clash between formal, academic university Discourse and the Discourses students are familiar with. Not only are there formal spaces within the university such as lecture and tutorial classes, but there are also informal social worlds at university. These social worlds include spaces in which students gather and converse informally with people they regard as friends or peers. Although my past experiences focus on linguistic identity in relation to academic sites – formal Discourses and English – I realise that while shaping one’s identity as a university student, there is also a social juggling of linguistic identity. Not only is it a task to avoid feeling like an outsider in the formal realms of the university, but as a student in a new environment, there is a desire not to feel and be regarded as an alien within one’s social circle. The ability to be able to negotiate and/or assert a linguistic identity can affect whether or not one feels or is labelled as an outsider. Thus there seems to be a need for the university to have more insight into and increased acknowledgement of students’ experiences with language, as well as formal and informal university Discourses, starting from students’ firstyear of study.

It is important to note that South Africa is currently experiencing high university dropout rates. Research conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council revealed that up to 40% of South African students drop out in their first year at university (HR Pulse News, 2013). It has been suggested that dropout rates have, in part, been due to South Africa’s unequal education system, which is the result of apartheid (Letseka, 2009 in Cooper & Walters, 2009). While it is indeed true that students are not all being equally academically prepared, I suggest that the disconnect between students’ Discourses and the Discourses they encounter at university, as well as any feelings of not belonging, may contribute to student dropout rates. Thus, research on the linguistic identity shifts of ESL university students as they transition into the many “worlds” at university (such as those conducted by Bangeni & Kapp, 2005; Ferreira & Mendelowitz, 2009) can shed light on a number of the linguistic identity challenges faced by these students. Close analysis of these challenges may offer reasons for university dropout rates that extend beyond the academic. Such information is useful to university educators (and definitely to me as an aspiring university educator), in that it helps them think about whether they should be doing something in their practice to accommodate

the linguistic identity challenges faced by students, assist them to negotiate various linguistic identities and facilitate students' adjustment to university. Currently, there is a Sociolinguistics module offered at the University of the Witwatersrand to BEd (Bachelor of Education), first-year English students. This course explores linguistic identity-related issues and draws on students' lives as important subject matter (Ferreira & Mendelowitz, 2009). My study may lead to new realisations about the linguistic identity experiences of students that have the power to open up new discussions in class. It may also help Sociolinguistics educators to think about new methodologies that can further help students work towards overcoming their linguistic identity challenges and assist them in negotiating various linguistic identities.

It is the responsibility of educators to ensure that students have access to knowledge. Thus it is crucial to consider how language and identity affect learning and teaching for three main reasons. Firstly, language identity may determine whether or not students affiliate themselves with the Discourses of the university. Secondly, language identity may affect the way students as well as lecturers and students relate to one another. Thirdly, students' language identity may affect their level of confidence in their ability to learn or their desire to learn (Leibowitz, Adendorff, Daniels, Loots, Nakasa, Ngxabaziet al., 2005).

1.4 Background to the Study

Above I have clarified the aims of my study, indicated my research questions, discussed the personal reasons that inspired this research project, examined the relevance of this study to the University of the Witwatersrand and considered the importance of this study to field of Sociolinguistics. In this section, I place my study within a sociolinguistic framework by introducing the background of this research.

Multilingualism and multiculturalism are an inevitable part of the twenty-first century. Citizens of South Africa have grown up in different linguistic communities. From these environments they have unconsciously assimilated different languages, as well as different linguistic and social conventions. Individuals have adopted a set of unique rules for speaking, doing, being, believing and valuing (referred to as Discourse – capitalised – by Gee (1990)). For this research, I am using the concept of Discourse rather than

focusing only on the notion of language, because Discourse presents language as interwoven with behaviour, actions and beliefs. In the twenty-first century, many members of society are moving outside of the communities they were first exposed to and interacting with people from a variety of different social worlds, which Bourdieu (1991) refers to as “fields”. In Bourdieu’s oeuvre, the word “fields” refers to competitive spaces with specific rules and skills in which people are required to be competent in order to participate in those spaces (Bourdieu in Thomson, 2008).

Language and identity are two concepts which are intertwined and which influence one another (Bourdieu, 1991, 1997; Gee, 1990, 1996, 1998, 2000; Norton Peirce, 1995, 1997, 2000; Weedon, 1987). Through interaction with different social groups, the language of communication is not only important, but what one says and how one acts determines the inclusion or exclusion of individuals. This is because speech and action are determiners of particular beliefs, attitudes and values associated with certain social groups (Gee, 1990). Through interaction with other fields (Bourdieu, 1991), individuals are exposed to different “ways of being” in the world (different Discourses) (Janks, 2014; Gee, 1990), which they often need to come to terms with.

In an age where education is crucial, universities have become “super-diverse” sites (Vertovec, 2007) where people of varying backgrounds come together and where many students are forced to consider different ways of looking at and communicating with the world. University students, regardless of the institution they enter, have acquired numerous Discourses before they enter university, some of which may be radically different to those at university. This results in them being “well-precured” or “poorly-precured” for the Discourses of the university (Gee, 2002). Within their first year of study, many students are exposed to differing linguistic Discourses used by their peers and the university staff, and are also forced to come to terms with the Discourses promoted by universities (in formal, academic spaces of the university, such as in lectures and tutorials). That is, students have to come to grips with the rules for speaking, doing, being, believing and valuing of an academic institution (Gee, 1990). Drawing on Gee, I refer to these as university Discourses.

Exposure to new Discourses often results in the re-formation of identity. It is through communication (language) and social interaction that one constructs one's social identity in relation to others (Norton Peirce, 1995; Canagarajah, 2004). In the process of identity reformation students can negotiate new Discourses which can allow them to acquire "hybrid identities" (Bhabha 1994 in Bangeni & Kapp, 2005) that have the potential to make them comfortable in various Discourses, and students can also experience conflict between the new university Discourses and their primary Discourses. Conflict is most likely to occur if students' primary Discourses (Discourses acquired from the home) and secondary Discourses (Discourses appropriated from school) (Gee, 1990; Gee as cited in Clarence, 2010; Gee in McKenna, 2010) are radically different to the Discourses at the university. Very often choices have to be made by first-year students as to whether and which Discourses should be lost, gained or adapted. Canagarajah (2004) believes that it is through language interaction that individuals are able to resist, modify or negotiate identities imposed on them by larger social structures, such as universities.

As mentioned, in this study I am interested in the linguistic identity shifts and experiences of two first-year ESL university students at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. In particular, this research examines what these students experience as their primary and secondary Discourses meet the Discourses at university. It also focuses on how these experiences affect students' lives within and outside of university.

In the next section of this chapter, I consider the context of this study. I discuss the university this study takes place in, and the language situation in South Africa.

1.5 Context

1.5.1 Background to the University

Discussion of the background of the university includes an indication of the medium of instruction and the demographics of the institution. I also briefly discuss the Sociolinguistics course, which forms the foundation of this study.

This study takes place at a state-funded independent South African university in Gauteng. Wits University is a diverse context. Despite there being 11 official languages in South Africa, the university has chosen English as the medium of instruction. English and its associated Discourses are thus valued in formal domains of the university, for example, in lectures, whereas in many informal domains of the university, other languages and Discourses are prioritised. My study is situated in the WSoE. Statistics from the Quinquennial Review of 2010–2014 for the WSoE reveal that African students make up the majority of first-year students that enrol to study a Bachelor of Education (BEd) degree. The total number of students that registered in 2011 was 530 students. African students comprised more than 50% of the total registered students. This is typical of student registration over the period reviewed (2010–2014).

This research draws on data from the Sociolinguistics module of 2014 offered to students studying English I. This course took place during the first semester, over seven weeks. It covered content which acknowledged students' language histories and related practices as important subject matter. It further aimed to convert the language class into an environment where students could reflect and negotiate their linguistic identities (Ferreira & Mendelowitz, 2009).

1.5.2 Language Situation in South Africa

In this section, I discuss mutually intelligible languages, translanguaging and varieties of English. These are important for my research because, as has already been indicated, Wits students come from diverse linguistic backgrounds. As mentioned, I am investigating how students' backgrounds facilitate or constrain their adjustment to the many fields of the university. One of the background factors this study focuses on is the type of language students speak. This is explained further in the following sections. The role played on linguistic identity by the fact that many South African languages are "mutually intelligible" (Makalela, 2013) is firstly considered. Secondly, the role of "translanguaging" (García, 2009; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Makalela, 2013) in the South African context is outlined. Finally, this section discusses the attitudes and values associated with varieties of English. All of these are important in influencing students' adaptation to university and therefore, their developing linguistic identities.

Mutually Intelligible Languages

The South African Constitution (The South African Constitution Act 108 of 1996, s6 (1)) (in Juta's Statutes Editors, 2011) recognises 11 official languages of South Africa. It states that the languages of the Republic are Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, isiNdebele, isiXhosa, isiZulu, Afrikaans and English. Many inhabitants in South Africa, who are proficient in any of the nine Black South African languages (the first nine listed), have reported that they are able to easily understand speakers of some of the other Black African languages. Makalela (2013, p.121) refers to this occurrence as the ability of languages to be "mutually intelligible". Mutual intelligibility is a reality in South Africa that dates back to colonial times, when missionaries developed orthographies for the indigenous language of South Africa. These missionaries did not fully understand the language varieties spoken in South Africa and their encoding was based on differences perceived by the foreign ear. They thus, grouped indigenous African language varieties with artificial boundaries. These artificial language categories were then used to separate Black Africans during apartheid into "homelands". Despite years of prohibited contact, most Bantu languages are still mutually intelligible in the oral mode. For example, people who speak different varieties of Sesotho easily understand one another. Setswana, Sesotho and Sepedi, for instance, are mutually intelligible languages (Makalela, 2005).

This study came about because I was curious about how students' linguistic backgrounds influence their adaptation to university. This section has shown how, in South Africa there are many mutually intelligible African languages. This is important for this study because mutual intelligibility can influence students' acceptance within particular peer groups if the languages spoken in that group and by students entering that social circle are mutually intelligible. This could then facilitate the students' adaptation to university.

Translanguaging

Within South Africa traditional language boundaries are, at times, blurred. South Africa has experienced two forms of mobility since the socio-political dispensation of 1994 that enabled the possibility of movement within its borders. Firstly, in efforts to move

away from former Bantustan homelands in the rural areas, local migrants moved to the urban centres to make a living. Secondly, there has been an increased number of migrants from neighbouring African countries. Local rural migrants and immigrants from countries outside South Africa much of the time find themselves entering the Black townships. Black South African townships have become a site of linguistic contact between linguistic communities that were previously separated during apartheid and the isolation of South Africa. This has had some consequences on language. For instance, hybrid language forms have been developed (Makalela, 2013). Hybrid languages have developed as a result of the practice of “translanguaging”.

Translanguaging is an act specifically performed by multilinguals, in which they draw from different linguistic features to facilitate communication with others and create deeper understandings. In forming sentences that consist of more than one language, hybrid utterances are formed. Note the following example:

Eh matjita, I really have to tell you guys iets.

(Quoted from a research participant in Makalela (2013))

Translanguaging is an act which is seen as autonomous and natural (García, 2009; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Makalela, 2013). When engaging in translingual speech, there are no clear boundaries between the languages of multilinguals (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Makalela, 2013). Multilinguals do not jump from one language to the other when communicating, as is the case with code-switching. Rather, it seems that they do not differentiate between languages. They naturally draw from available linguistic resources as their social environment requires, resulting in a hybrid language (Makalela, 2013). As translanguaging does not acknowledge the use of multiple languages simultaneously, this may be why hybrid language varieties found within townships are considered a “home language” (Makalela, 2013).

Translanguaging is an important concept to consider for my research. Many students entering university come from environments, such as townships, where translanguaging is common and/or where they were exposed to or are proficient in a number of languages. As I am interested in how linguistic background factors enable or constrain

the adaptation to university, I am aware that the ability to translanguage can influence inclusion and exclusion at university. I also acknowledge that if students have been exposed to a number of languages in their communities or are fluent in a number of dialects, they have the potential to engage in translingual speech with their peers at university. This can also influence adaptation to university.

Varieties of English

Not only is South Africa home to a number of languages and hybrid forms of languages, but there also exist varieties of the same language. Varieties of English are of concern in my study because they influence the adaptation to university as well as play a part in the negotiating of linguistic identity in various fields. These varieties include Standard English, Black South African English (BSAE), White South African English (WSAE) and what is referred to by some as “broken English”.

Standard English can be defined as special variety or dialect of English that plays a specific role in society. It is the variety of English that holds the most prestige in a country. Prestige can be rooted in social class, material success, popular approval, political strength or educational background. The English of people who have status is the English that becomes the standard – the norm of communication. Standard English has no local base. The grammar and vocabulary of Standard English do not indicate which part of a country it comes from. What is of importance in Standard English is the grammar, vocabulary, spelling and punctuation. Standard English is spoken in a variety of accents; therefore, pronunciation is not of concern (Crystal, 1994).

Often Standard English is associated with “good English” and the everyday language of the most educated and intelligent people (Zuidema, 2005). Those who are perceived as not speaking the standard, are perceived as speaking “bad English” (Zuidema, 2005). However, the measure of a Standard English is riddled with myths. Firstly, Standard English is an abstract ideal because it is based on written language, as indicated above. Even the language of the most educated of people does not sound as if it were polished, revised and edited as is the written word. Secondly, there is no single dialect of English. Standard language differs depending on the community. Thirdly, as suggested above, no matter how much one’s speech mimics “the standard”, everyone can be perceived as

having an accent. Standard English is not equipped with a standard accent (Zuidema, 2005).

WSAE in South Africa seems associated with conceptions of Standard English. WSAE is reported as being viewed as “proper English” and “good English”, positioning it as a prestige variety (McKinney, 2008, p. 14). As reported by McKinney’s (2008) informants, this variety, especially if spoken by a Black person, is often associated with snobbery and elite consumerism. Its roots are perceived to be partially tied to being education in previously White schools in South Africa. Furthermore, also reported by McKinney’s (2008) informants, is perceived that if a Black person speaks WSAE, they are said to have a White person’s accent. This is tied to the belief that one’s race should be identifiable by one’s accent.

BSAE is defined as a variety of English commonly used by African mother tongue speakers in South Africa. This form of English developed through education systems where English was not the language of the majority and has become localised for inter-regional communication (De Klerk & Gough, n.d.). As explained by McKinney’s (2008) informants, BSAE is often associated with rural or township education. It is not regarded as Standard English. It is my experience that value attached to this variety is dependent on the context. It may be perceived as having low status in social spaces where it is not appreciated but may be valued in environments where this means of communication is widely used.

“Broken English” is another variety of English not regarded as “the standard”. Drawing from one of Ferreira and Mendelowitz’s (2009) informants, broken English can refer to English that incorporates words of another language. Furthermore, in contrast to the perception that Standard English is “perfect English”, broken English is a term that can be used to describe a lack of proficiency of English or semi-fluency in English (McKinney, 2008; Crystal, 1985). It is many times associated with people who have limited educational background (Crystal, 1985). There is a need to problematise the notion of broken English. Just because the English is “broken” does not mean it is less English, as people who speak this variety no doubt have an awareness of the language and this should be acknowledged no matter how much English they speak. English is a wide-

spread language and many people will have some awareness of the language that goes beyond simple rote learning of lexical items. Competence should thus not be linked to educational intelligence; it may simply be rooted in lack of proficiency (Crystal, 1985).

As with translanguaging and mutual intelligible languages, the variety of English one speaks can determine how well one adapts to different fields in the university.

1.6 Summary

This chapter has discussed the aims of my study, explained the impetus behind this research, explored the importance of my study, presented the background of Wits University and examined relevant concepts for this project. The next chapter presents a literature review in which I discuss issues around language, identity and power.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This study provides insight into the kinds of linguistic identity experiences first-year ESL university students face as they attempt to negotiate their linguistic identities within the WSoE's English department's Sociolinguistics module and beyond. In this chapter, I discuss the following. I begin by establishing the notion of identity that I worked with for this research. This is followed by an examination of what it means to be linguistically competent. This is followed by an exploration of how linguistic identity is formed. In considering the negotiation of linguistic identity in various spaces, I introduce one's ability to have a voice. This is followed by a deeper focus on linguistic identity negotiation, in which I explain easier and harder instances of linguistic identity negotiation. Finally, I explore the links between race, identity and language.

2.2 Language and Identity

2.2.1 Identity

This study is interested in how the linguistic identities of two students shift in their first year of study. It examined the linguistic identity losses, gains and negotiations they experience as they (re)develop their linguistic identities in various spheres of their lives. Therefore, the notion of identity that I worked with is the belief that identity is non-unitary as well as subject to change and contestation (Weedon, 1987; Norton Peirce, 1995, 1997, 2000).

With regard to identity as non-unitary, I worked with the notion that identity is multiple, complex, contradictory and dynamic. Social identity is produced in a number of social sites (Norton Peirce, 1995, 1997, 2000; Gee, 1990; Bourdieu in Thomson, 2008), all of which are structured by power relations in which a person adopts different subject positions. Individuals in this sense are thus not passive. They are subjects to power and subjects of power within particular domains of their lives. Power relations between individuals, groups and communities have the ability to affect the life opportunities people have at particular times and places (Norton Peirce, 1995, 1997, 2000 drawing on

Weedon, 1987). In acknowledging the multiplicity of identity, in my evaluation of how my participants negotiate their linguistic identities in the various social worlds they engage with, I considered the effects of power relations on the process of linguistic identity negotiation of my participants.

In addition to the dynamic nature of identity, I believe that identity can be negotiated and is capable of adaptation. Language is where actual and possible forms of social organisation are defined and contested by others and where individuals contest their conception of their selves. Language is where our subjectivity (our sense of who we are) is created. Language is where we are able to show our social position and challenges it to portray or at least work towards establishing a different social position. In other words, the position an individual takes up within a field are open to contestation; a person can resist their subject position and possibly set up counter Discourses, which may ultimately elevate them from a marginalised position to one of power. The choice to use language to show one's actual position or a future-orientated, possible position, has certain consequences – be it political or social (Weedon, 1987; Norton Peirce, 1995, 1997, 2000). The idea of identity as changeable is crucial for my study as I am investigating the linguistic identity shifts that are brought on by efforts to negotiate linguistic identity in order to adapt to university.

The view of identity as multiple opposes the views of Essentialism, which sees identity as a “birth right” – as fixed, unchangeable and fitting into monolithic categories that people either or do not have. Identity as monolithic refers to identity as not having the possibility of being hybrid (Bhabha, 1994). Holliday, Hyde and Kulman (2004), strong opposers of Essentialism, state that the danger of Essentialism is that viewing people through an essentialist lens is often the reason behind racism and sexism. Essentialism tends to reduce and “other” individuals, which they believe leads to many societal problems. The term “othering” or “to otherise” refers to the act of seeing someone as alien and as different to “us” in a way that leads to exclusion from “normal”, “superior” and “civilised” groups (Holliday, Hyde & Kulman, 2004, p. 3).

In considering that identity has the possibility to change, I also acknowledge that the process of shifting one's identity is not an easy task, as Bourdieu's notion of habitus

suggests (Kramsch, 2008; Maton, 2008). The term *habitus* refers to one's tendencies to think and act a certain way that enables people to become integrated into a certain type of society. *Habitus* is seen in our actions, thinking, feeling, being and speaking. It is multilayered and is structured by one's past and present experiences, such as those of family and school backgrounds. These layers are deeply entrenched layers of dispositions that are difficult to shift and needs conscious effort to change.

2.2.2 Linguistic Competence

Prior to exploring different ways in which linguistic identity can be dynamic and changeable, it is crucial to establish an understanding of what language entails and further examine how language is tied to one's identity.

Some argue that linguistic competence is the ability to produce language that is grammatically formed and correct (Chomsky, 1965 in Parmegiani, 2009). This study is situated in a sociolinguistic paradigm which argues that linguistic competence is linked to society and reflects how one functions in various communities (Hymes, 1971; Bourdieu, 1991, 1997; Gee, 1990, 1996, 1998; Norton Peirce, 1995, 1997, 2000). Linguistic competence then, in this sense, goes beyond grammar to include an understanding of the ways in which language must be used. This understanding includes firstly knowing when to speak and when not to speak, and secondly what to talk about with whom, when, where and in what manner (Hymes, 1971). This strategic use of language may fall under what Gee (1990, 1996, 1998) refers to as "Discourse" and what Bourdieu calls "practical competence" (Bourdieu, 1991, 1997).

Discourse is regarded as an "identity kit ... which comes complete with appropriate costume and instructions on how to act and talk so as to take on a particular role that others will recognise" (Gee, 1998, p. 1). The term Discourse includes socio-political factors that determine whether or not one's speech is appropriate within a given space.

Practical competence enables speakers to use sentences or expressions with practical strategies for various functions. These expressions are strategically adjusted to relations of power between speakers and hearers. In essence, practical competence involves, in addition to producing grammatical sentences, the ability to make oneself heard,

believed, obeyed, respected and distinguished. Bourdieu (1991, p. 502) refers to this as “linguistic capital”. Strategic implementation of language is tied to what Bourdieu (Thomson, 2008) refers to as the “rules of the game in the field”. Fields are competitive spaces with specific rules and there are limits as to what can be done (or said). Fields are run by hierarchy. Some people are dominant and hold the power to make decisions about how their social world functions. Players within these fields must know the rules and basic skills in order to play. In other words, speakers within a social world must have practical competence that responds to issues of power within that world. Communicative competence that acknowledges both the grammar of language as well as the social rules around language use is important in this study as I am interested in how students’ backgrounds, regarding the rules surrounding language, have affected their adjustment to university.

2.3 How Is Linguistic Identity Formed?

Linguistic identity can be formed through the process of acquisition and learning, by a person’s background, as well as due to influence by the fields we interact with.

2.3.1 Linguistic Identity Development through Acquisition and Learning

Linguistic identity can be learnt and acquired (Gee, 1996, 1998). However, acquisition is believed to be most beneficial when trying to be accepted within particular fields. This is crucial for my study as my research considered the extent to which students adjust to the many fields at university. Before I discuss these terms, I consider the importance of appropriating aspects of linguistic identity which are valued in different fields.

Rules for speaking, doing, being, believing and valuing, what Gee refers to as “Discourse”, within a field are connected to the distribution of social power and hierarchy in society. Different fields value different Discourses. If one has at one’s disposal certain Discourses, this can lead to access to social goods, which include money, power and status. If one has access to these Discourses, one experiences less conflict within a “field” and has at one’s disposal Discourses that are helpful to advance within a field. Discourses which lead to social good in society are referred to by Gee (1998) as “dominant discourses” and by Bourdieu (Thomson, 2008) as “capital”. The

fact that some Discourses are considered more valuable than others questions a person's ability to truly appropriate new Discourses in order to advance in society. Access to Discourses that are most valued and profitable in particular fields are not always fair. This can be seen in the way people acquire and learn Discourses (Gee, 1996).

Acquisition refers to unconscious exposure to Discourse in a natural setting, without experiencing formal teaching, whereas learning refers to the conscious gaining of knowledge through informal or formal teaching (Gee, 1998). It is believed (Gee, 1996; Gee, 1996 in Parmegiani, 2009) that Discourse can only be fully appropriated through unconscious acquisition, as the deliberate learning of a Discourse that a person has not been socialised into only leads to "partial acquisition". Partial acquisition leads to marginalisation. Discourse thus produces "insiders" (people to have access to Discourse that was acquired), "outsiders" (people who are excluded from Discourse), as well as the "colonised" (people who have minimal competence of Discourse) (Gee, 1996).

The notion of linguistic identity development being influenced by acquisition and learning is an important one for my research. My study examined how students' backgrounds constrain and facilitate their adjustment to the many fields at university. Acceptance within various social fields can depend on whether Discourse was acquired or learnt, and whether people have access to particular Discourse. At times however, there is a combination of acquisition and learning. I believe that people can be accepted or rejected depending on the degree to which they have learnt and acquired Discourse. In addition, this rejection or acceptance is not only determined on those in the field, but can be steered by a "player" (Bourdieu in Thomson, 2008) within the field. If a player perceives themselves as an outsider – as not having sufficiently acquired the Discourses of preference in the field, they can contribute to their own exclusion.

2.3.2 Linguistic Identity Development Influence by Background Factors and Fields of Engagement

In terms of background factors and beyond, linguistic identity can be formed by one's family up-bringing, education and any other institutions that go beyond family and schooling. This was of importance to my study for two reasons. Firstly, because I investigated how students' backgrounds affected their adjustment to university in their

first year. Secondly, because I examined how exposure to the many fields of the university contributed to the development of linguistic identity.

The development of linguistic identity influenced by family can be referred to as “primary Discourse” (Gee, 1990). Primary Discourse refers to Discourse that individuals have assimilated from their social (home) backgrounds (Gee in Clarence, 2010; Gee in McKenna, 2010). People’s behaviour can, at any moment, show evidence of other Discourses they possess; however, one’s primary Discourse is most evident when people interact with those close to them – “intimates” whom (Gee, 1990, p. 151) defines as “people with whom they share a great deal of common knowledge and experience” – as it is in these instances that they are less influenced by their other Discourses. They are portraying an identity that is closely tied to their primary socialisation and membership in an initial social group. Bourdieu (in Kramsch, 2008; Maton, 2008) calls this occurrence the “embodiment of habitus”. Habitus as embodied similarly suggests that a person’s dispositions can coincide with those of others who share, among other things, the same class, behaviours, tastes, ways of life. In these instances transitions into new spaces are easier if the social spaces match our habitus, as we do not need to think about how to behave or what to say – the body simply knows – it feels natural to act in a certain way. However, social spaces challenge what is embodied. This brings me to my next point.

Primary Discourse can be said to influence new Discourses and be influenced by new Discourses. In terms of its ability to influence new Discourses, primary Discourse works as a framework or base for the learning or acquisition of other Discourses encountered later in life. Primary Discourses also influence the form of learning and acquisition, as well as the “final result” (Gee, 1990, p. 151). With regard to primary Discourse being subject to influence, additional Discourses acquired in one’s lifetime can affect one’s primary Discourse, in that it can (re)shape it, the effects of which can create a new form of primary Discourse that can be passed on to one’s children.

In the development of one’s linguistic identity, primary Discourse and new Discourses exert mutual influence on each other, as indicated. However, the social spaces one engages with also have a quality of interdependence. Bourdieu (Thomson, 2008)

describes this as the “interdependence of fields”, which can be explained with reference to two important points. Firstly, exposure to certain fields (these can include fields that go beyond the home) can influence access to other fields. For example, the type of education one receives in the educational field can affect the position people have in the economic field (Thomson, 2008). Secondly, there is mutual influence between fields as well as ongoing construction. What happens in the field of power shapes what can happen in a social field and simultaneously, what happens in the social field shapes the field of power and can also influence other social fields.

Linguistic identity formation, as mentioned, is influenced by more than just one's family. It is also moulded by other social worlds we interact with. Gee (1990) refers to this as “secondary Discourses”. The gaining of secondary Discourses occurs within institutions that require people to interact with those that are not intimates, or at least involve the need to treat intimates as though they were not, or involve situations where one is being “formal”. These secondary institutions include schools, work and stores. Access to and practice with secondary institutions lead to the gaining of secondary Discourses – Discourses in addition to primary Discourses. Secondary Discourses expand one's use of language, attitudes and beliefs as defined by one's primary Discourse. Secondary Discourses sometimes are and sometimes are not compatible with one's primary Discourse. If there is a mismatch between these Discourses, it can result in conflict.

While primary Discourse explains how linguistic identity is shaped by one's home environment and secondary Discourse describes how linguistic identity is influenced by any social field that extends beyond the home, the term *habitus* (Bourdieu in Kramsch, 2008; Maton, 2008) acknowledges how linguistic identity is formed by one's home and educational background. *Habitus* is similar to primary Discourse, as can be seen in some of the points I have highlighted.

Above I have discussed how ways of being, thinking, feeling, acting and speaking (Discourse) and dispositions to think and act in certain ways (*habitus*) are learnt from or changed by social spaces, but how exactly are they acquired? I now focus on the relationship between one's *habitus*/Discourse and the social environment. *Habitus* does

not operate alone and neither does Discourse. In terms of habitus, there is a relationship between one's habitus, field and capital. The formula, $[(\text{habitus})(\text{capital})] + \text{field} = \text{practice}$, helps us to understand what happens in the process of linguistic identity formation within a social space. This equation can be unpacked as follows: practice is a result of one's habitus and one's position within a field (whether or not one's habitus is a form of capital or not) (Maton, 2008; Kramsch, 2008). Theory on the coming together of primary and secondary Discourses (Gee, 1990) is similar to this equation. It offers an explanation of how people come to be exposed to new Discourses and how they expand their Discourse repertoire or not. Discourse theory explains that throughout life people interact with other people outside of communities they were born into and are thus are often exposed to different Discourses. Interaction between Discourses can result in conflict, especially if the new Discourse is different to the person's primary Discourse. Very often choices have to be made by the individual as to whether and which Discourses should be lost, gained or adapted. Essentially, similar to the above equation, one's experiences within social spaces (and whether one chooses to lose, gain or adapt one's Discourse) is dependent on whether the Discourses one is familiar with mirror the Discourses valued within particular social spaces – Discourses perceived to be capital within those fields.

2.4 Power, Agency and Voice

When entering a field, a person can be limited in the (re)negotiation of their linguistic identity owing to power relations within the field. I refer to this as the extent to which a person is able to exert their voice in the process of their linguistic identity(re)development. Voice can be determined by power relations of institution and can be influenced by interlocutor. I understand voice in the following ways: Voice can refer to the type of speech one is authorised to produce (what one is allowed to say according to power relations) (Bourdieu, 1991). This definition of voice offers little agency. However, despite strict regulations on language, there are ways in which a person can strategically exert their voice while still adhering to the rules of an institution (Canagarajah, 2004). Voice can also be regarded as the right to speak and be heard between people in conversation with one another. In this sense one has clear agency to voice. This right to voice can be ensured in three ways. Firstly, it can be

through the negotiation of an acceptable identity for that situation (Norton Peirce, 1995,1997,2000).Secondly, it can be given because youare speaking to someone that makes you comfortable to speak (Elbow, 1987). Thirdly, it can be because you have a choice to ignore that which inhibits your ability to produce speech (Elbow, 1987).

2.4.1 Voice Determined by Institution

Voice, in terms of what one is allowed to say, is based on power as well as social relations between others in the field. When engaged in conversation, people who speak must ensure that they are entitled to speak within particular circumstances, and people who listen must consider those who speak as worthy of attention. Power relations that determine this dynamic come from “institution” and can be illustrated by “performative utterances”(Bourdieu, 1991). Performativeutterances are acts and speech that require authority to perform. The word “institution” does not refer to a certain organisation (for example, a factory or family), but to social relations that bestow power, status and numerous types of resources to individuals. Institution provides the speaker with the right orpower to execute the acts their utterances say they perform. For example, not anyone can name a ship by breaking a bottle on it. An individual that performs this act must be authorised to this – they must be have the required authority to perform this act. Therefore, performative utterances are rooted within social relations – an institution in which certain individuals, who are empowered to speak and are recognised as authorised to speak by others, are allowed to speak in a way that others consider acceptable for that circumstance.

The focus on performative utterances is important for my study, which examines how participants find that in lecture rooms they are challenged by issues of power, status and language use. Furthermore, as institution gives authority, my study is of particular interest because universities (both in the academic and social fields) use accent, pronunciation and different languages as determiners of who is worthy of speaking and being heard. In this way, students’ backgrounds that influence these factors can either facilitate or constrain their adjustment to university. The effects of students’ linguistic backgrounds form one of my research questions.

2.4.2 Voice Negotiated or Produced in Reaction to Interlocutor

The notion of voice and the linguistic identity one is able to adopt in the above theme offers little agency. The right to speech is strictly determined by institution. The right to speak and be heard, however, can be ensured through the negotiation of linguistic identity in response to an interlocutor. Norton Peirce (1995,1997,2000) calls this means of attaining voice, the “right to speak”. In addition, the ability to speak can be enabled by “audience” (Elbow, 1987). Elbow (1987) considers the influence of interlocutor on one’s ability to produce speech, the awareness or effect of “audience” on speech. Power relations then shift from involving institution to focusing on the power relations between people in conversation with one another. Both instances offer more agency than voice as determined by institution.

Voice Negotiated in Reaction to Interlocutor

Communication and social interaction are connected to the construction of an individual’s social identity (Norton Pierce, 1995,1997;2000). As with power relations involving institution (Bourdieu, 1991,1997), it is important to consider the value of speech, and in doing so acknowledging the person who speaks, (including who is allowed to speak and who is worthy of being heard) as well as recognising the greater networks of social relationships, which can often consist of unequal power relations. Furthermore, as with the notion that voice is determined by institution, those who speak regard those who listen as worthy to listen and that those who listen regard those who speak as worthy to speak (Norton Pierce, 1995, 1997, 2000). However, despite these commonalities, the focus shifts from the power relations involving institution to the power relations between the language learner, language teacher and other target language learners (all of whom can affect and limit language learning) (Norton Peirce in Hall, 2011).With the understanding that social identity is multiple, a site of struggle and subject to change (Weedon in Norton Peirce, 1995,1997,2000), language learning is believed by Norton Peirce (1995,1997,2000) to be most effective if learners can assume an identity that gives them the right to speak and be heard. This enables the speaker to negotiate their identity in order to attain voice of their own accord.

Although this gives the language learner a sense of agency in ensuring their right to speak, it is not easy for language learners to place themselves in desired positions (Norton Peirce in Hall, 2011). This conclusion was drawn from Norton Peirce's research on the experiences of adult immigrants learning English in an ESL context, who she says were often ignored and found it challenging to assert an identity that would benefit the learning of a second language.

The ability of language learners to place themselves in desired positions in order to gain the right to speak and be heard was important for my study. This study examined the linguistic identity experiences of students in their first year of study. In so doing, I was interested in the linguistic experiences of students in the many fields of the university (social and academic) as well as the many fields of their community. Within these fields there was communication with language learners, language teachers and other target language learners. In each field students have the task of negotiating their identity, and this affected their voice. The participants in my study are ESL learners, but they do not learn an unfamiliar language. The attainment of voice depended on the rules for speaking (appropriate language variation, accent and pronunciation) as well as beliefs around appropriate language use. I am of the belief that the attainment of voice is not always an easy task because placing oneself in a desired position is not always accepted by others.

However, as an extension of Norton Peirce's theory, I believe that it is not only others that decide if the "desired" position you are trying to portray is acceptable or not. I am of the opinion that we are as much to blame for our own rejection and lack of voice. This can be seen in two ways. We may lack confidence in our ability to appropriate a desired position. This can affect the legitimacy of the identity we are trying to portray, therefore placing us in danger of being seen as outsiders. This lack of confidence can also affect our confidence in our ability to engage with people. This can result in the avoidance of communicating with others. This brings me to my next point.

Voice Produced in Reaction to Interlocutor

Power relations between people in conversation or how we perceive others we talk to, can enable or disable our ability to speak. Another important aspect that relates to voice

and agency is literary theorist Elbow's (1987) concept of "audience". The type of audience one is surrounded by or in conversation with affects one's ability to have a voice, as well as affecting the quality of one's voice. There are two types of audiences. The first type of audience is inviting and enabling. When we keep these audiences in mind, we write (or in the case of speaking, we speak) coherently and think of interesting things to say. This type of audience makes us feel intelligent and we come up with ideas we did not know we had. The second type of audience is inhibiting and causes us to struggle to figure out what to say. They make us feel unintelligent, but as soon as we get out of their presence everything we wanted to say floods into our minds. This reaction to audience is not always intended by the audience themselves. At times this is a build-up of fear in the speaker that needs confidence in order to dispel.

Audience is an interesting concept for my research. In exploring the linguistic identity experiences of my participants, I was interested in the interactions they had with their community members, family members, educators (teachers, lecturers and tutors), university peers, as well as their students on their teaching practicals. Students' interactions gave me a sense of the effects of audience (encouraging and disabling) on their ability to speak, how they used language and how they perceived their linguistic identity.

When we are confronted by good audiences we have agency in that we can ensure we have the "right to speak and be heard". Lack of agency in voice, however, is not always the case when confronted by disabling audiences. Learning to identify occasions for ignoring audience is sometimes beneficial, as it can ensure a more powerful voice (Elbow, 1987). Being a researcher of writing, Elbow (1987) describes methodologies teachers can use to help learners write. One of these includes allowing learners to write without an audience in mind so as to clarify in their minds what it is they think (for meaning-making purposes). This step is then followed by a process of editing learners' work to develop a piece of writing that meshes their voice with the audience in mind. Although this may seem only applicable to writing, as speech requires face-to-face interaction which makes it difficult to ignore the presence of those you are in conversation with, Elbow's theory was of relevance to my study. What was of particular

interest in examining the process of identity (re)formation is the concept of labelling, prejudice and others' perception of my students' linguistic identities. The capability to ignore audience helped me to uncover the ability of participants to ignore how those around them labelled them. This was beneficial in the process of coming to terms with and being confident in their personal views of their linguistic identity. Ignoring audience can thus be seen as a strategy to ensuring agency when surrounded by a disabling audience.

2.4.3 Voice Negotiated Despite Rules of Institution

Above I have shown that institution strictly governs what one is allowed to say. I have also illustrated how power relations between people offer more agency to attain voice. This is not to say that agency to exert one's personal voice is not possible when power relations of institution are of concern. Despite strict regulations on language of institution, there are ways in which a person can strategically exert voice while still adhering to the rules of institution.

It is through language interaction that individuals are able to resist, modify or negotiate identities imposed on them by larger social structures, and this is what gives them voice (Canagarajah, 2004). Individuals struggle to attain voice and there is conflict between instinct and institution (Foucault, 1972 in Canagarajah, 2004). If people accept the social, historical and ideological identities institutions have established for them, they are silenced as the voice they would represent would be that of dominant institutions and Discourses. However, individuals must resist the temptation of speaking their "true voice" and avoid their instinct to entirely abandon ready-made Discourses. Rather, people must learn to negotiate their identities and find ways to represent their personal interests and values. In this sense, people will be able to access power and cultural capital (Canagarajah, 2004).

2.5 The Negotiation of Linguistic Identity

Above I have established the definition of identity I worked with for this study. I have explored what it means to be linguistically competent. I have explained how linguistic identity is (re)formed. Furthermore, I have discussed how voice is either given or

not give in the process of negotiating linguistic identity. I now focus on the negotiating process of linguistic identity. This focus is important because my study investigated the extent to which linguistic identity can and does change. The word “negotiation” suggests the ability of identity to be dynamic, flexible and multiple, in that it is negotiable in various fields. Below I explore the ability for identity to change in relation to the field one is in.

Collectives of people can occupy more than one social field at a time. These groups of people can be said to occupy a common social space. This is referred to by Bourdieu (Thomson, 2008) as “the field of power”, which consists of multiple fields (economic, educational and political). Fields are social spaces people can leave or enter. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, each field is a competitive place, with rules and skills that limit what can be done in that social space. Fields are dominated by hierarchy, which run the field and determine these rules. People are required to be competent in these rules and skills in order to take part in the field (Bourdieu in Thomson, 2008). Similarly, Gee (1990) believes that every social space consists of its preferred Discourses, which determine what is appropriate in each social setting. When people enter a field many strategies are used to maintain or improve their position (Bourdieu in Thomson, 2008). Improving one’s position within the social field can be done by losing, gaining or adapting Discourses (Gee, 1990). This decision may depend on whether your habitus is a form of capital within the field or not (Bourdieu, 1997; Bourdieu in Maton, 2008), or dependent on whether your Discourse (Gee, 1990) or habitus (Bourdieu in Maton, 2008; Bourdieu in Kramsch, 2008) matches that which is valued within that particular social space (Gee, 1990). Capital comes in four forms – economic capital (money and assets), cultural capital (knowledge, tastes, cultural preferences, language, narrative and voice), social capital (affiliation, networks, family, religion and cultural heritage) as well as symbolic capital (represents all other forms of capital that can be exchanged in other fields, for example, credentials) (Bourdieu in Thomson, 2008).

There are similarities between social fields (Gee, 1990; Bourdieu in Thomson, 2008). Commonalities lie in the common predictable practices within each field as well as the type of social agents dominant in each field. Social fields are not level playing grounds

(Bourdieu in Thomson, 2008). Transitions into new spaces, as mentioned, are easier if the social spaces match our habitus. This is because one does not need to think about how to behave or what to say – the body simply knows – it feels “normal” to act a certain way (Bourdieu in Maton, 2008). In relation to hierarchy, social agents of certain positions understand how to behave in a field – these understandings are common the field and seem natural to those social agents (Bourdieu in Thomson, 2008). When people enter a field, those who begin with a particular type of capital are advantaged from the start because the field depends on, and produces more of that capital. Therefore it can be said that these “lucky” people are able to use their capital to their advantage and accumulate more capital. Consequently, this would allow for these players to advance and become more successful than others (Bourdieu in Thomson, 2008). In other words, certain Discourses count as capital within particular fields. If one has access to these Discourses, one experiences less conflict within a field. One then has at one’s disposal Discourses that are helpful to advance within a field. Access to such Discourses can lead to access to social goods, which include money, power and status (Gee, 1996; 1998).

For people whose habitus or Discourse does not match everything that is valued in the field, decisions must be made so that they are able to advance in the field. Sometimes exposure to a certain field as well as effort made to adapt to the field leads to language loss, language gain and solidarity through connections to one’s home environment. These strategies to survive in the field are important. Reasons behind these strategies are often linked to multiple desires, which include the desire for recognition, affiliation, security and safety (Norton Pierce, 2000). These strategies of adaptation, whether unconscious or not, are explored below.

2.5.1 Connection to the Home

Adapting to a new field and being exposed to new Discourses can be daunting. Here, I discuss the possible reactions students may have to diversity, as well as how students remain connected to the home in efforts to survive.

As universities are “super-diverse” (Vertovec, 2007) spaces, students have different reactions to diversity. Students may be threatened by diversity and feel as though people

are always trying to impose their beliefs onto them. This may result in a fixed commitment to their cultural and religious beliefs. Extended time at university may soften this fear of diversity and result in the desire of students to learn new languages. They may also express having learnt interesting things from other cultures – this is the case with Sisanda (in Bangeni & Kapp, 2005). Some students may arrive at university and be excited by being surrounded by diversity (people and views). These students may express that by interacting with people of varying races and classes. University has taught them to look at different perspectives and approach things in different ways, as is the case with Andrew (in Bangeni & Kapp, 2005).

Diversity was an important aspect to acknowledge for this research. Universities are super-diverse fields where students need to be able to function within various micro fields of the university that are equipped with their own rules. In my interviews, I explored reactions to being exposed to diversity, considered how exposure to diversity affected who people interacted with and how they interacted with them, as well as how exposure to diversity affected students' attempts at developing and understanding their linguistic identity.

In the process of adapting to the field, a mechanism of survival some first-year students make use of is exhibiting connections to their home environment. This can be seen in the social group students join. Students' social groups may be linguistically and racially based, in that they mirror their home language and race, as is the case with Sisanda in Bangeni and Kapp (2005), or students' social groups may be class based, like Andrew in Bangeni and Kapp (2005). Despite difficulties students face in their first year at university, they may be driven by sense of survival, fuelled in part by the solitude they find in their social group, such as Andrew in Bangeni and Kapp (2005).

The gravitation towards people who share a similar background is an important one for my research. This research investigated the negotiation of identity in various fields at university. One of the interview questions this study explored considers whether or not students in their first year chose to join a social group that exhibited similarities to their own backgrounds (language, class, type of school attended, culture). The interviews further explored the ways in which belonging to the chosen social groups helped

students adapt to university, and if joining this group has been beneficial to their attempt at negotiating their linguistic identity.

2.5.2 Language Losses and Gains

Exposure to university Discourse and diversity as well as distance from the home community can affect students' language repertoires. Extended exposure to university as well as effort made to adapt to the diverse environment can lead to both language gains and losses. In relation to language losses, if there is a lack of opportunity to speak one's homelanguage (or any other language one knows, for that matter), one's proficiency in the language may slowly decrease and one's accent may change, as is the case with Andrew in Bangeni and Kapp (2005). With regard to language gains, exposure to university, its diversity and distance from the home community can result in linguistic gains in two forms. Firstly, students may find that they learn the languages of their peers. This is the case of Andrew in Bangeni and Kapp's study (2005). Andrew found that by his second year at university he was able to speak some Xhosa and picked up variations of slang, known as "Backstage Language" and "Kaaps" – a mixture of English, Afrikaans and Xhosa. Secondly, there may be an expansion on proficiency in a language. This language may form part of the university's medium of instruction. This was the case with Andrew (Bangeni & Kapp, 2005). He entered university experiencing anxiety about his competence in English. This anxiety led him to struggle with his university work, resulted in him switching to Afrikaans during research interviews and led him to silence in class. By Andrew's second year, there is an expansion of English proficiency. He transformed into someone who was confident in English and expressed how English had become natural to him. He became someone who was happy about his English proficiency.

Literature on the gains and losses of language was crucial for this study as this study aimed to investigate how students' linguistic backgrounds have facilitated and constrained their adjustment to university, as well as exploring the types of losses, gains, negotiations and conflicts participants experienced through the process of developing their linguistic identity. Language loss and gains from attempting to negotiate linguistic

identity were thus of particular interest when examining experiences of students within various linguistic fields of the university.

As can be seen, linguistic identity negotiation can take many forms. It can either be easier to adapt to a new field because our Discourses and habitus match the field we enter, or it can be harder because our Discourse and habitus require adjustment to that field through language gains or losses. As we engage in a number of social spheres in our lives at once, the negotiating of linguistic identity is constant. Not only do we need to negotiate our identity within one field, we need to negotiate our identities among many fields. This requires us to juggle our linguistic identities. The juggling of linguistic identities can include changing the way you speak depending on where you are. One can change one's language by either speaking another language or another variation of the same language, as is the case with the informants of Ferreira and Mendelowitz (2009), as well as those of McKinney (2008). Reasons for adapting to various fields lie in people's desire to be accepted (McKinney, 2008; Norton Peirce, 2000), recognised, find affiliation, security and safety (Norton Pierce, 2000). In addition, the desire for security and safety may include the desire to avoid negative linguistic or racial labels that place people as outsiders, as Ferreira & Mendelowitz (2009) noted from the informants in their research.

The negotiation of linguistic identities in various fields is a form of continual adaptation and accommodation, as is the case with an informant in Ferreira & Mendelowitz's (2009) work. People who are multilingual (I use this term as meaning competent in various versions of language – even the same language) are able to draw from their linguistic repertoire, which allows language and language variations to be used as linguistic capital. This form of capital can be used according to what is valued in the fields people participate in. Multilingualism and language awareness in relation to place, can give people the ability to move across boundaries and negotiate identity in various fields, as is seen in one of McKinney's participants (2008).

When employing or when attempting to employ a language within a field, one must remember that to claim the right to speak, one needs "investment" in the target language (Norton Pierce, 2000). "Investment" shows how students' relationships to a target

language is socially and historically shaped. Learners have complex histories – Bourdieu’s (1991) “habitus” – and multiple desires (the desire for recognition, affiliation, security and safety) (Norton Pierce, 2000). Investment in a target language is an investment in a student’s social identity, in that when language learners speak, they are not only exchanging information with target language speakers, but are constantly organising and reorganising who they are and how they relate to the world. Investment in the target language equals investment in the student’s identity, an identity which is endlessly changing. In conclusion, it is through investment that an identity develops that gives one the right to speak and be heard (Norton Pierce, 2000).

The skill of negotiating language and the identity that comes with certain language variations between a number of fields was important to this study as I was interested in how students negotiate their linguistic identity in various fields at the university and in their community.

2.6 The Link between Labels: Othering, Race and Identity

Above I have explored how identity is formed and the links language has to identity. However, in a country like South Africa with an inescapable history of racial discrimination, dating back to colonial times, race was and continues to be an important marker of identity which cannot be avoided. Race has been found to have no biological basis; however, for years it has been used as an important component for social organisation as well as identity construction (Omi & Winant, 2003 in McKinney, 2008). In a social context, race seems to affect the understanding people and groups have of one another, as well as the relationships they develop. It is for this reason that race must be considered in research involving linguistic identity. Within a South African context, race and ethnicity have had dramatic effects on people during the colonial and apartheid years, which often continue in the present. Unsurprisingly, 21 years after South Africa’s first democratic elections in 1994, racial categorisations are as evident in both the public and private spheres as they were during apartheid. The continued use of racial categories reinforces a static stance on race, which implies that “Coloured”, Indian, White and Black people in South Africa form homogeneous, unified groups (McKinney, 2008). Homogenous categorisation of race and their appropriate language

variations leads to stereotypes, which can affect the negotiation of one's linguistic identity as well as the perception of the linguistic identity of others. Below, I discuss the myth that language variation is identifiable by race and educational background, as pointed out by informants in McKinney (2008) as well as in Ferreira and Mendelowitz (2009). Furthermore, I explore the contradictory belief that despite the view that English associated with White people should not be spoken by Black people, it is sometimes preferred that Black people speak this variation.

2.6.1 The Myth about Language Variation as Identifiable by Race and Educational Background.

The myth revolving around race takes two points into account – accent and language. In terms of accent, it is believed to be an indicator of race. The myth suggests the radicalised labelling of accents and varieties of English, as well as people's expectations that one should be able to identify race from someone's accent and from the variety of English they speak. (This point is taken from the informants in McKinney's (2008) study). With regard to language, it is sometimes believed that the language people speak is suggested by the colour of their skin. For instance, in Ferreira and Mendelowitz's study (2009), a Black first-year university student, Zodwa, was trying to make friends and assumed that she would share a common language (isiZulu) with three other students she encountered. She was, however, mistaken as these three students could not speak isiZulu and spoke a variation of English that is typically associated with White people. In the twenty-first century, and especially in post-apartheid South Africa, accent, language and race are not necessarily linked.

The myth surrounding language being identifiable by educational background is as follows. A form of English is often associated with background (type of schooling and socialisation received). McKinney (2008) states that the learners in her study often associated WSAE with previously White schools in the suburbs, while BSAE is often associated with the township and township education. Her research shows that in some instances there is a clear separation of "us" (model C, or suburban school) and "them" (township school).

2.6.2 The Contradictory Belief that Black People Should not Speak “White” English, but that it Is Sometimes Preferred that They Do.

Black and coloured people are not expected to be proficient in English (Alim & Smitherman, 2012), as indicated by informants in Ferreira and Mendelowitz (2009). The theory of “enlightened exceptionalism” (Wise, 2009 in Alim & Smitherman, 2012) helps us to understand this. This theory suggests that Black people who are “exceptional” must be praised and celebrated. The word “exceptional” refers to a form of racism that allows for the celebration of people of colour because they are different from the less appealing “black or brown rule”, which stereotypes Black men as lazy, unintelligent and/or criminal (Alim & Smitherman, 2012). Alim and Smitherman’s (2012) study, based in America, shows that there is a social monitoring of language, in which White people and “other Americans” (the race of these “others” is not specified but they are assumed not to be Black) police language and Black language in the public sphere. Such policing provides insight into the intrinsic link between language and race. A seemingly harmless compliment, such as referring to someone, specifically a Black person, as “articulate” is seen by some as highly offensive. The word “articulate” is attached to English proficiency and accent, which is seemingly attached to whiteness. In light of the theory of enlightened exceptionalism, the “articulate label” is used to describe a Black person is seen as offensive because it indicates the belief that Black people are not capable of having articulate speech, in contrast to White people who are automatically assumed to be articulate. Calling a Black person articulate thus indicates that they are different from other Black people – they are exceptional.

As mentioned above, there is a notion that Black people cannot be articulate, and if they are they should be celebrated. However, there are times in which Black people who would not be seen as articulate try to negotiate their language and speak English to articulate speakers. Despite this effort, however, because they are not regarded as articulate, their efforts at negotiating are not appreciated nor are they celebrated. Rather, they are othered and, labelled as inadequate, as is the case with one of Ferreira and Mendelowitz’s (2009) participants.

In addition to what has been said, there is a prestige attached to WSAE. It is seen as “proper English”, and thus labelled as a superior variety. “White English” has been connected with snobbery and elite consumerism – the ability to consume or at least the desire to do so (informants in McKinney, 2008). It is at times considered more acceptable if Black people speak without a Black dialect and speaking in a middle class White manner – as far away from the speaking norms of Black people as possible (Alim & Sitherman, 2012). However, despite the prestige attached to White English, Black people who converse in WSAE are being labelled “coconuts” (as pointed out by participants in McKinney (2008) and in Ferreira & Mendelowitz, 2009). The term coconut refers to: “Black people who speak ‘like a white person’”, “Black people who speak English most of the time”, “Black people who choose to speak English rather than an African language (e.g. in a township or rural setting) or who are unable to speak an African language”, as well as “Black people who are considered to be ‘acting white’ or as ‘Black on the outside but white on the inside’” (McKinney, 2008, p. 17). This labelling places Whites and Blacks in homogenous categories and changes the prestige attached to WSAE.

People are not passive; they have a choice whether to accept their label or reject it. Urrieta (2007) and Holland et al. (1998) discuss what Holland et al. (1998) refer to as a “space of authoring” to describe people’s ability to make sense of themselves through internal dialogues. This is a helpful concept as when people are socially labelled by others they have the ability to decide whether to accept, reject or negotiate that position. People must make choices and respond to them. As recognised by Berndt (Urrieta, 2007), giving no response is also a type of answer.

If they accept it, they are subject to symbolic violence (Bourdieu in Kramsch, 2013, p. 42). The term “violence” is meant in a psychological sense to describe the personal distress experienced by people who are forced into positions they have not chosen. The theory of symbolic violence explains how symbolic power is used by those who have symbolic resources (capital) over those who do not have it. People subjected to symbolic violence are not passive recipients. Rather, when they accept their subjection

as natural and as a necessary way things should be, they are agreeing to their own subjection (Bourdieu, 1991; Kramsch, 2013).

2.7 Summary

In this chapter, I established the notion of identity that I worked with for this research – identity as non-unitary, and subject to change. I considered linguistic competence as being linked to society and the understanding of how people function in various communities. This was followed by a presentation of how linguistic identity is formed. In explaining this, I took three points into account. I considered that linguistic identity is formed through acquisition and learning, background factors and influence from the fields people interact with. In considering the negotiation of linguistic identity in various spaces, a discussion on one's ability to have a voice was then discussed. I considered voice as the ability to speak and defined it as follows. Firstly, I considered voice as constrained by the rules of institution but suggested that there are strategic ways one can negotiate a voice, despite these rules. Secondly, I considered voice as the right to speak and be heard between people in conversation. This notion offers an easier sense of agency than the first definition of voice. Here, the ability to have a voice depended on audience and one's ability to place oneself in a desired position. A discussion on voice was then followed by an explanation of linguistic identity negotiation, in which I explained that negotiation is not always easy and that at times strategies are needed to survive and advance within a field. In addition to this, I explained how exposure to certain fields and efforts to adapt to certain fields can lead to language loss, language gain and solidarity through connections to the home. Finally, I explored the links between race, identity and language. In so doing, I discussed two points. Firstly, I explored beliefs that race and educational background are identifiable by the language variation a person speaks. Secondly, I looked at the contradictory belief that Black people should not speak "White" English, but that it is sometimes preferred that they do.

The chapter that follows looks at the research design and methodology that I used for this study.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This research took place at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, where English is the only medium of instruction. Data collection was confined to those studying Education (BEd degree) and focused on two students who are studying towards becoming English teachers. This research draws from the Sociolinguistics module taken by first-year English students, in that it capitalises on the awareness of linguistic identity experiences that this module has provoked as well as uses a piece of work done by students for this module as one of my data sets. In doing this research, I intended to explore the linguistic identity shifts of two first-year undergraduate university students, for whom English is not a first language. I was interested in what first-year students are experiencing as their primary Discourses meet the Discourses at university, and how these experiences affect their lives within and outside of university. This project was conducted in the form of empirical research. It adopted a qualitative paradigm and employed a case study design. According to McMillan and Schumacher (2006, p. 315), qualitative research involves face-to-face interaction with participants in their setting. Data collection was taken from the university the students are attending (my research site). Data collection was in the form of analysing students' English examination scripts (personal reflections of their language experiences in the sociolinguistic section of the paper) as well as conducting one-on-one interviews with each participant separately. The analytical process I used was that of interim analysis, coding and categorising.

3.2 Research Site

As mentioned, this research was situated within a case study design. Through this, data analysis focused on one phenomenon (the linguistic identity experiences and shifts of first-year students) and allowed me to understand it in depth (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006). My research took place at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. Black African students make up more than 50% of the students who register each year. Wits is highly diverse; however, has chosen to employ English as the only medium of instruction. Data collection took place at the WSoE, Parktown.

Interviews were recorded on this campus and examination scripts were photocopied from originals that were collected from campus as well. The examination question paper can be found in Appendix 1 and the interview questions in Appendix 2.

In conducting case study research, I acknowledge that cases are not representative of all South African universities, thus, my results cannot and will not be generalised. However, there will be aspects of this study that will be applicable to universities with a student population similar to those in this research.

3.3 Curriculum

Examination scripts used as data were taken from the Sociolinguistics module offered to first-year education students studying English. The examination scripts were a production of the Sociolinguistics module and the interviews conducted drew from the awareness of linguistic identity experiences provoked by this module. The Sociolinguistics module began in 2005 at Wits University and has gone through many reworks since then. This module was developed with the acknowledgement that students enter university with different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, that often English is not their first language and that many students experience challenges when they enter an English setting (Dixon & Mendelowitz, forthcoming). According to Dixon and Mendelowitz (forthcoming) this module helps first-year students overcome linguistic and cultural boundaries between home, school and university. Through all versions of the Sociolinguistics course, unchanged factors include: the prioritising of linguistic diversity, the explicit importance of the personal, and the teaching of Sociolinguistics concepts with regard to critically reflexive narratives of lived experience. These experiences include those of the students and published authors (Dixon & Mendelowitz, forthcoming). The Sociolinguistics module at Wits aims to demonstrate how a linguistically diverse, subject English classroom can transform into a multilingual contact zone in which students' language histories and practices are introduced into the discussion. In this sense, language is perceived as valuable knowledge, worthy of sharing, and gives students the chance to negotiate their linguistic identities in numerous ways (Ferreira & Mendelowitz, 2009).

3.4 Methods of Qualitative Data Collection

3.4.1 Participants

The participants of this study were two ESL university students in their first year of study. These students were studying education (BEd degree) and majoring as English teachers.

3.4.2 Sampling

The method of sampling used for this project was a mixture of purposive and convenience sampling.

My research began with purposive sampling. Purposive sampling techniques involve selecting specific types of participants rather than choosing them randomly. Participants are deliberately selected because they hold important information that cannot be provided by other individuals (Teddlie & Yu, 2007). These participants supply the best information for the purpose of the research (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006).

My participants were selected on the grounds of common attributes, as outlined below.

This research focused on students for whom English is not their mother tongue (ESL students). “Mother tongue” is a term used to refer to the dominant language spoken in the student’s home. Individuals can usually speak their mother tongues fluently before starting school (Dornbrack, 2009 in Ferreira, 2009; Clarence-Fincham, Hart, Inglis & Jackson, 2002; Posel & Zeller, 2011). One’s mother tongue may include a combination of several languages that form a fully functioning and acknowledged hybrid language – for example, Kasi-taal, a hybrid language developed in South African townships (Makalela, 2013). The decision to focus on ESL students revolved around the belief that they are the most likely to experience linguistic identity challenges.

In addition, first-year undergraduate students were selected, because there is a need for universities to become more accommodating and aware of linguistic identity shifts and challenges among first-year students.

Furthermore, this study focused only on students majoring in English, because they have been taught about language and identity in their Sociolinguistics module. It is presumed that in this module they have become aware of their linguistic identities and have begun the process of negotiating and renegotiating these identities in class. This background helped them better identify important points for this research during interviews. Also, these students completed an examination question in the Sociolinguistics module, in which they reflected on some of their linguistic identities in writing. This formed the foundation of my data collection.

With this criterion in mind, I approached the first-year English students of 2014 at the end of a lecture, with permission from their lecturers. In this meeting I introduced and explained my study and data collection techniques. I also discussed the types of participants I was interested in studying and invited the first-year students to take part, while assuring them that data collection would take place at times convenient to them and informing them that they might end their participation at any point. This explanation was followed by the passing around of a table in which willing participants could provide me with their contact details. This table also supplied students with my details in case they had any questions or concerns about my research (Appendix 6).

Once permission to access students' examination scripts was granted, all scripts of willing participants (24 students) were read and examined. Eight students were then selected. As I wanted to represent a range of student linguistic identity experiences, which would resemble the population as close as possible, students were purposively chosen on the basis of those who had not experienced linguistic identity conflicts and had adapted to university with no difficulties, students who had experienced linguistic identity challenges but transitioned into university with minimal difficulties and students who focused on the conflicts they were facing with their linguistic identity.

Purposive sampling was then followed by convenience sampling. Convenience sampling involves participants being selected because they are accessible or because it is practical to study them (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006). Once the eight participants were chosen, they were contacted; however, only six students could be reached. Out of convenience, interviews with these six students were scheduled. However, one person

dropped out before an interview took place, and another student did not come to her interview and become impossible to reach. This left four participants. Two of the four students were then purposively selected, because I wanted to focus in depth on two of the four contrasting experiences.

A limitation of convenience sampling is that the generalisability of the findings is confined to the participants and the findings they produce. Caution is thus needed when generalising. However, the primary purpose of this study is not to generalise, but rather to understand a phenomenon – the experiences and shifts of linguistic identity among first-year students. In addition, the results of the study may be valid insofar as participants studied in other research are similar to participants as those included in this study. In addition, the more research done with convenience sampling on a similar topic to my research, the general credibility of the results will be enhanced (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006).

3.4.3 Data Collection

This project was conducted in the form of empirical research. It was a qualitative study and employed a case study design of a university in Gauteng. To ensure validity I used a number of data collection methods. This study made use of methodological triangulation, which refers to the use of more than one method of gathering data (Guion, 2002). Initial data was drawn from texts (that is, an essay written in the Sociolinguistics section of the first-year English June examination, 2014). This form of data collection is referred to as “document and artefact collection” (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006, p. 356). This collection of data was followed by individual interviews. The data collection steps involved in this study include the following.

As mentioned, the first set of data to be collected was that of document/artefact collection. This is a non-interactive strategy for obtaining qualitative data. The type of artefact collection this study used was that of “personal documents” (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006, p. 356). According to McMillan & Schumacher (2006), these are any first-person account narratives that describes a person’s actions, experiences and beliefs. For purposes of my study, the artefacts were those produced by students majoring as English teachers in an English course at the university. At the end of the

first semester (June, 2014), students were required to write an examination, which included a section on their Sociolinguistics module (Appendix 1). As part of the question in this section, students had to reflect on their own linguistic identity experiences as they analysed a previous students' full language biography, in which she discusses her experiences with language conflicts outside of university. Students' personal reflections formed the starting point for this research. These examination scripts were obtained from lecturers who taught the English course and after permission was gained from willing participants (initially, 24 students). This written form of data collection was selected because personal responses in these examination scripts provided a record of some evidence that students began negotiating their linguistic identities within their Sociolinguistics course and had become aware of some of their language experiences. This awareness and consciousness of linguistic identity experiences and (re)development propelled the interviews forward and led to interesting insights. Moreover, within their writing, students, generally, introduced their backgrounds, gave indications as to how their backgrounds had facilitated and/or constrained their adjustment to university, as well as discussed some of the losses, gains, negotiations and conflicts they have or are facing both within and outside of university. These important points speak to two of my four research questions.

Bezemer and Kress (2008), as well as Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) (in Kress, 2005) state that it is important to note that modes have potentials and limitations for meaning making. In spite of the affordances mentioned above, the use of an examination script as data has its limitations. Although it may be assumed that the written mode provides the opportunity for one to think clearly about what one writes, the fact that this piece of writing was written under stressful and timed exam conditions, has sometimes produced narratives that were limited in explanation/elaboration and at times led to data that was contradictory to what was said during interviews. Furthermore, sociolinguist Blommaert (2007), writes about the affordances and constraints of mode in relation to voice. In his book, *Grassroots literacy – writing, identity and voice in Central Africa*, he talks of a talented painter, Tshibumba, who wrote an account of his life history. Blommaert (2007) compares Tshibumba's writing to his paintings to illustrate the constraints of the mode of writing for Tshibumba. As with Tshibumba, some of my participants were

limited by the mode of writing. They were restricted by linguistic and academic literary code, organisational writing, as well as the fear of it being judged by their lecturers. The voice present in their exams sometimes reflected a rational and disciplined voice. This at times resulted in some of my participants being unclear. In comparison, their voice was often lively, well understood and insightful in their interviews.

As mentioned, the second data collection method I used was one-on-one interviews. Only six of the initial 24 students were interviewed. The responses in these examination scripts informed individual interviews, which took place in November 2014 and March 2015. The interviews kept in mind the personal identity experiences students recognised in their examination scripts. Drawing on the awareness of identity experiences and identity development the Sociolinguistics course attempted to spark within the students, the interviews attempted to build on what students said in their examination essays. Students were probed to identify further linguistic identity experiences they faced and were facing within and outside of university.

I made use of a semi-structured one-on-one interview. Predetermined questions were formulated prior to starting field work; that is, before looking at students' examination scripts (Greeff in de Vos, Strydom, Fouché & Delport, 2005 and McMillan & Schumacher, 2006). These interview questions were based on the broad research questions of this study. Once ethics clearance was granted to access the exam essays, data collection of examination scripts commenced and an analysis of examination scripts took place. From this analysis the predetermined interview questions were fine-tuned in relation to relevant themes that emerged in the examination scripts. This was followed by a pilot study to evaluate the potential of my interview questions. During the pilot sessions, notes were taken and the interview questions were revised. The final set of interview questions used for this research are given in Appendix 2. The individual interviews were digitally voice recorded and were transcribed by me. Participants were asked for permission to record their interviews (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006).

My research questions were designed to guide the interview. An interview guide instead of an interview schedule (fixed questions) was chosen, as it was predicted that during the interviews more questions would arise and others would be left out, depending on the responses of my participants (McMillan and Schumacher, 2006 and de Vos et al., 2005). During the interview, I found that additional probing and clarifying questions were asked and depending on the interviewee, some questions were avoided (Greeff in de Vos et al., 2005). Setting a number of versions of predetermined questions forced me to think explicitly about my research, my sequencing of questions and increased my awareness of difficulties I may have encountered during the interviews, such as question wording, ambiguous questions, inaccurate assumptions, probing about sensitive issues, ethical considerations and avoid giving offense (Greeff in de Vos et al., 2005).

I chose a spoken mode as my second form of data as I wanted to bring the participants to life. I wanted to free them from the constraints of the written mode of the exam and allow them the opportunity to tell their story – to expand on what they wrote and clarify particular points. Qualitative interviews allowed me to explore my participants' perspectives, through which their knowledge of their social world was revealed. This further enabled me to answer research questions that had not been addressed in the examination scripts. The challenge of interviews is that in representing participants' subjective view, I had to ensure I remained objective and described as well as represented their views as accurately as possible (Miller & Glassner in Silverman, 2006). However, accurate representation may be idealistic for two reasons. Firstly, the language of interviews has the potential to fracture stories being told in that, somewhat similar to examination scripts, responses from participants in interviews are limited and expressions cannot be endless. During my interviews, I did, however, provide my participants with as much time as they needed to talk, until they felt they had finished answering the question. This resulted in time-consuming interviews that at times lasted a little over two hours and led to an overwhelming amount of data to transcribe and analyse. The second aspect of interviewing that led to fracturing of data was the analytical process. Coding and categorisation further fractured the lived experiences of my participants (Miller & Glassner in Silverman, 2006). In other words, in the process of grouping data into categories, for the sake of analysis, the experiences of the students

were taken out of the order or the context in which they were discussed. In this way, a flowing conversation (like a completed puzzle) becomes somewhat scattered information (systematically grouped puzzle pieces, but scattered nonetheless). Therefore, the process of data coding and categorising may have taken some meaning away from the data. This makes accurate representation of the participants' experiences difficult.

Another limitation of interviews is that there is an effect of audience when interviewing. The interviewer and the type of person they are, in terms of social categories like age, race and occupation, has the potential to affect the interviewees' responses (Miller & Glassner in Silverman, 2006). All of my original participants are Black, some are from the working class and all have some degree of multilingual competence in English and African languages. The social category I fit under is that of a White, female, middle class researcher and student. My multilingual repertoire is limited to European tongues (English and Portuguese). Owing to this difference in background, I lack an understanding of their social worlds, for instance the rules of language in the social spaces they enter daily.

According to Miller and Glassner (Silverman, 2006), this lack of similarity can lead to two things. First is a lack of trust from the interviewee. I dealt with this limitation in the following way. Firstly, despite all my differences, I too am a student and seeing that I have studied my undergraduate, honours and masters one after the other, I am not much older than my participants. Age seemed to give my participants a sense of comfort and they spoke to me as if I was a fellow student. This capitalising of age and comradeship, however, required skill and developed as interviews progressed. I began by portraying myself as a professional, knowledgeable researcher of higher authority to that of my participants and used more formal language. However, I realised that this made my participants nervous to be interviewed. I then changed the manner in which I portrayed myself. I became more relaxed, down to earth and spoke to them as a fellow student, making small talk to relax them before the interview. During the interview I portrayed myself as a willing, interested listener who, unlike many people in their lives, was not going to judge their linguistic identities. I changed from portraying myself as

the expert to placing the students as the expert of their experiences. This ensured trust and resulted in long flowing responses. This process was crucial as I lacked time to build a repertoire in order to ensure trust (as suggested by Miller & Glassner in Silverman, 2006). The second danger of having a lack of similarity in background is that there is sometimes a lack of understanding of questions. This limitation was dealt with my rephrasing questions and leaving questions only to return to them at the end of the interview. This resulted in fruitful responses.

3.5 Validity

To ensure validity more than one data collection method was used. Methodical triangulation is a means of checking the legitimacy in the inferences one draws from numerous data collection methods (Wargo, 2013). When dealing with identity construction, it is crucial to look at different accounts of identity and at different times. In this research I considered written versions of linguistic identity in June 2014 (examination essay) and spoken versions of linguistic identity in November 2014 and March 2015 (interviews). This ensures validity, as students were not fixed to one account. In addition, collecting data from the middle of the year, at the end of the year and at the beginning of the following year, enabled me to truly examine the linguistic identity shifts university had caused in the space of a year.

3.6 Data Analysis

Data analysis made use of interim analysis, coding and categorising.

When analysing students' examination scripts, coding and categorising was used. Eight of the chosen students' examination essays were analysed. In terms of categorising, data from the examination scripts was categorised according to the broad research questions of this study as well as the different groupings of data which emerged from the examination scripts (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006). Initially, I wanted to use my four (sub)research questions as fixed codes. The codes would then have been as follows:

Codes	Sub-question number	Sub-question
Background factors that facilitated adjustment to university	1	How have students' backgrounds facilitated or constrained their adjustment to university?
Background factors that constrained adjustment to university		
Losses	2	What sort of losses, gains, negotiations or conflicts do students experience through the process of developing their linguistic identities within and outside of university?
Gains		
Negotiations		
Conflicts		
Identity shifts and their impact on students' lives outside of university	3 & 4	If students are experiencing shifts in their linguistic identities as a result of their exposure to English and university Discourses, have these shifts impacted their lives outside of university?

		• If students are experiencing shifts in their identities, how do they feel about these shifts?
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These predetermined codes proved difficult when I examined my data as I discovered that owing to the complexity and multiplicity of identity (Bourdieu in Thomson, 2008; Gee, 1990; Norton Peirce, 1995,1997,2000; Weedon, 1987), it made more sense to have two main categories, namely, “background factors that facilitated adjustment to university” and “background factors that constrained adjustment to university”. Although it may seem that most of my research questions are unanswered, my choice to use sub-question one as two general categories was because I realised that there is an overlap between constraining factors and facilitating factors in that my data shows that what is an enabling factor in one field is a disabling factor in another field. In addition, I also realised that I could not include separate categories for losses, gains, negotiations, conflicts and linguistic identity shifts because these are interwoven with facilitating and constraining background factors. My data showed that losses, gains, negotiations, conflicts and linguistic identity shifts occurred in response to enabling and disabling factors. In addition to my attempts to create categories which ensured my research questions were covered, I also took note of what the data revealed to create subcategories. Subcategories, which fell under “background factors that constrained adjustment to university” and “background factors that facilitated adjustment to university”, depended on each student’s experiences. The table that follows presents the subcategories of each main category:

Main Categories of Analysis	Subcategories of Analysis
Background factors that constrain adjustment to university	Name as a constraining factor – the struggle of negotiating a name
	Cultural constraints
	Linguistic constraints
Background factors that facilitated adjustment to university	Cultural factors that facilitated the adjustment/adaptation to university
	Linguistic factors that facilitated the adjustment/adaptation to university

Thus, as mentioned, it can be seen that my categories for analysis emerged from my research questions as well as from what my data revealed to me.

The above decision about categories of analysis came about when I followed the coding steps suggested in McMillan and Schumacher (2006), which are as follows. With potential categories in mind, I began by rereading all the data from the examination scripts and labelled various sections of them with possible categories for analysis. I then grouped all the similar codes and developed sets of broad codes that consisted of various sub-codes/categories. Through this came the decision to use students' backgrounds as broad categories, along with the realisation that my separate research questions could not be separately analysed and this influenced the choice regarding the use of subcategories that explored linguistic, cultural and naming issues.

Data from the students' examination scripts was then analysed according to the mentioned categories and subcategories. Furthermore, these codes and sub-codes informed the interviews in two ways. Firstly, they were used to formulate questions for one-on-one interviews (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006). Secondly, they provided data which questions for individual interviews were built on.

When interviews were in progress the analytical process that was adopted was interim analysis. Interviews were recorded after students gave their permission both verbally and by means of signing their consent forms. This process took place just before the interview took place. Interview summaries were written soon after each interview took place (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006). Recorded data was transcribed by me. Transcribing my own data was both a limitation and an advantage. It was an advantage because it created a build-up of knowledge and understanding of the data, as well as encouraging ideas of possible ways in which the data could be analysed. Transcribing was a disadvantage as it was time consuming because the amount of data produced by my six participants was substantial. Time transcribing took away much needed time for analysing data. Owing to this, only two students were analysed for this project. Once interview transcripts and summaries had been completed, data from two students was categorised and coded in relation to the already coded data from students' examination scripts as well as in relation to the interview questions. Data which was discussed in the interviews revealed information that was easily slotted into the existing categories and subcategories mentioned. Information discussed in the interview transcripts was easily integrated into the existing exam analysis because the data either repeated information discussed in their examination scripts, filled in the gaps in issues discussed in the exam (students were able to elaborate on their experiences, making analysis more detailed and focused, as well as increasing information accuracy) or data introduced new areas of discussion. In instances where interviews resulted in new information, this fell under existing categories and subcategories. However, what changed was that under subcategories additional issues were discussed. For instance, issues that arose from interviews that were not explored in the examination scripts were experiences that students had during Teaching Experiences (TE) (a time when student teachers visit schools and practise teaching). These experiences were then, for example, added to the category "background factors that constrained adjustment to university" and then analysed as one of the issues discussed under the subcategory "linguistic constraints". Analysing pre-written data before formulating interview questions and speaking to participants was thus very helpful in the process of coding a second set of data.

Coded data from examination scripts, complete analyses of examination scripts and interviews were then used to formulate the final research report (analysis, findings and conclusion sections).

3.7 Limitations of the Study

In discussing limitations, I consider methodical limitations and the limitations of the researcher (Brutus, Aguinis & Wassmer, 2013).

With regard to methodological limitations, there were limitations in my sample size as well as in my lack of available data. In terms of the limitations of sample size, this was due to constraints of this research project and the overwhelming amount of data generated by each participant. This research only discussed two participants. This sample is clearly too small to represent the linguistic identity experiences of the entire population of first-year ESL students. Therefore, this research cannot be generalised. However, I hope this research can provide insight into some of the linguistic identity experiences faced by first-year ESL students. Such information is useful to university educators (and definitely me, as an aspiring university educator), in that it may help them think about whether they should be doing something in their practice to accommodate the linguistic identity challenges faced by these types of students, assist them to negotiate various linguistic identities and facilitate these kinds of students' adjustment to university.

In terms of the limitations I experienced with availability of data, limited access to detailed data was experienced in the process of interviewing. As can be seen in the analysis chapters, one participant is discussed in more detail than the other. This was because one student was talkative and was eager to share her experiences. Her interview session went far over the required time. The other student, however, was more reserved. He had a quiet personality and was not as open as the other student. In addition to this, he did not always answer the questions asked to him in a focused way. At times he was difficult to interview and it took much probing and rephrasing of questions to elicit adequate responses. Hence the data chapters are uneven. When doing research again, I hope to extend the process of data collection so that I may avoid participants' tendencies to be reserved in the sharing of their lives. While in the process of researching literature

and confirming the design of my research, I hope to begin building a rapport with the participants prior to data collection, so that I may slowly gain their trust. Appearing as an interested friend may help reserved participants to open up.

With regard to the limitations of the researcher, there may be shortcomings in scope, limiting a neutral analysis and access. In terms of scope this research lacked in longitudinal effects. The constraint of the research to be completed in just a year-and-a-half did not allow me adequate time to investigate the development of linguistic identity across several years of study. However, this research is a baseline from which further research can be conducted.

In relation to ensuring a neutral analysis, individuals' identity is best understood by the person to whom the identity belongs. It was thus difficult as a researcher to ensure that my analysis of others' linguistic identities was accurately and neutrally represented. I attempted to address this limitation by informing my participants that my analysis and interpretation of their linguistic identities and experiences were available for them to read; however, neither of my participants made this request.

In terms of access, this served as a limitation because it contributed to the lack of depth in which one participant was explored in the analysis section of this report. As mentioned, one student was more difficult to interview and gave limited responses. Owing to the uneven amount of data that I had between the two students involved in this study, I attempted to contact the more reserved of the two students. Despite my many efforts, I was never able to get hold of this student.

3.8 Ethics

Formal authorisation is vital for research ethics and entering the research field, thus, as suggested by McMillan and Schumacher (2006) as well as Strydom (in de Vos et al., 2005), I gained permission to conduct my research by emailing a letter requesting permission to conduct research at the university accompanied by a consent form to the relevant authorities of the university, that is, the Head of School (Appendix 3) as well as the English Education lecturers of the university who taught the Sociolinguistics module (Appendix 4). These letters introduced me as a researcher from the University of the

Witwatersrand, specified the intent of my research, identified the intended participants, stated that the participants' identity would remain confidential, indicated the research strategies I intended to use and finally asked for permission to conduct this study (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006; Van der Burgh, 1988 and Kirk, 1999 as cited by Strydom in de Vos et al., 2005; Bagus, 2011).

According to the ethical standards of research for the University of the Witwatersrand, I ensured voluntary participation of my participants and gained their consent to involve them in this research by providing them with an information sheet accompanied by a consent form (Appendix 5). The information sheet explained the intent of the study and the participants' rights within it. It notified participants that participation could be terminated at any point during the research, promised that no-one would be harmed (physically, emotionally, psychologically) during this research, and ensured raw data obtained from the participants during the research would be kept confidential and would be destroyed between three to five years after the completion of the project (Bagus, 2011). With regard to the interviews that were conducted, the information sheet assured that a convenient time would be scheduled for the participants and the answering of all questions would not be mandatory (Greeff in de Vos et al., 2005). I further informed the participants and chosen university in their respective letters that the final project is accessible on request (Bagus, 2011). In relation to the consent form, this form merely established the participants' understanding of the research, their rights within it and specified the terms of their involvement (for example, whether they would allow being digitally recorded or not).

Furthermore, I ensured I treated the university's authority figures, staff members and students with genuine respect, in a warm, professional manner. This ensured that trust was gained, provided easier access to information and increased information accuracy (Strydom in de Vos et al., 2005).

3.9 Summary

In this chapter, I began with an introduction of the research site, as well as an explanation of the Sociolinguistics module and its relevance to my study. I then discussed the methods of qualitative data collection. This included a presentation of my

participants, sampling techniques and data collection methods. This was followed by an indication of the validity of my research. I discussed how I analysed my data and indicated the limitations of my research as a whole. I ended this chapter by showing how my study adhered to the standards of research ethics. The next two chapters present an analysis of my data.

CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS: “THE GHETTO GODDESS OF KNOWLEDGE”

4.1 Introduction

In the next two chapters I explore what kinds of identity experiences two first-year ESL university students faced as they attempted to negotiate their linguistic identity experiences within the Sociolinguistics module and beyond. This chapter focuses on the first student, Dianne, whereas the next chapter (Chapter 5) explores the second participant, Muzikayise. While investigating the identity experiences of Dianne and Muzikayise, I considered the following sub-questions:

- How have students’ backgrounds facilitated or constrained their adjustment to university?
- What sort of losses, gains, negotiations or conflicts do students experience through the process of developing their linguistic identities within and outside of university?
- If students are experiencing shifts in their linguistic identities as a result of their exposure to English and university Discourse, have these shifts impacted their lives outside of university?
- If students are experiencing shifts in their identities, how do they feel about these shifts?

These sub-questions are addressed in the themes of both analysis chapters. Two major themes are presented in this chapter. These include: “background factors that facilitated adjustment to university” and “background factors that constrained adjustment to university”. These themes are, however, artificial categorisations. As identity is multiple and complex (Bourdieu in Thomson, 2008; Gee, 1990; Norton Peirce, 1995, 1997, 2000; Weedon, 1987), I discovered that there was at times an overlap between constraining and facilitating factors. What were sometimes considered as facilitating factors in one field, were constraining factors in another field. Although by looking at the above research questions it may seem that only the first question is answered with the themes selected, there was, however, an overlap of the research questions. An

exploration of constraining and facilitating factors could not be separated from issues of the losses, gains, negotiations, conflicts and linguistic identity shifts that occurred in response to the enabling and disabling background factors faced by Dianne.

Prior to the examination of the mentioned themes, a short introduction of each in their relevant chapter is given. Data analysed for both analysis chapters were retrieved from student's Sociolinguistics examination scripts (E.S.) as well as from one-on-one interviews (I) with both participants.

As mentioned, this chapter is dedicated to exploring the kinds of linguistic identity experiences Dianne encountered as she attempted to adapt to the many social sites of the University of the Witwatersrand during her first year of study. Dianne is a bright young woman full of life who in her words, "love[s] to talk". In comparing Dianne's examination essay to her interview transcript, it is evident that in the short time between her written examination (June 2014) and her interview with me (November 2014) she experienced numerous shifts in the way she negotiated her linguistic identity as she attempted to become comfortable and confident with the person she wants to be perceived as. This analysis considered the background factors that were both constraining and facilitating in her adjustment to university. I thus start off by considering Dianne's background and community life prior to university, which she explained in the form of her examination essay. I will then move on to explore the linguistic identity experiences she had at university as well as the effects her experiences had on her home environment.

Below is Dianne's explanation of her background, which has been quoted directly from her examination script, written in June 2014. Please note that Dianne's grammatical errors were not changed:

In my own language experience ... I had an identity crisis. I realised from a young age that my language played a huge role on how I identified myself. My father is Xhosa and my mother is Tswana. I grown up my whole life speaking Setswana and the irony to this is I have a Xhosa name and I can't even speak the language and I struggled for years to spell my name correctly.

I don't feel that I am Xhosa or I belong to the Xhosa culture, because I cannot speak the language, my father has always spoken to me in Tswana and switches to Xhosa when speaking to others. Many people especially Xhosa speakers feel that I am a traitor to the Xhosa nation and I have lost my roots and I don't know how I am.

I think they are wrong, saying that I am Xhosa, I would be lying to myself. In fact I am also being rebuked on my ability to speak English well and being friends with the so called "coconuts". Attaching myself to the "coconuts" has resulted in people assuming that I am running away from my African identity and culture. Growing up in a township and being educated in a township school people are amazed by my ability to speak English as they expect me to speak broken English. Both my parents have always valued the English language and encourage me to read at a young age. for example I would say to my [father] "I am very very hungry" [he] would correct me and say I would rather just say am starving and yes I spoke alot of English with my parents even though I was Black.

There was one incident in particular that lead me to discover something interesting. I went to the hair salon with a friend and she went to a Model C school, but I was attending school in the township. We were sitting chatting by the window and the guy who worked the noticed us and noticed that we were speaking English. He started rebuking us and he was very much focused on me. He said why do we choose to speak English in a township because they are no White people.

He said that I was a traitor to the township school as he coined be the "wanna be coconut". He meant that I wanted to be like my coconut friends that is why are only speaking English and I wasn't being true to myself. like Candice [(a person in the examination case study)] and many other young South Africans and myself. The language we speak give rises to multiple identities of which

were have to pave our way through them and create our own identities. I always felt that my race and ethnic should not form part of my identity but I was wrong I now realise that weather we like it or not race plays a role in ones identity and so are the languages we speak. Identity is aka shaped by the languages we speak and I am slowly unlocking my mixed identity through language, discovering and creating myself as a young bilingual South African.

As explained by Dianne in her examination script, Dianne attended a rural school. She has a Xhosa father and a Tswana mother. She is proficient in English and Tswana. She describes conflict in her language identity, which she refers to as “an identity crisis” This crisis was experienced prior to attending the Sociolinguistics course. In her examination script she focuses her experience on the field of the community. The linguistic identity conflicts she experienced were a result of conflict between her African mother tongue and English, as well as between her “birth languages”, which are both African languages, as indicated above. Both types of conflict seem to have arisen owing to the fact that many of Dianne’s community members are neither flexible nor adaptive in their conception of linguistic identity. These community members seem to be trying to impose a fixed identity onto Dianne – an identity that is attached to her race, ethnicity, culture and languages of birth. In contrast, Dianne’s parents, especially her father, are flexible people, who seem to embrace multiculturalism and multilingualism. They guide her to embrace English and her mother’s language (Tswana), and are not disturbed by her disregard of Xhosa, but rather, perhaps unconsciously, seem to promote it. Differences between her immediate family and community as to what is linguistically acceptable in terms of identity portrayal, seems to have led to Dianne’s “language crisis”.

With this background in mind, I considered its effects on Dianne’s adjustment to university in the themes “background factors that facilitated adjustment to university” and “background factors that constrained adjustment to university”.

4.2 Background Factors that Constrained Adjustment to University

Dianne’s constraints can be grouped into three categories, namely those having to do with her name, culture and language.

4.2.1 Name as a Constraining Factor – The Struggle of Negotiating a Name

Perhaps one of the most significant identity markers Dianne seemed to derive from at university in her first year was her name – the fight for a name that she identifies with and describes how she views herself. As has already been suggested in her examination essay, Dianne does not identify with her Xhosa half in which the origins of her Xhosa name, Nomthandazo, are rooted. Instead, she prefers to be called “Dianne”, the root of which she explains in the following interaction between the researcher (me) and herself:

Interviewer: *The name Dianne, did you come up with that or...?*

Dianne: *No, my mother gave it to me because she loved this woman on television. She was a TV presenter so she wanted me to be like her. She loved her personality, her everything, so she was like, “no, I want my daughter to be like that!” and then she named me after her. So that’s why I got the name.*

(I, November 2014)

Dianne’s preference for this name arises from three reasons. Firstly, her Xhosa name is very long and people – including herself, struggle to pronounce it, as is evident in this quote from her interview:

I came with my issues here ’cause my dad is Xhosa, my mother is Tswana and I have this very long name that I cannot pronounce –I took years to spell it correctly! (laughs).

(1 November 2014)

Secondly, she does not connect with her Xhosa name, the Xhosa language as well as the Xhosa culture, as can be seen in the extract below:

I have issues with my name (laughs) let me just be honest, ’cause I also felt it didn’t identify with who I was and then I don’t want to introduce myself to people with a name that I do not connect with, ’cause people will be asking me: “you a Tswana, why you have Xhosa name?” And I’m like, “my dad is Xhosa”. “But you don’t speak Xhosa!” “Ya, I don’t, I know right. My dad doesn’t speak

Xhosa with me, even his paternal family - my other family, they don't speak with me in Xhosa. They switch, so I cannot learn the language if they don't expose me to the language." And other people sort of like blame me that, "you don't know the language, you not African enough".

(I, November 2014)

Thirdly, by avoiding the use of a Xhosa name she in turn avoids people's probing of her identity – an identity that she does not fully associate with. More specifically, by introducing herself to people as Dianne, she steers clear of people questioning her why a seemingly Tswana girl has a Xhosa name, why she cannot speak Xhosa if she is in fact half Xhosa and avoids people's prejudice that she is not African enough. This can be seen in the extract above. As explained by Dianne, the use of her "English name" and her avoidance of people finding out her Xhosa name in the field of her tutorial class, allows her to proceed with university work in tutorial groups without her identity being the "main attraction". People assume that she is a "Tswana girl" and in her words, she feels like she is a "pure Tswana girl". Dianne's explanation of her avoidance of people probing her identity, is seen in the quote from her interview below. The term "field" in this chapter (and the next) is used in the Bourdieurian (Thomson, 2008) sense, as a description of a social site governed by rules and which is characterised by conflict. As can already be seen, the fields that Dianne encounters at university (social field and the field of the tutorial classroom) are abundant in conflict revolving around her expected linguistic identity.

In my tutorial groups I never really use the name (laugh), because I don't wanna create conflict. So, I just introduce myself as Dianne, because I don't wanna create conflicts with people asking me questions and I just want everything to flow smoothly. So, when I just introduce myself with my English name, they don't ask questions, they don't want anything, whatever language I speak. But, once I start introducing the Xhosa name people ask questions and it sometimes it irritates the hell out of me when they ask questions. But now... so, in my tutorial groups, no, they think they didn't know I was Xhosa. Nobody knew. They thought I was a Tswana girl. So ya, life was just simple (laughs).

(I, November 2014)

It is evident by Dianne's use of the words, "blames", "not African enough", "questions", "conflicts", "irritates", "want everything to flow smoothly", that there is an inescapable policing of Black linguistic identity among her peers at university, which probably stems from heavy policing in the broader context of the community of her peers. Dianne's peers monitor her language use and lack thereof. Owing to her lack of Xhosa knowledge, they blame her for not knowing the language and thus, "blame" her for not being "African enough". The constant questioning of her identity "irritates the hell" out of her. Her desire for "everything to flow smoothly" and her desperation not to create "conflict" with her peers, leads her to avoid using a name that portrays her "false" identity. This allows her to portray an identity to which she seems loyal – she can introduce herself as a "pure Tswana girl" and be accepted as such. Through this, she blesses herself with a "life that was simple" (I, November 2014).

Dianne's lack of connection to her Xhosa roots is a constant issue in her life, and thus her need to put an end to conflict and questioning that has been life-long, especially as she enters a new environment, is understandable. Before arriving at university Dianne experiences what she calls an "identity crisis" (E.S., June 2014) in her home community because of her disregard of her Xhosa identity, language and culture. She explains in her examination script that people, in her community, specifically those of Xhosa lineage, feel that she is "a traitor to the Xhosa nation", that she does not know where she comes from nor does she know who she is.

Dianne's use of the word "traitor" is a powerful image that gives the impression that she has committed a terrible and unforgivable crime – a crime of ultimate betrayal and disloyalty to her "heritage" as well as to those whom belong to "her" speech community. The word "traitor" has negative connotations of someone who cannot be trusted, and by extension, suggests that she is an outsider in her community when it comes to members of society that label her as such. Her "disloyalty", however, is not her fault as those at university suggest. Rather, it has been encouraged by her family members as well as by her immediate environment. It can be said that Dianne's primary Discourse (Gee, 1990, 1996, 1998) included an encouragement for her to take on more

of her Tswana culture and language than that of her Xhosa side. This encouragement seems fuelled by two factors. Firstly, her Xhosa father and her paternal family never exposed her to the language and thus she did not get the opportunity to learn it. Secondly, Dianne grew up in a predominately Tswana community. These factors have contributed to her not feeling connected to the Xhosa culture and her feeling that she is a “pure Tswana girl”(I, November 2014). The Discourses of her home environment encouraged and were accepting of this focus of her Tswana identity. However, when people grow up they are exposed to other social spaces run by new Discourses that are at times different to those they were first exposed to (Gee, 1990). Thus, as Dianne grows up and is exposed to her community, she finds that many of her community members, specifically those of Xhosa heritage, are not accepting of the fact that she does not speak her father’s tongue. A conflict in Discourse occurs. In the township community, home to mostly Black inhabitants, there seems to be a belief that because townships are Black areas, one’s Black mother tongue should be embraced and never forgotten. This could be due to the history of apartheid which, not only kept Blacks and Whites apart from one another but also tried to keep different cultural groups separate from one another. This belief among many of the inhabitants in the community described by Dianne could be described as essentialist views of identity, in that it suggests one’s identity is and should be fixed at birth (Parmegiani, 2009).

As has been explained in the literature review of this study, Discourse (Gee, 1990, 1996, 1998) has striking similarities to habitus (Bourdieu in Kramsch, 2008; Bourdieu in Maton, 2008), in that they both explain the dispositions that enable people to become part of a particular type of society (ways of thinking which are evident in people’s actions, thinking, feeling and speaking). In this case the habitus of critical members of Dianne’s society include a disposition that results in the arguments they make that she should speak and embrace her Xhosa side. People’s habitus is transposable from one social world to another (Bourdieu in Kramsch, 2008; Bourdieu in Maton, 2008), thus, as some of the other first-years coming from various social worlds in the township enter a new social world, the university, they exhibit the same beliefs as those who were critical of Dianne’s disregard of her Xhosa. The identity struggles Dianne faces in her

community between her two “birth-right identities” are thus ever present in the social worlds she participates in at the university.

Transitioning into university, meant that Dianne had an opportunity to recreate herself and reinforce her stance: “I think they are wrong, saying that I am Xhosa, I would be lying to myself”(E.S, June 2014). Her experience of her internal struggle transitioning into university and her efforts to reinforce her identity is seen in the following extract:

It was kind of like a lot of things happening that identity that I have at home coming here as well. I had to like fight the demons that I'm like half Xhosa, half Tswana in a Tswana community with this very long name. And coming here at Wits I have to rebuild my identity again. So ya, it was quite difficult in the beginning but I got the hang of it (laughs).

In the above extract Dianne compares the process of triumphing over her linguistic “crisis” to fighting demons. The metaphor of demons conjures up images of something strong, that brings only pain and sorrow, as well as something that is extremely difficult to get rid of. Through the imagery of being plagued by demons, Dianne vividly describes how her multiple identity was like being cursed with an overbearing demon that imposed on her something unwanted. Just as a demon is an unwanted creature, Dianne does not want to be plagued with the traitorous identity some people impose on her, she does not want the persecution and the burden of the questions and labels that her multiple identity invites. In the new environment of the university she “rebuilds” herself trying to rid herself of the burden of her demons. According to Dianne in the extract above, she eventually “gets the hang of it” – she slays her demons by portraying herself with an identity she feels she associates with and wishes others to perceive her as – a Tswana girl.

In rebuilding her identity, she does two things – gains confidence to confront those who criticise her lack of investment in her Xhosa language and avoids introducing herself to people with her Xhosa name. The latter has already been shown in an earlier extract from Dianne’s interview. Evidence of Dianne confronting those who question her identity and her reaffirming attitude is seen in the quotes below:

Dianne: *I think this year I've grown a lot. At the beginning it used to [bother me] but now I have my own culture, my own life. OK, I speak Tswana, my dad speaks Tswana with me and his family and everyone else. I grew up in a Tswana community. I do have a Xhosa name although I do not connect with it. I cannot run away from the fact that I do have Xhosa roots but then I, I do not, I don't feel Xhosa in any way (laughs). And if people want to judge me for it then its fine, but that's how I feel. I feel like I'm a pure Tswana girl even though my father is Xhosa. I do not know the cultures of Xhosa people and whatever. I do not even know how to do the clicks.*

Interviewer: *Would you say that your Sociolinguistics course made you feel more comfortable?*

Dianne: *Yes. It made me realise that the culture that you live in and that you grow up in, that's your own culture. You have to learn to embrace it. You might have -we live in a versatile society, we are very diverse, it's normal, it's OK. So, when people are like, "how! You have a Xhosa name but you speak Tswana?" I'm like, "ya, this is South Africa, there are like 11 official languages, we have different people so the chances of me marrying a Venda guy are like 80 to 100s, just make peace with it. That's me. That's how I am. I'm a rainbow child. Stop asking me questions." You know, now I'm very confident when answering people. I just show them the reality that this is not like a miracle. It's bound to happen so, I'm just happy with myself now more than I was like last year or two years ago or (laughs) - at the beginning of the year! Now I'm more confident. I'm very confident with myself (laughs). I don't care anymore.*

(I, November 2014)

This is evidence that Dianne is challenging her position in the field, particularly in relation to language and identity. In doing my research, I worked with the idea that language is where our subjectivity (our sense of who we are) is created. Language is where one shows one's social positions and where one challenges one's social position to portray –or at least work towards – establishing a different social position. These

choices to use language to show one's actual position or a future-orientated position, possible position, have certain consequences (Weedon, 1987). This is evident with Dianne's data. Through language, Dianne is creating and establishing her sense of self. She refuses to let the opinions of others lead further into an "identity crisis". She chooses to ignore her audience (Elbow, 1987) and to reject the labels people place on her (Holland et al., 1998; Holland et al. in Urrieta, 2007). She rejects labels such as, "not African enough", "traitor to the Xhosa nation", "lost my roots" and "I don't know how I am"(E.S. June 2014). She challenges the identity people place on her and the lesser position people put her in as someone who is not "truly African". As can be seen in the extract above, Dianne strongly challenges the linguistic persecution she has faced, head-on. As can be seen by the underlined words in the above extract, Dianne begins by pointing out the hybridity of South Africa as a whole as well as her hybridity.

In acknowledging her hybrid identity as a "rainbow child" and her lack of connection to her Xhosa side, Dianne confronts the persecution her hybrid identity has provoked. Dianne then goes a step further, provoking those who have not "made peace" with her identity by not only acknowledging her identity but by suggesting that she may become even more hybrid by marrying someone from Venda lineage. Dianne's mention of Venda seems strategic, as it is one of the most marginalised linguistic groups in South Africa. This implies that she expects the prejudice surrounding her linguistic identity to heighten if this decision is to be made, and she strongly and confidently urges people to "make peace with" who she is and how she wishes to live her life. This shows her developing and unwavering strength in her linguistic identity. She refuses to be subject to anymore criticism. She is sure of her identity and wants everyone to get on board:

That's me. That's how I am. I'm a rainbow child. Stop asking questions.

I'm just happy with myself now more than I was like last year or two years ago or (laughs) - at the beginning of the year! Now I'm more confident. I'm very confident with myself (laughs). I don't care anymore.

(I, November 2014)

Dianne's repetition of the words, "me" and "I am" and "I'm" in the first of the two quotes above reinforces her assertiveness in her hybrid identity. The image of a rainbow child is an interesting one to consider. Archbishop Desmond Tutu coined the phrase "the rainbow nation" in post-apartheid South Africa. He was the chairperson of the Truth and Reconciliation Committee, and is associated the process of reconciliation and nation building in South Africa. The metaphor of South Africa as a rainbow nation may be interpreted in three ways. Firstly, it can be said to describe the diversity in South Africa. Secondly, as Tutu is a cleric, his image is believed to be painted by the story in the Old Testament where a rainbow appears after a great flood, symbolising God's promise not to pass further judgment on humankind. It is possible that this signifies another chance to build a nation after the wickedness of apartheid was removed from South Africa. Thirdly, the image of a "rainbow nation" is thought to echo symbolism of the rainbow in South African indigenous cultures. For example, in Xhosa cosmology the rainbow stands for hope and the promise of a bright future. The "rainbow nation" metaphor both informs and reinforces the vision of nation building (Baines, 1998). It can thus be said that Dianne's assertion that she is a rainbow child is referring to three things. Firstly, she is pointing out her diversity in an undeniably diverse country and world. Secondly, she is asking (or rather demanding) that others not judge her. Thirdly, with this new-found confidence in who she is as well the happiness that comes with this, she seems to suggest that she is hopeful for a bright future, free of a linguistic crisis. Despite Dianne's lack of connection to her Xhosa lineage, her data interestingly fits the Xhosa analogy of the image of a rainbow.

Through language – introducing herself with a name that is not Xhosa and by confronting people who criticise her, Dianne is working towards positioning herself with a different identity. This choice has two consequences which are social. Firstly, by avoiding the use of her Xhosa name, people assume she is a "pure Tswana girl" (I, November 2014), matching her description of herself. With this "easy to understand identity" she is able to get on with her work in tutorial groups. Secondly, by confronting people who find out about her Xhosa side and question it, with confidence, she is challenging notions of essentialist thinking of identity (Parmegiani, 2009). It is evident that there is a shift in Dianne's linguistic identity. She is more confident about who she

is and who she is not. There is no question that she is reacting in a more assertive way, and therefore asserting her “rainbow” (I, November 2014) identity.

4.2.2 Cultural Constraints

In addition to constraints with her name, as mentioned, Dianne experiences cultural constraints as she attempts to adapt to university. Conflicts between her primary and secondary Discourse occur in the academic field of the different classrooms (lectures and tutorials) she inhabits at university. Dianne experiences difficulty calling her lecturers and tutors by their names – a common practice of the macro-field of the university. As can be seen in the quotes from her interview, below, it is custom in Dianne’s culture to refer to elders as “mama” or “sister” or “Sir” as a sign of respect. Dianne discovers that some university educators understand this cultural constraint; however, there are those who do not. Those who do not, do not appreciate being referred to by their title, for example, by “Sir”.

Dianne: The only issue that I had was with older people that I have to call by name. It was quite difficult 'cause I can't do that (laughs), because we have to call an older person “mama” or “sister” or something when we are showing respect. And then we come here and they're like, “you have to call me by name” and you can see this person has grey hairs. We don't do that where I come from. As much as people say we have lost our culture, we don't do that. So, it was quite difficult, because I remember even now, I still find it difficult with my latest tutor. I called him “Sir” because I couldn't call him by name – I couldn't! I just couldn't! I called him by name when I was with my friends, but with him face to face it was like a different story, be like, I'm sorry “Sir” and he was like, “don't call me sir”. But I can't call you by your name. I can't! (laughs)

Interviewer: Did you explain this to the..?

Dianne: YEEESS!! He understands it though. Some do understand it. They will tell us, “we understand that there are some of you that just can't call us by our names, can't look at us in the eye.” At the beginning of the year they just

straighten out these things first, and like, “we understand”. So OK, at least they know, but others, they just don’t like it. They just want us to call them by name.

(I, November 2014)

Bourdieu’s theory of habitus (Kramsch, 2008; Maton, 2008) helps in understanding the constraints this naming practice causes Dianne and why it is so difficult for her to adapt to these new ways of addressing elders as well as authority figures. Bourdieu’s theory of field (Thomson, 2008) also helps to explain the dynamics between Dianne and her educators. As has been mentioned in the literature review (Chapter 2), fields are governed by rules which those entering the field must adhere to in order to “play the game”. Fields are also structured hierarchically; thus there are people in power with their own set of beliefs that decide how the field functions – its rules. In the field of the classroom, university lecturers and tutors are at the top of the hierarchical pyramid. For some educators, the rule for addressing them consists of calling them by their name.

Social agents within a field know how to behave in fields and the rules of the field seem natural to them (Bourdieu in Thomson, 2008). This may explain why some educators insist on students calling them by their name. These educators are both unaware of the habitus of their students and are so consumed with the norms of a familiar field that they are insensitive to the different rules in different fields. In contrast to these educators, other educators are more flexible and have an understanding, awareness as well as tolerance for students whose habitus clashes with the rules of the game as played in this field and who find it difficult to call elders and superiors by their names. Habitus is not fixed but it is so deeply entrenched that it is difficult to change and requires conscious effort to do so (Bourdieu in Kramsch, 2008; Bourdieu in Maton, 2008). This may explain why Dianne struggles so much to change her naming practices, particularly as it relates to her addressing her lecturers and tutors at university. The difficulty she experiences is evident in her repetition:

It was quite difficult ’cause I can’t do that.

We don’t do that where I come from. As much as people say we have lost our culture, we don’t do that.

Even now, I still find it difficult with my latest tutor. I called him “Sir” because I couldn’t call him by name – I couldn’t! I just couldn’t!

I can’t call you by your name. I can’t!

(I, November 2014)

The practice of referring to elders and educators as “mama”, “sister” or “Sir” has been so deeply planted in Dianne’s “way of being” (Gee, 1990, 1996, 1998) by her educational background, home environment and community life that she cannot force herself to change comfortably, despite being made aware of the different “rules of the game” in the different fields she finds herself in. Again she seems to resist the rules as played in that field. In examining the extract above, the pronouns “we” and “I” in the phrases, “we don’t” and “I couldn’t”, as opposed to the pronoun “you” in the sentence, “I can’t call you by your name”, reveals a strong sense of group membership and fixedness of certain rules. This seems to contrast her earlier definition of self as a rainbow child or hybrid.

4.2.3 Linguistic Constraints

The final group of constraints faced by Dianne as she transitions into university has to do with language, more specifically, the English language. These difficulties occur in the field of the classroom on TE, the field of academic writing and the social field of the university.

First, I discuss the social field of the university. In Dianne’s interview, she expresses her self-consciousness in communicating with people who are proficient speakers of English. She expresses her uneasiness in communicating with people outside of her social groups and shares how she becomes wary of her grammar and sentence structure. There are however, instances where her insecurities are disabling and she avoids speaking to certain people altogether. She describes her experiences as follows:

Interviewer: *Do you feel that your language plays a part in how you interact with the lecturers and your peers? Explain.*

Dianne: Yes...with your peers it depends on what peers. With my friends, they don't mind me speaking even broken English and then the other people you want to interact with will be like, (whispers) "did u hear her?" You know you do have those people around that will be gossiping so, you do have prepare something – "sentence construction please help me" (laugh), I'm going to talk to that girl. She's a snob. If I didn't say something right, she is going to tell everybody." (laughs) So, it's one of those things that happen. Other people that you are just intimidated to talk to because you feel that their English like maybe they come from private schools. It's like, "mm-mm, I'm not talking to you! I heard her speaking. I'm just not talking to her." (laughs) So ya, I do come across such things. They are part of my life now.

(I, November 2014)

As can be seen in the above extract, Dianne describes her English proficiency as at the level of "broken English" (I, November 2014) as opposed to the "private school English" of some of her peers. In examining Dianne's data, her reference to broken English can refer to three things. Firstly, broken English is a term used to describe a lack of proficiency of English (McKinney, 2008). It is evident that Dianne believes that she lacks English fluency in the way in which she is conscious about her grammar in the above extract. Secondly, broken English is a term used to describe English that incorporates words of another language (as noted in relation to a participant in Ferreira and Mendelowitz, 2009). Dianne's use of code-switching with her friends, as will be seen later in this chapter, forms part of her English at times. Broken English is usually referred to a non-standard variety of English. Thirdly, by broken English, Dianne may be referring to BSAE, which is associated with township education, which she received. It is also usually not seen as Standard English. As seen in the extract above, Dianne is intimidated when she overhears people speaking in "private school English" (which is often associated with WSAE). Here, Dianne may be suggesting that in addition to her English being broken in terms of proficiency in English grammar and monolingual norms, her language is broken in that her accent does not resemble the language of those that intimidate her. As can be seen in the extract above, Dianne states

that her English does not sound like the “private school English” of some of her peers. As will become evident later in this chapter, it is not only her fluency in English that Dianne can be sensitive about, she is also wary of her accent in the presence of proficient English speakers. It can thus be said that by labelling her English proficiency as “broken”, she seems to be suggesting that she is not fluent in the language, or that her English is not “native-like” (in terms of grammar and accent) and thus, not good enough to communicate with those of higher proficiency and fluency. As she states above, this results in Dianne feeling the need to “prepare something” before interacting with these peers or it leads to her avoiding interaction, because she feels “intimidated” to talk to them. Comparing Dianne’s words in the above extract to those of her examination essay, which focuses on her experiences in her community, her self-consciousness about English in the social fields of the university is somewhat puzzling. According to Dianne, she has been exposed to English from a young age, is proficient in the language and has shown the ability to communicate successfully with others in English. In order to understand the construction of her linguistic identity at university surrounding English, it is crucial to consider the contradictory identity messages Dianne faces in her community with regard to English. It is these contradictory messages that further emphasise the “identity crisis” she faces when in her community.

As has been mentioned at the beginning of this analysis, at home, Dianne has been exposed to English. Both of her parents valued English, “even though [she] was Black” – as pointed out by Dianne. Her parents spoke a lot of English with her and vice versa, and were constantly correcting her English. She quotes an instance where her father would tell her not to say she is “very very hungry” but rather to say that she was “starving”. If Dianne’s family life and community are considered in light of Weedon’s theory of subjectivity (1987), as understood by Norton Peirce (1995, 1997, 2000) it can be argued that at home, Dianne is subject to power. Her parents hold the power and they have dictated that in addition to Tswana, English is the language of power and thus is the second language Dianne must be proficient in. Her parents seem to have created the belief that English is the language of power. English in Dianne’s home has symbolic power because her parents have given it that power (Bourdieu, 1991). Owing to the symbolic power placed on English, Dianne has learnt to speak the

language. This has affected her life opportunities. For instance, it has resulted in her ability to communicate to other speakers of English outside of her home. For example, owing to Dianne's fluency in the English language, she easily and willingly adapts to a Black friend of hers that came from a "Model C school" and who speaks English. In the extract below, from Dianne's examination script, she discusses an incident that took place at in her community salon, where she and a friend were spending time together. Here, it is evident that Dianne has the ability to successfully communicate in English without stress or insecurities.

I went to the hair salon with a friend and she went to a Model C school, but I was attending school in the township. We were sitting chatting [in English] by the window.

(E.S., June 2014)

Dianne's proficiency in English is further emphasised when she receives praise from some people within her community for her articulacy in English, as indicated below:

Growing up in a township and being educated in a township school people are amazed by my ability to speak English as they expect me to speak broken English.

(E.S., June 2014)

As indicated above, Dianne states that many people are surprised that she speaks English so well for someone who has grown up in the township and who attended a township school, as many expect her to speak broken English. Dianne's tone in this account seems quite positive and it appears that her right to speak English, for some, is based on her "gift" to speak it so eloquently. As in Alim and Smitherman's (2012) study, Dianne is praised for being articulate in English – something that is not expected of a Black person and thus, deserving of praise. In Dianne's case in this instance, however, social monitoring of English is not conducted by White members of society, as is the case in Alim and Smitherman's (2012) study, but rather by other Black people—her parents and community members. It is already evident that within Dianne's

community, Dianne is exposed to contradictory messages about English. Firstly, she is expected to learn English (and learn it well) as it is a language of power and because it is presented as herright. Secondly, she is praised for her ability to speak English. Thirdly, despite her parents' expectation that she know English some of her community members place her on a pedestal for being one of the few Black people who are fluent in English.

These contradictory messages surrounding English in her community are not all positive and are even more complicated than what has been discussed. Despite acceptance of a Black township girl speaking English, it is not accepted by all community members. As explained by Dianne, in her interview, generally, it is not acceptable for English to be spoken in the township. Her explanation is as follows:

I can't just go in the township and speak English. People have problems with people who do that...in taxis you can't go around speaking English, hey! People get angry with you.

(I, November 2014)

Dianne has personally experienced prejudice aboutspeaking English openly in the township, as indicated in her examination script when she describes her experience in the salon. (See underlined section on page 58 for a detailed account of this incident).The interaction between Dianne and her friend in the township salon, in the extract referred to, offers additional insight into the rejection of English in her community. As can be seen in her recounting of the incident, Dianne adapts to her English by speaking to her friend but this interaction is not well received. Dianne's right to speak English is "rebuked". As indicated in the mentioned extract, Dianne reports that she was attacked by one man in particular. This man questioned her choice to speak English in a township where there are no White people. He called her a "traitor to the township school" and accused her of being a "wannabe coconut" like her "coconut friends ... that only speak English". As discussed in the literature review of this study, the term "coconut" is a derogatory term used to describe a Black person who speaks like someone who is White, who chooses to speak English most of the time, who has

decided to speak English as opposed to an African language when in a township or rural setting or who is unable to speak an African language, as well as a Black person who is perceived to be “acting white” (McKinney, 2008, p. 17). This labelling places Whites and Blacks in homogenous categories and suggests that language is strictly assigned to race. Anything that goes against this is worthy of labelling and prejudice. This homogenous categorisation of race is evident when the man reprimanding Dianne exclaims that she is not being “true to herself”. In other words, it seems that the man is suggesting that Dianne is not acting like a Black person should –her race does not match her language. This further emphasises her traitorous label. Moreover, when the man stated that Dianne was not being her true self, it is evident that in the larger realm of the township community, language power relations are different from those in Dianne’s home. Black languages are attached to race and race is attached to place. Owing to this, speaking a Black language is what is expected from the township inhabitants and speaking a White language, in this case English, is a right or an option which should not exist. This seems to be why her right to the English language – her adopted tongue – is reprimanded and worth public shaming.

Furthermore, this public shaming could be seen as strategic, whether subconscious or not. Firstly, it can be seen as a way in which Dianne’s community asserts their linguistic identity. Secondly, this public humiliation could be perceived as discipline. Among many African members of society, there is a belief that the community as a whole is responsible for the disciplining and raising of the children of the community. This power relation could have provoked the man at the salon to feel a duty to discipline Dianne and humiliate her into not repeating acts that are embarrassing to the township community and Africans within it.

It is unclear from Dianne’s data why the rules regarding English in her home and the broader community oppose one another; however, it can possibly be for two reasons. Firstly, as discussed, her parents have an appreciation for English and acknowledge it as the language of power, thus making it essential to know it. Secondly, her parents may be less disturbed by Dianne’s “coconut” qualities because the marriage of her parents is a marriage of two people from different linguistic identities.

Subjectivity (Weedon, 1987 in Norton Peirce, 1995,1997,2000) helps explain the contradictory messages in Dianne's community about a Black township dweller speaking English. It is these contradictory messages that reinforce the "identity crisis" that Dianne faces in her home town. In the social site of the salon, there are contrasting power hierarchies in place. Within the realm of the conversation between the two friends, there is equal power between them, though the English language holds the most value as Dianne adapts to suit her friend. This power hierarchy clashes with the broader environment, one of a Black salon situated in a township – a Black area where "White languages" regarded as less acceptable than the African languages of that area, with regard to what gives capital and symbolic power (Bourdieu in Thomson, 2008). Therefore, although Dianne's parents have provided her with the life opportunity to communicate and adapt to other languages, with regard to English, this is frowned upon in the larger environment. This shaming has led to an "identity crisis" which probably affects the type of language she uses in different places and different times, and probably affects her degree of awareness of the type of people around her. This awareness seems to have followed her to university. It must however be noted that a feature of multilingual repertoire is the ability to adapt language variation to context.

As can be seen, English has being an enabling and disabling factor for Dianne in her community field. English has affected her acceptance and rejection in the community – either she is viewed as a traitor to her race and the people of the township, or she is valued by people who are surprised by her fluency in the language. Dianne receives three contradictory messages about English. Firstly, she is encouraged to speak it. Secondly, she is praised for being proficient in English and is looked upon as an anomaly. Thirdly, she is shunned for speaking English. Her right to English as a Black person is consequently both supported and disapproved of. This has been owing to the policing of language. In Alim and Smitherman's (2012) article, as expanded on in the literature review of this study, White people are said to be assumed as "masters of English" and are thus, the ones who police English. In the twenty-first century, and undeniably in South Africa, many Black people speak English and thus can and do monitor the language, as is seen by Dianne's parents. However, linguistic monitoring does not only consider quality of language but also acknowledges the use of a language

– the type of language spoken. Thus, those who are of the view that language, race and place should match monitor language to ensure there is no use of English.

In addition to the contradictory identity messages at play in Dianne's home environment, Dianne's investment (Norton Peirce, 1995,1997;2000) in English and Tswana, as well as how she regards them as part of her identity is important when considering her attitude towards English at university.

Norton Peirce's notion of investment (1995,1997,2000), is an interesting one to consider for Dianne's analysis. Dianne, as can be seen, is highly invested in Tswana and English. Through communication with target language speakers, she is constantly organising and reorganising her linguistic identity. Her investment in Tswana and English has resulted in her experiencing opposing views about her identity which have in her words, led to an "identity crisis". On one hand she is being told by community members that she is a "traitor to the Xhosa nation" for not embracing her Xhosa half and is even more of a traitor because she chooses to speak English. Whereas, on the other hand, she is rewarded for her ability to speak English so well by other community members, as well as is encouraged to speak English and focus on Tswana at home. Norton Peirce's (1995, 1997,2000) explanation of her term "investment" is that investment in the target language equals investment in the student's identity, an identity which is endlessly changing. This is seen in Dianne's exam essay. As she tries to free herself from the clutches of the identity crisis she faces as a result of her community, she relies on the languages she is most invested in as a source of comfort and reassurance. For instance, when recounting how she is viewed as a traitor for not embracing her Xhosa half, she strongly counters this by stating the following quotes:

I think they are wrong, saying that I am Xhosa, I would be lying to myself.

I don't feel that I am Xhosa or I belong to the Xhosa culture, because I can't speak the language, my father has always spoken to me in Tswana.

I struggled for years to write my [Xhosa] name correctly.

(E.S., June 2014)

Here it is evident that Dianne's investment in Tswana forms part of her identity – of who she thinks she is – of what she thinks best represents her. This investment, as stated by Norton Peirce, reflects her identity. Dianne's investment in English – a language associated with whiteness, is, however, not reinforced and she does not argue for her right to speak this language or to have this language as part of her identity. This is evident in her examination essay in the way she acknowledges she speaks English but does not defend her right to have the language as part of her identity when confronted by the man at the salon. Throughout Dianne's data she acknowledges English as a part of her life, but she is not as assertive when it comes to defending her English identity as she is when it comes to defending her "pure Tswana identity". This may be for two reasons. Firstly, it may not be that she rejects English as part of her identity, but rather that she is more focused on asserting her African identity than her English identity, because that has been the biggest source of pain in her life. Secondly, it may be because the strong link between race and language painted by her community is something she is processing. In relation to the last possible reason, Dianne does not seem confident enough yet to be vocal about how her investment in English forms part of her identity. Rather than argue for her right to English, she seems to be trying to understand the link between language rights and race. This is an example of the Discourse of the Sociolinguistics course impacting on her identity. Dianne concludes her examination essay with the following:

I always felt that my race and ethnic[ity] should not form part of my identity but I was wrong. I now realise that whether we like it or not race plays a role in one's identity and so do the languages we speak.

Although she does not fight for English as part of her identity, owing her great investment in the language, she does show at the end of her essay that she embraces English and Tswana (the two languages that she is invested in) as forming part of her identity. In the last sentence of her essay she appears to show a hint of her investment in the languages she speaks as forming her hybrid identity. She writes:

I am showing unlocking my mixed identity through language, discovering and creating myself as a young bilingual South African.

As Dianne adapts to university and I talk to her at the end of the year about her experiences with English, she expresses her self-consciousness in communicating with people who are proficient speakers of English. As has already been discussed, she expresses her uneasiness in communicating with people outside of her social groups. When communicating with these people she is wary of her grammar and sentence structure. However, there are instances where her insecurities are disabling and she avoids speaking to certain people altogether. Although Dianne did not explicitly fight for English as part of her identity in her examination essay, it seems that her confidence level in her ability decreases at university when it comes to interacting with people of different schooling and language backgrounds to her. Despite Dianne's ability to communicate in English and her undeniable ability to switch to accommodate English speakers around her, as is evident in the salon interaction, she seems to either avoid adapting to proficient English speakers or does so with a lack of confidence:

You do have prepare something – “sentence construction please help me”.

If I didn't say something right, she is going to tell everybody.

Other people that you are just intimidated to talk to because you feel that their English like maybe they come from private schools. It's like, “mm-mm, I'm not talking to you! I heard her speaking. I'm just not talking to her”.

(I, November 2014)

Dianne also changes in the way she describes her English as “broken English” – a variation of English she said she was praised for not having by some of her community members (as is discussed on p.73). Dianne's lack of confidence in her English may be a result of two factors. Firstly, it may be related to her social group. Dianne's social group at university consists of Black, township students speaking a range of African languages and who are struggling with English. Communication in her group is done mainly in African languages, both in class and outside class as is evident in these two extracts:

1. Interviewer: *Do you code-switch with your friends?*

Dianne: Yoh! Oh definitely! Actually, when I'm with my friends we just drop English literally. We just don't - we do speak English but....not much of it. We speak in our home languages and we relax by the grass...

2. Interviewer: *If you are asked to work in a group, do you choose to work with the same language group as you? Why or why not?*

Dianne: OK, with my latest group I worked with a variety. We had, OK, but we were all Black so we could all just manage to hear each other. It was just only Black people. Different languages, your Zulus, your Pedis, meee, Tswanas, all that. But we could communicate, just shove English aside and just focus on this –talk, talk, talk and then let's put it in English now guys...

(I, November 2014)

Given that communication between Dianne's "intimates" is in African languages, that her friends come from the townships and that they are struggling with English in the broader domain of the university, drawing from Gee (1990, 1996, 1998), it is possible that the common Discourse among members of this social group includes ways of speaking that involve communication in "broken English" and African languages. In addition, owing to the fact that they are all township dwellers, they may have ways of thinking that mirror the fixed notions of identity present in Dianne's community that demand that Black people should remain loyal to their African languages. They may also hold the assumption that it is not common for Black members of the township to be proficient in English. It is thus possible that in this social group there is policing of African languages and English. In terms of the monitoring of African languages, policing involves making sure the language of communication is mostly an African language:

When I'm with my friends we just drop English literally. We just don't - we do speak English but...not much of it.

(I, November 2014)

With regard to the policing of English, this policing would be on the quality of the language. Unlike Dianne's parents' monitoring of Standard English, policing with her peers would be based on English that reflects lack of proficiency and most likely contains code-switching to African dialects. It would reflect the English "typical" of a township inhabitant. In this sense, in order to fit in, Dianne adapts to this Discourse and takes on her friend's "ways of being". In addition, her investment (Norton Peirce, 1997, 2000) in African languages over English, cements her African identity which was constantly questioned in her community. Dianne's investment in her African identity over her English identity among her peers is evident when she says that in her social group they "drop English" and when she is in tutorial groups she and her peers a "shove English aside and just focus on this –talk, talk, talk and then let's put it in English now guys". The verbs "drop" and "shove" suggest discarding something (in this case a language) that is not important, until it is absolutely necessary. In contrast, Dianne's experience of talking with her friends in their African home languages is described as comforting: "We speak in our home languages and we relax by the grass"(I, November 2014).

The second reason that may contribute to her lack of confidence in English may simply be that she is intimidated by people she perceives as being more proficient than her. In this case, one could argue that as an audience for writing is often intimidating (Elbow, 1987), so the audience in this case, an oral interaction is also inhibiting. They seem to cause her to be conscious of her speech – her sentence construction – and she feels the need to "prepare" to talk to these "more proficient" speakers. At times Dianne is so self-conscious that she refuses to speak to these people. She fears their "gossiping" and is "intimidated" to talk to them. Dianne's fear of exposing her English to this type of audience is based on both her perception of the type of English they speak as well as those speakers' monitoring of her other's language – the quality of their English, in terms of what is perceived as "good English".

With regard to Dianne's perception, she labels a more proficient English speaker as "snob" during her interview and assumes fluent speakers of English are from private schools. In the context of McKinney's (2008) study on language and race, her participants, South African high school learners, associate the variety of English people speak with education. In addition the study shows that the term, "snob" is linked to WSAE, which is perceived as a prestigious English variety. Dianne seems intimidated by more "prestigious forms of English". Despite her fluency in English – not only evident in her background but obvious in my interactions with her, she seems to feel that her "township English", although praised in the township setting where fluency in English is rare, is not good enough to interact with those who exhibit more "WSAE" or "private school English". Dianne's reaction to the English of her peers is in line with the myth that it is often believed that good English is the English spoken daily by the most educated and intelligent people (Zuidema, 2005). This explains why Dianne would assume that her peers are from private schools. In South Africa, private schools are widely known for their high academic standards. In addition, Zuidema (2005) believes that many speakers of localised English or speakers of stigmatised dialects believe that their own language use does not meet the ideals of "standard English". As has been mentioned, this seems to influence Dianne's insecurities.

Dianne's insecurities are further fuelled by the policing of language by these more articulate speakers who criticise others if they do not speak Standard English. She recounts how these peers gossip and how they might "tell everybody" if she "didn't say something right" (I, November 2014). As has been mentioned, Dianne often feels that she needs to prepare something before speaking to peers that she is not friends with, that is, her "non-intimates" (Gee, 1990). When interacting with "non-intimates" Dianne is not always silenced by her threatening audience (Elbow, 1987). Dianne attempts to adapt to the field (Bourdieu, 1990; Kramsh, 2008; Maton, 2008) as she operates at Wits. She recognises that when interacting with "non-intimates" that exhibit language that reflects WSAE or private school English that she needs correct sentence structure and needs also to change her accent to reflect the English her non-intimates speak as seen in the extract below:

Interviewer: *Would you say that you change your accent at all when you interact with these different people?*

Dianne: *Yes! You have too. You can't (laugh), you can't just talk to people like, yaaa you have to change your accent. It makes you sound more better, more smarter, more...you know, approachable.*

(I, November 2014)

As mentioned by Dianne, her change in accent makes her seem “approachable”. Her understanding of accent reveals that she believes the type of accent, that is, mimicking the WSAE accent of her “non-intimates”, will give her capital (Bourdieu, 1990; Kramsh, 2008; Maton, 2008) in these interactions and ensure that she is regarded as a member of these groups when communicating with them. She seems to believe that by matching her accent to those of her peers portrays her as intelligent enough to engage with them – it mirrors the intelligence she perceives they give off. This understanding that language tells us about people is said to be common according to Zuidema (2005). Zuidema (2005) states that people often make judgments in reaction to how people use language and presume to know about their intelligence and competence. As has been explained in the literature review, Norton Peirce’s (Hall, 2011; Norton Peirce, 1995,1997,2000) theory of “the right to speak” and her claims of “the conditions for the establishment of communication” are helpful in further explaining the reasons behind, as well as the effects of, Dianne’s adaptation to her “non-intimate peers”. By making herself more approachable and seeming “smarter” (her assumptions about WSAE), she is assuming an identity that, in her mind (or perception), will ensure that those who speak to her regard her as worthy to listen to and ensure those who listen to her regard her as worthy to speak. In turn, through her approachability she is exchanging language with WSAE speakers, which is a variety of English valued by the broader field of the university. This enables her to learn this language and gain capital (Bourdieu in Thomson, 2008) (her perception of what will give her capital) to succeed in the more academic fields of the university. In addition to what has been said, as would be supported by Holland et al. (1998) (Urriea, 2007), by Dianne interacting and adapting her “non-intimates”, she attempts to avoid them placing her in a subordinate position.

She is trying to resist labels of “inadequate language” that may be placed on her by more fluent English speakers.

In contrast to Dianne’s self-consciousness of her spoken English when it comes to non-intimate peers, she seems, on the occasions she speaks English with her intimate social group (African students) to be proud of the fact that her English is “better than [her] friends”:

My English is a little bit better than my friends (laughs), I won’t lie. They are struggling and they are not doing English. They always say, “you are an English major”. They whisper words, “What does this mean?” and sometimes I don’t know (laughs) – dictionary?!

(I, November 2014)

In light of Bourdieu’s (Thomson, 2008) field theory, it appears to be that the “rules of the game” as played in many different fields at Wits that power, status and therefore, capital come from the ability to speak Standard English. Within the field of Dianne’s social group, she is more fluent in English than her friends. As this is a necessary skill for survival, Dianne and her friends place her in power when English is concerned and use her to help them in the academic field of the university as can be seen above. In other words, Dianne is given more cultural capital in the small social worlds of her group (friends) in class because of their recognition of the power of English. In this position of higher status, Dianne monitors the English articulacy of her friends and boyfriends, as is evident in the extract below:

Interviewer: *Do you ever correct your friends?*

Dianne: *OK, I do (laughs). Even my boyfriend (laughs) and then he will be like “stop doing that. You’re learning English, you’re an English teacher, you’re my girlfriend, stop doing it.” And I’m like, “I’m sorry but bad grammar, I can’t understand what you’re saying. This is bad.” (laughs)*

(I, November 2014)

In addition to her self-consciousness of her English with “non-intimate” peers, Dianne also finds herself unsure of herself in the field of her TE. TE at Wits University is when student teachers enter schools put teaching theory into practice. The school Dianne attended on TE was a middle class government school which is an English single-medium school. She explains in her interview that the school had “a lot of White kids from English-speaking backgrounds” and that out of “30 students ... less than 10 of them would be Black”(I, November 2014). Her experiences at that school are as follows:

Interviewer: *What kinds of language issues did you face on TE?*

Dianne: *Oh, it was quite intimidating to teach the learners during the first TE because they were like, English English and I'm like, not English at all. It was quite intimidating and the pronunciations sometimes was quite difficult. And you lose your confidence when your learner is correcting your pronunciation (laugh). So, it was one of those things. So, it was quite, I was quite intimidated by them when it comes to...let me not say knowing the language because you are still better than them because they are still young, but the accent and the fluency, the pronunciation. So, how they speak intimidated me 'cause some of them were from England and all that and I was only from here.*

Interviewer: *So, did the learners treat you any differently because of the accent or was this in your head?*

Dianne: *I think it was in my head 'cause they gave me equal respect. They loved me, they treated me as their teacher, they saw me as this, you know, “goddess of knowledge”. So, I think it was in my head. I'm the one who scared myself 'cause I had my own insecurities in terms of the English language, they didn't, but I was scared that they would pick it up and use it to their advantage. (laughs)*

Interviewer: *Did anyone correct your pronunciation at all?*

Dianne: Yes, they did. Sometimes...it was very frustrating, but then again, as an English teacher you need to pronounce words correctly so that learners will get the right information. If you pronounce it wrong, they will learn it wrong. So ya, I just had to let them correct me, even though it made me feel stupid – it does.

(I, November 2014)

Dianne's insecurities about her English proficiency experienced with non-intimate peers are echoed on TE when she comes into contact with learners of "English backgrounds". Dianne assumes that these children's mother tongue is English, specifically those from the "mother land" – England. Her use of the words "English English" appears to indicate speakers who have purely English backgrounds, which is her perception. She is intimidated by their "accent", "fluency" and "pronunciation". It is interesting that Dianne mentions how she is threatened especially by learners who have immigrated from England. As England is perceived as the "mother country of English, it seems that Dianne perceives this variety to be superior to South African Standard English and a model of "the perfect use" of the language. Despite Dianne's competence in English and her English-fuelled background, she claims she does not have an English background. As with her "non-intimate" peers, her insecurity is fuelled by her own fear as well as the monitoring of pronunciation by mostly White learners (consistent with Alim and Smitherman's (2012) findings). The policing of her English is seen when Dianne says, "when your learner is correcting your pronunciation". Her personal insecurities are evident when she says that "it was quite intimidating", "you lose your confidence" and that her insecurities were "in [her] head". Dianne's fear, as with her "non-intimate" peers are due to her lack of background of WSAE. When Dianne enters the field of the classroom on TE, she recognises that the preferred ways of speaking in the field of this classroom as well as the broader field of a middle class, English medium school is that of WSAE – specifically, its accent and pronunciation. Dianne recognises this language variation as a prerequisite in order to be regarded as an English teacher and aims to enhance her speech, even if it means allowing herself to be corrected by her learners:

I was quite intimidated by them when it comes to... accent and the fluency, the pronunciation.

As an English teacher you need to pronounce words correctly so that learners will get the right information. If you pronounce it wrong, they will learn it wrong ... I just had to let them correct me, even though it made me feel stupid...

(I, November 2014)

As can be seen, Dianne has dual identities when it comes to English. In class among her friends she is viewed as speaking better English than they do, so she has more cultural capital. Here in the social world of her classroom on TE (much like with her “non-intimate” peers) where the children speak better English than her there is a complete inversion of this. It is interesting that the cultural capital that comes with linguistic prowess is relative to the linguistic ability of others in the field.

With reference to Norton Peirce’s work (Norton Peirce, 1995, 1997, 2000; Hall, 2011) on “the right to speak” and “the conditions for the establishment of communication”, she explains that the power relations between language learner and language teacher can affect language learning. She also believes that language learning is more effective if the learner can assume an identity that gives them the right to speak and be heard. If Dianne is taken as a language learner, in so far as she is working towards appropriating WSAE so that she can be accepted as an English teacher, it can be said that she is successful in presenting herself as a professional and knowledgeable authority figure – attributes necessary to be recognised as a teacher. Proof of this success is seen in the quotes below:

They gave me equal respect. They loved me, they treated me as their teacher, they saw me as this, you know, “goddess of knowledge”...

(I, November 2014)

The words, “goddess of knowledge” show that Dianne has been successful in portraying herself as a knowledgeable professional. These words describe someone who is “all knowing” – a teacher who is skilled at her job. This attribute provides Dianne with an identity that allows her learners to see her as worthy to listen to and worthy to speak, even though her pronunciation is not “good enough” for some learners. Dianne’s

learners' acceptance of Dianne as a good teacher, as well as her willingness to allow her students to correct her, allows Dianne the opportunity to appropriate the language variation she lacks and work towards an identity that, in her mind, is appropriate for an English teacher – accent and all.

Furthermore, it is important to note that Dianne has the right to be heard and her language is no doubt good enough for interactions with native-like speakers of English. However, she is constantly bothered by a voice at the back of her mind (in the fields present in his analysis) telling her that she does not have the right to speak and be heard because of the variety of English she speaks. As Bourdieu states, one's habitus, which is multilayered, is difficult to shift (Kramsch, 2008; Maton, 2008), and it seems that Dianne is trying to shift her attitude towards her right to English but is struggling because habitus does not change easily.

In addition to what has been said, there are once again contradictory messages at play on TE. On one hand Dianne perceives her students as seeing her as a “goddess of knowledge” and on the other hand she is being corrected by her students and made to feel “stupid”. There is a continual duality at play in her life where English is concerned. At home she is encouraged to learn English, is looked upon in awe because she is proficient in the language and is scolded for because English does not fit in with the “African township ideal”. At university she is skilled enough with Standard English to correct her close circle of friends informally and help them understanding terminology in class. However, despite this being the case she perceives herself as lesser than when interacting with those she perceives to have a higher command of English than she. In contrast to this need to be knowledgeable in Standard English, Dianne must also be skilled in communicating in “broken English” with her friends. On TE, as discussed, the opposing messages continue. Within the social worlds Dianne participates in she must judge and juggle which social groups see English as cultural capital, and which variety of English is appreciated within those groups.

The final language-related constraint Dianne faces is in the academic field of the university, specifically in the micro-field of academic writing. Coming from a township school in a Setswana community where code-switching is the norm in educational

settings and rules around writing did not focus on “perfect English grammar and spelling”, Dianne finds it difficult in the first few months at university to adapt to the level of writing expected of her. She says that she “love[s] the English language”, but regardless of her pride that she is more proficient in English than her friends, and despite her exposure to the language from a young age as well as her strong desire to become an English teacher, Dianne’s inexperience with academic writing stunts her confidence in her ability within the written academic field of the university. The difficulty she experiences with writing can be seen in the following extract:

The writing. Changing from the way you write in high school to the way you write here and the fact that I went to a Black school because we speak Setswana and they would code-switch from time to time and they weren’t very strict in terms of how you spell some certain sentences. Because, with me if I don’t understand something, I will try to change it to my home language and translate it back to English and sometimes it does not sound right. So, it was quite a struggle, the writing. Just the writing at a certain level that they want us to write and and you have to understand I don’t have an English background so, it was really difficult. The first few months were horrible.

(I, November 2014)

Bourdieu (Thomson, 2008) suggests that some people who enter fields are at more of an advantage than others because the structure of the field depends on a certain type of capital and the field structures what counts as capital in that field. People who have the necessary capital can become more successful than others in that particular field because they can gain more capital which in turn leads to the acquisition of social goods. What counts as capital in the written field of academic writing in the classrooms at WSoE depends on both written forms of academic language and written Standard English, both of which Dianne lacks due to her schooling background. She is at a disadvantage in the first few months at university. However, I highlight that this constraint of her background does not seem to last longer than a few months. This can be seen when Dianne states that academic writing “was really difficult. The first few months were horrible”. Dianne does not suggest that her struggle with academic writing

lasted longer than a few months at the start of the year. As suggested by Bourdieu's (Thomson, 2008) work on field, people within fields use strategies to either maintain or improve their position in the field which may include gaining, adapting or losing Discourse (Gee, 1990) or shifting their habitus (Bourdieu, 1990). In Dianne's case, because academic writing seems to be getting easier, it can be assumed that intensive exposure to academic Discourse has provided her with access to the Discourse, hence improving her survival in the academic field.

Despite the fact that Dianne struggles with English in the different fields she encounters such as TE, academic writing and the social field of her "non-intimates", her undeniably increased exposure to English affects how she behaves in the field of her community. As Dianne transitions into university, she is exposed to English more than she was in her home environment and for her survival in the academic fields and teaching fields of the university, has to invest in English (Norton Pierce, 1997). This investment is slowly developing her identity as an English teacher. With her intensive exposure to and regular practice of English, Dianne finds herself speaking English in her community when she goes back home. Her experiences are as follows:

When I get back home I sometimes switched to English and I do not do it on purpose, I swear. It's an unconscious thing and I have to remind myself, "ahhhi, I don't have to go back to English. I'm home." (laughs) It's something that I'm definitely becoming used to now, because I realise that it just happens unconsciously, and I'm like, "yoh! What is happening now?" (laughs)

(I, November 2014)

Dianne's exposure to the many Discourses that exist at university has leaked somewhat into her home environment. By Discourse, here, I am referring to language and the rules attached to language in different social worlds (what language variety is accepted in particular environments). In the above quote it can be seen how because English is used so much at university and because it is an accepted language in many social worlds of the university, Dianne has become accustomed to speaking the language. Despite the fact that she knows that English is not regarded as appropriate in the township, she finds

herself slipping into the language. Dianne acknowledges this “leakage” in the above quote and she is aware of her multiple identities (Weedon, 1987 in Norton Peirce, 1995, 1997, 2000). Although Dianne mistakenly speaks English in an environment where speaking English is generally not appreciated, she is aware of the dynamics of various fields within which she is operating and moving. As Gee’s (1990) work on the coming together of Discourse presents, Dianne shows evidence of adapting to various fields – at Wits she behaves like a student and speaks English when it is required of her, whereas, when she goes home she consciously tries to negotiate her identity and becomes the “ghetto” township girl and speaks as is required of her there. This can be seen in the extract below:

I’ve embraced the life style of Wits and its language usage and I’ve also accepted my own language insecurities now. Aand ya! I’m just happy. I am in a happy space with the languages. And I will continue using English here at Wits and doing whatever they do, following the culture ’cause you need it to survive here. And ya. And I will also use my own personal identities and cultures when I go home – I’ll become the getto girl and speak the way they speak, and then when I come here, I’ll just do how they do. But at the same time I’ll be myself. (laughs) That how I – that’s how you have to do it. It’s South Africa. That’s how we have to do it to live.

(I, November 2014)

This process of adaptation is, however, more complicated than this. Although Dianne reports having the ability to adapt to her environment, the impression she creates at the township salon when she speaks English could suggest otherwise. Owing to the fact that Dianne spoke English at the salon when she should not have, the man that reprimanded her seems to believe that she is lapsing into English. His accusations that Dianne is trying to become a coconut and that she is a traitor to township schooling suggests that he is under the impression that her linguistic identity is more English than African. His accusations also reveal simplistic assumptions about the relationship between languages and identities. However, upon a closer look at Dianne’s data, she seems to identify more with her African identity and the environment of the township.

Despite the fact that she mistakenly slips into English, there is a sense of othering and distancing when she describes the language rules expected in the many fields at Wits. This is evident in the words she uses in the quote below. When Dianne explains how she negotiates her linguistic identity at university she says the following:

When I come here (Wits), I'll just do how they do.

I will continue using English here at Wits and doing whatever they do, following the culture 'cause you need it to survive here.

(I, November 2014)

Words like “they” and “the” in the phrases, “doing what **they** do” and “following **the** culture” appear to show distance from the English language and there is a sense of othering and alienation. Despite the fact that English is increasingly becoming a part of her life and overflowing to other areas of her life, it does not seem that Dianne views English (as it is used at university) as entirely part of her identity. Rather, it is a means for survival and thus, is a language that she must accept. Upon closer inspection of the words she uses when referring to the language rules of her community she uses words such as, “my own personal identities and cultures”. Here, the words “my”, “own” and “personal” appear to show more of a sense of comfort and ownership. This is the antithesis of what the man at the salon seems to believe. Furthermore, it seems contradictory that there appears to be a sense of comfort and ownership seeing that her community is full of linguistic identity-related conflict, to which she is often falls victim. Nevertheless, there is a sense of Dianne trying to negotiate her identity and adapt to everyone around her – at university she “does what **they** do” and at home she “speaks the way **they** speak”. The pronoun, “they” used to explain the process of negotiation at university and at home shows that despite Dianne’s ability to use her “personal identities and cultures” in one place more than the other, there is still a sense of discomfort, distancing and feelings of being othered in both fields.

Before Dianne explains her process of adaptation to the field of her community and university, she says, “I am in a happy space with the languages.” As can be seen in the analysis above, Dianne’s attempt at negotiating and accepting her dual identity is

complex. Although her choice of words shows that she feels somewhat alienated when it comes to the language rules in the field of her community and of Wits University, her acknowledgement of the need to adapt can be said that she is beginning to accept her dual identity. Although the process of her negotiation is not entirely a comfortable one, she is in a “happy space with her languages”. This may show that she is slowly trying to escape her “language crisis”, as described in her examination essay. As is evident in this theme – and will be seen further in the next theme – Dianne has made peace with her African identity and is slowly accepting her English identity. She embraces and acknowledges her African identity as she perceives it – a pure Tswana girl who is competent in many African tongues (evident in the next section) aside from Xhosa, and she is slowly beginning to learn to embrace English as part of her life.

4.3 Background Factors that Facilitated Adjustment to University

The above broad theme indicates the constraining factors Dianne faces as she enters university. Also discussed is what she gains, loses and negotiates in response to her constraining factors. I now discuss the aspects of her background that facilitated her adaptation to university. As with the previous section, I explore the losses, gains and negotiations she faces in relation to her experiences.

Facilitating aspects of Dianne’s background that made it easier to transition into university revolve around language and culture.

4.3.1 Cultural Factors that Facilitated the Adjustment to University

With regard to culture, all Dianne’s friends are from the township. As evident in the extract below from Dianne’s interview, owing to the fact that all of them are from the township, they share, as Gee (1990;1996;1998) would say, the same Discourses or “ways of being” – “they know how we roll”, “we have our certain lingo”, “our ways, our food, our style”(I, November 2014). As explained in the literature review of this study, Gee uses Discourse to describe particular rules for speaking, doing, being, believing and valuing that shows one’s social identity. In Dianne’s case, rules for speaking are identified when she says that her and her university friends share a “certain lingo”, and rules for doing as well as being are identified when she says her and her

friends act in a typical township manner (“they know how we roll”, “our ways”), and share the same taste in food and style (“our ways, our food, our style”). The pronouns “we” and “our” show a sense of ownership and group membership. The repetition of these pronouns emphasises this sense of belonging.

With my Zulu friends and my Sotho friends I'd say we have the same culture 'cause they are also from Soweto – we're all from the townships so, they know how we roll. We have our certain lingo –we click even though I'm from Kagiso which is the other side of Johannesburg, in the west... but then we're all from the [townships]...There you know, we know how we roll there. There we have our own ways, our food, our style.

(I, November 2014)

As I mentioned when discussing the literature review, Sisanda, in Bengani and Kapp's (2005) study is uncomfortable about the diversity she encounters at university. Throughout her degree, she tries to remain linked to her home community. One of the ways she achieves this is by surrounding herself with friends of the same linguistic group. Although Dianne is not disturbed about diversity at university, as was the case with Sisanda (in fact, she is thrilled about her exposure to different people, as is evident when she describes the diverse atmosphere of the university in the quote below), like Sisanda, Dianne's social groups provides a link to her home – her community.

Wow, you know at Wits it's such a – ooi there's a lot of culture, different people, diverse! They're very dynamic! (Sounds excited)

(I, November 2014)

4.3.2 Linguistic Factors that Facilitated the Adjustment to University

With regard to language as a facilitating factor to Dianne's adaptation to university, this subtheme has to do with the Black African languages Dianne knows. Dianne's social group consists of speakers of a number of African dialects. In this sense “Black African languages” or “African Dialects” are used to describe languages indigenous to South Africa. Communication in the field of Dianne's social groups at university is done

mostly in a mixture of African languages and English is seldom used. In addition, within the field of the tutorial class Dianne chooses to work with people of the same or a similar language group to her. The languages she interacts with are languages which she says she has been exposed to in her community, as well as languages she describes as being interlinked and thus easily understood by her. These instances are described in the extracts below. The “interlinking” of African languages, or rather, their ability to be mutually intelligible, is a reality in South Africa that dates back to colonial times, when missionaries developed orthographies for the indigenous language of South Africa.

These missionaries did not fully understand the language varieties spoken in South Africa and their encoding was based on differences perceived by the foreign ear. They thus balkanised indigenous African language varieties with artificial boundaries. These artificial language categories were then used to separate Black Africans into “homelands” during apartheid. Despite years of prohibited contact, most Bantu languages are still orally mutually intelligible. Non-written communication between for example, Sesotho varieties can be easily understood because African languages are not so different as to impede communication. Setswana, Sesotho and Sepedi are mutually intelligible languages (Makalela, 2005, pp. 151-154). This shows the ease at which Dianne communicates with her diverse language group.

1. *With my school was quite like, we just had Pedis, there were Sothos and Tswanas – I’m Tswana by the way, so you had those three groups and it wasn’t quite difficult because the languages are interlinked. We can hear each other very clearly and I can also read Pedi, but I’m not Pedi, but it’s quite easy to read it.*
2. *Most of my friends ... be honest I’ve got a variety. I met, I have Zulu friends, Sotho friends ... Venda friends. So, there’s just variety of friends going on.*
3. *Actually, when I’m with my friends we just drop English literally. We just don’t –we do speak English but...not much of it. We speak in our home languages and we relax by the grass.*

4. *Dianne: with my latest[tutorial] group I worked with a variety. We had, OK, but we were all Black so we could all just manage to hear each other. It was just only Black people. Different languages, your Zulus, your Pedis, mee, Tswanas, all that. But we could communicate. Just shove English aside and just focus on this –talk, talk, talk and then let's put it in English now guys. And then if we are struggling with those sentences we just –“it's done”. (laughs). So ya, it was just only people within my circle of languages.*

Interviewer: So would this be languages that are different but still similar enough for you to interact?

Dianne: Ya, because I'm exposed to Zulu people, I'm exposed to Pedis, Sothos and everything. So, I feel like I can connect with those people more than I can connect with people who are different.

(I, November 2014)

Bourdieu's work on field theory (Thomson, 2008) helps us to see how in the field of Dianne's intimate social group the rules of the game require one to be able to converse in a number of African dialects. Dianne's background has given her this cultural capital. This has happened for two reasons. Firstly, her mother tongue, Tswana, has commonalities with various African tongues. Secondly, she has been exposed to numerous African languages in the community she grew up in. Dianne's multilingual ability and the way it enables her communication further entrenches her ties to her home environment and again cements her African identity, which was so often called into question in both the social fields of the university as well as the field of her broader community.

As is evident from the quotes above, Dianne seems to be promoting an identity that is multiple when it comes to the African side of her. There is a clear shift in the African linguistic identity she promotes this year. In her examination script she argues for her Tswana identity, whereas in her interview she shows herself as being in tune with a number of Black African identities – she “connects” with them. With regard to Norton Peirce's (1995,1997,2000) theory of investment, it can be said that Dianne's investment

in the African languages she knows is for the purpose of recognition and affiliation to her social group and her African identity as a whole, with her investment in African tongues reorganising her identity, and investing in a more African identity than she was at the start of the year.

In addition to what has been said, Dianne's embracing of multiple African languages in communication, has to do with her accepting of diversity among other African students (specifically, Zulu people), which only fully occurs when she is at university.

At first I didn't wanna code-switch. Especially with Zulu people. I felt like they forced us to speak their language. You see Zulu people, they demand you to speak their language. They do! Whether you like it, they have this thing about them. So, I hated it. So I refused to code-switch even though I could hear the person and I could speak the language – I just didn't want to. I'm just not going to submit to the Zulu nation, but now, I'm like, "OK this is stupid, this is a stupid idea that I have. This person is being stupid because he or she is not opening themselves up to a different world. I'm going to explore their world. I'm going to learn it. I'm going to have more knowledge and they're going to stay in the dark." (laughs)

(I, November 2014)

With Norton Peirce's (Norton Peirce, 1995, 1997, 2000; Hall, 2011) work on the right to speak in mind, this extract shows a shift in Dianne's thinking and only when she allows herself to get over her stereotypic assumption does she appropriate the ability to place herself in a position that shows herself as worthy of being listened to and worthy of speaking. In turn this allows her, as a language learner interacting with a target language speaker and language teacher, to extend her repertoire and confidence in Black African languages as well as her Black African identity. In addition, through this relationship she is given the opportunity to extend her knowledge in tutorial rooms with ease. Furthermore, an alliance built with her friends enables her to be seen as a worthy and trusted mentor of English to her less proficient friends.

4.4 Conclusion

In concluding the analysis of Dianne's linguistic identity, factors which facilitate her adaptation to university include those to do with culture and language. At the start of Dianne's first year of university she attempts to promote a Tswana identity, but seems shift to a more complex and multiple African identity. Factors which constrained Dianne's adaptation to university revolved around naming, language and culture. Dianne seems to have gained a stronger and more proactive stance that Xhosa does not form part of her identity through the loss of her Xhosa name within the social and academic domains of the university. She takes control, gains agency and positions herself strongly in resisting this linguistic identity. Dianne experiences constraints with academic literacy, the Discourse which is slowly evolving and becoming an addition to her abilities despite the constraints. Dianne further become self-conscious with her English proficiency –which does not appear to have been an issue prior to university. The data reveals many contradictions when it comes to Dianne speaking English. Her parents encouraged her and taught her to speak the language which led to her fluency in the language. Dianne's proficiency in English is praised by some of her community members as it is unexpected that a Black township dweller would be fluent in the language. Dianne's proficiency enables her to adapt to an English-speaking friend of hers that visits her community. However, there are community members that disapprove of her speaking English because they believe that a Black township dweller should not speak a White language. At university and on TE Dianne is intimidated by more proficient English speakers, despite her ability to converse in English. Although at times this insecurity results in the loss of her voice, Dianne does attempt to engage in conversation with those she deems more fluent than her. In addition to her self-consciousness around English, Dianne is seen to be comfortable conversing and correcting less proficient speakers of English (her friends at Wits and her boyfriend). In addition, Dianne finds that her exposure to English has resulted in her unconsciously speaking more English at home. Her English "slips" surprise her and she is aware that she is not accepted in the broader field of her community. Although this shift in language is occurring, Dianne is aware of and tries to adapt her language to the numerous fields she engages in. In this conclusion, I have highlighted the facilitating

and constraining background related factors that affected Dianne's transition into university. In doing so, I have highlighted the losses, gains, negotiations, conflicts and linguistic identity shifts she experiences.

CHAPTER 5: DATA ANALYSIS: “THE ILLITERATE MASTER OF ENGLISH”

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, Dianne’s linguistic identity experiences were discussed and analysed. In this chapter, Muzikayise’s story is explored. As with Dianne, there are two main themes for this chapter: background factors that facilitated adjustment to university and background factors that constrained adjustment to university. Muzikayise’s data also reveals an overlap between facilitating factors and constraining factors. This overlap is because what is considered as a facilitating factor in adapting to the diversity of the University of the Witwatersrand in one social field, is also a constraining factor in another social field. These themes include a discussion of the facilitating and constraining factors that affected adjustment to university, as well as exploring the losses, gains, negotiations, conflicts and linguistic identity shifts that Muzikayise experiences. Unlike Dianne, Muzikayise does not discuss how Discourses of the Sociolinguistics module impacted on the negotiation of his linguistic identity. Prior to the examination of the mentioned themes, a short introduction of Muzikayise’s is given.

Muzikayise is a soft spoken young man who has just completed matric. He is multilingual and has the ability to speak English, isiZulu and different language varieties. He is someone who is open to diversity. He comes from a community where English proficiency is not common, especially among his Black friends, and where English fluency is not a main priority at school. His examination script, written in June 2014, shows evidence that he has faced great difficulty in negotiating his linguistic identity at university. In the first half of the year at university, he has been faced with linguistic prejudice that seems to have disrupted or at least hampered a smooth adaptation to university. His experience in the first semester has kept him from expressing his linguistic identity – or any identity for that matter. Rather than overcoming the linguistic prejudice that is inflicted on him and becoming flexible in his subjectivities and language use, he loses his voice. He has thus not been successful in

the negation of his linguistic identity in the first half of the year. Below is Muzikayise's story about the first half of his first year:

A more painful linguistic prejudice [(than the case study provided in the examination question paper)] is the one I have experienced in my first year of university in Wits. I speak isiZulu at home, code-switch and different varieties with close friends and English at varsity. In my first week I was called a "Thug", "Gangster" for the way I pronounce some English words like characteristics, infinite and August. I do know how to pronounce these words properly but I choose to pronounce them differently to help me know how to spell them. I was called illiterate by my friends in my third month in varsity. This was because I couldn't read a word properly, in my defence it was a Latin word which I was unfamiliar of because it was in a science context. Because of this linguistic prejudice, I receive from my so called friends, I now remain silent in the group and rarely speak English. I know this is not a way to handle the issue but I prefer holding my thoughts and emotions back to keep the friendship going because I have grown attached to them.

(E.S., June 2014)

5.2 Background Factors that Facilitated Adjustment to University

Background factors that facilitated adjustment to university for Muzikayise include those that have to do with language and culture.

5.2.1 Linguistic Factors that Facilitated Adaptation to University

At the start of Muzikayise's examination script above, he asserts his membership of various speech communities. He is not only a speaker of isiZulu and English but is fluent in various versions of language – "code-switch[ing]" and "different [language] varieties". In asserting his knowledge of these tongues he asserts his rights to speak these language versions – he is claiming them as part of his identity – as his languages. Muzikayise portrays to us that he considers his identity to be multiple and produced in a number of social sites (Weedon 1987 in Norton Peirce, 1995,1997,2000), which include his home environment, the fields where his "close friends" are located (presumably,

within and outside of university), the academic field of the university as well as the social field of his university social group. This can be seen below in the quotes from his examination script (first extract) and interview transcript (second extract):

1. *I speak isiZulu at home, code-switch and different varieties with close friends and English at varsity.*

(E.S., June 2014)

2. Interviewer: *If you think of English, is the type of English you use or the accent of English that you use change depending on if you are speaking to your peers or to a lecturer?*

Muzikayise: *Yes it changes, more colloquial and code-switching to my friends and bigger, bulkier words with the lecturers. I try to use other synonyms for certain colloquial words, I try to use bigger words, ya.*

Interviewer: *And do you find that it changes depending on the type of people you speaking to?*

Muzikayise: *Yes, to a Black student, code-switch more, to a White student no code-switching at all and then to multicultural Coloureds and other Indians use there is a bit of 50–50.*

(I, November 2014)

As can be seen in the extracts above, Muzikayise speaks isiZulu at home, code-switches and speaks different language varieties with his close friends, uses academic English with his lecturers (“bigger, bulkier words” and “synonyms for certain colloquial words”), and the language spoken to his peers depend on their relationship (if they are “close” or not, as has been mentioned) and the race of his peers. To Black people he code-switches, to White people he does not and judgment is needed to identify whether Coloured and Indian people can be spoken to with code-switching. Muzikayise’s identity seemingly takes note of different power relations in various spheres of his life. In this case, emphasis on power does not seem to be on social hierarchy. Rather, he

appears to be referring to the power language has in certain groups, that is, the linguistic hierarchy exclusive to particular fields. Muzikayise appears to pay close attention to the language or language variation that holds the most power in each field he enters and in response, delivers what is required. He clearly indicates the language functions he operates as he negotiates his identity from one social group to the next. It must be noted that by “language functions”, I am referring to two things. Firstly, I am referring to how Muzikayise has allocated language or language variation to specific fields and people, and secondly, I am referring to Muzikayise’s awareness of the language variation needed to “survive” and communicate in the different fields he operates in.

This allocating of language function and the identity that comes with each language variation seems to portray someone who is flexible in their linguistic identity – someone who has categorised language functions according to group and is sure of his various subjectivities (Weedon 1987 in Norton Peirce 1995, 1997, 2000).

5.2.2 Cultural Factors that Facilitated Adjustment to University

Muzikayise states that one of the biggest challenges he faced at university in his first year had to do with culture. He explains his difficulty in the following quote:

[One of the biggest challenges was] having to accept that everyone is different, not all of us view things similar, so others have different opinions of certain things and then we are not all the same – we come from different backgrounds actually.

(I, November 2014)

Muzikayise acknowledges the existence of diversity and its undeniable presence at the university. He is very much aware that his habitus does not match the habitus many of the students at university (Bourdieu, Thomson, 2008). He states that he arrived at university “very open and very accepting”(I, November 2014). In addition, he is also eager to learn about other cultures. His social group thus consists of diverse people from a variety of cultures. The extract below describes the diversity of his social groups, as well as his desire to learn about beliefs that are different to his own:

Interviewer: *Why did you choose to join this social group?*

Muzikayise: *To learn different cultures, how they operate, to learn their beliefs, actually. It's actually shocking. My friend, in my group we are multicultural. There is an Indian, a coloured, a White, there's two Blacks and then it just mixed.*

(I, November 2014)

There is a danger when opposing Discourses meet, in that it opens up the opportunity for conflict to occur (Gee, 1990). Muzikayise's self-proclaimed ability to be open and accepting of diversity does not excuse him from such conflict. Upon interaction with some of his Indian peers, he finds that there is conflict in beliefs as well as cultural sensitivities revolving around racial stereotypes:

Interviewer: *Have you experienced any cultural clashes?*

Muzikayise: *Yes, mostly with Indians. They have a different view and when I speak out my view they always defensive so that they always fighting. They assume that it's a cultural thing but I don't know who is wrong and who is right. They are the only cultures that I have clashed with as a first year.*

Interviewer: *Can you give me an example of a cultural clash?*

Muzikayise: *Once, I asked my friends if we can go to Mayfair to go buy some things there. The Indian friends said, "Why do you want us to go to Mayfair? Is it because now Indians sell things cheaper?" I said, "No, that where I know things are cheap". So he thought I was being racist because it is a place where there are a lot of Indians and he is Indian and it was a misconception actually.*

Interviewer: *So, a lot of cultural sensitivities?*

Muzikayise: *Yes.*

(I, November 2014)

As what happens in one field shapes what happens in another (Bourdieu in Thomson, 2008), it is clear that the hypersensitivity of Muzikayise's peers around race has probably been influenced by a field they entered prior to coming to university. As a Black student Muzikayise is perceived as different – an outsider. He does not share habitus (Bourdieu in Maton, 2008; Bourdieu in Kramsch, 2008) with these Indian students and is seen as a threat, in that he is someone that has the potential to insult the racial and cultural identities of his peers. This hypersensitivity causes an undeniable conflict within the field. However, with Muzikayise's consciousness and appreciation for diversity, he capitalises on his openness to and acceptance of diversity, which is a form of capital (Bourdieu in Thomson, 2008) in the super-diverse (Vertovec, 2007) field of the broader university. With this employment of capital, his experiences within the field are positive. Muzikayise's open personality has helped facilitate his adjustment into university within the social field of the university and the academic field of the university.

In relation to the social fields of the university, Muzikayise's open personality has made it easier to fit into university. He has learnt to consider the perspectives of others and has gained the ability to judge what is appropriate talk in relation to the people he is talking to. This is evident in the extract below. This has helped him to avoid such conflicts as mentioned above.

Interviewer: Has being friends with these people made it easier or more difficult to fit in at university?

Muzikayise: Easier, because now I get to see, I get to now know what I can say and not say around specific people. Now I learn that now everyone is different. I mustn't look at things from my perspective but now how can I say something that can affect another person. So that is what helped me from friends like that.

(I, November 2014)

Not only has his tolerance to diversity helped to better negotiate his linguistic identity, but it has also affected how people treat him. Muzikayise reports that he has noticed that

some of his peers are sensitive towards language ideologies and sensitivities. This can be seen in the extract below.

Interviewer: *To what extent do your classmates acknowledge or are sensitive to your language?*

Muzikayise: *They are able to acknowledge that OK, you different and at the same time they don't use the vulgars of my language. Yes, some people are just fascinated by some vulgar words for different languages but now they know, OK, its offensive to them and to others so they may not say that, unlike others that have mentioned those words, even knowing that we are sensitive towards them.*

Interviewer: *When you say "vulgar words" do you mean a word from your language or a naming words?*

Muzikayise: *Naming and vulgar words from my language*

(I, November 2014)

The respect Muzikayise has for his peers as well as the respect they give him in return have helped him negotiate his linguistic identity with these people in the social field of the university.

5.3 Background Factors that Constrained the Adjustment to University

Background factors that constrained Muzikayise's adjustment to university in his first year of study revolved around language in the social field of the university, the academic field of the university as well as on his TE.

5.3.1 Linguistic Constraints

As indicated above, Muzikayise seems aware of his various subjectivities and appears to be flexible with his use of language. Not only does this seem to be the case, but Muzikayise appears to have been able to negotiate the cultures of his peers and ensure mutual respect between them. One would think that this would facilitate his

adaptation to the many fields of the university. However, the realisation of a “painful linguistic prejudice” that rears its head in the social realms of the university is a haunting reminder that the ease at which Muzikayise describes the flexibility of his linguistic subjectivities is disturbed upon his arrival at Wits. The flexibility of his subjectivities is not as straightforward or as simple as he describes, nor is it as easily transposed. There are other peers that are not as tolerant and accepting of diversity as he is. This can be seen in the underlined text of Muzikayise’s examination essay on page 101, where he reports how he was called a “thug” and a “gangster” for mispronouncing English words.

The language of power at university, both among one of the “friends” Muzikayise has made as well as in the formal academic writing of the university, is South African Standard English. Thus, in accordance to the idea of subjectivity (Weedon 1987 in Norton Peirce, 1995, 1997, 2000), as discussed in the literature review (Chapter 2), Muzikayise is subject to the power of English upon his arrival at the university. Muzikayise seems aware of the power South African Standard English holds in the academic fields at the university in terms of the importance of accurate academic writing. As English is not his first language, he reports that he gives himself the right to mispronounce words so that he may cement in his mind their spelling, allowing him to succeed in writing – a crucial communication tool that largely determines one’s ability to climb the university ladder and proceed to the next year. The reasoning behind Muzikayise mispronouncing words is seen in the extract below from his examination script.

I [mis]pronounce some English words like characteristics, infinite and August. I do know how to pronounce these words properly but I choose to pronounce them differently to help me know how to spell them.

(E.S., June 2014)

The concept of investment (Norton Pierce, 1995, 1997, 2000) helps suggest a reason for this self-given right to mispronounce words. As has been discussed in the literature review of this research, this theory explains that learners have complex histories – Bourdieu’s (1990) “habitus” – and multiple desires (the desire for recognition,

affiliation, security and safety (Norton Peirce, 2000). Investment in a target language is an investment in a student's social identity, in that when language learners speak, they are not only exchanging information with target language speakers, but are constantly organising and reorganising who they are and how they relate to the world. Investment in the target language equals investment in the students' identity, an identity which is endlessly changing. Therefore, the notion of investment would suggest that Muzikayise's purposive mispronunciation of words shows his investment in English academic writing. In cementing appropriate spelling for his university writing he is attempting to organise and reorganise who he is and how he relates to the university – he is attempting to develop the identity and attributes appropriate for a university student. In doing so he may feel that he is working towards his desire for recognition as a university student and his affiliation to the university. However, Muzikayise's excuse for mispronouncing words to help him with his writing is not a convincing argument. If anything, this conception of writing is misplaced. Good academic writing has little to do with correct spelling.

Within Muzikayise's social group however, expectations and appropriate language expectations change. Weedon's notion of subjectivity (Weedon, 1987 in Norton Peirce, 1995, 1997, 2000) helps explain the power relations in this micro-domain and the subject position Muzikayise takes on in response to it. Within the smaller domain of Muzikayise's social group, it is not writing that communication is largely based on, but the spoken word. During Muzikayise's interview he confesses that the mockery surrounding his language use is delivered by Indian students who attended government schools. Some of the ridicule he experiences revolves around his pronunciation of English words and lack of familiarity with Latin terminology, as can be seen in the extracts below from Muzikayise's examination script:

I was called illiterate by my friends in my third month in varsity. This was because I couldn't read a word properly, in my defence it was a Latin word which I was unfamiliar of because it was in a science context.

In my first week I was called a “Thug”, “Gangster” for the way I pronounce some English words like characteristics, infinite and August.

As some of the ridicule he experiences revolves around his pronunciation of English words and lack of familiarity with Latin terminology, it can be said that the students who bully him have attended government schools that have ensured they are familiar with Latin terminology, that these students are proficient in Standard English (with regard to Standard South African pronunciation) and, as they are Indian students, do not have a BSAE accent. Consequently, those in his social group who are proficient in Standard English and do not have a BSAE accent hold the most power – or at least they perceive this to be the case because of the power English holds in the broader field of the university. Those who seem to have had access to English as a home language, have at their disposal a native or native-like accent (the words “native and native-like” referring to language that closely resembles that of first language speakers) and who have received schooling that has exposed them to Latin terms, are those that hold the power – they are those that determine what type of language use, or rather variety of English is acceptable. Muzikayise’s strategy of survival in pronouncing words differently to enable him to succeed in the academic field of essay writing is not appreciated among his friend’s group. The words “thug”, “gangster” and “illiterate”, echo indications of a type of person who is not worthy or not intelligent enough to have a place at university. Muzikayise’s friends do not only judge his social language use but police his academic language abilities. In this instance, it is evident that the domains of friendship and academia are overlapping. In accordance with Bourdieu’s (1977) theory of the right to speak and impose reception (as cited in Norton Peirce, 1997), this labelling and name calling only serves as a means to rob Muzikayise of his right to speak and be heard within his social domain at university. In a new environment where he attempts to adapt to a field where English, and solely English, holds much power, his ability to juggle the domains of university academic writing and that of his social group prove a lot for Muzikayise. As a newcomer to university in need of making new friends, he seems to recognise the existence of greater social powers. Within his social group, he allows the power to be bestowed on his “friends” – native or native-like speakers of English. As someone who lacks the type of language valued in this group, he gives into the idea that

he is lesser than these “all knowing friends” and rather than assert his identity, or attempt to negotiate his identity with regard to accent or pronunciation, his feelings of inadequacy lead to the silencing of his voice (Bourdieu’s theory of the right to speak and impose reception, 1977 in Norton Peirce, 1997; Weedon’s notion of subjectivity in Norton Peirce, 1995, 1997, 2000). The overwhelming sense of power and the need to belong (Norton Peirce, 2000) that his “friends” hold over him as native-like speakers of English is so strong that he ignores his gut that tells him that his identity should not be hidden and that he should not be forced into silence:

Because of this linguistic prejudice, I received from my so called friends, I now remain silent in the group and rarely speak English. I know this is not a way to handle the issue but I prefer holding my thoughts and emotions back to keep the friendship going because I have grown attached to them.

(E.S., June 2014)

There are two theories which may help explain Muzikayise’s silence. The first is rooted in Bourdieu’s (1977) work and the second in Elbow’s (1987). Bourdieu’s concept of symbolic violence (1977) (Kramsch, 2013) perfectly describes Muzikayise’s ease at which he accepts his lesser status and allows himself to be silenced. The theory of symbolic violence explains how symbolic power is used by those who have symbolic resources over those who do not have it. The theory goes on to explain that people subjected to symbolic violence are not passive recipients; rather, when they accept their subjection as natural and as a necessary way things should be, they are agreeing to their own subjection. It is evident in Muzikayise’s story that his friends hold symbolic power – the language (variation) of power important to succeed at the university. They use this power to mock Muzikayise and subject him to their power. Muzikayise in turn accepts his subjection, conforms, loses his voice and masks his identity. It is unclear in his data if this is because he believes that as people who hold the symbolic power of proficiency in Standard English, they are worthy friends and their acts are acceptable.

The second theorist that may provide further insight into Muzikayise’s reason for his silence is Elbow’s (1987) work on audience. Although his work is based on the effects

of audience on writers as they write, his insights are applicable to Muzikayise's situation. As indicated in the literature review, Elbow (1987) states that sometimes audience is inhibiting and causes us to struggle to figure out what to say. They make us feel unintelligent but as soon as we get out of their presence, everything we wanted to say floods into our minds. This reaction to audience is not always intended by the audience themselves. At times this is a build-up of fear that needs confidence in order to dispel. As Muzikayise's first language is not English, it is possible that he is insecure in his capabilities. His audience, which in this case are his friends, do little to support him and help him overcome his insecurities as his speech receives negative feedback. It is thus possible that his audience makes him feel unintelligent, resulting in his speech being inhibited. As Muzikayise faces the struggle to figure out what to say, he eventually gives up and crawls into silence. Proof that his friends as his debilitating audience lead him into silence is evident in the above extract, when Muzikayise says:

Because of this linguistic prejudice, I received from my so called friends, I now remain silent in the group and rarely speak English.

(E.S, June 2014)

However, as Elbow's (1987) theory suggests, when his audience is absent, everything he feels is said – confessed in the form of an examination essay where he is faced with the opportunity to communicate to an audience that is interested in his linguistic prejudicial experiences. Proof of the effects of an interested audience is seen throughout his account. It is evident in the way he confesses that he is suffering prejudiced for his language from those who should be his friends and it is noted in the manner in which he uses the exam essay to defend himself. Muzikayise uses the exam and the audience of interested and trusting Sociolinguistics lecturers to say what he feels he cannot say to his friends. That is, he defends his mispronunciation of words: "I do know how to pronounce these words properly but I choose to pronounce them differently to help me know how to spell them," and defends his inability to read a specific word – "in my defence it was a Latin word which I was unfamiliar of because it was in a science context" (E.S, June 2014).

In my next point, I would like to discuss linguistic investment and in doing so, refer back to the quote on page 110. In this quote Muzikayise explains how his peers' linguistic prejudice has led to his silence, a silence which he approves of because he wishes to keep his friendship alive. Unlike Norton Peirce's theory on investment (1995, 1997, 2000), Muzikayise seems to lack investment in any language by his silencing. This may be an indication of identity conflict within him and shows a difficulty in negotiating his identity as he attempts to adapt to university (Pierce Norton, 1997). Nevertheless, although Muzikayise does not invest in a language within his social group, he does invest in something else. In the extract mentioned (page 110), it is not only evident that the power that Muzikayise is subjected to is so strong that he forces himself into silence, but it also shows what he is willing to invest in – his friends. He is not prepared to take risks that would threaten his friendship, even though he identifies his friends as “so called”. In describing her theory, Norton Peirce (1995, 1997, 2000) states, as previously mentioned, that language learners have multiple desires (the desire for recognition, affiliation, security and safety and that she deems that investment in a target language is an investment in a student's social identity. Although Muzikayise shows no investment in language by silencing his voice, he does show investment in his friends, no doubt for the same reasons Norton Peirce (1995, 1997, 2000) says people invest in language for recognition, affiliation to a social group, security and safety.

Muzikayise's being subject to power in the social field of the university and his investment in his “so called friends” that ultimately lead him to silence, may probably affect opportunities available to him at the university, both in an academic and within a social setting, as predicted by Weedon's (1987) theory of subjectivity (in Norton Peirce, 1995, 1997, 2000).

Muzikayise, however, does not seem to remain silent for his entire first year at university and there seems to be a shift from someone who is experiencing a “painful linguistic prejudice” to someone who is not disturbed by the criticism he faces. Rather, instead of remaining silent he teasingly provokes a friend of his who ridiculed his pronunciation. This is evident in the extracts below from Muzikayise's interview:

Muzikayise: *I just continued on but then only with her – with her I actually mispronounce some words deliberately just to spite her actually. Ya, that's how different it is.*

Interviewer: *So, that prejudice hasn't affected you at all?*

Muzikayise: *Nothing at all.*

As has been mentioned, during my interview with Muzikayise later on in the year in November (five month after his examination essay was written), he seemed less concerned about the linguistic prejudices based on his accent and pronunciation. He no longer recognised this as a constraint. Rather than use the excuse about adapting his language for the sake of survival in the written academic field of the university, he stated the following:

Interviewer: *And when said that you've got that friend that ridicules your English pronunciation, do you think that you are feeling...that you are experiencing any identity conflicts when she's doing that? Do you feel the need to portray yourself differently?*

Muzikayise: *Nope actually. That was an identity I adopted even when I was a child. Pronounced things differently just for humour – for humour. But she started complaining about it. I didn't see why should I stop because of one person's opinion. I just continued on but then only with her – with her I actually mispronounce some words deliberately just to spite her actually. Ya that's how different it is.*

(I, November 2014)

As can be seen above, Muzikayise's excuse for mispronouncing words has changed from a means for survival to it being a habit that is rooted in his childhood. The most likely reason for Muzikayise's pronunciation is perhaps entrenched in his habitus. Bourdieu (Maton, 2008) explains that the foundational structures of habitus are one's education and family life. It is likely that his Muzikayise's "mispronunciation" of words

is more to do with the accent of BSAE, which he probably appropriated at school and/or in his home environment. Although Muzikayise does not vocalise his identity as being that of a BSAE speaker and stand up for the accent/pronunciation that comes with this, he does show that he is starting to become less concerned about the opinions of others when he says, “why should I stop because of one person’s opinion” and when he firmly states that he does not feel that he has been affected by the prejudice of his “friend”. In addition, the teasing of his friend shows that he is feeling less sensitive about the issue than he was at the start of the year.

In addition to the difficulties Muzikayise experiences in the field of his social group at university, he also experiences constraints with academic writing, such as is the case with Dianne. Prior to discussing this, he explains that he was successful in the English subject at school but confesses that the school he attended did not focus much attention on reading and practising English because it was a monoculture environment. This is evident in the extracts below from his interview:

English in high school was one of those subjects I had high marks, but towards the end I became an average student, but it was one of those subjects I was strong. I was able to hold my own there.

The school I went to not really multicultural, some people are just the same, whilst the school I went to for TE - multicultural, multilingual, a lot of people from different backgrounds and then they encouraged reading in that school, reading and the practice of English properly, whilst in my school there was never that reinforcement to practice English correctly – it was the opposite.

As was mentioned in Dianne’s case, Bourdieu (Thomson, 2008) suggests that some people who enter fields are more advantaged than others because the structure of the field depends on a certain type of capital and the field structures what counts as capital in that field. People who have the necessary capital can become more successful than others in that particular field because they can gain more capital which in turn leads to the acquisition of social goods. What counts as capital in the written field of academic writing in the classrooms at WSoE depends on both written forms of academic language

and written Standard English. According to Muzikayise, although he was good at English, his school did not focus on the practice of English nor did it encourage reading. If reading was not encouraged, it can be said that Muzikayise lacks experience with written forms of academic literacy. He is thus disadvantaged in his first year at university due to his schooling background, as Dianne was.

When Muzikayise returns home from university to his community, his status as an unintelligent and incompetent English speaker dramatically shifts; in fact it is the complete opposite to his treatment in the social field of the university. He seems to be celebrated in his community for his ability to speak English and because of the fact that he is a student at Wits. Note the following extract from his interview:

Interviewer: *Do people in your family/community treat you differently now that you are a student at Wits? Explain.*

Muzikayise: *Even at the corner they will be busy playing soccer, when they see me, they will not talk about any related issue unless it's about school. When they see me they only talk about school, working hard, and trying to be the best whilst I just only want to talk about soccer as well. They talk about something different. They think I'm...every time they see me they think, "oh let me tell him about how good I've been". They think I'm a parent who likes hearing good things about the, no I also want to talk about pizza, girls and cars as well.*

Interviewer: *So, do you think that they now see you as this super clever...*

Muzikayise: *Yes, exactly, they see me as this super clever kid.*

Interviewer: *And what about the way that they see you as an English speaker?*

Muzikayise: *Oh ya. They think, ...um, I like making puns, jokes ya, so they think, "Oh ya, Muzikayise, is a master of English, he can make a joke. He understands all the English jokes that we can't understand". Ya. They think that I always speak English, even when I'm calling someone I'll speak English, even went I,*

um, order something, like a quarter, they think, “oh he will order it in English, ya.

Interviewer: *How does this make you feel?*

Muzikayise: *But I’m not happy (laughs), but I’m not happy. I’m not happy because that’s not me. That just they thought of whilst I won’t do, I don’t do those things and I will never do such, ya. I just want to be seen differently. I want to have a different identity as a teacher and at university and at the community – I want a different one. That’s why I’m not happy with the way they treat me.*

Interviewer: *How would you prefer that they saw you?*

Muzikayise: *Thy saw me as one of them. Like, oh, they also talk colloquial to me. They also, they must also, uh, be able to understand, “he is also one of us. He, he fails. He is only human.” They must see that I’m only human. I’m also human. I’m also a student like them. I also have ups and downs. I’m not super clever, smart. I’m just a normal student like them.*

Interviewer: *So, would you prefer them not to see you as a master of English then?*

Muzikayise: *(laughing) No, OK, (laughs) ya, then there, then there!*

(I, November 2014)

Weedon’s theory of subjectivity (Norton Peirce, 1995, 1997, 2000) states that identity is multiple, complex and contradictory. This is exactly what can be seen in this data. The identity Muzikayise is believed to have in his social field at university directly opposes the identity his friends in his community believe him to have. Bourdieu (Thomson, 2008) explains in his theory of field that fields contain certain people with their own set of beliefs that determine the rules of the field – what is considered capital and what is not. In the social realms of community, his friends are of the opinion that that which gives you capital is the type of tertiary institution you attend as well as being fluent in

English. This gives those in the field status. Muzikayise has both of these things. Firstly, he is attending Wits University, a prestigious South African university – regarded to many South Africans as one of the best universities in South Africa. As reported on the website of the University of the Witwatersrand, Wits has a reputation of research and academic brilliance. It is reported that it is one of only two universities in Africa that has been ranked as a top institution in the world in two different international rankings.

Furthermore, Wits University is the only university in the country that is recorded by the 2007 ISI international rankings as being in the top 1% in the world in seven distinct fields of research. It has also received the highest levels of external financial support of all universities in the country (Wits University, 2000). Secondly, Muzikayise, as mentioned, is proficient in English, a language commonly regarded by many as a status language. In recent decades English has spread globally and has become a power language of our time. It is currently the most important language to learn in order to move up in the world. It is the language of international business and trade, intellectual activity, technological and scientific advances, social trends, popular culture, as well as national and international communication.

The hegemonic position of English in the world enables those who are fluent in the language to gain access to upward social mobility nationally and globally (Alexander in Westcotte, 2005). Muzikayise's friends in his community may be aware of this status of English. They are wary of the fact that Muzikayise was a good student of English at school – he “received high marks” and could “hold [his] own”. Furthermore, they are aware that he is attending an academic institution that has chosen English as their sole medium of instruction. Muzikayise is thus perceived to be a “master of English”. The word “master” suggests someone who is skilled and who is the best at what he is claimed to be skilled at. This seems to be how Muzikayise's friends in the field of his community view him.

Muzikayise's elevated status as a Wits student seems linked to assumptions of intelligence, which no doubt is associated with the fact that the institution is known for its high academic status. In response to Muzikayise's status, he is placed in the position of a “parent”, a person of higher intelligence who is successful. Muzikayise's analogy is

an interesting one. As a parent is concerned with their children's academic success and beams with pride to know they are doing well, Muzikayise's friends stop their childish games of soccer to seek his approval by telling him about their achievements. The difference in dynamic between the social field of the community and the social field of the university are directly opposite. In the social worlds of the university, Muzikayise is the one that needs approval from his friends, whereas in his community, he is the one given the power to award approval.

It is believed by Holland et al. (1998) (Holland et al., 1998; Urrieta, 2007) that people have the ability to make sense of themselves through internal dialogues. This helps people when they are socially labelled by others, as they then have the ability to decide whether to accept, reject or negotiate the position people place them in. Muzikayise's rejects the social position his community social group places him in. His internal dialogue is seen in the extracts below. As is evident in the quotes below, Muzikayise wants to be placed at the same level as his friends. He does not feel extraordinary – he is “human”. He does not consider himself to be “supersmart” – he fails like everyone else:

They think I'm a parent who likes hearing good things about them. No, I also want to talk about pizza, girls and cars as well.

I just want to be seen differently. I want to have a different identity as a teacher and at university and at the community – I want a different one. That's why I'm not happy with the way they treat me.

[I would prefer] they saw me as one of them. Like, oh, they also talk colloquial to me. They also, they must also, uh, be able to understand he is also one of us. He, he fails. He is only human. They must see that I'm only human. I'm also human. I'm also a student like them. I also have ups and downs. I'm not super clever, smart. I'm just a normal student like them.

(I, November 2014)

In contrast Muzikayise is quite content with the title of “master of English”, as is evident in the extract below:

Interviewer: *So, would you prefer them not to see you as a master of English then?*

Muzikayise: *(laughing) No, OK, (laughs) ya, then there, then there!*

(I, November 2014)

In the social field of the university, Muzikayise does not have the capital to be regarded as superior when it comes to his proficiency in English and his accent. However, in the social field of his community he escapes from language prejudice to an elevated position. The pride of his fluency in the English language he experiences when he communicates with people he perceives to have a lower proficiency in English than him (Black people with rural backgrounds), as well as the insecurity he feels when he communicates with people he deems are more competent in English than he is, is evident in his explanation of how he employs the English language:

Interviewer: *Do you find that you change your English depending on the type of English someone speaks, like if you talking to um, a White person from a private school versus someone from a rural background or someone from a government school that's speaking English?*

Muzikayise: *Mmmm [in agreement], yes it's different, there is a difference but it will shock you. Ahh, if someone from a rural school speaks English, I'll speak English 100% with them just to see how far they know English, to see where they lack and to also see, to also show them I can also speak English fluently. And then now with the White person I will speak less. I will probably say one sentence every three minutes and allow them to continue the conversation.*

(I, November 2014)

So as can be seen in this extract, Muzikayise uses his superior knowledge of English and the status his less proficient friends give him to police the language of others and

prove to them that he is not as unintelligent as his peers at university state. As Holland et al. (1998) (Holland et al.,1998; Urrieta, 2007) would argue, Muzikayise is rejecting these labels. It can be said that when Muzikayise focuses on speaking English in this instance he is investing in the language, which in turn gives him the right to speak, as Peirce Norton's (2000) work on investment suggests. Muzikayise's investment in the English is an investment in a more English identity, to which he appears to want to appropriate. This desire can be seen when he states, "I just want to be seen differently. I want to have a different identity as a teacher and at university". This quote would thus suggest that Muzikayise may like to be seen as a legitimate English teacher and English-speaking student at university.

Despite this investment and his desire to develop a more English identity, Muzikayise falls short of this goal when communicating with more proficient speakers of English. In contrast, consistent with Muzikayise's silencing by an Indian friend who mocks his pronunciation, Muzikayise's account shows how he is afraid of policing or leading the conversations of White people, perhaps because he deems that owing to their background they would speak better English than he. In his case, as would be argued by Elbow (1987), seems to view White people as an inhibiting audience.

Despite being insecure about speaking English to more proficient speakers of English, as is similar to Dianne's case, Muzikayise finds that exposure to English, which is valued in many fields of the university, has led to an increased use of the language. As is evident in the quote below, English is slowly replacing the mixture of language he speaks in conversation:

Interviewer: *How does your language use show a shift in your language identity. – has your language identity changed since you have been here [at Wits]?*

Muzikayise: *Yes, there was an addition. I used to speak, uh, 40% of my, when I speak 40% was English, 60% was a mix of, uh, other languages, but then now its shifted. Now its 70% in English, 30% in a mix of all the other languages. That's my new identity.*

(I, November 2014)

Muzikayise is not disturbed by this shift in language use or the fact that English is slowly replacing his home language, as is evident when he says that he does not feel like English is conflicting with his Black African languages and views his identity being made up of “a mixture” of these languages. With regard to the increased use of English this may further show his increased investment (Peirce Norton, 2000) in his English identity. This slow change in identity supports Weedon’s (Norton Peirce, 1995, 1997, 2000) belief that identity is not fixed and is subject to change. The gradual shift of language use is further consistent with one of the participants in Bangeni and Kapp’s (2005) study, Andrew. This study documents that Andrew had less opportunity to practice speaking his home language at university which resulted in a gradual loss of his home language. This loss was replaced with a natural ability to speaking English. Lack of opportunity to speak Muzikayise’s home language may not be the reason English is slowly replacing in home languages, as he does state that he “code-switch[es] and [speaks] different varieties with close friends”, as well as code-switches with Black students, as well as multicultural Coloureds and Indians. The reason that English may slowly be taking over may be due to the fact that it is used more often, as it is the language spoken in the field of the classroom as well as in the social field of some of his peers.

As mentioned, Muzikayise is not disturbed by the fact that he is speaking more English than before and still acknowledges that he still speaks multiple languages and thus they are all a part of his identity. His lack of conflict with his multiple identities supports Weedon’s (Norton Peirce, 1995, 1997, 2000) claim that identity is multiple and non-unitary.

5.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, this study explores what kinds of identity experiences two first-year ESL university students face as they attempt to negotiate their linguistic identity experiences within the Sociolinguistics module and beyond. This chapter specifically focuses on the linguistic identity experiences of Muzikayise. Themes explored included a discussion of the facilitating and constraining factors that affected adjustment to university, as well as exploring the losses, gains, negotiations, conflicts and linguistic identity shifts that

Muzikayise experiences. In analysing Muzikayise's data, it was discovered that he seems to be flexible in his language identity and appears to be skilful in adapting to the languages that hold power in particular fields (a facilitating factor in a diverse university). However, when it comes to adapting to English in the social field of the university, the adaptation of linguistic identity is not as easy. In his social group at university, the language of power is English and the accent approved of is not one that reflects BSAE. Owing to this, Muzikayise finds that his pronunciation of words is ridiculed by his friends and he is labelled as someone who is unintelligent and who is not worthy of being at university. This prejudice results in Muzikayise being silenced in the first half of his first year. Muzikayise however, does not remain silent for the entire year. There is evidence of a shift from someone who is experiencing a "painful linguistic prejudice" to someone who is less concerned and less sensitive about people's opinions of his accent.

Nevertheless, there is still evidence that Muzikayise is insecure about his English proficiency when he states that when communicating with White people (individuals presumed to have a better proficiency of English than he) he allows them to dominate the conversation. Muzikayise's treatment and status surrounding English is the complete opposite in his community. At home he is valued and seen as highly intelligent for attending Wits and is regarded as a "master of English". Muzikayise rejects his label of intelligence but is quite content to be known as a master of English – the opposite of what he is considered at university. In contrast to the social field of the university, Muzikayise's friends in his community seek his approval. The pride of his title as a "master of English" is seen in the way he engages with speakers he perceives to have a lower fluency of English than he does. Muzikayise refuses to speak anything but English to these speakers. In doing so, he shows off his ability and judges the proficiency of the person he is talking to.

In addition to the constraining factor, influenced by his background, that he experiences in the social field of the university, Muzikayise also experiences difficulty with academic literacy. This difficulty is a result of lack of experience with academic writing at school. This difficulty is not reported as being overcome. Furthermore, Muzikayise

experiences a shift in his language by the end of his first year. Owing to his exposure to English in the many fields of the university (social and academic), he is experiencing English slowly replacing the mix of languages he is accustomed to speaking in conversation. He is, however, not concerned about this and believes that despite this being the case he still feels that his linguistic identity is multiple and remains made up of a mixture of languages.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

This study was interested in the linguistic identity experiences of first-year university students, for whom English is not a first language. In investigating their linguistic identity experiences, I aimed to explore how their backgrounds (languages, culture and education) facilitated and constrained their adjustment to university. I also aimed to discover the types of losses, gains, negotiations and conflicts these students faced as they develop their linguistic identities both within and outside of university. Furthermore, what was of particular significance was whether students shifted their linguistic identities during their first year at university. If this study found that such shifts occurred, I was interested in how these shifts affected their lives outside of university, as well as how students felt about these shifts. In this chapter I conclude the findings of my study, illustrate how this research confirms and extends what other studies have reported, and provide suggestions for further studies as well as implications for curriculum.

6.2 Findings

I began this research project with a number of assumptions about what my data would reveal. I expected my participants to experience the same things I had heard from peers of mine during my undergraduate degree. I assumed that my data would reveal challenges with English (the medium of instruction at Wits) and the Discourses of the formal fields of the university, such as those used in lecturers and tutorials. I also assumed that the students' ability to adapt to university would be rooted in their social groups, in that the friends they made at university would provide support and assistance so that students would survive the formal fields of the university. The longer students stayed at university, in my mind, meant that they would become increasingly familiar with the Discourse of the formal spaces at university and eventually negotiate a place for their identities – overcoming the conflicts they had with English and formal university Discourse. Upon their return home during university vacation, I assumed that students would feel a disconnect to their home environment and that people in their community would treat them differently because of their educational background.

These assumptions were, however, challenged. My data revealed that the difficulties students experienced when attempting to adapt to university included those to do with Discourses in the formal, academic fields of the university, but what dominated students' conversation in their data was the challenges they faced in the social fields of the university. Conflict and negotiation that occurred within social groups seemed to be the main concern of my participants. Within social groups as well as within the academic spaces of the university and TE, my participants experienced challenges with rules around English, rules regarding African languages, culture and educational background.

Furthermore, what was of particular interest was that these challenges often arose because of conflicting views as to what counts as capital within particular fields – both within and outside of university. In moving between their community and the many fields of the university, my data revealed that what is regarded as capital in one field is not easily transferred to other fields. As claimed by Bourdieu (Thomson, 2008), those who hold power within a field decide how that social worlds functions. Similarly, my data shows that the ability to adapt to the many fields within and outside of the university is influenced by the perception of what others deem is capital as well as what the participants themselves believe counts as capital. These perceptions are shaped by people who are seen as powerful because they hold what is believed to be capital. At times the perception of what counts as capital leads to the policing of language. Unlike Alim and Smitherman's (2012) work, my data shows that policing is both in group and not. In other words, language monitoring occurs within the same racial groups and among different racial groups.

Despite the challenges students experience as they attempt to adapt to the many fields of the university, they find a way to negotiate their identity. Their ability to negotiate their linguistic identities shows that linguistic competence is indeed linked to society – how languages must be used within particular spaces (Hymes, 1971; Bourdieu, 1991, 1997; Gee, 1990, 1996, 1997; Norton Peirce, 1995, 1997, 2000). At times, the process of linguistic identity negotiation is easy and other times not. When the negotiation of linguistic identity is difficult, it is often because of three things. Firstly, it is because

linguistic policing has caused my participants to lose their voice. Secondly, it is because habitus is difficult to change (Bourdieu in Thomson, 2008). Thirdly, it is because my participants' habitus/Discourse is not capital within particular fields or because the students' habitus/Discourse does not match that which is used in the field.

Both students in my study experience linguistic identity shifts, consistent with literature that suggests that identity can be negotiated and is capable of adaptation (Gee, 1990, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002; Bourdieu, 1991, 1997; Norton Peirce, 1995, 1997, 2000; Weedon, 1987). Often these shifts are possible because they have gained voice, agency and confidence.

Above I have presented my main argument. Below, I look at my data. In relation to my main argument, I discuss more closely the background factors that constrained and facilitated adaptation to university. I also consider the losses, gains and negotiations that occurred in the process of negotiating linguistic identity within and outside of university. In discussing losses, gains, conflicts and negotiations, I indicate the linguistic identity shifts that took place as students adapted to various fields. Furthermore, I discuss how shifts have impacted students' lives outside of university. Finally, I indicate how students feel about the shifts they are experiencing. Once I have considered my research data, I turn to discuss recommendations for further research as well as implications for curriculum.

6.2.1 Background Factors that Facilitated the Adaptation to University

Background factors that facilitated Dianne's adjustment to university areas follows. She has similarities with people in her social group. She shares with them the same township culture and is able to understand a variety of African languages. Her ability to communicate in these circumstances is consistent with the literature of mutual intelligibility (Makalela, 2005) and translanguaging (García, 2009; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Makalela, 2013). The ability to engage in this type of communication has come with shifts in linguistic identity. Dianne shifted in her perception of Zulu people and gets over her stubbornness that kept her from engaging with these people. In negotiating her identity with her multilingual peers she also shifts in her perception of

herself. Her identity moves from a “pure Tswana girl” at the start of the year to an identity of collective Africanness.

Background factors that facilitated Muzikayise’s adaptation include his linguistic repertoire and his open nature to diversity. Muzikayise is multilingual. He is fluent in a number of languages and language varieties. At times (in the presence of enabling audiences) this helps him to adapt his language to different races, notions of power and degrees of closeness (in terms of relationships). When he experiences a clash of culture, such as the instance where his peers are hyper-sensitive about cultural prejudice, he capitalises on his openness for diversity. This allows him to negotiate what he can and cannot say to others and in turn, others are able to judge what is appropriate language use when communicating with him.

These background factors enable my participants to have an easier adaptation to university. This brings me to my next theme, negotiation.

6.2.2 Negotiation

My participants were successful in the negotiation of their identities. As mentioned above, background factors that facilitate the adaptation to university assist in the negotiation of linguistic identity. My participants experience forms of easy negotiation and more active forms of negotiation.

With regard to easier negotiation that facilitated transition into university, easier negotiation is seen in the similarities Dianne has with her social group as well as in Muzikayise’s multilingualism, as indicated above. More active forms of negotiation can be seen in how Muzikayise must work to use his openness to diversity to ensure mutual tolerance and smooth communication between him and his peers. More active forms of negotiation are seen in two instances with Dianne. Firstly, it is evident when she must get over her assumptions about Zulu people. Secondly, it is obvious when she returns home that she realises that there is a shift in her language use. She begins speaking English even though she knows that the rules of the township do not accept this. She thus actively works in the negotiation of her identity when she moves between home

and university, so that she behaves and speaks in a manner that is acceptable in both spaces.

These examples of negotiation are consistent with three theories. Firstly, it shows that linguistic competence includes an understanding of the ways in which language must be used. This includes knowing when to what to talk about with whom, when, where and in what manner (Hymes, 1971; Gee, 1990, 1996, 1998; Bourdieu, 1991, 1997). Secondly, in instances of simple negotiation, when my participants simply draw from their linguistic or cultural repertoires without effort is in line with theories that suggest that transitioning into new places is easier if their habitus/Discourse matches those valued in the social spaces they enter (Gee, 1990; Bourdieu in Thomson, 2008; Maton, 2008), because it seems natural to act in that way. Thirdly, when my participants encounter situations that enable them to negotiate identity more actively, this is consistent with Bourdieu's (Thomson, 2008) view that players within a field employ various strategies to advance in the field.

6.2.3 Background Factors that Constrained the Adjustment to University and Caused Conflict

Both Dianne and Muzikayise experience conflict (external and internal) as they (re)develop their linguistic identity in their first year at university. Conflict with linguistic identity occurs within the formal and informal fields of the university. This conflict occurred because of background factors that constrained their adjustment to university. Background factors that constrained Dianne's and Muzikayise's adaptation to university that led them to experience conflict included issues of language (spoken and written) as well as culture. These challenges are consistent with theory that suggests that fields have rules and skills that people are required to be competent in in order to compete in those fields, as well as literature that claims that success within fields is dependent on whether one's habitus/Discourse is a form of capital within the fields and whether one's habitus/Discourse matches that which is valued within a field (Gee, 1990; Bourdieu, 1996; Bourdieu in Maton, 2008; Bourdieu in Kramsch, 2008). Both Muzikayise and Dianne are exposed to conflicting messages of what is capital. What is considered cultural and linguistic capital in one field is not seen as cultural and

linguistic capital in another field. At times they do not have or believe they do not have that which is seen as capital in that particular field. Below I consider the types of conflict mentioned.

In relation to written language, both participants experienced challenges with academic writing. Owing to the fact that success within fields is dependent on whether one's habitus/Discourse is a form of capital, both Dianne and Muzikayise are disadvantaged when it comes to academic writing. In the formal field of the university, academic literacy is seen as capital needed to survive. Both students lack this capital because their schools did not prepare them for this field. Writing at school was based on a different type of linguistic capital that did not include academic Discourse.

The next constraining factors focus on literature that suggests survival within a field is dependent on whether one's habitus/Discourse matches that which is valued within a field. This consistency is evident in the following instances.

Cultural constraints that cause conflict include two points. Firstly, it can be seen when Muzikayise's habitus as a Black man does not match the habitus of his Indian peers which led to conflict in the form of cultural sensitivities about prejudicial assumptions.

Secondly, it is seen the manner in which Dianne's habitus revolving around the naming practices of elders and authority figures clashes with the rules of the field imposed by the habitus of those in power (lecturers and tutors). Dianne is exposed to contradictory messages about cultural capital in terms of appropriate ways to act. At home referring to elders and authority figures by name is not a form of capital but within the formal, academic field of the university this is often valued. Bourdieu (Thomson, 2008) believes that social agents within a field know how to behave because the rules seem natural to them. My data reveals that this may be the result of the conflict Dianne experiences when it comes to being made to call lecturers by their names. The natural way of behaving in the formal field of the university has possibly resulted in a lack of awareness of or lack of sensitivity to students' habitus that clash when it comes to naming practices. The inability of Dianne to call her lecturers by name, as is required of her, is in line with Bourdieu's belief that habitus is difficult to change because it is so

deeply entrenched. Thus, Dianne cannot force herself to adapt to the naming rules of the formal field of the university. Dianne's habitus in these moments are constraining factors to her adjustment to university.

The final instance of linguistic identity conflict that is consistent with literature that states that survival is based on whether one's habitus/Discourse is valued within a field, is seen when Dianne rejects her Xhosa lineage and is shunned by her community members and peers. Here, there is a clear clash of Discourse as Dianne interacts with communities outside of her home. Her primary Discourse (Gee, 1990), that includes a belief that it is acceptable that she cannot speak Xhosa, clashes with the beliefs of the community members that oppose this. In line with Bourdieu's (Thomson, 2008) view that habitus is transposable, students who are from similar communities to Dianne's and have the same views as Dianne's community enter university. There is thus a continued clash of beliefs when Dianne engages with these students. Here, Dianne encounters conflicting views of what counts as linguistic capital. What is accepted in her home is not accepted in her community, neither is it accepted in the fields the mentioned peers are situated in.

6.2.4 Losses

As mentioned in my main argument, my data showed that adapting to university is influenced by perception. The perception of what is regarded as capital in a field is rooted in the perception of others and our own perception. My participants experienced losses of voice and confidence owing to the policing of language by others.

Dianne loses confidence in her abilities to speak English. It seems as though she feels that her English proficiency is good enough for the township, where it not common to be fluent in Standard English, but not good enough to communicate with speakers at university that she perceives as speaking a more prestigious variation of English. This results in her voice being stunted. Her self-consciousness either leads her to refuse to speak with these peers or it results in her careful planning of language prior to speaking to more proficient speakers. Dianne's loss of confidence is further seen on TE when she is intimidated by speakers of WSAE and allows her students to correct her pronunciation.

Muzikayise's loss of voice and confidence is evident when his peers label him negatively for his mispronunciation of words and for not knowing certain terminology. His loss of confidence is seen in how he remains silent in the first half of the year in his social group.

The loss of voice and confidence of my participants is consistent with Elbow's (1987) belief that the audience one is surrounded by affects the ability to have a voice and affects the quality of one's voice. My data reveals that the ability to produce voice was dependent on the policing of language. Literature on the policing of language suggests that there is a social monitoring of language that involves White people policing the language of Black people and judging whether they are articulate or not (Alim & Smitherman, 2012). My data shows that the policing of language is done by people who speak a variety of English deemed as linguistic capital within particular fields. These people, unlike what is indicated in the literature, are not always White. My data shows that Indians, Blacks and Whites monitor English. Thus, the monitoring of language is not in the hands of a specific race but based on the English variety that holds the most power within a particular field. My data further reveals that it not only those that surround us that police language. Our perception of what is good and bad English contributes to lack of confidence, careful use of language and loss of voice.

Moreover, Urrieta (2007) and Holland et al. (1998) suggest that one has the ability to resist negative labels. However, while Alim and Smitherman (2012) state that there is a common belief that Black people who are articulate must be celebrated, efforts to negotiate an identity and use a language that you perceive will give you the label of articulacy, is not always appreciated. As is the case with Muzikayise, his attempt to negotiate his linguistic identity by speaking English is not appreciated; rather he is labelled and othered. This rejection compounds the loss of voice and confidence, and makes it difficult to place oneself in a desired position.

Norton Peirce (1995, 1998, 2000) is of the belief that one can place oneself in a desired position to gain the right to be heard and to speak. She acknowledges the difficulty of asserting an identity that benefits the learning of a second language. While my participant's concern was not learning a new language, but rather to attain voice

dependent on the rules for speaking (appropriate language variation, accent pronunciation) and the beliefs around language use, placing oneself in a desired position is not always accepted by others. This is seen in the above instance where Muzikayise is mocked for his pronunciation, despite his efforts to adapt to the language of his peers. In Dianne's case, it is seen when she reports how her students correct her pronunciation and when other more proficient speakers at university gossip about the incorrect use of language. In an extension of Norton Peirce's work, my data reveals that not only do others decide if the desired position you are trying to portray is acceptable or not. We are as much to blame for our own rejection and lack of voice. This is evident in two ways. People may lack confidence in their ability to appropriate a desired position. This lack of confidence can affect the legitimacy of the identity we are trying to portray, therefore placing us in danger of being perceived as outsiders. This may in part have contributed to the labelling and gossiping experienced by both of my participants. Lack of confidence can also affect the ability to engage with people. This can result in the avoidance of communicating with others, as is seen with both Muzikayise and Dianne. This belief that people are in part to blame for their own subjection is why Elbow's (1987) theory of the effect of audience may be helpful for research on language and identity despite it being work rooted in writing.

In addition to this, my data reveals that the lack of confidence and loss of voice students experience because of negative audience and policing, does not keep them from policing others. The policing of language is seen in both of my participants. First, I consider Dianne. When she is surrounded by an audience that is not threatening – an audience she perceives to have less competence in English than her, she polices their language by correcting their speech. Similarly, when Muzikayise returns home there is a shift in how others view his English proficiency. In his community he is valued for his ability to speak English among people who lack fluency in the language. Knowledge of his superior competence in English when it comes to less proficient speakers, results in him monitoring the language of others (within and outside of university). Like Dianne, he flaunts his superior fluency of English in front of those he perceives as “less than”.

6.2.5 Gains

Despite the challenges faced by my participants, they are able to negotiate their identities and shift their linguistic identities. This was possible through the gaining of voice, agency and confidence.

One of the major linguistic identity shifts Muzikayise experiences is the attainment of his voice. He resists the labels his peers place on him and the lesser position placed on him because of his pronunciation. He acknowledges that his pronunciation is something he has always done and does not feel that he should change because others disapprove. In retaliation he teases those that mock him by pronouncing words “incorrectly” to spite them.

Dianne also gains agency and voice. This is also a major linguistic identity shift of hers. Dianne rejects beliefs that she is not African enough because she rejects her Xhosa side by replacing her Xhosa name with her second name. Through this, she re-creates herself and negotiates an identity of a “pure Tswana girl”. For those who already know her lineage, Dianne gains confidence in who she is and who she is not. She asserts her identity by refusing to be subject to anymore criticism regarding her Xhosa identity. She urges critics to make peace with who she wants to be perceived as and provokes them by suggesting that she may become even more hybrid – more unconventional when she one day marries.

The ability to assert an identity and gain voice fits in with literature that suggests that people are not passive in the portrayal of identity (Weedon, 1987; Holland et al., 1998). They have a choice whether to reject the labels placed on them or accept them. The rejection of labels is seen in two forms with my participants. Firstly, interviews with both students reveal what Holland et al. (Holland et al., 1998; Holland et al. in Urrieta, 2007) call a “space of authoring”. The interview shows their internal dialogues in which they reject their labels and work towards negotiating a new position. Secondly, the negotiation of a new position is evident through their language with others. As Weedon’s (1987) work suggests, my participants use language to create their subjectivity – their sense of who they are. They use speech with others to challenge lesser positions placed on them to work towards establishing different social positions.

Above I have discussed two of the four sub-questions of my research. I have presented my findings on how the background factors of two first year students facilitated and constrained their adjustment to university. I have also showed the negotiations, conflicts, losses, gains and linguistic identity shifts my participants experienced as they attempted to (re)develop their linguistic identities within and outside of university. I now present my findings on the final two sub-questions of my research. Firstly, I discuss how shifts that occurred because of the exposure to English and university Discourses affected students' lives outside of university. Secondly, I consider how the two students felt about the shifts they are experiencing.

6.2.6 How have the Shifts that Occurred because of the Exposure to English and University Discourses Impacted Students' Lives outside of University?

Dianne experiences many shifts in her linguistic identity; however, she only identifies one as having impacted her life outside of university. Despite the struggles she experienced with English in the many fields of the university, this impact was due to her exposure to English. Upon returning home, Dianne finds that she speaks English without realising it. Although this is happening, she remains aware that the rules of this field often do not appreciate this. She shows evidence of conscious linguistic negotiation as she attempts to move between home and university.

Muzikayise's treatment and status surrounding English is the complete opposite in his community as opposed to the social fields of the university. At home he is valued and seen as highly intelligent for attending Wits and is regarded as a "master of English". In contrast to the social field of the university, Muzikayise's friends in his community seek his approval. They want him to know that they are just as successful as they perceive him to be. This further emphasises the point made earlier about how students are exposed to contradictory messages of capital in different fields. At university Muzikayise's pronunciation and lack of knowledge in scientific Latin terminology is not regarded as capital, whereas at home he is valued for the knowledge he has – or is perceived to have, and is celebrated for his English skills.

6.2.7 How Students Feel about the Shifts they Are Experiencing

Dianne's data reveals that she is experiencing many linguistic identity shifts; however, she only vocalises her feelings towards one shift. This shift revolves around her decision to renegotiate her linguistic identity without the acknowledgement of her Xhosa heritage at university. Dianne has been plagued by people's judgments about her not being able to speak her father's tongue. She is exposed to this in her community and it follows her to university. As she transitions into university she is tired of the labels people place on her as well as the lesser position they try to impose on her. Through the negotiation of her linguistic identity, she figures out who she is and who she is not. She expresses that she is happy with who she is and gains confidence to resist the labels people place on her. These labels include her being a traitor to the Xhosa nation, forgetful of her roots and that she is not African enough. Once she gains contentment in who she is she gains voice and that voice gives her more confidence.

Muzikayise rejects the label of intelligence placed on him by his friends in his community; however, he is quite content to be known as a master of English – the opposite of what he is considered at university. The pride of his title as a “master of English” is seen in the way he engages with speakers he perceives to have a lower fluency in English than he does. Muzikayise refuses to speak anything but English to these speakers. In doing so, he shows off his ability and judges the proficiency of the person he is talking to. This emphasises the point made earlier about how those who are policed also police others. Linguistic policing seems tied to confidence that comes with a higher sense of capital that those you are in conversation with.

6.3 Recommendations for Further Research

This study examined the linguistic identity experiences of two first-year students as they attempt to negotiate their linguistic identities in their first year of study. Both these students were ESL speakers, were Black and spoke Black African languages. This study lacks the ability to be generalised because of its small sample size. Therefore, further research can be conducted to include a wider range of students. Furthermore, owing to the fact that the students studied were similar in race and linguistic background, additional research can be conducted in which students studied can come from a number

of contrasting backgrounds –different races, classes and linguistic backgrounds (African, European and Asian). Additional research can also examine the same students throughout their studies to track their identity shifts within and outside of university as they become more accustomed to the various fields at university (academic worlds and various linguistic groups they engage with). Finally, in this study, both students chose to focus their experiences on the informal spaces of the university; thus additional studies can be conducted to see how the challenges they face or do not face affects their adjustment in the formal fields of the university as well as examine the extent to which these experiences motivate these students to stay at university and complete their studies.

6.4 Implications for Curriculum

Wits University takes pride in its diversity. It celebrates its multilingualism and multiculturalism. The university tries to create a learning environment that is comfortable for students of varying linguistic backgrounds. This is evident by the welcoming of students during first-year orientation with songs and dances from different linguistic communities in South Africa, as well as by the occasional greeting of students in a number of languages as they enter their lectures. There are some educators at the WSoE that try to promote the appreciation and tolerance of diversity as they teach. In addition, there are educators that teach their students to be the same. They do this by clarifying contradictory notions of respect when communicating with people of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, so that they may influence their students to become teachers who respect and value diversity. What is not focused on at the university in general and in teacher training (education courses) are issues regarding “in group” and “out group” linguistic persecution (linguistic persecution by people of the same or different linguistic or racial group). The Sociolinguistics module, offered only to first-year, subject English students for a few weeks, is the only course that touches on this.

As can be seen in my research, first-year students experience a number of conflicts as they attempt to negotiate their identities. First-year students are also subject to linguistic prejudice. Difficulty in negotiating linguistic identity and exposure to prejudice happens

mostly because of the perception of capital. The Sociolinguistics course has been a productive space for students to begin (re)negotiating their linguistic identities. It is a space which discusses linguistic persecution. Although the course has been helpful in assisting students to negotiate their linguistic identities and helping them overcome some of the issues that caused them conflict (as is evident in Dianne's data), students are never completely free of prejudice. When they go on TE or engage with other students at university they face linguistic persecution. Just because they are aware of linguistic persecution and labelling, does not mean others are.

I believe that what is needed at the WSoE is a course that runs throughout the four years of study. This course should reinforce the existence of different varieties of languages (varieties of the same and different languages) that exist in South Africa and the world. Emphasis should be placed on debunking myths around language variation and intelligence. This course should promote the appreciation of diversity, hybrid identities and identities that do not fit essentialist notions of identity. Furthermore, this course should problematise issues of linguistic conflict, linguistic persecution, silencing and loss of confidence. These points should be integrated with other courses offered on campus, such as education courses that study bullying, and teaching methodologies.

Aspects of the Sociolinguistics course should also be infused into this. For example, the exploration of students' (past and present) experiences as valued subject matter to propel the process of the (re)negotiation of linguistic identity may be helpful. Through such a course, students can gain confidence in who they are and who they want to be. They can gain agency and voice to assert their identities. They can be equipped with knowledge about the reality of hybridity and language variation to educate those who try to place them in a lesser position. Furthermore, they can gain important knowledge and skills to help the learners they teach to accept one another and avoid negative labelling. They can also better help their students to negotiate their linguistic identities.

6.5 Summary

In this chapter, I presented my main argument. This was followed by a close discussion of the background factors that constrained and facilitated adaptation to university, as well as the losses, gains and negotiations that occurred in the process of my participants

negotiating their linguistic identities within and outside of university. In discussing losses, gains, conflicts and negotiations, I indicate the linguistic identity shifts that took place as students adapted to various fields. I then discussed how their shifts impacted their lives outside of university. Furthermore, I indicated how students feel about the shifts they are experiencing. In this discussion, I referred back to my research questions. Once my answers to my research questions had been presented, I provided recommendations for further research and explored the implications my findings have for curriculum.

APPENDIX 1: SOCIOLINGUISTIC EXAMINATION QUESTION

SECTION A

Sociolinguistics

Answer either question 1 or question 2.

EITHER:

QUESTION 1

Read the language biography on **APPENDIX A** and write the essay below:

Write an essay in which you analyse Candace's language biography showing how the concepts of language variation, language and identity and linguistic prejudice are revealed in her account. Then using your own

personal language experiences, reflect on how ONE of the three concepts is relevant in your own life.

[200]

OR:

QUESTION 2

Read the language biography on **APPENDIX A** and write the essay below:

Write an essay in which you analyse Candace's language biography showing how the concepts of language variation, language and identity and linguistic prejudice are revealed in her account. State how your understanding of the relationship between language and society has been shaped and changed by this Sociolinguistics module, focusing on your prejudices and attitudes to your own and others' use of languages.

[200]

APPENDIX A

Language biography – Candace

THE IDENTITY CRISIS MY LANGUAGE CREATED

It never occurred to me that language plays a big role in my identity. Although I only speak two “common” languages, I feel as if these two “simple” languages give me multiple identities. My languages have left me with an identity crisis.

I’m Candace, born in Lenasia and raised in many different places. I was called “the confused race” by high school friends because I have a half black and half coloured mother, a “full blown” coloured (that’s the term they use in the coloured community) father and a white British stepfather. I know it’s a lot but it’s what makes the person that I am. I live with my mother and father number two (stepfather) and visit my biological father when I want to, which is most of the time. I have different languages and identities in my two homes.

I speak two different kinds of English. It sounds strange but it’s true. When I speak English to my coloured family, which is on my father’s side, I speak what the coloured community call “broken English”. My description of this type of English is humorous. Words are mispronounced and sometimes people create their own words that they think you would understand because the word is derived from an Afrikaans word. I feel as if I haven’t received a proper English education when I speak “broken English”. To me it’s like speak the worst and lowest form of English. Oscar Wilde once said, “Today we have everything in

common with the Americans, except of course the language.” I relate to that because I feel I have a lot in common with my father and his family except the kinds of English we speak, except our language. Oscar Wilde implies that the Americans don’t speak the “Queen’s English”. They don’t speak “proper” English. That’s exactly what I think about the English my coloured family speak.

I come from a place called Eldorado Park. It’s on the South West end of Johannesburg. When I go there to visit my father’s family I automatically change the English I speak and the way I pronounce words to accommodate the “broken English” they speak.

Even though I don’t like this language, it interests me. So many people use this form of English and everywhere in any coloured area that you go to, people speak their own kind of “broken English” but amazingly they all understand each other. Some of the words they create make no sense to an English speaker but complete sense to an Afrikaans speaker. “Broken English” saddens me and also sometimes irritates me but as much as it makes me feel strange speaking it, I feel I have to speak it to communicate easily with people in coloured communities. When I speak the English I learnt at my schools and at home from my stepfather, my family think I do that to act white. My grandmother makes comments like “Just because your mother married a white man now you think you white!” It irritates me. Just because I speak the language better than they do, why should I be criticised about that? My family make me feel bad about my version of English but that’s who I am and who cares if I sound white. To avoid hearing critical comments I just speak their version of English.

In most of the coloured communities I’m either looked upon as a “coconut” or called one. “She’s coloured but she keeps her white” is the “broken English” comment I always hear. I don’t declare myself coloured if it means speaking “broken English”, creating my own school uniform, owning the world’s gold and going around telling people “I’m a coloured”. No thank you, I’d rather let my language label me a coconut. The other type of English that I speak is seen as “proper” English. My mother and stepfather always received comments like

“Your children speak so well”. My stepfather is British and I’ve lived with him since I was three. He taught me the English language as he learnt it. The English that I speak when I’m on this side of my family feels natural and doesn’t make me feel bad or strange in any way. One classification I have never been able to get rid of is “coconut”. Even in the white community I’m sometimes labelled as a “coconut”. It’s as if every community or racial environment I’m in I’m seen as something I’m not meant to be. “It is because I am smart and speak perfect English. That is why people treat me differently” (Matlwa, 2007). This is taken from an extract from Coconut that I can relate to. In the coloured community I’m a coconut because I speak well and in the white community it’s almost as if it’s not expected that I can speak so well because of my race.

I also speak Afrikaans. I learnt how to speak the language when I was growing up. My parents’ families both spoke Afrikaans and therefore I just picked up on the language. Afrikaans is my “get out of jail free” card. I express my opinions and emotions best in Afrikaans. I speak the language when I feel it’s appropriate or when I have to due to communication barriers. Afrikaans is my happy, feel good language. All the best jokes are in Afrikaans and the language has a wonderful way of getting my message across.

My languages make me feel unsure and uncertain about my identity. I know where I come from but I don’t feel as if I fit in there just because of the difference between the English I speak and the English they speak in Eldorado Park. There are so many assumptions and expectations on the type of English I speak or the way I speak English just because of my race. I feel as if I have two different environments. I’m comfortable speaking any of the languages I speak to people who aren’t critical or judgmental of the way I speak. It seems unreal yet amazing that my languages have a big role in my identity.

I have concluded that my languages created the person that I am. No matter what language I speak or how I speak a certain language, there will always be a critical comment or someone will disapprove. My languages irritate me but also advantage me. I will just have to live with having two different identities because

choosing one between the two doesn't seem possible to me. I don't think I could function without one of them, which means I have an identity. Language is so wonderful and powerful. It does more than create communication links.

APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Why have you chosen to become an English teacher?
2. Tell me about your first year at university. What has been the biggest challenge in terms of:
 - language
 - culture
3. Do you feel that you have been prejudiced against because of your language and accent? Explain.
4. **Friends:**
 - 4.1 Did you choose to mix with friends who spoke the same language or a different language to you or both?
 - 4.2 Did you choose to mix with friends who are of the same culture or a different culture to you or both?
 - 4.3 Did you choose to mix with friends who went to the same type of school or different type of school to you or both?
 - 4.4 Has being friends with these people made it easier or more difficult to fit in at university? Elaborate.

Let's talk about your language identity in different parts of the university.

5. **Lectures and tutorials:**
 - 5.1 In what ways has your language been included in the curriculum design at the Wits School of Education?
 - 5.2 In what ways have the official bodies at the university accommodated your language?
 - 5.3 Can you give examples (without names) of how lecturers accommodate your home language in class?

- 5.4 Can you give examples (without names) of how lecturers are sensitive to your cultural values and beliefs in class?
- 5.5 How does it make you feel when your background is acknowledged?
- 5.6 Can you give examples (without names) of how lecturers do *not* accommodate your home language in class?
- 5.7 Can you give examples (without names) of how lecturers are *not* sensitive to your cultural values and beliefs in class?
- 5.8 How does it make you feel when your background is not acknowledged?
- 5.9 To what extent do your classmates acknowledge or are sensitive to your language?
- 5.10 Do you feel that your language plays a part in how you interact with the lecturers and your peers? Explain.
- 5.11 Do you find that you interact differently with your peers in tutorials as opposed to in lectures? Explain.
- 5.12 If you are asked to work in a group, do you choose to work with the same language group as you? Why or why not?

6. **Outside of class:**

- 6.1 Outside of class, do you feel that you interact differently with your peers? If so, how? (Think specifically about language and language issues)

7. **Teaching Experience (TE):**

- 7.1 When you went on TE, did you choose a school that was similar to the school you attended? Why or why not?
- 7.2 Did language influence your choice? If so, how?
- 7.3 How do you think this choice reflects your language identity?
- 7.4 What kinds of language issues did you face on TE?

8. **Family and Community:**

- 8.1 In relation to language and your identity, do you interact and portray yourself differently in your community as opposed to university? If so, how?

8.2 Do people in your family / community treat you differently now that you are a student at Wits? Explain.

8.3 How does this make you feel?

8.4 What have you noticed about how you use language in relation to your identity over the year at Wits? Pay particular attention to:

- How your language use shows a shift in your language identity.
- How your language use shows that you have learnt to adapt your language identity depending on who you are with or where you are.
- How your language use shows that you are experiencing conflicts with your language identity.

APPENDIX 3:LETTER AND CONSENT FORM TO THE HEAD OF SCHOOL

9 October 2014

Dear Prof. (Name inserted)

My name is Tanya Ferraz Neves and I am currently undertaking a Masters in Applied English Language Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, in the School of Education.

I am conducting research on the linguistic identity shifts of first-year undergraduate university students, for whom English is not a first language. This research is being supervised by Dr. Belinda Mendelowitz and co-supervised by Ms. Toni Gennrich. For this study, I am interested in what first-year students are experiencing as their primary Discourses meet the Discourses at university, and how these experiences affect their lives within and outside of university. Data collection will be in the form of analysing students' English Examination scripts (personal reflections of their language experiences in the Sociolinguistic section of the paper) as well as conducting one-on-one interviews, which will be audiotaped if participants allow. Interviews will take no longer than half an hour to complete. If necessary, more than one interview will be conducted.

I would like to invite eight first-year English Education students to participate in this research, and was wondering whether you would kindly allow me to conduct this study. I assure you that the name and identity of the participants will be kept confidential at all times and in all academic writing about the study. Individual privacy will be maintained in all written data resulting from the study.

All research data will be destroyed between three to five years after completion of the project.

The research participants will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way. They will be reassured that they can withdraw their permission at any time during this project

without any penalty. There are no foreseeable risks in participating in this study. The participants will not be paid for their participation.

Please let me know if you require any further information. I look forward to your response as soon as is convenient.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Tanya Ferraz Neves', with a horizontal line underneath.

Tanya Ferraz Neves

4 Zenith Street Solheim 1401

364749@student.wits.ac.za

tanya.neves7@gmail.com

0721731790

Please fill in and return the reply slip below indicating your willingness to allow Tanya Ferraz Neves to conduct her research project titled, *Identity Juggling and Judgments–ESL university students’ linguistic identity experiences in their first-year of study*.

I, _____, hereby provide Tanya Ferraz Neves with permission to conduct her Masters research. I give my consent for the following:

Permission to access English June examination script (Sociolinguistics section)

YES/NO

Permission to interview first-year English students

YES/NO

I know that Tanya Ferraz Neves will keep students’ information confidential and safe, and that students’ name will not be revealed.

YES/NO

I know that all the data collected during this study will be kept in a secure place and will be destroyed within 3-5 years after the completion of this project.

YES/NO

Sign_____ Date_____

APPENDIX 4:LETTER AND CONSENT FORM TO THE LECTURERS

9 October 2014

Dear (Names inserted)

My name is Tanya Ferraz Neves and I am currently undertaking a Masters in Applied English Language Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, in the School of Education.

I am conducting research on the linguistic identity shifts of first-year undergraduate university students, for whom English is not a first language. I am interested in what these students are experiencing as their primary Discourses meet the Discourses at university, and how these experiences affect their lives within and outside of university. Data collection will be in the form of analysing students' English Examination scripts (personal reflections of their language experiences in the Sociolinguistic section of the paper) as well as conducting one-on-one interviews, which will be audiotaped if participants allow. Interviews will take no longer than half an hour to complete. If necessary, more than one interview will be conducted.

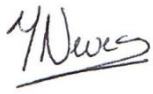
I would like to invite eight first-year English Education students to participate in this research, and was wondering whether you would kindly allow me to conduct this study. I assure you that the name and identity of the participants will be kept confidential at all times and in all academic writing about the study. Individual privacy will be maintained in all written data resulting from the study.

All research data will be destroyed between three to five years after completion of the project.

The research participants will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way. They will be reassured that they can withdraw their permission at any time during this project without any penalty. There are no foreseeable risks in participating in this study. The participants will not be paid for their participation.

Please let me know if you require any further information. I look forward to your response as soon as is convenient.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Tanya Ferraz Neves', with a horizontal line underneath.

Tanya Ferraz Neves

4 Zenith Street Solheim 1401

364749@student.wits.ac.za

tanya.neves@gmail.com

0721731790

Please fill in and return the reply slip below indicating your willingness to allow Tanya Ferraz Neves to conduct her research project titled, *Identity Juggling and Judgments – ESL university students’ linguistic identity experiences in their first-year of study.*

I, _____, hereby provide Tanya Ferraz Neves with permission to conduct her Masters research. I give my consent for the following:

Permission to access English June examination script (Sociolinguistics section)

YES/NO

Permission to interview first-year English students

YES/NO

I know that Tanya Ferraz Neves will keep students’ information confidential and safe, and that students’ name will not be revealed.

YES/NO

I know that all the data collected during this study will be kept in a secure place and will be destroyed within 3-5 years after the completion of this project.

YES/NO

Sign_____ Date_____

APPENDIX 5: INFORMATION SHEET AND CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS

2 November 2015

Dear Student

My name is Tanya Ferraz Neves and I am currently undertaking a Masters in Applied English Language Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, in the School of Education.

I am conducting research on the linguistic identity shifts of first-year undergraduate university students, for whom English is not a first language. I am interested in first-year experiences at university and how these experiences are shaping students' linguistic identities. Data collection will be in the form of analysing the first-year English Examination scripts (personal reflections of students' language experiences in the Sociolinguistic section of the paper) as well as conducting one-on-one interviews, which will be audiotaped if participants allow. Interviews will take no longer than half an hour to complete. If necessary, more than one interview will be conducted.

I would like to invite you to participate in this research. I assure you that your name and identity will be kept confidential at all times and in all academic writing about the study. Your individual privacy will be maintained in all written data resulting from the study.

All research data will be destroyed between three to five years after completion of the project.

You will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way. Your participation is voluntary, so you can withdraw your permission at any time during this project without any penalty. There are no foreseeable risks in participating and you will not be paid for this study.

Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions.

I look forward to working with you!

Yours sincerely,



Tanya Ferraz Neves

4 Zenith Street Solheim 1401

364749@student.wits.ac.za

tanya.neves7@gmail.com

0721731790

Please fill in and return the reply slip below indicating your willingness to be a participant in my voluntary research project titled, *Identity Juggling and Judgments—ESL university students' linguistic identity experiences in their firstyear of study*.

I, _____ give my consent for the following:

Permission to access English June examination script

I allow the researcher access to my examination script for analysis

YES/NO

Permission for interview

I would like to be interviewed for this study. YES/NO

I understand that more than one interview may be conducted YES/NO

I know that I can stop the interview at any time and don't have
to answer all the questions asked. YES/NO

Permission to be audiotaped

I agree to be audiotaped during the interview YES/NO

I know that the audiotapes will be used for this project and perhaps for
academic journal articles as well as conference presentations YES/NO

**I know that Tanya Ferraz Neves will keep my information confidential
and safe, and that my name will not be revealed. YES/NO**

**I know that I do not have to answer every question and can withdraw
from the study at any time. YES/NO**

I know that I can ask not to be audiotaped YES/NO

**I know that all the data collected during this study will be kept in a
secure place and will be destroyed within 3-5 years after the
completion of this project. YES/NO**

Sign_____ Date_____

APPENDIX 6TABLE USED TO COLLECT POSSIBLE PARTICIPANTS

Researcher’s Details:

Name: Tanya Neves

Email: Tanya.neves7@gmail.com

NAME	STUDENT NUMBER	EMAIL ADDRESS	CELLPHONE NUMBER

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