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What motivates South African parents (non-native English speakers) to teach their children English instead of their mother tongue.



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A Research Report Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of the Degree of Master of Arts in Applied Linguistics (LING7012A) in the Department of Linguistics, School of Language Literature and Media, University of the Witwatersrand, 2019

DECLARATION

DECLARATION

This research report is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university. No part of this research report may be reproduced without the prior permission of the author and/or University of the Witwatersrand.

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ABSTRACT

This study is set within the field of sociolinguistics and aims to bring awareness to how language shift, language maintenance, language ideologies, and language attitudes are a significant factor when it comes to the perseveration of languages. The study aimed to answer the following questions: what motivates South African parents (non-native English speakers) to teach their children English instead of their mother tongue? If there was a significant relationship between people's identity and their linguistic choices and what value parents attach to English vs. indigenous languages? There is a thin body of literature on language shift, language death, and how language choice affects parents choices when it pertains to the languages they use to speak to their children in the South African context. This study aims at filling this gap. The study adopted a mixed method research design. In-depth interviews and questionnaires were used to generate data. This study was conducted on 10 South African parents who were based in the Gauteng Province. In order to analyse the data, patterns were drawn from the concepts and insights that the participants shared and a research report was written. The findings revealed that these parents and their children strongly identified with English. Furthermore, the parents did not have a positive attitude towards their mother tongues, as these are not global languages. Even though they identified with these languages, they did not see the instrumental value in imparting them to their children because their mother tongues are not really used in official domains. The study gives some recommendations that may aid in improving and solving the language attitudes and ideologies South African parents have about their mother tongue and English.

Keywords: English; Indigenous languages; Language choice; Parents; Children; South Africa; Language preference; Language ideologies

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PREFACE

I am a Xitsonga woman who grew up in the North of Pretoria where an array of languages was spoken. The crèche I attended in Soshanguve (a township in Pretoria North), did not use English as a medium of instruction, so the only exposure to English I had was from my father (at home) who was well known for being an English man. I was fortunate to have a father who loved English, so whatever we did not learn at crèche and later at school, we learned at home. I was, however, also unfortunate in that his love for English came at the expense of his mother tongue. As a result, for me, English was a language with which I identified. Even though I spoke Setswana, my mother's language, I found English to be more expressive and a language for successful people. So, as a result, over time I spoke more English than I spoke Setswana. I have noticed that now more than ever in our society parents who are non-native English speakers solely speak English to their children. One of the participants in this study (Participant 6, see Chapter Four), stated that they speak to their children in English and that English must be promoted because "English is a language that is widely used wherever you go in different countries. So, knowing how to interact in English is of importance today." With that said, this research report aims to find out, first, what motivates South African parents (non-native English speakers) to teach their children English instead of their mother tongue. Second, it aims to investigate whether there is a significant relationship between people's identity and their linguistic choices. Finally, the study aims to find out what value parents attach to English vs. to indigenous languages.

This research report will focus on family language policy (FLP) as it is the subfield of sociolinguistics into which this study fits. FLP will assist in explaining what motivates parents who are non-native English speakers to teach their children English instead of their mother tongue. A study conducted by Msila (2014) is central to this study, but it is different in that Msila's study is based on the choices parents make for their children concerning the crèches to which these children go. The present study, in contrast, considers the language choices these parents make to teach their children. With that said, this study is set within the field of sociolinguistics with a focus on language ideology, language maintenance, language shift, and language choices. In this study, participants

were issued with a consent form to give their permission to participate in the study. Thereafter, were presented with a questionnaire, and after they had completed that questionnaire, they were interviewed (recorded) by the researcher. At the end of the interview session, the questionnaire was collected. A one-on-one interview was conducted to gain more insight into the participants' language ideologies, attitudes, choices, and opinions. With that said, Chapter One of this research report will introduce the overview of the research, the rationale of the study and the research questions and aims. Chapter Two deals with the literature review. Chapter Three presents the research design and methodology. Chapter Four deals with the presentation and analysis of the data of the South African parents (non-native English speakers) who teach their children English instead of their mother tongue. Chapter Five deals with the conclusion and the recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER ONE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.0. Introduction

This chapter will begin by discussing the general overview of the language ideology, including a discussion on South African Language Ideology. This will set the background and overall context of the study. Secondly, I will introduce the overview and the rationale of the study and the research questions and aims. Chapter Three deals with the literature review. Chapter Four presents the research design and methodology. Chapter Five deals with the presentation and analysis of the data of South African parents (non-native English speakers) who teach their children English instead of their mother tongue. Chapter Six deals with the conclusion and the recommendations of the study

1.1. Language ideologies

According to Piller (2015, p. 4), language ideologies are "beliefs and feelings about language which shape the way we use language. Language ideologies constitute a bridge between linguistic and social structure as they rationalize and justify social inequality as an outcome of linguistic difference." In other words, the importance of language ideologies lies in the fact that beliefs about language mediate between language use and social organization. This is relevant to the present research project as the language ideologies that the parents have have influenced their reason for not teaching their children their mother tongue. Kathryn Woolard (1994, p. 72, as cited in Piller, 2015, p. 2) refers to the theory as an intellectual bridge, saying that "the topic of language ideology is a much-needed bridge between linguistic and social theory, because it relates the microculture of communicative action to political and economic considerations of power and social inequality, confronting macrosocial constraints on language behaviour". With that said, language ideologies can be understood to be a set of beliefs, views, and ideas about language that are socially shared and relate language and society.

It can also be said that language ideologies assist with language use, which in turn shapes language ideologies and helps serve social ends. In other words, the views and beliefs people have of a particular language influence how the language is used in society. It is important to note that the study of language ideologies is not formally linguistic but social. It pertains to how human societies are structured and formed, and it has to do with how society functions. As Piller (2015, p. 4) puts it, "like anything social, language ideologies are interested, multiple, and contested". Voloshinov and Bachtin (1986) further explain how language only exists in a context where interaction takes place. There are ideologies about languages that represent the welfare of a specific group in society. This theory can be explained as the "standard language ideology". According to Piller, the standard language ideology refers to:

> …the belief that a particular variety—usually the variety that has its roots in the speech of the most powerful group in society, that is often based on the written language, that is highly homogeneous, and that is acquired through long years of formal education is aesthetically, morally, and intellectually superior to other ways of speaking the language. (2015, p. 4)

Although there might only be a small fraction of the society that can speak that specific variety, there is no linguistic criterion to distinguish their value, only sociopolitical ones. It must be noted that a variety is not "naturally" superior, but socially shaped as superior, which in turn is accepted or resisted by people in society. It is vital to note that the standard language ideology can be fair to those benefiting from it and to those who are disadvantaged by it. These ideologies are shaped by how society perceives one language to be superior to another. For instance, English can be regarded as superior because it is regarded as a business or international language. Setswana can be regarded as inferior to some people in society as it is not a business language and is normally used by some people as a means of cultural preservation.

1.2. South African language ideologies

It is important to note that in South Africa the apartheid struggle has to a certain extent enhanced the status of English amongst the oppressed. The English language became by fate the language of liberation. Apartheid in this country has contributed to the increased

use of English and ideologies about it. This language is loved and glorified by many at the expense of their mother tongues, and De Klerk states that:

> …[a]longside its growth because of its perceived neutrality and its high status... and despite a pragmatic recognition of what English can offer, there is a very real possibility that elitism, domination and social injustice, as well as personal language loss could result from the spread of English... and this is particularly true of South Africa. As Albie Sachs puts it... "the omnipresence of English can be inconvenient and suffocating and induce a sense of disempowerment and exclusion. In a sense, all language rights are against English, which in the modern world is such a powerful language that it needs no protection at all." (1996, p. 7)

De Klerk (1996) eloquently explains that while English was the neutral language that was South Africa's saving grace in the apartheid era, it is evident that it is becoming the reason why many South Africans are shifting from speaking their mother tongue to speaking English. South Africans have shifted from speaking their mother tongue because of its low status and have opted to speak English because of its high status.

Sexwale (2016, p. 20) aptly observes that "a problem faced by South Africans is that we're holistically colonised. A South African child would rather learn French, Italian or the like than explore the culturally rich languages of the African continent." This highlights how linguistic choices are made and which languages are valued over others. Alidou and Mazrui (1999) further affirm that many Africans, especially in the sub-Saharan region, are nationalistic about their "race", ethnicity and often about their land as defined by the more recent tradition of state borders. However, nationalism about African languages is relatively weak, both in emotional and demographic magnitude in Africa. According to Anderson (1991, p. 3), nationhood is the most crucial component in politics, and it is said to be credibly "the most universally legitimate value in the political life of our time". Anderson (1983) affirms that a nation is straightforwardly an "imagined community"; it is imagined since the members of the smallest nation are unidentified and anonymous to one another. Anderson (1983) further asserts that the existence of the community or nation is often imagined through language and consequently emphasizes the role of language in imagining and creating the nationhood.

Gellner (1964, p. 169) eloquently mentions that "nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist."

With that said, Makoni (2003, p. 136) states that the "discourse about multilingualism designed to reverse the inequalities of the apartheid legacy in which only Afrikaans and English were regarded as official do not take into account the linguistic differences within each of the languages labelled as an 'African language'". The above-mentioned researchers also state that with the end of the political era of apartheid in South Africa, English gained ground. Although South Africa has declared eleven official languages (Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, Sepedi, Sesotho, Siswati, Xitsonga, Setswana, Tshivenda, isiXhosa and isiZulu), Alidou and Mazrui (1999) state that in reality, the new policy demotes Afrikaans, the historical rival to English in South Africa. Such a demotion did not in any way mean the adoption of African languages. These languages are in the same position in which Afrikaans was once. English in apartheid South Africa was adopted as a unifying language amongst linguistically diverse Africans.

It can be noted thus far that English in South Africa enjoys widespread support as it still dominates in various official domains in the country because of its history of colonization. Indeed, the British colonized South Africa in the nineteenth century and made English the official language of the Cape Colony in 1822. In 1952, Dutch and Afrikaans were made the official languages of the Union of South Africa. According to Prah (2006), the government of that era attempted to keep up with the social, economic, and cultural differences between English-speaking white South Africa and Afrikaans-speaking white South Africa. It is crucial to note that this process was conducted at the expense of the African population. Prah (2006) mentions that this process continued until 1976 when African school children in Soweto determinedly revolted against the use of Afrikaans as medium of instruction in schools. With that said, forced removals and "grand apartheid" from the beginning of the 1960s made the African population "invisible". The African population's languages were practically treated as those of insignificant minorities (Prah, 2006).

Alidou and Mazrui (1999, p. 104) state that "as in many other countries in Africa and the world, the increasing success of English in South Africa is also partly tied to

America's growing cultural influence". It can be observed that a lot of African countries – not just South Africa – are in favour of English because it is a global language, it is one of the working languages for the United Nations (UN) and it is the language of many of their neighbours in Africa. Bangeni and Kapp (2007, p. 254) mention that the "favourable attitudes towards English shown by African-language speakers also have to be viewed in the light of the long history of the language as a symbol of education, culture and modernization". In this regard, Williams (2012) sheds light on the stances his research investigates with regard to the importance accorded to English in processes of linguistic globalization. He makes mention of three theoretical stances, World Englishes, Linguistic Imperialism and Global Englishes. All three approaches emphasize different aspects of the nature of English insertion in multilingual contexts. Pennycook (2007, p. 112, as cited in Williams, 2012, p. 54) emphasizes that "it is impossible to understand the global spread and use of English without considering the local contexts of its use". Williams (2012) also notes that English forms an important part of multilingual speakers' identity in Cape Town.

Whilst there are speakers who are in favour of their mother tongue (African language), this aspect will not be the focus of the present study. However, it is important to highlight that there are people who hold their mother tongues in high regard. Mwaura (1980, p. 27), for example, echoes such sentiments when he persuasively states:

> Language influences the way in which we perceive, evaluate it and conduct ourselves with respect to it. Speakers of different languages and cultures see the universe differently, evaluate it differently, and behave towards its reality differently. Language controls thought, and action and speakers of different languages do not have the same culture or background (as cited in Alidou & Mazrui, 1999, p. 106).

That is to say, according to Alidou and Mazrui (1999) and some African languages speakers, those languages that are not African are perceived to be unable to convey an African world view (Alidou & Mazrui, 1999). This, in turn, relates to the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, which states that individual thoughts and actions are determined by the language or languages that an individual speaks. These, as mentioned, are some of the ideologies that are held by speakers of African languages. This is, however, permissible in the language in general.

1.3. Overview and rationale of the study

South Africa is a diverse and multilingual country. This is evident in the various languages (twelve official languages[1]) different South Africans speak as their first language. Many South Africans speak different languages as their mother tongue, but some of them choose to speak English as their first language. According to an article by Sexwale (2016), it is becoming a trend in South Africa for non-native English speakers to teach their children English as a first language instead of their mother tongue. In light of this, the present research project aims to highlight the reason for this trend and why there is a shift of this nature. This study focuses on South African parents who are not native English speakers yet choose to teach their children English as a first language as opposed to their mother tongue. In this instance, "non-native English speaker" refers to a person who has learned a language as a child or as an adult (Wennerstrom, 1994; Medgyes, 1992).

Diversity in South Africa is rather pronounced because of the country's history of segregation, linguistic heritage, cultural diversity and even racial diversity. These factors have resulted in all the various languages spoken in South Africa, as a result of the various language policies that have existed and continue to be reviewed by the government (Mesthrie, 2002). Alexander (1989) argues that language policy in South Africa has become a unifying factor amidst all South African diversity. Over the years, many South Africans have continued to adopt English as their second language. Interestingly, South African English has developed and has been adopted both as a spoken and written version (De Klerk, 1999; Alexander, 1989).

[1]Upon commencing this study, there were eleven official South African languages. Since then, sign language has been added as the twelfth official language. For the purposes of this study, I shall still refer to eleven official languages.

1.4. Research question and aim

This research study is important as now, more than ever, shifting from speaking an African language to speaking English is trendy. Children who are born of non-native English parents are taught English as their first language as opposed to the parents' mother tongue. As will be made evident in Chapter Four, Participant 10, for instance, is an isiZulu-speaking individual who identifies isiZulu as her mother tongue. However, she chooses to speak English instead of her mother tongue to her children. This language shift is problematic because this type of trend can ultimately result in language death and language extinction. This study aims to bring awareness to how language shift, language maintenance, language ideologies and language attitudes are a significant factor when it comes to the perseveration of languages. The aforementioned concepts/sub-fields are important in trying to answer the following questions:

1. What motivates South African parents (non-native English speakers) to teach their children English instead of their mother tongue?
2. Is there a significant relationship between people's identity and their linguistic choices?
3. What value do parents attach to English vs. to indigenous languages?

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0. Introduction

In this chapter on literature review, I begin by discussing the theory of language policy, then move on to discuss colonization and globalization. I than touch on the position of indigenous languages in South Africa. I further investigate language and identity, language shift and maintenance and the causes of language shift. Lastly, I discuss what causes language death and why people make the linguistic choices that they make.

2.1. Language policy

2.1.1. The theory of language policy

According to Spolsky (2009), the main aim of language policy is to account for regular choices made by individual speakers based on patterns established in the speech communities to which they belong. Such a policy may maintain the existing status of a recognized language variety to prevent speakers that speak one variety to shift to use another variety. When language policy is seen as a social phenomenon, the first assumption is that even though language policy is intended to account for individual choices, it is fundamentally a social construct that depends on the beliefs and behaviours of members of a certain speech community. In this instance, a speech community is defined as all those who speak a certain language and all those who share a communication network. Spolsky (2009) refers to Fishman (1972) who defines a domain as usually being named for a social space, such as home or family, school, bank or church. With regard to building a language policy, Spolsky suggests that every domain deserves its own language policy. Fishman (1972) further explains how three characteristics can distinguish a domain, the first one being by the participants. In this context, the family is normally labelled with kinship terms: father, mother, brother and sister. The second characteristic is the location. All domains have a location. Lastly, the characteristic of topic has to do with how people in a conversation can switch their

conversation style to suit the specific topic at hand or the specific person they are addressing.

2.1.2. Components of language policy

Spolsky (2004) states that language policy has three components: practices, beliefs and management. Language policy is important to this study as it showcases how the three aforementioned components are at play in society. Indeed, according to Spolsky (2004), language practices are behaviours and choices that are recognizable. “Beliefs” in this case refers to the values and beliefs speakers have about the language they speak, and “management” refers to the deliberate effort by a group of people who claim to have the authority to modify their practices or beliefs. As it has been established that language policy pertains to practices, beliefs, and management, it is important to note that this also exists in a family setup. The next section explains how certain language practices are upheld in multilingual families.

2.1.3. Family language policy (FLP)

Family language policy (FLP) fits into this study as it deals with language choices parents make on behalf of their children. FLP assists in explaining what motivates parents who are non-native English speakers to teach their children English instead of their mother tongue. It aids in explaining the language dynamic in various monolingual, bilingual and multilingual families. According to Curdt-Christiansen (2013, p. 420), FLP is defined as “explicit and overt as well as implicit and covert language planning by family members in relation to language choice and literacy practices within home domains and among family members”. The deliberate and observable efforts that are made by parents to provide a certain linguistic condition is referred to as explicit overt family language planning. Conversely, implicit and covert FLP refers to certain language practices in a family dynamic because of language ideologies.

This study strives to understand why members of some families lose their languages; in what ways some children, growing up in a bilingual/multilingual environment, become monolingual; and what language planning and decisions caregivers make to support or

discourage the use and practice of certain languages. With that said, it is important to note that FLP also considers other contributing factors such as the political, socioeconomic and public forces that affect the family and the incoherence of intergenerational transmission. While Curdt-Christiansen eloquently states:

> …the study of FLP not only contributes to our understanding of the processes of language shift and change, it also sheds light on broader language policy issues at the societal levels. Most importantly, the study of FLP can make visible the relationships between private domains and public spheres (2013, p. 421)

As Curdt-Christiansen (2013) explained that FLP aids in contributing to the process of language shift it also touches on language policy issues, this research aims to to use literature acquired from FLP to investigate what motivates South African parents who are not native English speakers to teach their children English instead of their mother tongue.

2.1.4. Conceptualization of FLP

According to Curdt-Christiansen (2013), FLP is based on two theories, language policy, and language socialization within the sociolinguistics discipline. FLP draws from Spolsky's (2004, 2009) theoretical model, which consists of three interrelated components, namely: language ideology (this has to do with how family members perceive certain languages), language practices (this has to do with what people do with various languages) and language management (this has to do with the efforts the speakers make in order to maintain their languages). Curdt-Christiansen (2013, p. 421) explains that language socialization theory has to do with how children and other people acquire sociocultural knowledge through language use and how they are socialized to use language through social interactions.



Figure 1: The interdisciplinary framework of FLP (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013, p. 421)

As can be seen in Figure 1, the inner circle signifies the three components of FLP that have already been mentioned. It can be observed that FLP provides various rules and norms for language socialization and language development. Curdt-Christiansen (2013) suggests that deciding which language or languages to use or abandon in the family dimension depends on the values to which family members subscribe when it comes to a certain language or languages. Decision-making when it concerns these languages has to do with parents' language ideologies and the educational plans they have set up for their children. All these decisions are influenced by various factors such as the parents' financial standing, their educational background, and intergenerational speech resources. Spolsky (2004, 2012) eloquently states that "families do not live in a vacuum, isolated from the larger sociocultural environment. On the contrary, they constantly interact with others in the sociolinguistic, sociocultural, socioeconomic, and sociopolitical contexts." This is shown in Figure 1, where the dotted lines encircling the three components of FLP and the outside settings of multiple social contexts act represent walls separating families from the outer world (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013).

These dotted lines act as an enabler that allows external forces to make their way through language socialization into the family context. It also works as an enabler for inner forces of FLP to pass through the opposite direction into the society. The two forces that

shape FLP help shape the language practices, language ideologies and language choices families make at home and outside the home setting in areas such as the church, educational context and political allegiances, and in expressing emotions and forming one's identity. This will be made evident from the participants feedback in chapter four.

2.1.5. Early developments in FLP

According to Curdt-Christiansen (2013), early studies of FLP were conventionally centred around Western middle-class bilingual families and focused on language input, parental discourse strategies, parents' language experiences and parents' knowledge about bilingualism. This is also what the present research is centred around. However, this study focuses on multilingualism. In line with this, De Houwer conducted a study on a Dutch-English child with regard to her morpho-syntactic development in both languages:

> Using a naturalistic approach, she examined the effect of linguistic exposure from each parent on the child's language development in general. In this case study, the child was exposed to both languages from birth (bilingual first language learner) and the parents employed the One-Parent-One-Language (OPOL) approach. (1990, as cited in Curdt-Christiansen, 2013, p. 423)

De Houwer (1990, as cited in Curdt-Christiansen, 2013, p. 423) found that the child's speech production resembled her monolingual peers in both languages. She concluded that the two separate linguistic input systems (OPOL) accounted for the child's language development in two separate languages. Linguistic input has thus motivated researchers to look at the different types of bilingual models/strategies that parents follow in raising bilingual children. Two questions were asked frequently during De Houwer's study: first, what types of linguistic input strategy have the parents adopted in their daily interactions with their children? Second, did these strategies lead to more efficient bilingual development?

2.1.6. FLP development in endangered language communities

It is important to note that FLP also encompasses endangered language communities, where scholars have done extensive research about the processes of language change

and the function of FLP in language revitalization. According to Curdt-Christiansen (2013), an eight-year-long ethnographic study was conducted based on language practices of an extended family of three generations on the Isle of Skye in Scotland. Similarly, Anthonissen (2009) studied distinct processes of language shift recently noted in some historically Afrikaans first language (L1) communities established in the Cape Metropolitan area. Her study considered qualitatively how a few families made deliberate choices to change the family language from Afrikaans L1 to English L1. With regard to family languages, bilingualism and language shift, Anthonissen and George (2003) conducted a study and interviewed members of three generations in three families where third-generation members (aged between 10 and 26 years old) could understand the variety of Afrikaans of their parents and grandparents, but they would only speak English themselves. The feedback received from the first and the second-generation members of the families, who were older than 55, and between 35 and 55, confirmed that there is language shift and that the third generation projects either a monolingual English identity with Afrikaans having a decidedly second language status or a strong English-dominant bilingual identity.

Anthonissen (2009, p. 31) explains that the "respondents' identification of the languages used in the workplace, as well as the language of learning selected by parents for their children, were taken as indicators of language identities." Anthonissen (2009) found that language shift across three generations is widely established in the Western Cape metropolitan area, even if it is not "universal". Respondents pointed out that parents whose own L1 was Afrikaans were opting for English as the L1 of their children, especially in middle-class communities and noticeably less amongst Afrikaans working-class families. Anthonissen (2009) made it evident that a 2012 survey, which was conducted in two working-class coloured communities, confirmed the respondents' suggestion that Afrikaans has remained the L1 of those of lower socioeconomic class. For instance, Anthonissen makes it evident that:

> …in 'Rondomskrik' (Macassar) 43 respondents indicated Afrikaans as their L1, and only 6 of these indicated English as one of their languages of learning; in 'Chris Nissan Park' the large majority of 144 respondents indicated that they were Afrikaans L1 speakers; 8 indicated isiXhosa as their L1, 3 indicated English as their L1 and 1 did

not identify any preference regarding which language they would count as their L1. (2009, p. 31)

However, these various studies have confirmed that various Afrikaans L1 communities are now in favour of English as L1. The substitution of Afrikaans as a home language is not entirely a done deal as the older generation still communicates in Afrikaans, while the younger generation speaks English only during family interactions and amongst friends. Many members of the third generation indicate that they were proficiencient in Afrikaan. Yet some regret not maintaining the language in which their parents communicate with each other, and which other family members still use in everyday interaction.

Anthonissen (2009) further investigated why such large numbers of Afrikaans families in coloured communities have made these language choices in the last twenty to thirty years. As opposed to discussing the need to disassociate themselves from the "language of the oppressor", respondents were adamant that fluency in English is a skill that will improve social mobility and employment opportunities. In this study, Anthonissen (2009) was made aware of the perception of the value of English, which was made evident across all three generations of interviewees, regardless of whether they had Afrikaans as their own L1 or not, as is articulated in (1) and (2):

(1) ...die status van Engels / Engels is beskou / was beskou as 'n elitetaal (J4.2) [the status of English / English is seen / was seen as an elite language]

(2) ... Engels is iets wat jy oral mee kan gaan (E6.1) [English is something that you can take with you everywhere you go] (Anthonissen, 2009, p. 31).

With regards to status the second generations persistence that their own experiences of limited proficiency in English had been socially embarrassing and frustrating. Some mentioned the difficulties they had experienced as students having to battle working with English textbooks.

(3) Ek het gevoel ek willie hê my kinders moet deur daai / daai um trauma gaan nie (lag) sal ek it maar nou so sê want dit was vir my nogal baie erg / want op kollege het ons / ons notas alles Afrikaans gekry maar dit was vir my 'n baie groot sprong op universiteit toe't ek nou moes die Engels vertaal het en s- / dat allie boeke hoofsaaklik in Engels was en ek wou nie gehad het my kinders moes daardeur gaan nie (J1.2) [I

> felt that I don't want my children to go through that / that um trauma (laugh) shall I put it that way because it was really quite bad for me / because at college we had / our notes all in Afrikaans but it was 'n big step to university when I had to translate the English and s- / that all the books were mainly in English and I did not want my children to go through the same thing] (Anthonissen, 2009, p. 31).

As can be noted from this participant's feedback, some parents do not want their children to experience what they experienced by not being proficient in English. As a result, these parents take their children to English-medium schools and they speak English to them instead of their mother tongue in hopes that this will aid them in not enduring the embarrassment and trauma of not being proficient in English.

2.1.7. Language policy in South Africa

In his book, Spolsky (2009) starts off by stating that language policy is all about choices. He further goes on to say that:

> [t]he goal of a theory of language policy is to account about the choices made by individual speakers on the basis of rule-governed patterns recognized by the speech community (or communities) of which they are members. Some of these choices are the results of management, reflecting conscious and explicit efforts by language managers to control the choices" (Spolsky, 2009, p. 1).

It is important to note that in South Africa the language policy has rapidly changed post 1994.

According to the South African Constitution, which was approved in 1996, the language provisions are as follows:

1. The official languages of the Republic are Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu.

2. Recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages.

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

3. (b) Municipalities must take into account the language usage and preferences of their residents.

4. The national government and provincial governments, by legislative and other measures, must regulate and monitor their use of official languages. Without detracting from the provisions of subsection (2), all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably.

5. A Pan South African Language Board established by national legislation must—

(a) promote, and create conditions for, the development and use of—

(i.) all official languages;

(ii.) the Khoi, Nama and San languages; and

(iii.) sign language; and

(b) promote and ensure respect for—

(i). all languages commonly used by communities in South Africa, Including German, Greek, Gujarati, Hindi, Portuguese, Tamil, Telegu and Urdu; and

(ii) Arabic, Hebrew, Sanskrit and other languages used for religious purposes in South Africa.

(Chapter One, Founding Provisions, The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, p. 4)

The Bill of Rights also protects the right to:

Language and culture

30. Everyone has the right to use the language and to participate in the cultural life of their choice, but no one exercising these rights may do so in a manner inconsistent with any provision of the Bill of Rights.

Cultural, religious and linguistic communities

31. (1) Persons belonging to a cultural, religious or linguistic community may not be denied the right, with other members of that community—

(a) to enjoy their culture, practise their religion and use their language; and

(b) to form, join and maintain cultural, religious and linguistic associations and other organs of civil society.

(2) The rights in subsection (1) may not be exercised in a manner inconsistent with any provision of the Bill of Rights.

(Chapter One, Founding Provisions, The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, p. 4)

The Bill of Rights further states that "every accused person has a right to a fair trial, which includes the right—to be tried in a language that the accused person understands or, if that is not practicable, to have the proceedings interpreted in that language" (Chapter One, Founding Provisions, The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, p. 15).

As can be noted in the South African Constitution, the country's national language policy recognizes eleven official languages, nine of which are referred to as "indigenous" languages. Makoni (2003) argues that "what makes these languages separate and indigenous is far from clear". He further states that when the development of these indigenous languages took place, it was passed on to various government sectors. The main sector was the Pan South African Language Board. Albie Sachs, a South African judge who was a key player in constructing the Constitution (Makoni, 2003), aptly says that "the new Constitutional provisions relating to language are messy, inelegant and contradictory" (2003, p. 133). He further goes on to say that we should observe the discourse that structures African languages as separate categories, namely

in an ideology of "linguistic fixity" that disregards the sociohistorical contexts in which they were invented. Makoni (2003, p. 135) eloquently explains that "due to the fact that African languages were not constructed and standardized taking into account the communicative practices of the users, there is a very sharp disjuncture between language praxis and standard forms of language". Standard African languages (South African languages in this context) are hardly used as the main language in urban areas, especially in the home and the playgrounds for children.

According to Makoni (2003), the concept of "mother tongue" may mean various things when used for the real world as opposed to when it is used for institutional purposes. It is a sensible view based on the discursive context and on whether one is talking from a language user's perspective or from an institutional perspective. When it concerns some language research, the difference between:

> …the classification of mother tongue based on speakers criteria and classification based on institutional criteria has not been the central concern of debates about the native speakers. It is necessary to ask hard questions about underlying conceptions of mother tongue, particularly in social domains such as education. Shifting images of the mother tongue should not be political icons in whose direction we have to reverently and invariably genuflect (Makoni, 2003, p. 137).

While Makoni (2003) suggests that mother tongue can be constructed on a discursive context, on a language user's perspective or from an institutional perspective, in this study mother tongue is based on all three prespectives. The researcher hopes to understand why the participant chooses not to teach their child their mother tongue and what their understanding of mother tongue is.

2.2. English

2.2.1. Colonization and globalization

In 1795 the British arrived in South Africa, taking over the Cape from the Dutch and establishing a colonizing project of their own. They colonized what is known today as the Cape Peninsula in 1806, but they did not actively encourage settlement before 1820. As time progressed, English functioned as the language of government in the expanding

colony, where the majority of the white farmers who had settled in the country during the eighteenth century were first language speakers of Dutch. In the 1870s, after the gold and diamond rush in the Kimberley area and the Witwatersrand area, approximately 500 000 European immigrants arrived to stake their claim, most of them bringing various regional English accents along (Saunders & Southey, 1998, p. 69). Saunders and Southey (1998, p. 69) further explains that the "British settlers eventually colonised several parts of South Africa, with majorities in the Eastern and Western Cape provinces, in Natal and in Johannesburg".

With the amalgamation of four individually governed parts of the country in 1910, the decision on official languages was in favour of English and Dutch. In 1925, Dutch was substituted by Afrikaans. Accordingly, the country had a language policy of two European languages for a period of 92 years. It was only in 1993 that the South African Constitution decided on eleven languages as official, including English and Afrikaans. The motivation was to acknowledge the multilingual character of the nation and to develop and improve the status and use of indigenous languages. Crystal (2003, p. 46) is adamant that whilst these languages will eventually get the recognition that they deserve, English will still function as an important lingua franca between speakers who do not share an L1. As has been observed, the English language is viewed by many South Africans as the language of success. A considerable number of parents prefer their children to be educated in English rather than in their L1. It is believed that in order to be successful in life, being able to speak English is essential (Msila, 2014).

English was brought to South Africa initially by soldiers, and then by administrators, missionaries, settlers and fortune seekers. As can be seen in countries such as Hong Kong, English has come to be perceived as the language of the social elite (Evans, 2000). However, whilst it was seen as the language of aspiration and empowerment for black South Africans and for many Afrikaners, a significant section of the Afrikaans population consistently regarded it with hostility as an oppressor, and, from the time the National Party came to power in 1948, Afrikaans became the openly favoured language. Even though English was the additional official language, the business of government and administration was conducted almost exclusively in Afrikaans. State resources were allocated to the development of Afrikaans whilst English was afforded a lesser status

and the African languages were ignored (except some that were declared the official languages of the discredited ethnic "homelands"). Despite the treatment of English as a "Cinderella" language in official circles from 1948 to 1994, English was too powerful to be adversely affected, and it retained its dominance as the language of higher education, commerce, science and technology, and as the internal and international language of communication. With that said, in this study, the researcher hopes to find out what motivates these parents who are non-native English speakers to teach their children English instead of their mother tongue.

2.2.2. The position of English

Kamwangamalu (2013) explains two different theories regarding the value of English in Africa today, and he touches on the Conspiracy Theory and on the Grassroots Theory. According to Kamwangamalu (2013), the Conspiracy Theory suggests that the British and Americans orchestrated the spread of the English language. This was orchestrated through systematic and semi-secret language policies. Kamwangamalu (2013) mentions that English spread as a result of the economic and military power of English-speaking countries and the growth of the integrated economic market that they conquered. Over the years, the English language has managed to squeeze other languages into less central roles, eroding their functions to a point where they are marginalized to the point of being used only in the confines of people's own homes and, in the long term, lost. Kamwangamalu (2013) quotes an English-language entrepreneur who eloquently said, "[o]nce we used to send gunboats and diplomats abroad; now we are sending English teachers." This distinctly encapsulates the great influence colonization had on the English language and the extent to which this language is continually being invested in. In the nineteenth century, it was through the use of diplomats, and lately, it is through English teaching programmes such as the Japan Exchange Teaching (JET) Programme.

As proposed by the Grassroots Theory by Kamwangamalu (2013), in Africa the hegemony of English over local languages can be explained in terms of English and other colonial languages as the languages for socioeconomic development and upward social mobility, whereas indigenous languages are viewed as a token for cultural preservation. Dyers and Abongdia (2010, as cited in Kamwangamalu, 2013) explain that

language ideologies are reflected in actual language practices, such as what people say about their choices and their sociopolitical positioning with regard to different languages. It must be noted that in countries such as Singapore, English spreads because of its linguistic instrumentalism, as it is regarded as being able to give access to economic development and social mobility. This is similar in South Africa, according to Kamwangamalu:

> …it can be said that the dominant language practices in Africa are a legacy of colonial traditions, one of which is the imposition of the European colonial languages as emblems of socioeconomic status and political power. As a result of the emergence of English as a global language, the ideology of internationalization is now competing with a more hegemonic ideology, globalization, especially in non-English speaking countries in Africa and elsewhere (2013, p. 553).

That is to say, Kamwangamalu (2013) refers to language economics, which alludes to how linguistic and economic variables influence each other. In the world, economic variables tend to influence parents' choice of the medium of instruction for their children, despite the language loyalty they might possibly have for their own indigenous languages. This is important to note in the African context as indigenous languages are a marker of an individual's or a group's identity. When a language gains a lot of functions and there is no stigma attached to the use of that language, the language is deemed instrumental. When it comes to African languages, speakers of these languages need to understand the value of learning their mother tongues and how this can, in turn, result in upward mobility in society. In this study, Kamwangamalu's theory can assist in explaining the research questions that need to be answered for the present research project, by touching on language economics, which suggest how and why linguistic and economic variables influence each other in society.

2.2.3. English and its power

It has been noted that a good number of Africans hold English in high regard. Adegbija reveals that:

> …this situation has created problems in many areas including administration, national mass mobilisation, education and democratisation of knowledge. Consequently, they [indigenous languages] have been denied the kind of growth and development that

> comes from use and their capabilities are generally lowly rated both by policy planners and the African masses. Thus, attitudes towards them, especially in official domains, tend to be generally negative when compared to attitudes towards European or ex-colonial languages (1994, p. 5).

Mutasa (1999, pp. 33–34), for example, maintains that the preservation, development, and promotion of Xitsonga (one of South Africa's official languages) has become virtually impossible as Xitsonga mother tongue speakers have themselves become part of the problem, rather than part of the solution. This is an example of a minority South African language. This does not only apply to this language but to all eleven official languages. It has become very evident, according to Mutasa (1999), that "Africans actually undermine their own languages, seeing them as being outdated, and thereby promoting English" at the expense of their own languages. Although Mutasa's study revealed how South African's undermine their mother tongues this study will help in making evident if it is indeed so that South Africans across the board promote English at the expense of their mother tongues.

2.3. The position of indigenous languages

South Africa has nine indigenous languages reserved mainly for communication amongst African people. According to Maluleke (2009, p. 18), "mother-tongue speakers refer to these languages collectively as the language of the African gods, as each is considered a medium for communicating with Africa's ancestors. In other words, the gods both understand and communicate with people using these languages". With that said, it must be noted that indigenous languages contain unique registers that are not easily understood by people who do not speak indigenous languages. It must also be noted that these languages have always had a bearing on one another due to the closeness of the different ethnic groups to one another and due to influences such as modern transport and communication systems. Even though these languages share similarities, the indigenous languages of South Africa are divided into four main groups, namely the Nguni, Sotho, Tshivenda, and Xitsonga groups.

The South African government has made efforts to recognize indigenous languages as a way of preserving cultures and traditions and as a pioneering way of political correctness. Maluleke states that for:

> …the ordinary people, on the other hand, are preoccupied with the struggle for survival. For the man on the street in need of food, shelter, and clothes, the preservation of his cultural identity or political correctness is merely an academic issue (2009, p. 34).

This goes to show that for as long as indigenous languages do not have an economic role, English will be seen as the language of survival. This links to Kamwangamalu's (2013) Grassroots Theory, as mentioned before, which states that in Africa the hegemony of English over local languages can be explained in terms of English and other colonial languages being the languages for socioeconomic development and upward social mobility, whereas indigenous languages are viewed as a token for cultural preservation. While Kamwangamalu brings to light that more and more African parents are sending their children to former Model C schools to learn English, as it is a language that guarantees them upward mobility, thus forcing these speakers of indigenous languages to use English to ensure their survival. De Klerk (1996) argues that this has contributed to partial language shift with a perceived decrease in competence in mother tongue in Model C schools. Although Kamwangamalu's study revealed that African parents took their children to certain kinds of schools to learn English, this study investigates the reasons that motivate parents in Gauteng to make the language choice they do for their children. This will be an important addition to the literature in this area of study.

2.4. Language and identity

According to Mesthrie, Swann, Deumert and Leap (2009), language is conventionally denoted as a process that conveys meaning and refers to ideas, events or things that exist outside language. When one uses language in society, this normally provides information about one's social status. Mesthrie et al. (2009) state that "language is consequently said to be indexical of one's social class, status, a region of origin, gender, age group and so on". Norton (2010) suggests that when it comes to language and

identity, the value that is attributed to speech cannot be understood apart from the person who speaks, and the person who speaks cannot be understood apart from social relationships. When people speak, they reorganize their sense of self to the world. They expose or share their race, gender, age, ethnicity, class and level of education by how they speak or by the language they choose to use. All of this information is their identity.

Coulmas (2011) further points out that language is an identity marker and a symbol of unity as well as something that is hated and cursed at the same time. It is referred to as such because language and how a person speaks reveals a lot about that person's identity. Coulmas (2011) reiterates Norton's sentiments when he states that when speakers converse, they reveal a lot about themselves, such as who they are, where they grew up, their gender, their station in life, where they want to belong and their age. Speakers convey this information through language, which enables them to communicate their opinions and beliefs about themselves or about the world. As a result, "language is thus theorized not only as a linguistic syste but as a social practice in which experiences are organized and identities are negotiated" (Norton, 2010, p. 351).

Having touched on what a linguistic system is, Lyons (1970, p. 326, as cited in Mesthrie et al., 2009) defines a speech community as all the people who use a given language or dialect. These speech communities are important as they help form the various language communities to which people subscribe. With language and identity come imagined speech communities. These are communities in which common views and beliefs are held. Language communities are normally a "reconstruction of past communities and historically constituted relationships, but also a community of the imagination – a desired community that offers possibilities for an enhanced range of identity options in the future" (Norton, 2010, p. 355).

Deckert and Vickers (2011) suggest that identity is performed or constructed in particular language interactions. This in turn refers to identity as an unchanging trait of an individual, which is to some extent what makes it distinguishable from "self". Identity, as a performed construct, is dependent on the contexts of a specific construction. As Gallagher and Marcel (1999, p. 19, as cited in Deckert & Vickers, 2011) put it, "in my various activities, I am many different [identities] to many different

social groups". People's ability to make such choices is known as their language competence. In displaying the appropriate types of language choices for different contexts, people are not only performing their language competence, they are also performing their identities within each of those contexts as competent speakers (Deckert & Vickers, 2011, p. 12).

Identity, as it will be looked at in this study, "is the quality of an individual, but it is flexible, fluid, and multi-aspected co-construction that is only partially (if at all, in some instances) representative of an individual's sense of self" (Deckert & Vickers, 2011, p. 12). Identity in is important in the present study as it assists in elucidating why parents make the choices they do for their children and what they identify as a family. For instance, parents may want to maintain a certain social class in their families, and therefore, amongst many other things, make language decisions for their children. It must be noted that identity is a significant factor in this study, because the languages with which participants identified did not correlate with the linguistic choices they made (this will be seen in Chapter Four). The majority of the participants did not consider their mother tongues to have any instrumental value, and this informed the linguistic choices they made for their children.

According to Khokhar, Memon and Siddique (2016), language is not only considered the means of identity construction, it also aids in understanding how the identity is being constructed. According to various researchers (Crawshaw, Callen, & Tusting, 2001; Ros i Solé, 2004; Shi, 2006), language is the foundation of identity, and identities are the results of language. It is important to note that identity builds and is built by language. Identity is based on the recognition of commonality with regard to factors such as ethnic, linguistic, religious, historical, territorial, cultural and political attributes with other people (Hall, 1994, 1996). Hall (1996, p. 2) further explains identities as "a process never completed and logged in contingency". This explicitly means that identity is a process or journey with no end. It is continuously changing and transforming within historical, social and cultural developments and practices such as globalization, modernity and new innovations in technology. This will be evident in chapter four, were participants feedback will be analyzed.

2.4.1. Colonial encounters

Dadié (1971, as cited in Adejunmobi, 2004) recalls how vernacular languages on the school premises changed during his early years of schooling in the French West African colonies:

> The decision was therefore made, and circulars were distributed to all corners of the bush and even to the smallest village schools. The speaking of dialects on school property is hereby forbidden. It was precise. The zones were clearly demarcated. On that day was born the token – a piece of wood, a box of matches anything. It was entrusted to the top student in the class, whose duty it was to give it immediately to anyone caught speaking his own dialect. From the day the token first appeared, a coldness settled over the school. The students sang as well at the beginning of classes as they did at the end, but without the same abandon, the same gusto, the same fire. And the breaks, once so happy and loud…they felt the effects of the new rule…Because of the token the students liked to get as far away as possible from the schoolyard as soon as the final school bell rang. They waited anxiously for the time to leave and watched the shadows grow smaller… (Dadié, 1971, pp. 15–16).

These images of humiliation were not only evident in West Africa. They were also evident and written about by authors such as Kenyan author Ngugi wa Thiong'o, who advocates for linguistic decolonization in Africa. In his essay "Decolonizing the mind", Wa Thiong'o notes how colonialists regarded African vernacular languages as being backward and imposed the colonial language, English, on Africans (Wa Thiong'o, 1981). In South Africa, during the Soweto Uprising in 1976, black students protested against the introduction of Afrikaans by the apartheid government as a medium of instruction in schools. They were met with fierce brutality from the police, and many students lost their lives (Hirson, 1979). As will be further discussed in Chapter Four:

> …language has been and remains one of the most potent symbols of ethnicity and group identity in human society. In the words of Fishman (1989: 32), language is the "quintessential symbol" of ethnicity. To wit, there have been an increasing number of mobilizations around questions of language and identity around the world. From the language based-nationalisms of Eastern Europe in the 19th century to the more recent language movements of the post-Soviet Union, from the struggles over Afrikaans in the Apartheid South Africa to the conflicts over bilingual education and the English-

> Only movement in the United States, language seems poised to become even more than in previous centuries, a convenient flashpoint and battleground for resolving disagreements over identity, nation, migrancy and territory (Adejunmobi, 2004, p. 2).

Adejunmobi (2004) eloquently conveys her sentiment that language is the greatest marker of a groups identity in society. This is why people from various countries have protested or rebelled against "foreign languages" being imposed on them. Vernacular, according to Adejunmobi (2004), refers to language in its particular function as a mother tongue. Vernacular is the organized activity undertaken by concerned individuals with a view to making such mother tongues the officially recognized means of communication in the major institutions of a territorially restricted community. As Adejunmobi (2004) stated that language is the greatest marker of a groups identity in society, this study hopes to investigate as to if language is par and parcel of ones identity.

2.5. Language shift and maintenance

Language shift was initially used by Uriel Weinreich in 1968 to signify the change from the "habitual use of one language to that of another". It should be noted that language shift or death and language maintenance are long-term, collective results of language choice (Fasold, 1984). What conventionally transpires during language shift is that a younger generation learns an "old" language from their parents as a mother tongue, although they are also exposed from a young age to another fashionable and socially useful language, either at school or in the community. Aitchison (1991) notes that there are two things that might possibly happen for language shift to take place. First, the speakers of the "old" language will continue speaking it, but they will slowly start to introduce new forms and constructions from the language that is socially dominant. This will continue until the "old" language is no longer identifiable as a separate language. Second, the "old" language is overpowered and overthrown by the dominant language so that the former language stops being used after some time.

The terms "maintenance" and "shift" were consolidated in a pioneering article by Joshua Fishman in 1964 (Fasold, 2004). Language shift and language maintenance are important concepts in the present study, as the parents (participants) who participated in

the study would have hypothetically made a shift from their mother tongue to English. In turn, these participants would possibly, intentionally or unintentionally, have neglected to maintain their mother tongue. Language shift happens when a speech community of a particular language gives up that language in favour of another one. When a language shift occurs, the language community has deliberately and collectively chosen a new language where an old one used to be spoken. Language shift, denotes the replacement of one language by another as the primary means of communication and socialization within a community.

Language shift is sometimes dramatically referred to as language death. This normally happens when speakers of a language community shift from speaking a particular language in favour of another language. The term language death is used when that community is the last one to use that language (Mesthrie et al., 2009). Fasold (2004) claims that language death occurs when a community of a specific language shifts to a completely new language so that the old language is no longer used.

The other side of the coin when it comes to language shift is language maintenance. It is when a speech community deliberately continues using the language or languages it has traditionally used. Fasold (2004) states that if members of a speech community are monolingual and are not collectively acquiring another language, it implies that they are maintaining their language. Maintenance is normally typical of bilingual or multilingual communities. Mesthrie et al., (2009) further reiterate that language maintenance means the ongoing use of a language in the face of competition from a regionally and socially more influential language. Tatar's (2015) case study, which is based on parents' role in their children's development and maintenance of the heritage language, will be used in the present study to unravel how participants maintain their mother tongues and identity in the midst of globalization.

Tatar's study aimed to explore the strategies and language ideologies that Turkish-American immigrant parents use in order to maintain their heritage language and their children's cultural identity. The results of this study suggest that the parents and their children valued learning Turkish as a heritage language. "Heritage language" is conventionally used to identify languages other than the dominant language in a given

social context. Nevertheless, the different perceptions of the parents and the children regarding the children's use of Turkish and their cultural identity are reported. The parents interviewed in the study suggested that in order for them to maintain their heritage language, they had a great deal of support from the community and the schools their children attended.

The themes from Tatar's case study relate to the present study as it showcases why there is such a need to preserve heritage languages and how a language can be preserved and not sacrificed for another language that is deemed to be more powerful. Tatar's (2015) study also illustrates how Korean parents with young children initially hold assimilationist ideologies and speak to their children solely in English, but soon after, they then shift to a more pluralist position and support their children's desire to learn Korean once the children are in college. Surprisingly, the first and second-generation Korean Americans' proficiency in English assists their decision to take up Korean when they reach college when Korean is perceived as a desirable addition to English.

What Tatar (2015) notes in most studies is that there is consistent evidence that parental use of a heritage language at home is an important factor in enhancing their children's heritage language maintenance. De Fina (2012, as cited in Tatar, 2015) explains the family communication implication by referring to a member of the third generation in her study, who has re-learned the heritage language in college in order to be able to communicate with her grandmother. This member also had an important role in encouraging her peers to maintain the family's multilingual identity. Moreover, parental involvement is considered the most important factor that influences heritage language maintenance. The findings of Brown's (2011) study (as cited in Tatar, 2015) support the fact that parental involvement is more vital than heritage language schools or reminding the children of the importance of the heritage language. Additionally, the study suggests that immigrant parents should try to avoid any communication in English if their aim is to maintain their heritage language. However, parents may shift to English because of insufficient heritage language proficiency of the children, which may be the case with language loss.

In addition, the fact that immigrant parents value heritage but rarely transform this into practice is due to the fact that they cannot see the language's future practical use. Upholding this, Brown (2011, as cited in Tatar, 2015) states that parents shared a strong desire for their children to develop and maintain their heritage language. It should be noted that in Brown's study, the parents did not always seem to put their beliefs into practice. What is more, despite the parents' effort to maintain their children's heritage language, the lack of external social and educational support is perceived as a barrier to achieving this goal (Tatar, 2015). Rohani et al., (2006, as cited in Tatar, 2015) highlight that "parents, both consciously and unconsciously, create an environment that will either nurture or impair language acquisition". With that said, it is important to note that the way that heritage language is promoted by parents plays a vital role in the children's motivation. According to Rohani et al., "all the children were much more willing to interact with Japanese literacy when they were introduced to a greater variety of recreational Japanese texts, such as storybooks, manga, cartoon character cards, Game Boys, Game Boy strategy guides, and karuta" (2006, as cited in Tatar, 2015).

Regardless of the impressive observation of immigrant Korean parents whose children learning their heritage language, Lee (2012) claims that the length of stay in the United States and the immigrant status were important factors affecting these views. The longer the immigrant families stayed in the United States, the more parents tended to use English with their children, and the shorter their planned stay, the more parents tended to let their children practise English. As a result, some parents believe that their children need to learn the dominant language alongside their heritage language. According to Shoukri (2010), the members of Ontario's Arab community valued the learning of multiple languages. Additionally, although they agreed that learning French is important, learning English was considered more important.

On the one hand, the majority of participants in the above-mentioned study wanted their children to learn Arabic at school because they felt that their children's use of Arabic was decreasing. On the other hand, the parents' attitudes toward heritage language learning might differ significantly from their children's attitudes toward heritage language. Specifically, parental attitudes might be more positive than their children's.

The reason appeared to be the difference in the amount of exposure to English (Mirici, Galleano, & Torres, 2013).

There are some reasons for the children of immigrant families to maintain their heritage language. Being able to communicate with other family members seems to be the first reason. Otcu (2014, p. 226, as cited in Tatar, 2015) provides an example by saying that "the children exhibit fluid and hybrid identities. They reject the adults' Discourses by 18 speaking English among peers and yet they also speak Turkish to adults when necessary and accept their Discourses". Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009) observe that especially older children want to learn a heritage language to obey their parents, yet they themselves do not deem it essential or significant. In Lee's (2012) study (as cited in Tatar, 2015) regarding the beliefs and attitudes that Korean immigrant parents and their children hold about their heritage language, the participants responded that they needed to learn Korean because they needed to speak Korean with their parents. Therefore, the use of a heritage language at home is one important factor in motivating students to learn the heritage language. Additionally, in their study, Jean and Geva (2012) identify a positive effect of using the heritage language at home and English within all contexts. Moreover, Lukmani claims that many language researchers agree that an individual's motivation to learn a given language is based on the following factors:

> …attitudes toward the community and people who speak the language; (2) attitudes toward learning the language in question; (3) attitudes toward learning languages and language learning in general; and (4) the goals pursued through language learning (1972, as cited in Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009).

It is important to note that in order for one to learn any language, one must be interested in the language and one must also be motivated to learn the language. A motivation to learn a language has to do with the attitudes and the ideologies that are attached to the language (Lukmani, 1972, as cited in Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). The power that language has can also be the contributing factor to learning that language. Maintaining heritage languages is very important because it helps preserve cultural identity maintenance, it assists in sustaining meaningful family communication and provides greater future opportunities for multilingual adults. It is noted in Tatar's (2015) study that the reason why immigrant children should learn their heritage language is that it can

assist them in academic achievements and second language learning. Tatar's study links to Kamwangamalu (2013) study, which mentions that when it comes to African languages, speakers of these languages need to understand the value of learning their mother tongues and how this can inturn result in upward mobility in society. Fishman (1964), who is the ground-breaking founder of language shift and language maintenance states:

> The study of language maintenance and language shift is concerned with the relationship between change and stability in habitual language use, on the one hand, and ongoing psychological, social and cultural processes, on the other, when populations differing in language are in contact with each other (Fishman, 1964, p. 32).

This shows that sometimes languages replace each other amongst some speakers, predominantly in certain types or domains of language behaviour, and under some conditions of intergroup contact. Such changes have long aroused curiosity and comment. Fishman further suggests that there are three important subdivisions of this field, which are:

> (a) habitual language use at more than one point in time or space under conditions of intergroup contact; (b) antecedent, concurrent or consequent psychological, social and cultural processes and their relation-ship to stability or change in habitual language use; and (c) behavior toward language in the contact setting, including directed maintenance or shift efforts (1964).

These subdivisions are very important as they make evident the attitudes and ideologies that people have towards certain languages and when these languages are used. This will be further explored in the discussion of the methodological phase of this study and will be assessed according to the feedback the participants gave.

2.6. Causes of language shift

According to Mesthrie and Leap (2000), there are various factors that cause language shift. These factors can be economic changes such as status, demography and institutional support. Economic factors are more noticeable when it concerns factors leading to language shift, although the relation is not necessary. The connection of

various speech communities is frequently brought about by invasion, seeking of refuge, immigration of workers or trade. All of these factors have an underlying economic motive. For instance, demographic factors: the number of speakers who are part of a specific language community affects how a language survives. The smaller the community, the more likely it is that the language will shift or suffer language death. For example, if people from the same language communities (two Setswana-speaking people) get married to each other, it improves the chances of the family language being transmitted to the children.

Institutional support is another factor that can cause language shift. This can occur when a minority language in education, religion, the media or administration attempts to strengthen its position. However, for minority languages this can be done at a great cost. Mesthrie and Leap (2000, p. 251) make it evident that "a major asymmetry exists between use of a minority language in educational settings (associated with formal and standard norms of a language) and the hyper-colloquial and localised use characteristic of a language in its dying stages".

Another factor can be status. A number of writers believe that a group's sense of worth and the status of their language plays a vital role in the maintenance and shift of the language. It is important to note that these factors are not entirely separate from economic and class factors. Coulmas (2005, p. 166) further reiterates that in the South African context the assurance of higher earnings goes a long way toward explaining the phenomenal spread of English, which provides the aim of language shift in numerous speech communities. He further states that there can be no doubt that relative utility-value differential is the most consistent predictor of language spread and language shift. The utility value of a language is an aggregate encompassing the following factors:

- The communicative range of a language measured as the demographic strength of the community using it as first and second/foreign language;
- The investment made in a language in terms of lexical recording, dictionaries, translations, electronic processability, etc;
- Demand for language in the international language market;
- A language's level of development as a societal means of production (Coulmas, 2005, p. 166).

It is important to note that the above-mentioned factors are of a social and economic nature, which should not confuse the fact that linguistic factors also feed into the utility value of languages. As Coulmas (2005) has made evident that a languages utility value encompasses several factors, this study will make evident a languages utility value by investigating what motivates parents who are non-native English speakers to teach their children English instead of their mother tongue.

2.7. Language death

Language death is relevant to this study because it is the direct result of language shift. With that said, language shift will be brought up in order to understand the different types of how a language can die and how language death can be prevented. Language death is defined by Campbell as "the loss of a language due to gradual shift to the dominant language in language contact situations" (1994, p. 1961). According to Mesthrie and Leap (2000), there are four types of language death: gradual death, sudden death, radical death and bottom-to-top death. Gradual death has to do with the replacement of one language by another. For instance, Gaelic, a language spoken in Scotland, was replaced by English. Sudden death is the unexpected extinction of a language, and in this case the last speaker of a specific language would be monolingual. In the situation of radical death, the speakers of a language stop speaking the language due to political oppression. The speakers of this language would have competent speakers, but they would not pass on their language to their offspring. For instance, "the massacre of thousands of Indians in El Salvador in 1932 led the surviving speakers of Cacaopera and Lenca to stop speaking these languages as a survival strategy so as not to be identified as Indians" (Mesthrie & Leap, 2000, p. 248). Bottom-to-top death occurs when a language stops being used in daily conversations. However, it might survive by being used in religion or music, like Tzeltal, which is a dying language spoken in Mexico. Tzeltal is barely surviving by being used in prayer. With that said, according to Yamamoto (1997, as cited in Crystal, 2014, p. 191), there are nine factors that he believes will help prevent language death. Those factors are:

1. There must be a dominant culture that favors linguistic diversity
2. The endangered community must possess an ethnic identity that is strong enough to encourage language preservation

3. The creation and promotion of programs that educate students on the endangered language and culture
4. The creation of school programs that are both bilingual and bicultural
5. For native speakers to receive teacher training
6. The endangered speech community must be completely involved
7. There must be language materials created that are easy to use
8. The language must have written materials that encompass new and traditional content
9. The language must be used in new environments and the areas the language is used (both old and new) must be strengthened, (Yamamoto, 1997, as cited in Crystal, 2014, p. 191).

These are factors that can be used not only in the South African context but everywhere where languages need to be maintained and preserved from dying. Yamamoto's factors that he believes will help prevent language death can also be used in this study as a recommendation for parents who choose to teach their children English instead of their mother tongue, they can also be used in other studies.

2.8. Linguistic choices

The first thing that comes to mind when language choice is mentioned is the various languages that speakers choose to use on a daily basis. When speakers are bilingual, and they are confronted with an opportunity to choose which language to use – they are deliberately making a linguistic choice. Language choice is referred to by Fishman (1965, as cited in Mesthrie et al., 2009) as a matter of who speaks what language to whom and when. It can be deduced that language choices are based on judgement, which is not fully controlled. Choice is normally based on people's beliefs and preferences, which at times people cannot clearly explain. This will be expanded on by explaining three kinds of language choices.

2.8.1. Three kinds of language choices

Fasold (2004) claims that there are three kinds of language choices. The first one is code-switching (when a speaker chooses to alternate between two or more languages),

the second is code-mixing (when a speaker mixes two or more languages together) and the third is borrowing (this is when a speaker borrows words from one language and uses it in another language). In all three these different types of choices, the speaker makes a deliberate or sometimes an unconscious choice to either code-switch, code-mix or borrow. In the South African context, linguistic choices are very intriguing as South Africa is a multilingual country. Coulmas (2011) investigates if, in such contexts, these speakers' speech choices are made "inevitably or deliberately or if they are by destiny or by choice". Studies by Coulmas (2011), focusing on language use, have been concerned with the typical choices that language speakers make. It is important to note that speakers can choose any language they want to use and any register they want to use depending on any specific context.

When it comes to teaching children a language, it is also important to note that they do not simply commit to memorizing the sentences they hear other people speak. They extract from other people's language choices, in this instance, their speech and a set of rules of construction that enable them to produce infinitely numerous new sentences that will be correctly understood in their language community (Carroll, 2008). As Fasold (2004) explained three types of choice, in this study it will be made explicit as to when participants make certain choices and why.

2.8.3. Language preferences

Children are influenced, mostly by their parents' as well as other societal influences such as their educators, to prefer one language over another (for the purposes of this research, that would be English). Msila (2014) discovered in her research that the majority of the South African parents whom she interviewed tended to use more English in their homes than their mother tongue. This relates to the present study in the sense that parents are non-native English speakers are speaking English to their children and not their mother tongue. Msila (2014) states that this observation implies that more and more parents want to anglicize their children in the spirit of wanting them to have a good start in life. Msila (2014) also observes that the parents she interviewed did not hide their bias for teaching their children English instead of their mother tongue. She mentions that some parents selected certain preschool centres purely based on the fact

that they were good at English. These parents subscribed to the belief that they were giving their children a good start by taking them to an English day care centre (a preschool where English is used as a medium of instruction). In this case, these parents made a deliberate language choice for their children to be taught using English as a medium of instruction. For example, one participant said, "It is a fact that English is a language for the future. I would not like my child to learn IsiXhosa. Where will it take her?" (Msila, 2014, p. 9). These sentiments were agreed upon by a few other participants who further stated:

> Getting him a good start will make me happy. English will give him a good start. I prefer English definitely. I still love my language, isiXhosa, but my children can speak less of that. English signifies a better future. They can teach her both languages, but they need to teach her more and more English. It is easy to see the best of these schools, when your child comes home every day with new English words, you become proud. You know, it is worth it, your every cent pays for the right education (Msila, 2014, p. 9).

Other parents made the following type of argument: "I am at this school because I know they will give my child a good foundation. The township schools are hopeless. I want more opportunities for my child" (Msila, 2014, p. 9). The implication is that because township day care centres do not use English, they are not good enough. With that said, there are parents from the township who also want the education of the elite (former Model C schools) for their children, but they cannot afford that kind of education which is available outside their township. The parents in Msila's study explained that the majority of the children, if not all, use their mother tongue when they play with friends at home. However, it is at the school that they stay for a long time each day. At school they are expected to speak English. The parents interviewed in the school did not hide their bias for English-language teaching. All of them contended that the English language will better the chances of their families as these children will grow to be productive workers for the families of the future. As one of them put it:

> Khulani is a good school, unlike other township crèches – it gives our children a chance through teaching them the English language. Many of us never had these chances and I am so proud whenever I hear my child singing songs or uttering a few words he has learned from school. You see most of us see these children as our future

> investment. The language will not only improve their chances, but the chances of their families as well (Msila, 2014, p. 10).

It is important to note that in Msila's study, English is revered and is seen as a language of power. It is seen as a language that is a good foundation for children and it is also seen as a stepping stone to greater heights. Also important to keep in mind is that language choice changes according to the various situations that arise and the various people who need to be addressed. Deckert and Vickers (2011) state that "[t]he situations here can be summarized as those involving family, commerce, friendship, religion, education, recreation, administration, and hierarchy. These are called domains, and the people spoken to are known as addressees". With that said, this study aims to find out what motivates parents to make certain language choices for their children.

2.8.4. Factors that influence various language choices

Language choice can thus be said to depend on both the domain of usage and the particular addressee. Speakers independently decide which language they speak to whom and why. For instance, when a politician addresses masses of people (addressee) at a political rally, he/she will address the masses (addressee) according to the language which is predominately spoken at that gathering or in the said area. If the political rally takes place in a rural area in KwaZulu-Natal, the politician will use isiZulu to have a wider reach due to the fact that the language that is spoken by the addressees is isiZulu. It would be pointless in this context to use a language that the addressees do not understand, since the point of a rally is to drive home a specific message to the people at the gathering.

The existence of South Africa's eleven official languages with their different statuses and functions in the same context, and the linguistic choices speakers make, reveal diverse attitudes and perceptions about speakers. Broadcasting that one does, or does not, usually speak a certain language may reveal noteworthy sociolinguistic information about the speaker. This is why, to some extent, this study set out to investigate speakers' choices in South Africa (which is multilingual) and the reasons for those choices, in an

endeavour to explore attitudinal tendencies and other motivations that are behind these specific language choices.

2.8.5. Culturally constructed identities

As previously mentioned, languages are mediums through which cultural identities are constructed, accumulated, stored and transmitted. Consequently, language is a reflection of culture. Identity construction is relevant to this study as it assists in maintaining and constructing links with different cultures. This was made evident with the feedback that was received from the participants who took part in the study. Khokhar et al. (2016) assert that in Pakistan, language is crucial in maintaining culture. English and Urdu, which are the powerful languages in the country, have occupied the place of other languages in the country. These languages are part and parcel of the rich cultures that exist in Pakistan. Language is consequently a fundamental means whereby cultures are passed on to each generation. Narrating the stories, fables, proverbs, idioms, sayings, riddles and songs, and verbal education are used as means of preservation in Pakistan. Bourdieu (1977) states that people have to accept certain things from society that become their habits. Those habits become their social experiences, and they coordinate those experiences with others. It is language that helps people coordinate their experiences with others. It is in turn language and language ideologies that will assist in answering this studies pertinent question of what motivates South African parents who are non-native English speakers to teach their children English instead of their mother tongue.

2.9. Conclusion

This chapter described language ideologies, which can be understood as a set of beliefs, views and ideas about language that are socially shared and relate language and society in a dialectical fashion. It further explored FLP and language policy in South Africa. This chapter also touched on the position of English, and explained the two different theories regarding the value of English in Africa today: the Conspiracy Theory and the Grassroots Theory. The power of English and the position of indigenous languages in South Africa were covered. This chapter also touched on language and identity by

exploring colonial encounters in Africa. Additionally, this chapter looked at language maintenance and language shift. It further investigated the causes of language shift and language death. This chapter concluded by bringing across language preferences, language choices and culturally constructed identities.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.0. Introduction

This chapter covers the research design and the data collection methods, explaining which method was used and why it was used. It also covers the procedure that was used to select participants for this study. This chapter further gives insight on the participants that were selected to take part in this study. Lastly this chapter will deal with the analysis of the data that was collected from this study and the ethical considerations that were adhered to when conducting this study.

3.1. Qualitative method

It is conventionally said that qualitative research data collection methods are time-consuming, therefore data is usually collected from a smaller sample than from quantitative methods, making qualitative research more expensive. The benefits of the qualitative approach are that the information is richer and provide deeper insight into the phenomenon under study (Davis, 1995). Qualitative research is common in social sciences, and most language researchers have successfully used critical discourse analysis, case studies and even ethnographic research (Ardener, 2013; Heller, 2006; Herbert, 1995). Other researchers, such as Smith-Christmas (2016), have also used surveys (which is a quantitative method) to conduct research in FLP. Still others, such as Wei (2010), have attempted to use mixed methods (a mix of qualitative and quantitative research). Qualitative research also seems to be a common methodology in FLP amongst many researchers (see Zhao, 2018; McCarty, 2014; Kendall, 2011; Ward, 1971). Thus making it the most appropriate data collection method to conduct this study.

3.2. Research design

This study relied on a mixed-methodology qualitative method, which required setting up one-on-one interviews with the participants (qualitative aspect) and also required

them to fill out a questionnaire (quantitative aspect). At a later stage, the data collected from the participants was then analysed. In order to analyse data using the qualitative method, patterns were drawn out from concepts and insights that the participants shared. The various responses obtained from the participants who were selected to take part in the study were examined. This research design assisted in answering the research questions, and provided an opportunity to interact with the parents who make the linguistic choices being studied. According to Babbie and Mouton (2001, p. 270), by adhering to a qualitative methodology, "the researcher is able to develop an insider perspective of analysing everyday life of the respondents, it also aids the researcher with the opportunity to reconstruct, describe and understand the unit of analysis's experience over time."

3.3. Data collection tools

Two data collection tools were used. First, one-on-one interviews were conducted (see Appendix D for interview questions) and the participants were asked to fill out questionnaires (see Appendix C for the questionnaire). This was conducted with ten participants (parents) who were approached to take part in the study. These participants were of various genders, ages and backgrounds. They were all South African. Participants gave their consent to participate and for interviews to be recorded (see Appendix B for the consent form) to participate in the study. In addition, the participants were also given a participation information sheet (see Appendix A).

3.4. Sampling procedure

Participants for this study were selected by using a snowball method in order to get other participants to take part in the study. Another selection criterion was that the participants must have been residing in Pretoria and Johannesburg (Gauteng) at the time of the study, must speak one South African language as their mother tongue and must have had a child or children who had been taught how to speak English instead of their mother tongue.

3.5. Participants

The participants were speakers of the following languages: Participant 1 spoke Sesotho, Participant 2 spoke Tshivenda, Participant 3 spoke isiZulu, Participant 4 spoke Afrikaans, Participant 5 spoke Setswana, Participant 6 also spoke Setswana, Participant 7 spoke isiXhosa, Participant 8 spoke Afrikaans, Participant 9 spoke English and Participant 10 spoke isiZulu (this excluded native English speakers). Yet they choose to speak to their children in English instead of their mother tongue. In order to take part in the study, participants gave their consent to participate in the study (see Appendix B for the consent form).

3.6. Procedure

I adopted the following data collection procedure in this research study. This procedure made it possible to adhere to the required ethical procedure. In addition, it allowed the proper utilization of the research tools, which ensured that relevant data was collected for this research.

Table 1: Procedure for data collection

Task 1 **Consent form**	Task 2 **Fill out questionnaire**	Task 3 **One-on-one interviews**
The researcher issued consent forms to the participants prior to commencing the study.	Selected participants were given a questionnaire to fill out. They filled out this questionnaire by writing or by checking appropriate boxes.	The selected participants were interviewed by the researcher. They were then asked to answer verbally various language-related questions posed by the researcher. They were required to explain to the researcher what they thought the questions being asked were requesting. They were recorded during this session.

3.7. Data analysis

To analyse data using mixed methods (a mix of qualitative and quantitative research such as that used by Wei (2010)), patterns were drawn out from concepts and insights that the participants shared. The various responses obtained from the participants who were selected to take part in the study were examined.

3.8. Ethical considerations

Prior to the process of collecting data, an application was submitted to the university's ethics committee. Additionally, informed consent was also requested from the participants taking part in the study. Once all of these were successful, the process of selecting participants commenced. Participation in this study was voluntary and the participants were allowed to withdraw at any time. Participants in this study were required to sign a consent form prior to the commencement of the study. Information sheets about the study and consent forms included details regarding the general objective of the study and emphasis on the voluntary nature of participation. In addition, all participants were assured of their anonymity and confidentiality. After all the relevant parties had signed all consent forms acknowledging their participation and granting their consent to be recorded, the data collection commenced.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN PARENTS (NON-NATIVE ENGLISH SPEAKERS) WHO TEACH THEIR CHILDREN ENGLISH INSTEAD OF THEIR MOTHER TONGUE

4.1. Introduction

This chapter covers the analysis of the data collected from South African parents (non-native English speakers) who teach their children English instead of their mother tongue. The data collected for this chapter is divided into four sections. The first section pertains to the analysis of the data collected from the parents through the questionnaires, and it looks at their biographical information. The analysis of the questionnaire data also reveals their language proficiency and patterns of language use in particular domains. The second section pertains to the interview questions that were posed to the participants to get a better understanding of their language ideologies and attitudes toward English as well as their mother tongue. The third section has to do with the summary of the results of the data. The last section is the discussion of the findings of the data.

4.2. Section A: Biographical information

Each participant was required to fill out the questionnaire (see Appendix C) before taking part in this study. It should be noted that the data is presented here as a summary so as to highlight crucial data that the researcher had anticipated to elicit from the participants. The questionnaire's data is presented and analysed in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Biographical information

Part	Gender	Age	L1	L2	Highest qualification	Occupation	No. of children	Where childhood years were spent	Place of residence
1.	W	36–40	Sesotho	English	Degree	HR practioner	2	Vaal	Midrand
2.	W	41–45	Tshivenda	English	Degree	Librarian	2	Venda	Centurion
3.	M	26–30	isiZulu	English	Degree	Web manager	1	Free State	Pretoria
4.	W	31–35	Afrikaans	English	Diploma	Personal assistant	1	Free State	Pretoria
5.	M	31–35	Setswana	English	Diploma	Freelance photographer	1	Mabopane	Pretoria
6.	W	26–30	Setswana	English	Diploma	Account analyst	1	Soshanguve	Centurion
7.	M	31–35	isiXhosa	Sesotho	Diploma	Chef	1	Eastern Cape	Pretoria
8.	M	36–40	Afrikaans	English	Degree	Project manager	2	Johannesburg	Pretoria
9.	W	41–45	English	Sesotho	Degree	PR professional	1	Rustenburg	Edenvale
10.	W	36–40	isiZulu	English	Masters	Lecturer	4	Pietermaritzburg	Sandton

The table above is a summary of the participants' biographical information. It can be noted from the data that 40% of the participants were male and 60% were female. This was not intentional; these were the participants who were willing to take part in the study. In terms of age group, 20% of the participants in the study were between 26 and 30 years old. Another 30% were between 31 and 35 years old. An additional 30% were between 36 and 40 years old. Lastly, the eldest of the participants were between 41 and 45 years old (20%). All these participants had various mother tongues. However, the majority of them (80%) shared their second language, which is English. All these participants received formal education and they were all employed. As a requirement for this study, participants had to be based in Gauteng in order to take part in the study, and all the participants were from Gauteng.

4.3. Section B: Interviews

This section is also a summary of the questions the participants answered during the one-on-one interviews. For the detailed questions that were asked during the interviews, refer to the interview questions in Appendix D. The first question that was posed to the participant is: "Who do you speak to in your mother tongue and how often? Please tick the most appropriate answer for each category of people." About 80% of the participants spoke their mother tongue to their spouses. An additional 20% of the participants spoke their mother tongue to their children regardless of the fact that their children could not understand them most of the time. All the participants spoke their mother tongue to their parents, grandparents, siblings and other family members. About 50% of the participants spoke their mother tongue to their co-workers and people to whom they were not related. Approximately 10% of the participants spoke to their community members using their mother tongue. It is important to note that the participants could still speak their mother tongue and they did speak it to various people. As Voloshinov and Bachtin (1986) explained, that language only exists in a context where interaction takes place. Piller (2015, p. 4) further substantiates that, "like anything social, language ideologies are interested, multiple, and contested". As it can be seen in the results, speakers choose to speak their mother tongues when they speak to specific people. When they interact with other people outside of the specified category they seldom spoke their mother tongue.

Thus indicating that language ideologies play a crucial part in the language choices people make when interacting with other people.

Table 3: Which South African language do you strongly identify with?

Participant	Answer	Participant	Answer
1.	Sesotho	6.	Setswana
2.	Tshivenda	7.	IsiXhosa
3.	isiZulu	8.	Afrikaans
4.	Afrikaans	9.	English
5.	Setswana	10.	IsiZulu

It is evident in Table 3 that when participants were asked with which language they strongly identified, 20% of the participants identified with English and Afrikaans and the rest of the participants (80%) identified with their indigenous languages. This is in line with the literature review, specifically with Norton (2010) who, regarding language and identity, states that one cannot understand the value that is attributed to speech in isolation from the person who speaks, nor can the person who speaks be understood apart from social relationships. When people speak, they reveal or share their identity, that is, their race, gender, age, ethnicity, class and level of education by how they speak or by the language they choose to use.

Table 4: What role do you think your mother tongue plays in South Africa as a whole?

Part.	Answer
1. Sesotho[2]	My mother tongue plays a role in South Africa when it pertains to my culture, traditional customs and traditional music.
2. Tshivenda	It plays a role in my community.
3. isiZulu	Considering my mother tongue (isiZulu) is the most spoken language in SA, and most government campaigns and slogans are written and/or expressed in isiZulu, [it] is very affirming. That shows that the language will outlive most of us as new words and phrases are associated and translated into it.
4. Afrikaans	It's a language that most people can understand. Easier to communicate.
5. Setswana	It is closely tied in with one's identity.
6. Setswana	My language does not really play a big role in SA. In Botswana, yes it does.
7. isiXhosa	It plays a role from the community I am from. It plays a role in broadcasting as well
8. Afrikaans	Marginal role – having a small place only as a cultural marker.
9. English	As a way to speak to my grandparents and understand them and their history.
10. isiZulu	It is the most spoken African language in the country.

[2] Each participant's mother tongue is placed under their identifying number.

According to Piller (2015, p. 4), language ideologies are "beliefs and feelings about language which shape the way we use language. Language ideologies constitute a bridge between linguistic and social structure as they rationalize and justify social inequality as an outcome of linguistic difference." It can be noted from Table 4 (which contains verbatim answers from all the participants) that the parents who took part in this study did not really hold their mother tongue in high regard. For instance, Participant 1 claimed that her mother tongue only "plays a role in South Africa when it pertains to [her] culture, traditional customs and traditional music". Participant 6, meanwhile, stated that her "language does not really play a big role in SA. In Botswana, yes it does." Participant 8 further stated that his language plays "a marginal role, having a small place only as a cultural marker". The responses to this question were a clear indication that the participants did not perceive their mother tongue as playing a significant role in South African society. However, Participant 4 stated that her mother tongue, which is Afrikaans, "[is] a language that most people can understand. Easier to communicate." This participant was of the view that her language is significant in the country as it is a language that the majority understands. Participant 10 shares that her language is "the most spoken African language in the country". Participant 10 indicated that because her language is the most spoken African language, it is therefore a significant language. This clearly indicates that 20% of the participants held their language in high regard, as opposed to the 80% who did not.

Table 5: What do you think helps to keep indigenous languages in use by people within a community?

Part.	Answer
1.	Indigenous languages are kept in use by being spoken all the time and being taught at school and by being promoted in the country.
2.	Continue using our languages in our communities and at home. We must also teach our children our indigenous languages and encourage them to use it. We must also write books in our languages. We must also encourage our children to read literature in our language. They must also choose our language at school as a subject.
3.	I think the evolution of the language keeps it alive. When new/modern words are added to the vocabulary of a community, the language as a whole stands a better chance of evolving and growing with the community. Indigenous radio stations and other media also help keep the languages alive by using the language that people understand most as a way to convey news, entertainment and information.
4.	Strong morals and roots within the specific cultures.
5.	Music, games and storytelling using the indigenous languages.
6.	By using it in all domains.
7.	Speaking it and being taught in it.
8.	By making the language official and by speaking it.
9.	Speaking it.
10.	Access to media, which is available in indigenous languages and availability of respective literature.

Table 5 shows the responses obtained when participants were asked what they think helps keep indigenous languages in use by people within a community. Participant 2 was positive and very pragmatic about how she thinks indigenous languages can be used. She stated that languages are kept in use when there is a continued use of them at home and in the community. She also added that children must be taught their indigenous languages and be encouraged to use them at school and to read literature in those languages (see Table 5 for verbatim answer). Participant 3 stated that evolution is the contributing factor to keeping languages alive. She also mentioned that the growth of a language's lexicography aids the language to evolve in varied speech communities.

Media further assists in keeping indigenous languages alive (see the table for verbatim answer). Participant 5 thought that "music, games and storytelling using the indigenous languages" can help keep these languages in use. Participant 6 insisted that in order to keep indigenous languages in use, "we must use it in all domains". Participant 9 was of the opinion that by simply "speaking it", the indigenous language will be kept in use in the community. Participant 10 further added that speakers of indigenous languages must have "access to media, which is available in indigenous languages and availability of respective literature", in order to preserve indigenous languages in their communities. As can be noted from all of the participants' response, there is a plausible way of maintaining indigenous languages. As mentioned earlier, Mesthrie et al., (2009) state that language maintenance means the ongoing use of a language in the face of competition from a regionally and socially more influential language. Indigenous languages can be maintained when a collective effort is made.

Table 6: What language do you use to speak to your child(ren)?

Participant	Answer	Participant	Answer
1.	English	6.	English
2.	English	7.	English
3.	English and Sesotho. But mostly English because that's what she seems to understand the most.	8.	English
4.	English, even though she is Afrikaans.	9.	English
5.	English	10.	I mix English, isiZulu and Sepedi, but we communicate mostly in English.

In order to take part in this study, it was a prerequisite that participants were parents who spoke English to their child/children. The aim was to find out if these parents spoke other languages in addition to the English they were already predominately using to speak to their children. The parents who took part in this study were also asked what language they used to speak to their children (Table 6). Of the participants, 80% spoke solely English to their children and 20% tried to speak their mother tongues even though their children could not understand them. For instance, Participant 3 stated that he used "English and Sesotho. But mostly English because that's what she seems to understand the most." Participant 10 also stated that she mixed English, isiZulu and Sepedi, "but we communicate mostly in English". It is important to note that all of these parents' children spoke English as a first language irrespective of some of the parents' attempts to introduce their mother tongue to their children.

It is also important to note that when the parents where asked with which language they identified and which language they used to speak to family members, work members and the community members (see the beginning of Section B), 80% of the participants said they used their indigenous languages, whereas only 20% who claimed to only speak Afrikaans and English to said people. This clearly indicates that these parents' children

were for some reason exempted from being spoken to in the parents' mother tongue. It is important to note that parents spoke to their children in a language with which they did not necessarily identify, because they belong to a working class that upholds English as being of instrumental value and indigenous languages as being of an insignificant value. As Sexwale (2016, p. 20) observed that "a problem faced by South Africans is that we're holistically colonised. A South African child would rather learn French, Italian or the like than explore the culturally rich languages of the African continent." This highlights how linguistic choices are made and which languages are valued over others. Alidou and Mazrui (1999) further affirm that many Africans, especially in the sub-Saharan region, are nationalistic about their "race", ethnicity and often about their land as defined by the more recent tradition of state borders. However, nationalism about African languages is relatively weak, both in emotional and demographic magnitude in Africa.

Table 7: What place does English have in South Africa?

Part.	Answer
1.	English is a business and official language in South Africa.
2.	It's a language of business, language used at school and at government departments. It's a language mostly used is suburban residential areas. It's a language used in church. It's a language used in hospitals.
3.	We've been sold the idea that English is the business language of the country, whereas in reality, there are two main "business languages" in SA – English and Afrikaans. With the failure of the apartheid system in making the country an Afrikaans-speaking country, space was made to accommodate only one other language – English. All the other ten "official languages" are just official in that they are allowed to be spoken and recognized in the country. English is formally more recognized than any other language, followed only by Afrikaans. Across the country, signs, instructions, and labels are written in one language (English) or both English and Afrikaans. All other languages are inferior to those two. It is for that reason that white people can speak one language their whole lives and never have to learn any other language besides Afrikaans. For black people, English is our only other alternative to our mother tongues. We don't have the choice of conducting day-to-day tasks in our own languages like white people do. If, as a black person, you don't know English, you are seen as uneducated or lower than others. It's an unfortunate inferiority complex that was instilled and is still maintained by the state and civil society alike. If a white person can't speak English, it's not a problem. They don't have to. Everything accommodates them in their own language.
4.	Through various generations and cultures, the English language in South Africa has been moulded into its own unique form, and it is used mostly for official things.
5.	It is the language of business. It is widely used by people across the tribal divide in the country as a means to bridge the gap and foster some level of understanding between people who do not speak the same indigenous language.
6.	English is a language that is widely used wherever you go in different countries. So knowing how to interact in English is of importance in this day and age.
7.	English is the business language in SA. It [is] also the medium of instruction in schools.
8.	Dominating business, social and communicative language.
9.	Governing and education. Leadership roles.
10.	It is essentially the only official South African language (in practice).

As it was mentioned earlier, it is important to note that in South Africa the apartheid struggle has to a certain extent enhanced the status of English amongst the oppressed. The English language became by fate the language of liberation. Apartheid in this country has contributed to the increased use of English and ideologies about it. Table 7 shows the participants' responses when they were asked what role English plays in South Africa, and the participants answers varied from stating that it is a business language to stating that it is an official language. Participant 3 (see his answer in Table 7 above) touched on how English is deemed the business language in South Africa and how he felt it is the only language that really holds weight amongst the eleven official languages. Participant 10 further added that English is the only official language that is put in to practice. This clearly indicates that these parents view English as a business or official language that is used in South Africa. De Klerk (1996) eloquently explains that while English was the neutral language that was South Africa's saving grace in the apartheid era, it is evident that it is becoming the reason why many South Africans are shifting from speaking their mother tongue to speaking English. South Africans have shifted from speaking their mother tongue because of its low status and have opted to speak English because of its high status.

Table 8: Which languages do you think should be promoted and why?

Part.	Answer
1.	All languages in our country should be promoted because they deserve to be treated the same.
2.	All of the languages should be promoted. Every language must be recognized because South Africa is a rainbow nation, so everyone must feel included. Doing this will help assist the older generation to have access to the news and other services.
3.	I think all languages should be promoted. But mainly the less-spoken languages such as Xitsonga, Venda and the like. But what does "promotion of a language" really mean? Do we have signs and board[s] written in those languages, or are those languages being taught [at] schools? "Promotion of languages" should happen equally across the spectrum. No priority should be given to anyone language over others. Most signs and slogans in SA revolve around isiZulu in one way or another. With our history of tribalism, it is easy to see why this prevails. Other languages are seen as mediocre as compared to the majesty of isiZulu. I think the side-by-side promotion of Afrikaans as an alternative should be done away with altogether. The continuation of translating English words into Afrikaans only maintains the status quo of the past apartheid system where everything was in only the two languages. Afrikaans for the whites, English for the "non-whites". Even to this day, most government forms come in the two languages only. I do not understand why basic things like "surname" still need to be translated to "van" when a white person is filling in a form. It is clear that white people are not expected to learn or know any other language besides their mother tongue. In that way their language is preserved and well documented. Our own languages as black people are, however, not.
4.	English, Afrikaans, South Sotho, Zulu. These languages should be used as a basis in the education sector to allow more flexibility to become educated.
5.	Setswana should be promoted because it is my mother tongue.
6.	African languages should be promoted as they are very diverse.
7.	All eleven official languages should be promoted because everyone's language matters.
8.	Chinese, because it is going to become an international language soon.
9.	English only, we only use it in business.
10.	All previously disadvantaged languages identified as official languages in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa and language policies.

Participants were asked which languages should be promoted, and their responses are shown in Table 8. On the one hand, Participant 2 (see Table 8 above for the verbatim answer) stated that all South African languages should be promoted because South Africans live in a rainbow nation. Participant 3, on the other hand (see Table 8 above for the verbatim answer) did not understand why Afrikaans is still promoted in in its use in forms at government departments. Participant 3 stated that this is done at the expense of other indigenous languages. Some participants argued that their languages and, all languages for that matter, should be promoted as they have been previously marginalized. According to The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa1996, p. 4),

> 4. The national government and provincial governments, by legislative and other measures, must regulate and monitor their use of official languages. Without detracting from the provisions of subsection (2), all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably.
>
> 5. A Pan South African Language Board established by national legislation must—
>
> (c) promote, and create conditions for, the development and use of—
>
> (iv.) all official languages;
>
> (v.) the Khoi, Nama and San languages; and
>
> (vi.) sign language; and
>
> (d) promote and ensure respect for—
>
> (i). all languages commonly used by communities in South Africa, Including German, Greek, Gujarati, Hindi, Portuguese, Tamil, Telegu and Urdu; and
>
> (ii) Arabic, Hebrew, Sanskrit and other languages used for religious purposes in South Africa.
>
> (Chapter One, Founding Provisions, The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, p. 4)

Table 9: What does it mean to say that a language is your own language?

Part.	Answer
1.	It means it is a language one grew up speaking and one can identify with.
2.	It is a language that was used when you [were] brought up (first language/mother tongue).
3.	To claim ownership is personal. A language is your own if and when you are comfortable within it and are able to express yourself in it fully. Whether it's an official language or not, the fact that you, as the speaker, are comfortable in it is all that matters.
4.	Your "own" language is rooted from various factors. Province, culture, generation. I was raised in the Free State where the main language was English and moved to the North West and had to attend and Afrikaans school as there was no English schools available. Adapting to the Afrikaans culture had its pros and cons, but I opted to keep my English grounds although I was educated in Afrikaans.
5.	It means using that language by default when thinking, having conversations with yourself and when dreaming.
6.	It means that you use your language with majority of the things that you do.
7.	It means that it is the language that I used when was I was growing up. It means it is the language that I strongly identify with.
8.	You grew up speaking it and you identify with the culture.
9.	You use it more frequently than any other.
10.	It is the language your parents or ancestors speak/spoke.

Participants were asked what it meant to say that a language is one's own. Table 9 shows the participants' opinions. They explained that a language is one's own when one grew up speaking the language and can identify with it (see Participant 1's response in Table 9 above for a verbatim answer). Participant 5 said it is using the language when one does not even think about it (see Participant 5's response in Table 9 above for a verbatim answer). Participant 9 explained that a language is one's won when one uses it more than other languages (see Participant 9's response in Table 9 above for a verbatim answer). These participants made it clear that a language can only belong to people when they are comfortable speaking the language and they can effortlessly use it without having to think. The last participant also expressed the view that a language is part of

one's identity when one can use said language to speak to one's ancestors. Mwaura (1980, p. 27), for example, echoes sentiments that shed light on what it means to say that a language is one's own, he eloquently states that:

> Language influences the way in which we perceive, evaluate it and conduct ourselves with respect to it. Speakers of different languages and cultures see the universe differently, evaluate it differently, and behave towards its reality differently. Language controls thought, and action and speakers of different languages do not have the same culture or background (as cited in Alidou & Mazrui, 1999, p. 106).

Table 10: Do you think that learning English will help the growth of your child(ren)'s mind? Why?

Part.	Answer
1.	Yes, that is what they are taught in school. It will help them to pass at school.
2.	Yes it can, because English is an international language. They will be able to learn a lot from other people using English. English at school is used [as] a language of learning and teaching.
3.	No. I absolutely do not. English is not the be-all and end-all of language. With such a diverse country that is filled with languages and dialects from coast to coast, English is actually an inferior language to the beauty and vastness that is our African languages. There are words and phrases that cannot be translated into English or whose translation means a very different thing to the original word/phrase. English in itself is an inferior language. In a country where people do speak different languages, it seems English them forms a "common ground" among speakers of different languages and people from different parts of the country. Learning and being fluent in as many languages as possible is what will grow and expand my child's mind and understanding of the world.
4.	Yes. As a dual-language family, it's important for children to be able to communicate in more than one language and to be able to understand, as well as learning other languages to adapt and fit into a multi-race and cultural country. I can also partially speak and understand South Sotho and Fanagolo. When I lived in a mining community I had to adapt and evolve with the times.
5.	No. The growth of my child's mind is based on what experiences I expose her to and the conversation we have based on said experiences.
6.	Yes, they will have a familiarity with certain words and things, thus creating room for them to ask and learn more.
7.	Yes, because it will help them understand concepts better in English.
8.	Yes, as all learning material and research is available in English.
9.	Yes, most books are in English.
10.	Not necessarily. However, it helps them manage in school as most good schools' medium of instruction is English and most of their schoolmates/peers communicate with them in English.

In this section (see Table 10 above for verbatim answers) the participants were asked if they thought learning English would help the growth of their children's mind and why. About 70% of the participants said yes, as most learning material is in English (Participant 8). Other participants said yes because English is an international language and will, therefore, help to learn from other people (Participant 2). The participants who said no (30%) explained that English is not the be-all and end-all of languages and that learning various languages will help grow one's mind (Participant 4). Participant 10 said no, but added that English helped her children manage at school. Mutasa (1999, pp. 33–34), for example, maintains that the preservation, development, and promotion of South African official languages has become virtually impossible, for instance, Xitsonga mother tongue speakers have themselves become part of the problem, rather than part of the solution. This is an example of a minority South African language. This does not only apply to one language but to all eleven official languages. It has become very evident, according to Mutasa (1999), that "Africans actually undermine their own languages, seeing them as being outdated, and thereby promoting English" at the expense of their own languages

Table 11: Do you think that learning English will improve your child(ren)'s personality? Why?

Part.	Answer
1.	Yes, I think English will help them be able to express themselves.
2.	Yes, they can improve because English has a wider reach to people from different countries.
3.	No, English has no culture, just ways in which words are said and circumstances in which those words are said. People who speak English and only English tend to behave in a similar way. That'll only lead to more people being more monotonous with no personality beyond what they've been taught. There are mannerisms that come with a language. It's not just a collation of words and phrases, it's *how* those words are said. What is considered polite in the English context is very different to what is in our own cultures and languages.
4.	Yes, it opens the mind to be able to accept more than just "their kind". They will be able to fit into new surroundings and make friends and connect easier with others.
5.	No, my child's personality is not solely dependent on the language of communication.
6.	No, personalities are not dependent on which language you speak.
7.	No, I think being able to express yourself in any language you frequently use can to a tremendous extent help improve one's personality.
8.	Yes, they'll be more expressive as it is a broad language.
9.	Yes, they understand more content, children's programming and thus will develop better.
10.	Yes, as inability to communicate when spoken to in the language may affect their self-esteem.

Table 11 (see the table above for verbatim answers) shows participants' responses to the question whether English helps children develop a personality. Of the participants, 40% said no, whereas 60% said yes. The participants who said no shared that personalities are not dependent on a language (Participant 6) and that being able to express oneself in any language actually improves one's personality (Participant 7). The participants who said yes said that it could help improve one's personality because English has a wider reach (Participant 2) and that it will help the child understand more content better

(Participant 9). It has been noted that a good number of Africans hold English in high regard; however there is no study that directly gives a specific language for personality development. Adegbija reveals that English:

> … has created problems in many areas including administration, national mass mobilisation, education and democratisation of knowledge. Consequently, they [indigenous languages] have been denied the kind of growth and development that comes from use and their capabilities are generally lowly rated both by policy planners and the African masses. Thus, attitudes towards them, especially in official domains, tend to be generally negative when compared to attitudes towards European or ex-colonial languages (1994, p. 5).

Table 12: Do you think that learning English will open more job opportunities for your child(ren)? Why?

Part.	Answer
1.	Yes, definitely, because English is an international language.
2.	Yes it can, because English is an official language and it is used predominately in the government and the private sector. My children need English.
3.	Unfortunately, knowing or not knowing English is seen as a measure of how intelligent or educated a person is. So as much as I don't think it is a necessity to learn the language with the expectation of being open to more opportunities, that is how the world sees English-speaking people.
4.	Yes, English is a universal language across the world.
5.	Yes, every business in most countries in the world use English as a means of communication, with my children's fluent use and understanding of the language, they are not confined to search for employment in South Africa only.
6.	Yes, English is very important in the working world. Ensuring that you are fluent in the language is a bonus as it helps you communicate and understand people well.
7.	Yes, because English is a business language.
8.	Yes, as degrees are only available in English and job market operates in English.
9.	Yip! Indigenous languages are not a requirement for jobs.
10.	Yes, because job interviews are still conducted in English and one's inability to communicate well in English is viewed in a bad light, and insisting to be interviewed in one's mother tongue (like it is done in other countries) is not yet a welcome practice in South Africa.

As shown in Table 12 (see the table above for verbatim answers), all the parents agreed that English would be able to open up more job opportunities for their children. For example, Participant 2 stated that English is used as an official language locally and internationally, and, as a result, her children need English. Participant 9 further agreed that English would be helpful because indigenous languages are not a requirement for jobs. This ideology that sees English as a language of mobility is evident not only in the responses from the participants but also from the various studies that have been conducted, which is why factors such as class and mobility specifically are essential for

this study. Kamwangamalu (2013) mentions that English spread as a result of the economic and military power of English-speaking countries and the growth of the integrated economic market that they conquered. Over the years, the English language has managed to squeeze other languages into less central roles, eroding their functions to a point where they are marginalized to the point of being used only in the confines of people's own homes and, in the long term, lost. Kamwangamalu (2013) quotes an English-language entrepreneur who eloquently said, "[o]nce we used to send gunboats and diplomats abroad; now we are sending English teachers." This distinctly encapsulates the great influence colonization had on the English language and the extent to which this language is continually being invested in. In the nineteenth century it was through the use of diplomats, and lately it is through English teaching programmes such as the Japan Exchange Teaching (JET) Programme.

Table 13: Do you think that learning English will help your child(ren) in academic achievement? Why?

Part.	Answer
1.	Yes, because they go in an English medium school.
2.	Yes, it can help them. All the courses in basic and higher education is conducted in English. If they only know one language (Tshivenda), they would need constant interpretation.
3.	Unfortunately, yes. Because the world measures achievement using a western (read: English) language.
4.	Yes, it improves interaction and assists with understanding abilities.
5.	Yes, English is the language of instruction at school and their thorough understanding of it will result in them being able to follow lessons and understand concepts a lot easier.
6.	Yes, as it is the medium of instruction which teachers use to teach.
7.	Yes, it will, because they attend a school where English is the medium of instruction.
8.	A hundred percent (yes). Academia is run in English.
9.	Yes, all schooling is done in English, and workforce is English driven.
10.	Yes, as most lessons are given in English and expectation is for them to present and demonstrate their understanding of the subject at hand in English.

Like the responses in Table 12, Table 13 shows that all parents also agreed that English will help their children in academic achievement. Participants stated that English will help aid their children in academic achievement because English is the medium of instruction (Participant 5 and 7; see Table 13 for verbatim answers). Participant 9 said yes, because activities in schooling and the workforce are conducted in English. These responses make it clear that English is indeed a powerful language. With that said, Cooper (2016) states that language is crucial when it comes to learning, as it is the basis for social interaction in societal sites. He further states that language is a flexible resource that young people use to contribute opinions and learn in a range of sites. It is important to take note that people on the sidelines of society are not likely to speak the standard language that is foreseen to be spoken at school. When people identify that their language holds little or no value, this weakens their prospect of contributing utterances in social settings. Bourdieu (1991, as cited in Cooper, 2016, p. 36) states that

"linguistic capital is the value of the language-related resources that a person has at his/her disposal and which they use in educational sites". It is important to note that when it comes to educational sites, the government regulates what is linguistically acceptable in the formal education setting through policies of mass schooling. As Cooper mentions, future citizens are taught to speak in a certain way and to value certain forms of language as opposed to others. Cooper (2016, p. 36) states that "linguistic competence is linked to how powerful groups define what counts as excellent language usage (Bourdieu, 1991). Symbolic domination happens when groups of people begin to see their language as inherently less valuable." Grassroots Theory by Kamwangamalu (2013), in Africa the hegemony of English over local languages can be explained in terms of English and other colonial languages as the languages for socioeconomic development and upward social mobility, whereas indigenous languages are viewed as a token for cultural preservation. Dyers and Abongdia (2010, as cited in Kamwangamalu, 2013) explain that language ideologies are reflected in actual language practices, such as what people say about their choices and their sociopolitical positioning with regard to different languages. It must be noted that in countries such as Singapore, English spreads because of its linguistic instrumentalism, as it is regarded as being able to give access to economic development and social mobility. This is similar in South Africa, according to Kamwangamalu:

> …it can be said that the dominant language practices in Africa are a legacy of colonial traditions, one of which is the imposition of the European colonial languages as emblems of socioeconomic status and political power. As a result of the emergence of English as a global language, the ideology of internationalization is now competing with a more hegemonic ideology, globalization, especially in non-English speaking countries in Africa and elsewhere (2013, p. 553).

Table 14: Which language do your child(ren) mostly identify with? Why?

Part.	Answer
1.	They identify with English, because that's the language my husband and I use to communicate with them.
2.	English, because they are being brought [up] in the suburbs.
3.	Unfortunately, English. Because that's what they speak all day at school. So even if, as a parent, you try incorporating an African language into their day-to-day life, it's only a small dent compared to what is otherwise an English-infested eight-hour day with peers and teachers communicating in a foreign language.
4.	English, even though she is Afrikaans.
5.	English. However, I would like to teach her Setswana at some point.
6.	English. She attends crèche, so it is the medium language which is used, and she understands well.
7.	They identify with English and isiXhosa, although they can barely speak it.
8.	English, that is how they communicate with their peers and with my partner.
9.	English, they grew up in an English society
10.	My children know that they are supposed to speak isiZulu and Sepedi at home and English at school [but] for some reason they stick to English. I think as parents we are guilty of not supplying enough resources to assist them with acquiring the correct vocabulary and we also do not lead by example. My husband is Sepedi speaker, I am an isiZulu speaker and when we struggle to communicate, we resort to English.

It can be noted from Table 14 that all the parents' children identify with English as their mother tongue, even though their parents identify with different languages (their mother tongue). These children did not learn this language in a vacuum; they were taught this language by their parents and, as a result, it is part of their identity. It is evident, for instance, from Participant 7's response that isiXhosa is a foreign language to her children as they strongly identify with English. Participant 10 eloquently admitted that they as parents are guilty for not teaching their children their respective mother tongues, she sometimes resorted to speaking English with her husband due to the fact that they speak different languages, so English is used in their home as a bridge to communication (see Table 14 above for the verbatim answer). It can also be noted that a discourse of

shame, guilt or remorse is prevalent, as can be seen in Participant 3's and Participant 10's responses. Kamwangamalu (2013) refers to language economics, which alludes to how linguistic and economic variables influence each other. In the world, economic variables tend to influence parents' choice of the medium of instruction for their children, despite the language loyalty they might possibly have for their own indigenous languages. This is important to note in the African context as indigenous languages are a marker of an individual's or a group's identity. When a language gains a lot of functions and there is no stigma attached to the use of that language, the language is deemed instrumental. When it comes to African languages, speakers of these languages need to understand the value of learning their mother tongues and how this can, in turn, result in upward mobility in society.

4.4. Section C: Summary of the results

It can be noted in this study that South African parents who are non-native English speakers were motivated by class factors to teach their children English instead of their mother tongue. It was evident that these parents strongly identified with their mother tongue, but they did not see their language as being able to give their children the opportunities that English would be able to afford them in the future. These parents were motivated to teach their children English because it was an international language that would assist them in school and in the workforce. They were motivated to teach their children English because English enabled them to understand concepts that they were taught at school, and it also assisted with developing their minds as they attended schools that used English as a language of learning and teaching. Finally, these parents were motivated to teach their children English because they believed that, to some extent, English enabled their children to strengthen their personalities, as they would be able to be more expressive when interacting with other people. It is important to note that this ideology is problematic as it undermines indigenous language speakers' ability to be expressive. It should be noted that even though parents had good intentions for why they were motivated to teach their children English instead of their mother tongue, this choice came with a certain level of guilt and remorse. They expressed guilt about not being able to communicate with their children in a language with which they identify the most.

It was evident from the results of this study that there was a significant relationship between participants' identity and the linguistic choices they made for their children. As mentioned above, the participants strongly identified with their mother tongues, and they still spoke it and practised it in various domains. However, when it came to their children, they believed that in order to give their children a better start in life, and in order to help them grow their minds and personalities, they needed to speak to them in English as they identified it as a language that would grant them upward mobility in life. As has been made evident in the data analyses, the global status of English as the gateway to job markets and international communication is the most obvious motivation for participants in this study to teach their children English instead of their mother tongue. It was also apparent in this study that the participants held English in much higher regard than their indigenous languages, since the parents saw no future in their own languages, possibly for employment prospects for their children. As a result, their indigenous languages were being sacrificed when it came to their children in hopes of helping them academically and socially.

4.5. Section D: Discussion

Mesthrie et al., (2009) state that "language is consequently said to be indexical of one's social class, status, region of origin, gender, age group and so on." It was noted that the participants in the present study were relatively young, they were in their mid-20s, mid-30s, and mid-40s. These participants were also all educated and part of the working class. This is an indication that these participants are from the middle class. Identity was a significant factor in this study, as the language with which a participant identified did not correlate with the linguistic choices they made. Norton (2010) suggests that when it concerns language and identity, the value that is attributed to speech cannot be understood apart from the person who speaks, and the person who speaks cannot be understood apart from social relationships. When people speak, they reorganize their sense of self to the world. They expose or share their race, gender, age, ethnicity, class and level of education by how they speak or by the language they choose to use. All of this information is their identity. It has also been mentioned that according to Coulmas (2011), language is an identity marker and a symbol of unity as well as something that

is hated and cursed at the same time. It is referred to as such because language and how one speaks reveals a lot about one's identity, as was shown in Chapter Four.

Most of the participants did not consider their mother tongues to have any instrumental value, and only the minority thought that they had an instrumental value. As was shown in Chapter Four, language shift, or language death, and language maintenance are long-term, collective results of language choice (Fasold, 1984). What conventionally transpires when language shift takes place is that a younger generation learns an "old" language from their parents as a mother tongue, although they are also exposed from a young age to another fashionable and socially useful language, either at school or in the community. In the case of this study, the language was English. Parents shifted from speaking their respective mother tongues to speaking solely English to their children. The concept of language death was also relevant to this study because it is the direct result of language shift. Be that as it may, Fasold (2004) claims that language death occurs when a community of a specific language shifts to a completely new language so that the old language is no longer used.

Participants observed that there are ways of continuing to indigenous languages in the community and prevent them from undergoing language death. As discussed in Chapter Two, Yamamoto (1997, as cited in Crystal, 2014, p. 191) lists nine factors that he believes will help prevent language death. It is important to observe that those factors can be used not only in the South African context but everywhere where languages need to be maintained and preserved from dying. Both the participants (Chapter Four) and scholars (Chapter Two), such as Fasold (2004), Crystal (2014) and Yamamoto (1997, as cited in Crystal, 2014), are of the opinion that there are plausible ways of maintaining indigenous languages. As Mesthrie et al. (2009) mention (see Chapter Two), language maintenance means the ongoing use of a language in the face of competition from a regionally and socially more influential language. Indigenous languages can be maintained when a collective effort is made.

This study also touched on language ideologies, which, according to Piller (2015, p. 4), are "beliefs and feelings about language which shape the way we use language. Language ideologies constitute a bridge between linguistic and social structure as they

rationalize and justify social inequality as an outcome of linguistic difference." In other words, the importance of language ideologies lies in the fact that beliefs about language mediate between language use and social organization. This was evident in this study as the language ideologies to which the parents subscribe have influenced their reason for not teaching their children their mother tongue.

The prerequisite for participants to take part in this study was that they had to be parents who teach their children English instead of their mother tongue. With that said, it was evident in Chapter Four that parents spoke to their children in a language with which they did not necessarily identify, because they belong to a working class that promotes English as being of instrumental value and sees indigenous languages as being of an insignificant value. It is significant that, just like in Msila's (2014) study, English is revered and is seen as a language of power. It is seen as a language that is a good foundation for children, and it is also seen as a stepping stone to greater heights. This study found a similar ideology amongst the participants. This ideology was an indicator of class aspiration.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

This final chapter summarizes the findings, formulates the conclusions and suggests recommendations based on the findings derived from the study. The study was designed to investigate what motivates South African parents (non-native English speakers) to teach their children English instead of their mother tongue. The aim of the study was to find out what motivates these parents to make these language choices for their children. The following research questions were investigated in the study:

1. What motivates South African parents (non-native English speakers) to teach their children English instead of their mother tongue?
2. Is there a significant relationship between people's identity and their linguistic choices?
3. What value do parents attach to English vs. to indigenous languages?

Questionnaires and interviews were used as a research instrument. Questionnaires were distributed to the parents, following which a one-on-one interview was conducted with each parent. For data analysis, tables and descriptive statistics were used. The results of the investigation led to the following conclusions: first, the parents had a positive attitude toward the use of English as a language of learning, as a means of career development and as a means to develop their children's mind. The findings also revealed that these parents and their children strongly identified with English. Furthermore, the parents did not have a positive attitude towards their mother tongues, as these are not global languages. Even though they identified with these languages, they did not see the instrumental value in imparting them to their children because their mother tongues are not really used in official domains.

It is expected that the following recommendations may aid in improving and solving the language attitudes and ideologies South African parents have about their mother tongue and English. First, parents should be proud of their mother tongue (indigenous languages) so that they can teach it to their children. Second, parents should practise

their mother tongue so that they can maintain it and prevent it from dying. Third, parents should encourage their children to speak their indigenous languages. Fourth, parents should also help invest in their languages, by assisting government organizations such as the Pan South African Language Board in adding to and updating the lexicography of their mother tongues. Lastly, parents should join school governing bodies and team up with other mother tongue speakers (parents) to create a demand in their children's school to have their mother tongues taught as a second additional language.

The following are limitations of this study, as well as suggestions for future studies. It is evident that more research can be done. The sample of this study was drawn from parents in the Gauteng region, and this study was only conducted in this area. Therefore, it is not representative of the entire population of parents in South Africa. However, it could be argued that what obtains in this region may also be applied elsewhere in other regions of the country. It is advised that further studies need to be conducted in other provinces. The sample of this research study consisted of ten participants. More research with a bigger sample, preferably a nationwide study, would be beneficial so that the results can be generalized nationally. Irrespective of the limitations mentioned above, this study has achieved its objective of understanding what motivates South African parents (non-native English speakers) to teach their children English instead of their mother tongue. With that said, it has also assisted in providing recommendations for researchers who are interested in the same field of study.

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APPENDIX A: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET



WITS
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Participant information sheet

Project title: What motivates South African parents (non-native English speakers) to teach their children English instead of their mother tongue?

Good Day

My name is Mona Makwakwa, a Masters student under the academic supervision of Dr. Gilles Baro, from the Department of Linguistics at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am conducting research on what motivates South African parents (non-native English speakers) to teach their children English instead of their mother tongue? I would like to invite you to take part in my study.

What is the purpose of the study?

The purpose of this study is to investigate the language ideologies, language choices and language attitudes that inform parent's decisions when teaching their children a language.

What are the aims of the research?

1. What motivates South African parents (non-native English speakers) to teach their children English instead of their mother tongue?
2. Is there a significant relationship between people's identity and their linguistic choices?
3. What value do parents attach to English vs. indigenous languages?

Who will participate in the study?

Participants of the study should be parents who speak one of the 11 official languages as their mother tongue, and yet choose to teach their children English instead of their mother tongue.

Procedure(s) and voluntary nature of the participation in the study:

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. If you choose to participate in this study, there will be three parts involved;

Participant will be required to sign a consent form.

Selected participants will be given a questionnaire to fill out. They will answer the questionnaire by writing or checking appropriate boxes.

The selected participants will be interviewed and recorded by the researcher.

Once all the consent has been granted, all the interviews will be conducted. Participation in this study is completely voluntary and you can withdraw from the study at any time or refuse to participate entirely without giving any reason. There will be no penalties if you decide to withdraw from the study.

What are the benefits of taking part in the study?

While there may be no personal benefits to your participation in the study, the data gathered can contribute towards a better understanding of how parents make the choices they make with regard to the language they teach their children.

Possible risks/discomforts?

Participation in the study does not hold any risk for the participants and will not cause any discomfort. However, should you experience any discomfort when answering questions, the interview will be stopped immediately. While there may be no personal benefits in your participation in the study, the data collected, including the information you provide will contribute towards better understanding of what motivates South African parents (non-native English speakers) to teach their children English instead of their mother tongue.

Confidentiality

All the information provided will remain confidential and your identity will not be revealed, therefore the transcripts of this data will make use of pseudonyms and replace any information that may lead to the identification of participants. The information provided will be purely for academic purposes and will not in any way be used to your disadvantage. Furthermore, the collected data will be stored on the researcher's password-protected computer.

Results of the study

The study will form the basis of my research report that will be submitted in fulfilment of my Master's Degree in Applied Linguistics. Therefore, the results of the study will be published in the form of a research report and possibly, at a later stage, also in the form of articles in scientific and academic journals. If participants require feedback or are interested in the outcome of the investigation, results will be provided on request.

Contact details for Researcher and Supervisor:

Should you have any questions or desire more information, please feel free to contact:

The Researcher: Mona Makwakwa

mona.makwakwa@yahoo.com

072 376 9674

Research Supervisor: Dr Gilles Baro

gilles.baro@wits.ac.za

011 717 4187

APPENDIX B: CONSENT FORM



WITS
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CONSENT FORM FOR THE PARTICIPATION IN THE RESEARCH STUDY

Good Day

You are receiving this letter because you are a suitable participant for the research project mentioned in the participant's information sheet attached to this letter. I am therefore, writing to ask your permission for you to please participate in the study.

Your consent and participation is completely voluntary, and you may withdraw at any time. Please note that you will be interviewed, and this interview will be audio recorded. The recordings of the interview will only be available to myself and will be kept on my password protected personal computer. My dissertation will be printed and made available in the University's online space. There is no reward for participating or consequence for not participating. We will also seek your assent to participate before you begin with the participation of this study.

ACCEPTANCE AND SIGNATURE BY PARTICIPANT:

I have read the information provided above and in the participant's information sheet and all of my questions have been answered. I voluntarily agree to participate in this study and to be recorded. I will receive a copy of this consent form for my information.

_____ _____

Participant signature **Date**

APPENDIX C: QUESTIONNAIRE



WITS
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Good Day

My name is Mona Makwakwa, a Masters student under the academic supervision of Dr. Gilles Baro, from the Department of Linguistics at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am conducting research on what motivates South African parents (non-native English speakers) to teach their children English instead of their mother tongue? I would like to invite you to take part in my study.

PLEASE ANSWER ALL THE QUESTIONS BY PLACING AN X OVER THE RELEVANT BLOCK OR BY WRITING THE ANSWER IN CLEAR WRITING IN THE SPACE PROVIDED.

EXAMPLE

Gender?

If you would rather not say:

Man	
Woman	
I would rather not say	X

Biographical information

1. Gender?

Man	
Woman	
I would rather not say	

2. How old are you?

Under 18	
18-21	
22-25	
26-30	
31-35	
36-40	
41-45	
46 and above	

3. What is your first language?

4. What is your second language (if any)?

5. To what extent would you say that you are competent in the following languages:

Please answer by placing an x over the relevant block

Afrikaans	I cannot speak or understand it at all	I can understand a few words or phrases	I can understand and speak it a little	I can speak and understand it quite well	I can speak and understand it perfectly
English	I cannot speak or understand it at all	I can understand a few words or phrases	I can understand and speak it a little	I can speak and understand it quite well	I can speak and understand it perfectly
isiNdebele	I cannot speak or understand it at all	I can understand a few words or phrases	I can understand and speak it a little	I can speak and understand it quite well	I can speak and understand it perfectly
isiXhosa	I cannot speak or understand it at all	I can understand a few words or phrases	I can understand and speak it a little	I can speak and understand it quite well	I can speak and understand it perfectly
isiZulu	I cannot speak or understand it at all	I can understand a few words or phrases	I can understand and speak it a little	I can speak and understand it quite well	I can speak and understand it perfectly

Sepedi /Sesotho saleboa	I cannot speak or understand it at all	I can understand a few words or phrases	I can understand and speak it a little	I can speak and understand it quite well	I can speak and understand it perfectly
Sesotho	I cannot speak or understand it at all	I can understand a few words or phrases	I can understand and speak it a little	I can speak and understand it quite well	I can speak and understand it perfectly
Setswana	I cannot speak or understand it at all	I can understand a few words or phrases	I can understand and speak it a little	I can speak and understand it quite well	I can speak and understand it perfectly
Siswati	I cannot speak or understand it at all	I can understand a few words or phrases	I can understand and speak it a little	I can speak and understand it quite well	I can speak and understand it perfectly
Tshivenda	I cannot speak or understand it at all	I can understand a few words or phrases	I can understand and speak it a little	I can speak and understand it quite well	I can speak and understand it perfectly
South African Sign Language	I cannot speak or understand it at all	I can understand a few words or phrases	I can understand and speak it a little	I can speak and understand it quite well	I can speak and understand it perfectly

Xitsonga	I cannot speak or understand it at all	I can understand a few words or phrases	I can understand and speak it a little	I can speak and understand it quite well	I can speak and understand it perfectly
Other _____	I cannot speak or understand it at all	I can understand a few words or phrases	I can understand and speak it a little	I can speak and understand it quite well	I can speak and understand it perfectly

7. To what extent would you say that you are competent in reading in the following languages?

Afrikaans	I cannot read it at all	I can read a few words or phrases	I can read it a little	I can read it quite well	I can read it perfectly
English	I cannot read it at all	I can read a few words or phrases	I can read it a little	I can read it quite well	I can read it perfectly
isiNdebele	I cannot read it at all	I can read a few words or phrases	I can read it a little	I can read it quite well	I can read it perfectly
isiXhosa	I cannot read it at all	I can read a few words or phrases	I can read it a little	I can read it quite well	I can read it perfectly
isiZulu	I cannot read it at all	I can read a few words or phrases	I can read it a little	I can read it quite well	I can read it perfectly

Sepedi /Sesotho saleboa	I cannot read it at all	I can read a few words or phrases	I can read it a little	I can read it quite well	I can read it perfectly
Sesotho	I cannot read it at all	I can read a few words or phrases	I can read it a little	I can read it quite well	I can read it perfectly
Setswana	I cannot read it at all	I can read a few words or phrases	I can read it a little	I can read it quite well	I can read it perfectly
Siswati	I cannot read it at all	I can read a few words or phrases	I can read it a little	I can read it quite well	I can read it perfectly
Tshivenda	I cannot read it at all	I can read a few words or phrases	I can read it a little	I can read it quite well	I can read it perfectly
Xitsonga	I cannot read it at all	I can read a few words or phrases	I can read it a little	I can read it quite well	I can read it perfectly
Other _____	I cannot read it at all	I can read a few words or phrases	I can read it a little	I can read it quite well	I can read it perfectly

8. What is your highest qualification? (You should have already obtained it)

10. What do you do for a living? (Occupation)

11. How many children do you have?

12. Where did you spend your childhood years?

13. Where do you reside?

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS



Language Attitudes

1. Who do you speak to in your mother tongue and how often? Please tick the most appropriate answer for each category of people.

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
Spouse or partner					
Children					
Parent(s)					
Grandparent(s)					
Sibling(s)					
Other family members					
Co-workers					
Non-related					
Community members					

2. Which South African language do you most strongly identify with?

3. What place do you think your mother tongue plays in South Africa as whole?

4. What do you think helps to keep indigenous languages in use by people within a community?

5. Which traditional language do you most strongly identify with? Also, please tell us who in your family is associated with this language by ticking the appropriate box?

Language name:			
Mother's family		Grandmother's family	
Father's family		Grandfather's family	

Other family member		Unsure	
Not from family members (this language is not associated with any of my family members but with where I grew up or have lived).			

6. What language do you use to speak to your child(ren)?

7. What place does English have in South Africa?

8. Which languages do you think should be promoted and why?

9. What does it mean to say that a language is your own language?

10. **Do you think that learning English will help the growth of your child(rens) mind? Why?**

11. **Do you think that learning English will improve your child(rens) personality? Why?**

12. **Do you think that learning English will open more job opportunities for your child(ren)? Why?**

13. Do you think that learning English will help your child(ren) in academic achievement? Why?

14. Which language do your child(ren) mostly identify with? Why?

APPENDIX E: ETHICS CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

SCHOOL OF Literature, Language and Media RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE **PROTOCOL NUMBER: SLLM/M18/L/03**

PROJECT TITLE What motivates South African parents (non-native English speakers) to teach their children English instead of their mother tongue?

INVESTIGATOR	Ms Mona Makwakwa
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	SLLM/ LING
DATE CONSIDERED	27 September 2018
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved

This ethical clearance is valid for 3 years and may be renewed upon application.

EXPIRY DATE 22 November 2021

ISSUE DATE OF CERTIFICATE November 2018 **CHAIRPERSON**

cc: Supervisor : Dr Gilles Baro

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Chairperson of the School/Department ethics committee.

I fully understand the conditions under which I am are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee.

Signature **Date** 22 / 11 /2018

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES