

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the study and statement of the problem

The global era of the twenty first century, where traditional spaces between cultures and nationalities are increasingly narrowed, calls for a much deeper investigation of identity. It is only befitting then that this task is approached from the main instrument of identity expression, language. Exploration of language use and its influence on identity informs not just understandings of multilingual South Africans, but also enlightens us about the broader power politics of society. Even though the South African context is rich with linguistic diversity, this richness has only penetrated the informal sector and, invariably, undermined the value of indigenous African languages that the majority of the population uses as tools of communication (Alexander, 2003).

Exclusion of African languages in the formal education system as the media of learning and teaching has, by extension, influenced the limited use of these languages in other formal sectors such as business, law, and government. Despite the ushering of the new sociolinguistic dispensation that started in 1994, the medium of instruction in South African schools has predominantly remained English and to a lesser extent Afrikaans (Alexander, 2003, 2004), which are also learned by non-mother tongue speakers as additional languages. Both within identity and multilingualism studies, there is a paucity of research that investigates possible tensions between discursive repertoires of multilingual youth at adolescent stage and the constraints of monolingual language in education practices and how these tensions impact on identity construction. In this connection, this research project takes heed of the South African history of colonialism and apartheid that explains the current linguistic realities and identity expressions of young adolescents in the post-apartheid education system.

1.2 Language and identity

The relationship between language and self is very complex. Language constantly varies contextually by pronunciation, utility, vocabulary, and grammar and on many other levels within and between individual speakers (Garcia, 2011; Makalela, 2009a). Within this state of flux, language is also a carrier of identity and culture; it is a primary tool for the expression of the self in society (Wa Thiongo, 1986). Therefore, when languages fluctuate, so do identities. Language can be altered to serve particular communicative styles to accommodate different cultural demands. It is thus important to illustrate the integral nature of language to society and society to language and how this bidirectional relationship can be strategically used to position a different understanding of language.

Identity is defined here as one's construction of oneself in relation to others (Fay, 1996; McAdams, 2001). Understood in this light, language can therefore be used to 'perform' identity. One of the identity markers in language is pronunciation, which often reveals ethnicity, class, social context of speakers and the degree to which they know the language. This study thus positions itself between sociolinguistics, which studies how language is affected by society, and the sociology of language, which studies the effect of language on society (Meyerhof, 2006). This dual positioning allows the research to explore the impact of language in this reciprocal relationship on the users of language, and how they position themselves in society.

The twenty first century is marked by multiplicity of identity. This is a result of globalization where people have become busier now than they have been at any point in history. Because the world is more demanding on individuals to be more flexible and versatile, there is, therefore, an increasing demand for different expressions of the self. Language as a critical tool for expression is used in different ways to express this multiplicity of identity in the globalized world (Ouane, 2009). As observed by McAdams (2001), we create a sense of who we are through language, by speaking to others and expressing our identities. Language makes it possible to construct narratives of our lives, to tell people who we are. Through language we can retrospectively make meaning of past experiences and construct future selves (McAdams, 2001). This means that the identities that we construct for ourselves are categories performed linguistically i.e. through the use of formal

language in the office, colloquial language used when socializing. It is in this light that Fay (1996) views linguistic identity as interrelated with narrative identity and relationally constructed.

Multilingualism is a unique marker of South African national identity given that South Africa is the only country in the world with eleven official languages. It was declared a multilingual state in post-1994 as a "route ... meant to restore the dignity of South Africans whose languages had been degraded by the apartheid system" (Sunday Times 2004 as cited in cited in Beukes, 2004:15). Adoption of multilingual and multicultural policy was meant to meet the demands of the twenty first century that include multiple selves discourses in which languages can express multifarious ethnicities and cultures and carry practices of being. In this way multilingual speakers are able to explore different ways of understanding the world through multiple identities.

This research project focuses on multilingualism in adolescents by focusing on two township schools with English as the medium of instruction. Adolescents were chosen as an appropriate cohort as a result of the developmental stage that they are going through in which identity is critical (Marcia, 1980; Erikson, 1978 as cited in Friedman and Schustack, 2006). Furthermore, the attitudes of this group of the 'born free' or the post-1994 generation will be revealing in terms of future predictions about the impact of new language policies. This topic is thus relevant in a time where the issue of language in the education system and its impact on adolescents is under heated debate.

When conceptualising language, debates tend to neglect the distinctive features of languages that exist in context and their connection to identity. South Africa, like the rest of the African continent, has a rich presence of multilingualism. People live their multilingualism on a daily basis to meet their communicative needs (Garcia, 2011). Young people are constantly moving from one language community to another as they become integrated into the rest of society. At this stage of adolescence, young people are beginning to select from a variety of identities in a search for more coherent identities. In order to gain access into the different identity categories, they are required to use the appropriate language(s) to become part of

particular groups. Language is thus at the centre of constant movement to and from different social spaces.

Stemming from a multiple identities point, multilingualism can be argued to be a norm in all societies in the twenty first century and a function of daily interaction that is maintained through daily use (Garcia, 2001; Ouene, 2009). Using a translanguaging model that questions the validity of boundaries between languages in multilingual contexts, Garcia (2011) observes that spoken language is performed within fluid and permeable contexts. It is shaped and it shapes the very context under which it operates. Translanguaging, which includes, but extends code-switching, thus takes into account all types of taken for granted competencies used by individuals to achieve sociality. It includes what most conversational analysts call talk in interaction. This means that when people talk, they are actively engaging while simultaneously constructing and ordering social activities that take place on a daily basis (Garcia, 2011). They also act in social identities and play into social norms of behavior where they form, maintain and regulate social relationships.

Sociolinguists have postulated that languages should be introduced and exposed to the speaker for their communicative functions (Pattanayak, 2003) in appropriate social strata. The constant evolution of languages makes these communicative functions susceptible to alteration. Languages in South Africa are increasingly used in various forms as more people become multilingual. This means that the communicative functions are not easily discernible and require further investigation. Multilingualism is conceptualized as a practice of commonalities between languages, viewing language use as heteroglossic (Ouane, 2009). Heteroglossic approaches to languages, like translanguaging, posit that it is possible for “different languages or varieties to co-exist in one linguistic code” (Ouane, 2009: 57). Framed in this light, multilingualism helps people achieve their communicative goals and fits into the relational properties of identity. By extension, when social relational interactions are multilingual, there is a fluid construction of multiple and diverse identities. Because linguistic expressions are in flux, so are identities (Fay, 1996). This research project critically investigates language use and attitudes to language among young multilingual South Africans at a time of different contestations and debates about language policies, and indeed, contestations about national identities.

1.3 English and language in South Africa

The overwhelmingly prevalent use of English in the South African education system contributes to the neglect of indigenous languages in a country that has eleven official languages, nine of which are indigenous (Alexander, 2003; 2004). In a country of 50, 586,757 million people, 41 000 938 million (79.2% of the population) of whom are black and 38,150,834 million indigenous language mother tongue speakers (Census, 2011), it is imperative to look at users of English critically. It appears that the majority of English speakers in South Africa, as in the rest of the world, are not traditional mother tongue speakers of the language (Kembo-sure, 2009; Makalela, 2009). However, the use of English is largely utilitarian in nature amongst most non-mother tongue speakers of the language at an individual and community level. Research has indeed refuted the claim that English serves as the language of economic development and upward social mobility as a narrow point of view if one considers the high rates of poverty in the country. On the converse, English was seen as functioning to colonise indigenous languages and to restrict the means that people use to express themselves and function efficiently in society (Alexander, 2003).

In places such as South East Asia, there has been a use of indigenous languages as official languages with much evidence of economic and social development that can be broader participation of the majority of the people in the economy. This is a prime example of how indigenous languages can be central to cultural identity and instrumental languages of the economy as well, as it is the case in all developed world (Kembo-Sure, 2009). This project illustrates how different languages serve different functions for their users and how the functions of indigenous languages are confined to primarily the informal sphere as influenced by the prestigious status awarded to English (Alexander, 2004). Through the study of language and identity, the project highlights the inequalities reinscribed by the monolingual language in education practices of the South African schools. In response to these inequalities that are maintained by the hegemony of English as the medium of learning and teaching, some linguists go as step further to argue that the promotion and advocacy of indigenous languages throughout the formal education system would serve to undermine inequality and enhance social cohesion and national development for all

South Africans (Banda, 2009). The role of English hegemony in identity construction of the adolescent urban youth is discussed in this study, taking into account the broader sociolinguistics of English in a multilingual society.

1.4 A history of language and education in South Africa

In order to understand the issue of language and education in South Africa, it is imperative to give a historical overview of language and education in South Africa. The South African war (1899-1902), infamously known as the Second Anglo-Boer war, was a war over sovereignty, political conflict and natural resources in South Africa between the English and the Afrikaners (Maphalala, 2000). The British victory established English as a language of power through the import of British teachers, which reciprocally implied an import of British culture (Maphalala, 2000). Christie (1988: 19) quotes Sir George Grey, governor of the Cape in 1855:

If we leave the natives beyond our border ignorant barbarians, they will remain a race of troublesome marauders. We should try to make them a part of ourselves, with a common faith and common interests, useful servants, consumers of our goods, contributors to our revenue. Therefore, I propose that we make unremitting efforts to raise the natives in Christianity and civilization, by establishing among them missions connected with industrial schools. The native races beyond our boundary, influenced by our missionaries, instructed in our schools, benefiting by our trade would not make wars on our frontiers.

This quote highlights the emergence of the first missionary schools in the history of South Africa and the discriminatory function they would serve: subjugation, enslavement of the natives and prevention of imminent wars. Prior to 1948, all education was under the administration of missionaries, without direct interference from the colonial government. However, the Nationalist Party took control of the education and divided it according to racial lines as Bantu Education for Blacks and National Christian Education for Whites. The Bantu Education Act No. 47 of 1953 was modeled after a Nazis of racial “purity” and exclusion. Black people were perceived as the lowest category in racial hierarchy to receive inferior education as articulated in Dr Hendrik Verwoerd’s statement that “Black Africans should be

educated for their opportunities in life [...] there is no place for them above certain forms of labor” (as cited in Mgqwashu, 2004).

In addition to separate education systems, the National Party ensured that Afrikaans was integrated into the schooling system (Carrim, 1994; Christie, 1988). There was a requirement for all high school graduates to be proficient in both English and Afrikaans. As Bantu education and Afrikaans were enforced among Black South Africans, there were massive protests by political movements. As the Apartheid government intensified their introduction of Afrikaans as a primary language for one-half of all high-school classes, students took to the streets the June 16th Soweto uprisings of 1976 (Mgqwashu, 2004). This language war was against the unjust imposition of the Afrikaans-medium of instruction in racially segregated schools (Alexander, 2003).

The aftermath of the 1976 Soweto Uprising saw many black South Africans leaving school to join the military under the African National Congress, which was banned together with other liberation movements such as the Pan African Congress. These young people were subsumed into the ideology of “liberation before education” (Carrim, 1994). The rejection of Afrikaans, on the other hand, paved way for English as the sole dominant language of power, and was later known to as the language of liberation and national cohesiveness.

In 1984, Bantu education continued under the guise of the National Policy for General Affairs (Act No. 76), which was introduced in 1984 to improve black education with different educational departments for each racial category (Alexander, 2003). More contestation from subjugated groups arose with the implementation of the 1984 legislation by the government. They were contesting limited constitutional reforms that continued to exclude the Blacks.

When the political transition in the 1990’s came with transformation in the education system, English was further re-established as the language of power as more and more schools used English as the medium of instruction despite the booming ideology of a multiracial and multilingual society. In the fiscal year 1993-94, 23.5% of the national budget was directed towards education such that by the beginning of 1995, all government primary and secondary education were integrated (Mgqwashu, 2004). The introduction of new policies to fit the non-racial ideology

adopted post-1994 was a complex process as a result of lack of resources. A compulsory requirement was put into place for all children between the ages of seven and sixteen to be in school, even with the shortage of teachers and other resources.

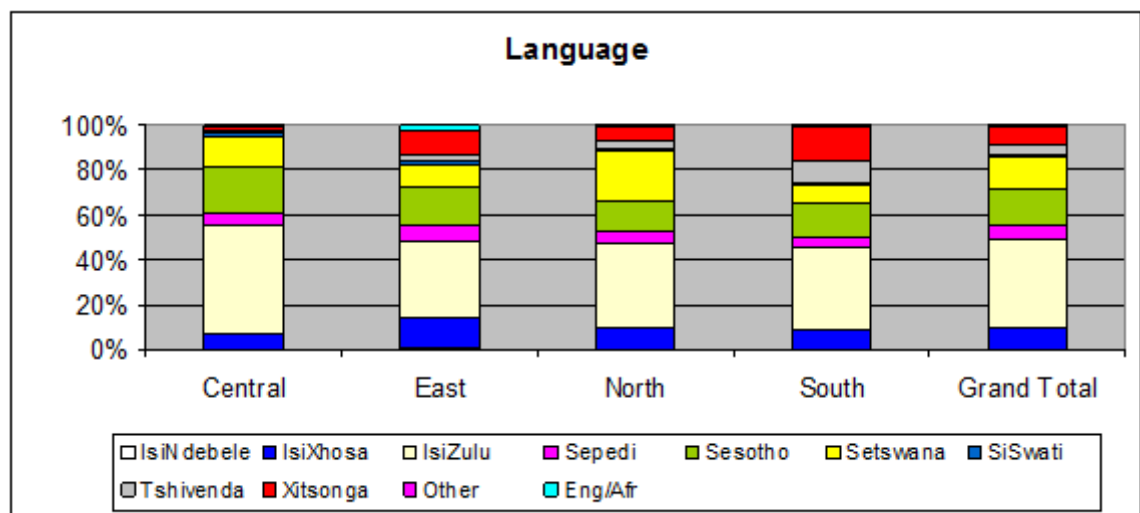
By the mid-nineties there was an integration of the national education system that included racial integration in universities and technikons (Carrim, 1994). This however, neglected to focus on the redress of the language in education. English was perceived as the language of liberation and its status as a foreign language in the formal education system was overlooked and thus English became a central part of the “new” South Africa, the Rainbow nation (Hofmeyer, 2000). Post-1994 saw the collapse of nineteen former apartheid education departments into one national and nine provincial departments which mostly used English as a medium of instruction, teaching, communication, and training (Hofmeyer, 2000).

The late 1990s and early 2000s were characterized by the marketization of education. Curricula such as Outcomes Based Education (OBE) were designed to compete both locally and internationally with other educational structures to ensure portability of qualifications and competition international economies (Hofmeyer, 2000; Weber, 2008). However, the effect of this was that teachers were trained to teach to test, thinking about knowledge as a “banking system” where they simply deposit knowledge into learners (Weber, 2008). As noted, this system was a blatant disregard of students as social beings that would interact in other spheres of society and not just the economy. Also, there was a great emphasis put on the international examination board from both public and private schools (Weber, 2008). Unabatedly, this educational approach served to reinstate dominance of English as a language of global power. This brief history outlined the political use of language in power struggles and how even in post-colonial South Africa there is still a particularly dominant use of colonial languages. The following subsection describes the research site selected for the study.

1.5 The context of Soweto

The research project took place in Soweto, which like Johannesburg owes its origins to the discovery of gold in 1885 (Palmer, 2004). It lies south west of the city of Johannesburg. Soweto as an acronym stands for South Western Townships. The area

now known as Soweto was known as Klipspruit and occupied by black people who had been evacuated from Bricksfield by the British colonialists. It was designated as a residential area for Black people on a temporary basis. The discovery of gold led people from all over the world to go to Johannesburg to seek for jobs. There were multi-racial groups who found residence in shanty towns around Soweto. Its fame was established by the 1976 uprisings against the use of Afrikaans at school. It has a population of over 1.5 million (Palmer, 2004). Soweto is not homogenous; this is especially with regards to language and class as distributed by the areas of the townships. The graph below was extracted from a study conducted by a large retail company (Palmer, 2004).



Language makes for much of the diversity in Soweto. This is largely a historical phenomenon because although the apartheid policy was to group residential areas ethnically, Soweto was a very large scale development to service mainly the mining sector. The main linguistic groupings in descending order have been reported to be isiZulu, seSotho, isiXhosa and xiTsonga (Palmer, 2004). Although much research has been done using Soweto as a case study, there is relatively little information on language and identity as a research phenomenon, beyond these general statistics, especially among young school learners.

1.6 Aim and research questions

The main aim of the study is to investigate language use and attitudes among multilingual high school urban youth. This broad view allows the study to look at the link between the main constructs of the study: language, identity, and attitudes to

language. Below is an outline of the research questions and a description of how these questions were answered:

The primary question

What are the attitudes to and uses of language in multilingual urban youth in township schools? Specific research questions are as follows:

1. What are the patterns of language use in multilingual spaces of the youth?
2. What are young people's attitudes towards English and indigenous languages?

The study uses broadly qualitative and some descriptive quantitative patterns to explore multilingualism, language use and attitudes to language. The epistemological paradigm that governs the methodology is constructionism derived from the literature review. The first phase of the study answered the first two research questions highlighted above, while the second phase addressed all of the research questions in-depth through themes.

1.7 Chapter outlines

Chapter 2 describes theoretical framework and relevant literature on language, identity and language in education.

Chapter 3 describes relevant research design for the study. It is mainly qualitative, but also uses basic quantitative approaches in order to explore the status quo of language use in different contexts and to understand the attitudes and observe language practices through focus group discussions.

Chapter 4 describes and interprets the findings of the first phase on baseline description of language patterns.

Chapter 5 presents the results of language use outside of formal school multilingual spaces, attitudes of the participants towards languages, and metacognitive reflections of the learners about their own language use.

Chapter 6 provides a summary of the study, synthesis of major findings and recommendations for language in education policies relevant for multilingual

contexts and further research prospects on identity and multilingualism among the youth.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews literature and concepts that frame the understanding of identity construction of multilingual speakers within a broader framework of language policy and planning in education. Themes that emerge from this broad focus include language as performance, language and identity, ethno-linguistic identity and fluid identity constructions understood from a translanguaging framework.

2.2 Language and identity

This study is framed within the discourse on the relationship between language and identity among adolescents. Identity construction as understood by Erikson posit that the adolescent is still confused about who they want to be (Erikson, 1968). Because language is a tool of expression, South African youth have eleven official languages and more unofficial ones to use to express their identity(ies). Language use as constructed within discourse can also be analyzed by using Bourdieu's cultural capital concept which postulates that dominant groups symbolically maintain power through the enforcement of language norms, which are favorable to their class conditions (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990; Giles and Johnson, 1987; Nipel, 2006). Foreign language creates identities that cannot function in the environments under which they are meant to operate (WaThiong'o, 1997).

South Africa suffers similar problems as the rest of the African continent with regards to language policies. The constitution states that there are eleven official languages in the land (RSA, 1996). This gives the misconception that all eleven languages are equal and operate at the same level. The constitution states that all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and such must be treated equitably (subsection (2) adopted from the May 1996 constitution, RSA, 1996). The education system however paints a different picture of continuing oppression of the "previously" oppressed. Only two languages remain dominant, namely English and Afrikaans. There is a constitutional ideology of freedom, but the mentality of the people is continuously being enslaved through alien education (Wa Thiong'o, 1997). In decolonizing the mind, Wa Thiong'o (1986) states that "the choice of language

and the use to which language is put is central to a people's definition of themselves in relation to their natural and social environment, indeed, in relation to the universe" (p.25).

One definition of self has been postulated to be a relational unit (Fay, 1996). According to Fay (1996) self is a reflexive entity that has diversity of experiences, relates with others and reflects these relations back to itself. Thus, the self is not something that is separate from other things or other selves; it is in constant self-activity (Fay, 1996; Giles and Johnson, 1981). If the self is a relational unit, and language is a basic tool of relating to other selves, the role of language is critical in the education system. The language that people use to relate to others and to understand their own self is central to their understandings of the world and how to navigate in it. This research is exploring this gap from an identity and sociolinguistic perspective.

The idea of self is also perceived as centrally made up of interactions with others (Fay, 1996). It is a co-construction of the self through interactions with others as for what other purposes would the self be constructed other than for relations with others. The African *ubuntu* saying that "*motho ke motho ka batho*" [I am because you are] is an expression of the relationality of the self. Others help us become ourselves and are part of our selves (Fay, 1996). The consciousness of others as conscious of themselves helps us become conscious of ourselves (Fay, 1996). It creates a demand in us to become conscious beings, to become selves. Thus the social becomes central to our own consciousness, to our own selves (Fay, 1996). The thesis of this study is that language is central to understanding multilingual South African youth. In order to understand learners, the formal education system must understand how learners understand themselves and primarily the language they use to express that understanding of the self. Fay's notion of the relational self can be extended to other theories of self-categorization such as Tajfel and Turner's social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). They postulate that even though the individual may have a personal identity, they have other selves and these selves are created in relation to the existence of others. Tajfel and Turner apply this theory in group relations where the individual self-categorizes to fit the attributes they wish to belong to (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). The differences between Fay's notion of relational self and Tajfel and Turner's group relations theories is that, the latter

centres more on the individual's identity, while the former speaks to the individual's engagement with others. These are critical sides to identity construction, especially for adolescents trying to construct a sense of individual identity and fitting in to groups simultaneously. In extension to Fay's relational self-concept, Tajfel and Turner's theory of social identity can be used to explain the language uses and attitudes of multilingual urban youth in Soweto.

Given that the self is relational, even in their choice of group member, language serving fundamentally as a tool of identity expression, language has also been recorded to be used as a marker identity. Empirical studies on linguistic identity and gender have shown differential use of language between genders (Holmes, 1997). Females have been recorded to go beyond local languages in Ukraine for social mobility purposes while men tended to prefer and use local languages (Bilaniuk, 2003). Because language is linked to status, it was then concluded that Ukrainian women were more inclined to social capital from the status of the non-local languages. This means that women were seen to be more multilingual and more open to building relationships through different languages while men were more inclined to material capital (Bilaniuk, 2003). This study reveals that the gendered images of language use is intertwined with other social, political, economic aspects of the society.

2.3 Ethno-linguistic identity

In order to situate the study within the impact of the apartheid regime, it is imperative to include ethno-linguistic identity as a phenomenon that has come to distinguish people in multilingual contexts such as Soweto. Ethnicity refers to the human aggregate of people who share similar socio-cultural characteristics (Makihara, 2010; Obeng and Purvin, 2010). These characteristics are attributed to the group by others and/or decided upon by the group itself, emphasizing the subjective nature of social identifications. The relativity of the characteristics to place, time and situation are much the same as identity. People do not maintain the same identity in all situations, some identities develop overtime, some all altered, some are left behind, and some are formed. Ethnic identity therefore refers to features and practices that identify a group of people which are "assigned to them by other actors in a specific socio-historical, socio-political, and socio-economic

context” (Garcia, 2011:80). Garcia (2011) observes that ethnic-identity is a socio-psychological emotive state as the individual has to exercise agency in choosing which attributes they agree with and which do not fit into their sense of themselves. The exercise of agency is highly influenced by the political economy of that social context, thus implying that there is only a limited extent to which one can choose which features and practices they assume as members of an ethnic group (Garcia, 2011). Like most identities, it is constructed in relation to others and in exclusion of others, exercised and also imposed upon.

Scholars have also shown that language is the symbol of ethnic identity as it is inherently the means in which people use to distinguish themselves as an ethnic group in the first place (Garcia, 2011; Obeng and Purvin, 2010). It is the symbolic tool that people use to practice and express ethnicity. The role of ethno-linguistic identity is critical in explaining how the students understand who they are as multilingual speakers who live in not just a previously racially, but also ethnically segregated context. This research explored how these young South Africans living in a post-apartheid South Africa, use, express and perceive themselves ethno-linguistically.

2.4 Power and Language

Research on language and power shows that the use of colonial languages in Africa, particularly South Africa, has signified the limited use of indigenous languages in other domains, particularly the formal sector (Spencer, 1999; Alexander, 2003). Invariably, the lack of cultural mobilization during apartheid through African literature and scholarly articles has impacted on the present day proficiency of indigenous languages by English and Afrikaans first language speakers (Alexander, 2003). Alexander (2003) observes that lack of cultural mobilization has limited the fruition of the Mandela “nation building” project. In a further study, Alexander (2004) makes an argument that the lack of proficiency in indigenous languages among White people in post-apartheid South Africa is the result of the government’s ideology of racial equality that did not constitutionalize the proficiency of these indigenous languages in white English and Afrikaans speakers (Alexander, 2004). This has not only reinforced the language gaps between races, but it has also

reinforced the power that English and Afrikaans had accumulated during apartheid. Spencer (1999) concurs:

The introduction of the colonial languages into African societies, and their use as media of education and as communicative instruments for the modernizing process, froze the opportunities for functional development of almost all the African languages (p.395).

These colonial languages are associated with progress through socioeconomics and political power so much so that they are highly valued by marginalized groups that colonialism created (Alexander, 2003). A parallel consequence to this “symbolic violence” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) is embedded in the limited use of indigenous languages in the formal sphere. There has been a noted pattern of appropriation by marginalized groups and post-colonial governments, best known as neo-political states in Africa of colonial languages as languages of power. They tend to reverence colonial languages than they do local languages. The use of these languages extends to most spheres of public life. Alexander (2003) termed this phenomenon the “static maintenance syndrome” where indigenous people believe that colonial languages are languages of power and only use indigenous languages in informal settings such as the family, community and religious contexts. Djité (2008) asserts that English is not the only language that can be used to denote development and modernity, he further stated:

The literature on economic growth and development suggests that the best way to tackle such issues [of limited use of indigenous languages] is through significant investment in human capital (as well as redistributive policies and quality institutions). The use of local languages in the process of development will contribute to such an investment, at least in terms of participation levels and empowerment, making it possible for Africans to understand and make informed decisions on the merits of development projects and thereby increasing the efficiency of such development projects (2008:140).

If knowledge transfer can only be achieved through efficient communication in colonial language, Djite postulates that this is linguistic inequality (Djite, 2008). This is a circular process that continuously reinstates the importance of forms of knowledge through global linguistic domination.

2.5 Language as performance

If we are to understand language as integral to identity, and the understanding of the relationship between society and language as integral to the construction of language policy in education, we must first understand the relationship between language, society and education. Research has revealed that the relationship between language and identity is reciprocal in that how we use language influences identity and identity also influences how language is used. The factors influencing the choices made to negotiate this reciprocal relationship between language and identity are in this research argued to lie in the relationship between language and identity, society and the education system.

As explored above, identity is constructed in relation to the other. It follows then that the language practices that one chooses are modeled according to those observed in certain groups, and these language practices are governed by communication needs of the actor (Garcia, 2011). These language practices are modeled to gain access into the in-group and to distinguish away from out-group. Language practices are adopted as a function of the relationship that the speaker has to the people that speak that language because this fits into the image they have of themselves as individuals in society. These language practices are not suddenly dropped in the schooling system.

The twenty first century has been described as inflated by multiple identities, and if language is the primary tool of identity expression there is a need for plural language practices (Garcia, 2009). The incongruence now falls in the relationship between language and the schooling system where the relationship between language and society is ignored. In contrast, the formal education system even in multilingual settings tends to favor monoglossic language policies (Garcia, 2011; Makalela, 2013b). This type of vertical approach to language neglects the complexity of identity of multilingual speakers and the complexity of multilingualism on identity. It fails to recognize that language as performance based on the foundations of past practices of language, and for future purposes. This study will position speaking multiple languages as performance of multilayered identities.

2.6 Translanguaging framework

Research on interaction among multilingual speakers has identified code-switching, which provide insights on people's sense of themselves in language. There are two types of code switching that have been traditionally associated with multilingual communication: metaphorical or situational code switching and conversational code switching (Gumperz, 1982). Situational code switching has been defined as a change in linguistic form to suit the changed social setting (Nipel, 2006). Stroud (2004) argues that situational code switching happens when switching of code creates the situation, as some situations call for particular linguistic forms than others (Nipel, 2006). This necessitates the identification of formal signals of situations that are available to the speakers. However, it is not necessarily the situation that always determines the code switch; it is also the speaker's utterances that construct the situation. Within this type of language mixing, there is a common thread of relevance of language use, of social role and a negotiation of the self. Invariably, code switching participants must share an understanding of the social meanings of the codes used in the conversation.

Conversational code switching, on the other hand, happens when code is switched in the conversation as a result of topics or audience (Gumperz, 1982). It relies on the use of multiple languages within one social setting (Nipel, 2006). The relationship that the speakers have with one another and their attitudes to the topics under discussion affect the language choice in the conversation (Nipel, 2006).

Recent developments in bilingualism and multilingualism research have advanced the language mixing phenomenon of translanguaging that extends code-switching to focus more on the speaker's discursive resources in communication rather than on language (Garcia, 2009, 2011; Makalela, 2013b). From a speaker-centred perspective, translanguaging questions the validity of boundaries between languages, which have been traditionally treated as segregated sealed units. Instead of switching between codes, speakers soft-assemble a large repertoire of language varieties that are integrated within a single code, depending on the multilingual spaces they find themselves in. This process of "languaging" entails a heteroglossic transmission of information and representation of values, identities and relationships in a non-linear space while navigating between different speech communities using various

structures and modalities at the speaker's disposal (Garcia, 2009). Heteroglossia is the linguistic term used to describe the creation of complex linguistic unities by drawing from different utterances (Bakhtin, 1981), i.e. prefixes from one language added to another.

Translanguaging perceives language as fluid and not rigid, as a phenomenon that is not autonomous in itself. Translanguaging embraces heteroglossic forms of languaging by advocating for this fluidity of languages. Therefore, languages have no boundaries. To emphasize its dynamism, translanguaging encompasses the idea of language as a verb and not a noun (Garcia, 2011). In conceptualizing language as action or language as performed between actors/speakers, language can then be described as social capital. Language in the form of translanguaging is social capital as it exists in the relations among actors (Coleman, 1998). What primarily makes language; multilingualism social capital is much embedded in the value that social actors put in the act of languaging itself (Coleman, 1998). Much of the value of social capital depends on the social organization under which the actors operate. This is chiefly because social groups are affected by other social groups' languages in both positive and negative light. This affects the identities of its speakers as it restricts the social status of the speakers of the minority language (Coleman, 1998).

Very little empirical research on translanguaging exists in Sub-Saharan Africa. In the US, research has shown languages or semiotic signs of different languages are used to unconsciously or subconsciously construct sentences and make meaning (Garcia, 2009, 2011). In a study of multilingual university students in a teacher education course, Makalela (2013b) found fluid and mobile use of students' discursive resources, which helped them to see that African languages are embedded into one another. As a result, he argued against the solid bounded nature that many code-switching researchers claim about multilingual practices in African languages. This captures the complex nature of meaning making in language use and further establishes the permeability of languages.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed theoretical frameworks and literature on understanding the inextricable relationship between language, attitudes, and identity expressions by

multilingual speakers. It has shown that identity formation is at a prime stage among adolescents as they establish a sense of belonging. Eventually, adolescents enter into social discourses that are understood in relation to other ethno-linguistic identities. Research has also shown that there is a hierarchy of social identities that are expressed through languages. The most dominant languages gain cultural capital over the less dominant ones, thus socially stratifying a sense of self in societies. Language ideology, and its relation with identity, is seen in the language in education policies that are inherited from ex-colonial masters in post-colonial contexts. As shown in the literature, global forces of English hegemony have influenced local language in education policies to adopt assimilation policies that immerse native speakers of indigenous languages into an imagined community of the ex-colonial languages.

The last two interrelated aspects explored in this chapter are language as performance and translanguaging. Both concepts show expanded linguistic and social identities of multilingual speakers in the 21st century. As speakers pull from an expanded code of multiple discursive resources when engaged in conversations, they are involved in the process of identity performance and shifting between multifarious discourses communities. Noteworthy, however, is that there is paucity of empirical studies that investigated the relationship between identity expressions among multilingual urban youth in South Africa. It is in the light of this gap that the present study seeks to explore how multilingual high school learners negotiate their identities while engaged in multilingual spaces in Soweto township. The next chapter addresses methodology used to carry out the study.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This study aimed at examining the relationship between language and identity expressions among multilingual urban youth in Soweto high schools. This chapter presents the research design that guided the study, detailed description of the participants and the research site, data collection instruments and procedures, data analysis and ethical procedures conducted.

3.2 Research design

This research project adopted a qualitative methodology to explore the experiences and views of participants. It focused on giving clear representations and meanings for a specified problem (Banister, Burman, Parker, Taylor, Tindal, 1998). In this case the focus is on language use and attitudes to language among young multilingual South Africans. The aim of the study as outlined under research aims above is to investigate the relationship between language use and attitudes among multilingual high school urban youth. In most respects this research project as exploratory set out to produce data to inform understandings of learners as active participants of language users. This project explored meanings of language use as directly expressed by the participants and the observed language use itself during data collection. The research limitations takes into account that the data collection elicited language as a response to the research environment and may not have represented language use as naturally occurring in real life and was analyzed as such. Accordingly, this research emphasizes the importance of recognizing the research setting as a context in which interactions take place and are to be interpreted and analyzed as such (Macbeth, 2001).

3.3 Research site

The researcher initially visited the schools to familiarize herself with the context of daily interaction. Sociolinguistics as an academic stream highly recommends that in

order for any research to understand the relationship between language and the social sphere, there has to be a good understanding of who the speaker is in relation to the research interests (Meyerhoff, 2006). Permission for the study was obtained through the school principals under the auspice of an umbrella project on Black South African English with Prof. Leketi Makalela from the Wits School of Education (Refer to appendix A for detailed outline of this larger study).

Johannesburg is characterized by racial and linguistic diversity, thus choosing a school within this context rendered the aims of this research quite fruitful. The schools were selected on the basis of different languages dominant in those contexts. In particular, one school was chosen for the dominance of isiZulu, the other for another language, preferably seSotho as the researcher is a first language sePedi speaker, which is similar to seSotho. The reasons for this is that there is a widely held urban “myth” or stereotype that mother tongue isiZulu speakers tend to be less open to other languages or cultures and hence are less multilingual than speakers of other indigenous languages (personal communication Makalela, April 2012). This allows for some exploration of variability in attitudes and language use in the two groups. In the end, school one had a higher number isiZulu and seSotho speakers while the second school had a high count of isiZulu, xiTsonga and seSotho speakers.

School one is located in the Eastern part of Soweto in a predominantly isiZulu and seSotho speaking community. The community in which the school is located is comprised of several other schools and poor housing infrastructure. However, the school itself has been renovated and comprised of at least four blocks of double story classrooms. The school has a hall which could possibly accommodate the whole target sample grade. The school has proper basic facilities such as running tap water and flushing toilets. The school also has computer facilities but seemed highly out of use and unavailable to the students. Their internet contract has recently been cut off during our visits in the school. The classrooms are very small but not over populated. The teachers have decent staff rooms. The rest of the schooling environment is mainly paved with little space for sporting activities. The overall space is however very guarded with security men at the gate. The grade eleven group comprised approximately 90-100 students. The relationship and access to the

students was mainly facilitated by the school principal and one of the grade 11 class teachers throughout the whole project.

School two is located in a highly poverty stricken environment with houses that seemed to be falling apart. The school was located in a large yard. The school buildings have broken windows, missing doors and general poor maintenance. Access to the grade 11 students was facilitated through several grade 11 teachers, the principal and the deputy principal. However, one of the key teachers passed away in the early stages of the research project. Getting access to all the grade 11 students in one place was particularly problematic in this school due to the shortage of facilities. The grade 11 class comprised of at least 200 scholars. The study did not get to more than half of these students because of strict ethical commitment of the researcher's side not to take the students out of their normal schooling schedules and thus the project could only be conducted after school hours. There was an observed high number of students who left for lunch outside the school grounds and never returned. From observations, very little sporting activity took place despite the large grounds that permitted so. Some of the students did not have shoes or presentable schooling attire, indicating and confirming a high rate of poverty.

3. 4. Participants

The research project adopted a convenience sampling procedure that is theoretically based. It used a purposive sample selecting multilingual learners as the research focuses on multilingualism. Young learners in South Africa are a good cohort of people with whom to explore issues of language use and attitudes as they are linguistically bound to English use in the school's formal setting and have the freedom to use other linguistic tools in other spheres of social life. This is even more so of high school learners who have been exposed to the use of English as a medium of instruction for longer. This research was conducted with grade eleven learners from two different high-schools in Soweto. Grade elevens were a convenient sample to work with mainly because they are older than sixteen years of age and could therefore volunteer for the research. They also have more school training than lower grades and are less busy than grade 12 learners.

3.4.1 Phase one

Participants for the first phase of the study were conveniently taken from all the grade eleven learners from both schools. A cohort of 90 (n=90) came from one school and another 48 (n=48) came from the second school to make a total of 138 (n=138). It was deemed necessary to use all learners at this stage to have a range of linguistic patterns from a larger pool of students. Students were handed participant information sheets (See Appendix B, consents forms (See Appendix C) before the survey (See Appendix D) was administered.

3.4.2 Phase two

Initially participants from phase two were to be randomly selected from those who had completed phase one based on their multilingualism. More engagement with the students and phase one results revealed that the students were mostly multilingual. The researcher handed out participation forms to the students who volunteered to take part in the second phase of the study (See Appendix E). At least half of the total sample in each school was given the participation forms. However, there was a low return rate for assent forms. There was a low return rate of assent forms from parents (See Appendix F), which was also time consuming. The researcher ended up recruiting on a first come first serve basis. However this did not compromise the quality of focus groups as all the learners were multilingual. On the day of the focus groups, participation information sheets (See Appendix G) were distributed, followed by recording consent forms (See Appendix H).

Tables 1A and B, below, provide a linguistic profile and gender distribution of the participants. In order to uphold ethical commitments, the names of the participants in these tables are pseudo.

Table 1A: Participants in the focus group in School One

Name of scholar	Mother tongue	Gender
Nina	isiZulu	Female
Abram	seSotho	Male
Meme	sePedi	Female
Lebohang	seSotho	Female
Malinga	isiXhosa/isiZulu	Male
Sbu	isiZulu	Male
Thami	isiZulu	Male
Vuyo	isiZulu	Male
Sonto	isiZulu	Female
Mbali	isiZulu	Female

Table 1B: Participants in the focus group in School Two

Name of learner	Mother tongue	Gender
Dimakatso	seSotho	Female
Khatisa	xiTsonga	Female
Lulu	xiTsonga	Female
Thandeka	xiTsonga	Female
Phulwani	xiVhenda	Female
Zakhele	isiZulu	Male
Ali	Arabic	Male

There was an equal representation of gender in School A while School B was dominated by females (four out of seven). Notably, there was a high presence of isiZulu mother tongue speakers in School A versus a high presence of xiTsonga mother tongue students in School B. These linguistic distributions reflect proportional representations of ethnic groups for which the schools were traditionally built for during the Apartheid era.

3.5 Data collection

3.5.1 Phase one: Questionnaire

The first phase of data collection provided a baseline description of language use and attitudes so that the languages included in the focus group were languages that represented the social context of the research site. The language questionnaire was in the form of a survey. A cross sectional survey was designed to collect the data at a single point in time and simultaneously gather a wide variety of data (Fink, 1985). This method was suitable for the first phase of this research project to give an idea of the phenomenon of multilingualism exists as perceived by the learners themselves. Cross-sectional surveys were especially useful to locate the degree of multilingualism in the 21st Century as dictated by the theory of translanguaging. The language questionnaire consists of questions about language use and attitudes to language. It was for the most part a closed ended survey. There are some demographics that included in the questionnaire. The instrument cannot however give cause-effect relationship (Fink, 1985), between for example language and identity. It was a useful instrument to use to inform the second phase of the survey and could be administered to a large sample at a single point. However, because the learners had to complete the thirty minute long survey in the presence of the researcher so they can ask questions. This was a problem for school two which had a large group of grade elevens but no facilities in which the two-hundred grade eleven group could fill the survey. This questionnaire was self-constructed to measure out the specific foci of the project and to suit the exploratory nature of the research project.

An initial meeting was set up with the learners and their relevant teachers and the study was verbally introduced. Because the surveys were administered at the

beginning of the third term of school, most students in both schools had not returned from holiday. Much of the attention was also delegated towards preparing grade twelve's for their preliminary examinations, thus little help was available with the desired grade 11 for this research. In addition to this, several trips had to be taken to the schools to gain access to the learners without disrupting normal schooling processions. The language questionnaire was administered to 138 learners in school one and 90 in school two.

3.5.2 Phase two: Focus groups

Those who returned the assents forms on time were recruited into the focus group. Telephone numbers were taken to set out a date for the focus group. The learners and teachers and parents were notified on the dates and times and facilities were arranged with the school for this purpose. In order not to disturb teaching schedules, the focus groups took place after school hours on a Friday when schools knock off earlier so that the learners would not get home late. Snacks and drinks were arranged for the focus groups. The focus group in school one had ten participants, while school two had seven participants. There was a third focus group for school two because the facilities were too small and the learners were highly interested in the study. However, this focus group was excluded from the analysis of this report as a result of poor quality recording because it was stormy on the afternoon of the focus group. Focus group one in school one took place for approximately an hour, while focus group two in school tow took place for approximately a little over two hours.

Focus groups were chosen because of the interactive nature of this method (Kitzinger, 1995), which was most suitable for this research project with the aims eliciting as much language within the group as possible. A self-constructed focus group guideline (See Appendix I) was used to conduct the focus groups, and probes developed as the focus groups commenced. The research initially proposed that each focus group will comprise of eight to fifteen learners, who are all individually multilingual, defined as speaking English and at least two indigenous languages. This decision was made based on young South Africans in Soweto have been reported to choose schools based on the dominant language spoken in the school's location and thus the school itself. This is however an indication of the continuous existence of ethnic divisions in Soweto as designed by the apartheid regime.

The focus groups were structured in a way that was easy to access multiplicity of language usage without the reasoned responses that are encapsulated in one to one interviews (Kitzinger, 1995). The focus group structure also allowed the participants to spontaneously use different languages in different ways. The researcher facilitated the discussions.

The researcher encouraged the participants to use language freely and supplemented this by code switching/translanguaging herself as a demonstration of the expected conversational atmosphere. Sociolinguistics as a field puts forth a claim that in order for any research to understand the relationship between language and the social sphere, there has to be a good understanding of who the speaker is in relation to the research interests (Meyerhoff, 2006). This research applied sociolinguistics in the form of a trans-languaging model. This model posits that individuals/speakers use complex networks to pull what is linguistically known as different languages to make one coherent sentence (Makalela, 2009; 2013b). The focus group guideline (see Appendix J) was structured so as to encourage participants to explicate their points to the rest of the group and to stir up more conversation and language use. The opinions expressed during data collection were analyzed as products of the situation rather than focusing on the persons expressing them individually (Kitzinger, 1995).

3.6 Transcription and Translation

Transcription and translation were done by listening to the recorded focus group discussions, with extra-linguistic expressions noted as they contribute to understandings of how language is being used. Translations of different languages that emerge in discussions were done by hired translators and the researcher herself as a speaker of some of the languages. The search for a translator revealed how a very small proportion of people are able to write in the different languages that they speak. Thus, multiple language speakers worked on the translations depending on the language (s) that he/she was literate in. This took a long time as they were not only transcribing the indigenous languages, but also translating into English. The department of translations at the University of the Witwatersrand was hired to

perform this role. Much of the material was translated as the students trans-
language or code switched in the focus groups, therefore the transcripts are subject
to meaning lost in translation.

The analysis required an interpretation of meanings to inform the data. The
researcher was the main tool of interpretation and it is important to state that all the
interpretations made are temporal, located and open to new interpretations (Attride-
Stirling, 2001). The constitutive nature of research requires that the researcher
accounts for her own contribution to it and this was done by continuous reflection on
the interplay between oneself as the researcher, the participants and the research
context (Attride-Stirling, 2001) reported on in the reflexivity section.

3.7 Analysis

3.7.1 Phase one: Questionnaire

The analysis of the language questionnaire used statistical descriptive analysis. A
profile of language use and attitudes in the learners was created consisting of
frequencies and percentages. These frequencies were drawn to illustrate
demographic data and baseline data on language use, and multilingualism. The
frequencies were used as base line information for phase two of the study. The
answers to the language questionnaire were used for the inclusion criteria for the
focus groups, especially answers to the degree of multilingualism. Answers to the
questionnaire allowed the researcher to formulate relevant questions about language
use and attitudes to language for focus group discussions.

3.7.2 Phase two: Language Use and Thematic Analysis

The main data of the research came from the focus groups. However, results from
phase one provided a background framework for the analysis of the focus group
discussions. Thematic analysis was used to analyze the focus group data. Thematic
analysis is a flexible method that allows that the researcher to identify, analyze and
report patterns that occur within the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Its flexible
nature allowed the researcher to interpret various aspects of the research topic.

The epistemological paradigm that governs thematic analysis for this research is constructionism which can be inferred from the literature review. This epistemological paradigm supports the idea that meaning and experience are socially reproduced (Braun and Clarke, 2006). This creates compatibility with the data collection method of focus groups where language use and attitudes are investigated collectively. The paradigm assists in the exploration of structural conditions that affect behavior and attitudes in individuals, in this case how young South Africans account for language in relation to their attitudes and experiences.

This thematic perspective is very much compatible with constructionism as it allows the researcher to explore the broad social underpinnings of what is actually said in the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The researcher actively identified patterns within and across the data set. This was chiefly achieved by initially familiarizing with the data to get the depth of the data itself by listening to the recordings repeatedly and revisiting field notes.

Once immersion into the data was satisfactorily done, the verbal data and field notes from the focus groups were transcribed. This included a thoroughly verbatim account of the verbal data and that the transcript does not lose any information (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Codes were generated from the transcribed data. These codes came from the general ideas that the researcher had before and after immersion into the data. After several times of listening to the tape recordings, the research proposal was revisited and several codes were identified as informed by theory. The researcher took a deductive approach to identifying the themes. There were other uncoded themes that emerged from the data such as gendered approaches to language that were included in the analysis inductively. Several themes were collapsed into overarching themes; these were later reduced to main themes to fit the scope of this project. The codes that were found in the data were converted theoretically, either to confirm or refute what is conceptualized in the literature review.

The codes that did not fit into any overarching theme were not immediately discarded but rather put in to a “miscellaneous” theme that were visited after refining and reviewing of the overarching themes (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The

analyst then defined what the themes mean and represented these in the form of the interactional and collective nature of the focus groups. Extracts are central to the analysis of this research as they depict what the data says about the theme and what the theme says about the data. As a result of the inductive approach in thematising the focus group analysis, not all the participants listed in table 1 are represented in the discussion of results. The analysis at this point is highly descriptive and connections were made to the research questions (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

3.8 Ethics

External ethics clearance has been obtained for the larger study as headed by Professor Makalela who is an associate Professor in the Division of Languages, Literacies and Literatures in the School of Education at the University of the Witwatersrand (see Appendix A). This ethical clearance does not however cover this specific masters project as the projects use different participants and different methods.

The larger study focuses on the attitudes of South African teachers to Black South African English in the form of accents on voice recorders. This master's project complements the larger study by exploring language use and attitudes from the learner's perspective. This added to a larger body of knowledge about language attitudes from the main participants of the education system, the teacher and the learner. The larger study provided convenient access to an already approved research site.

This research adhered to all ethical protocols. The researcher could not guarantee confidentiality as opinions in focus groups are expressed amidst others (Smithson, 2000). However, it guaranteed anonymity of the data as recorded through pseudonyms (See Appendix H).

3.9 Reflexivity

This project was inspired by a series of events that lead to my realization that the fluency I thought I had in my mother tongue, sePedi, in Johannesburg, proved to be a limited ability at home in Limpopo. I found myself having to deal with issues of being a modern girl in a semi-rural context, with very limited knowledge on what

my culture was. The linguistic limitation I have led to an emotional roller-coaster of fragmentation in identity and a great sense of loss of my Pedi culture. Even though I had never been much to play into traditional practices, my inability to speak culturally-loaded sePedi as my peers in Limpopo, left me feeling at a language and cultural loss. There was a lot of thinking about how indigenous languages and culture were only minimally incorporated in the formal education system. The last time I learnt how to read, write and speak sePedi was in Grade 7 when sePedi was my second language. This was only because my primary school was in Limpopo. Post-primary school, there was little exposure to sePedi even in the informal sphere because of attitudes to languages among my peers.

These experiences and psychological positioning may have led to some form of biased when conducting the research and analyzing the findings. There is still a lot of ambivalence about standard forms of mother tongue and translanguaging I think should be explored further. I still feel strongly about indigenous languages in the education system, however I do realize that there are gaps that this project was did not cover that perhaps would be in a Phd project in the future.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION: PHASE ONE

4.1 Introduction

The results reported are separated in to phase one and phase two. Phase one reports on the quantitative descriptive aspect of the project. It mainly focused on the trends of language use, and on attitudes to languages as revealed by the survey. The results were used to inform phase two of the study. Results for phase two are reported thematically in chapter five.

The numbers for total of people in the sample may vary per table as a result of learners not answering those particular questions. However, the overall sample as discussed in the methodology chapter, remains at 138 for phase one. Where there are marked differences between the schools, the results for the schools will be presented separately to illustrate this point.

4.2 Places and Schools

The following table displays residence patterns of the students to map out geographical placement of languages displayed by high frequencies in one area. This also tells us about whether the ethnic segregation as imposed by the colonial regime is still prevalent. Those that lived outside of the section of Soweto in which the school was situated were labelled to live outside of the school's community and those who lived within the same section of Soweto labelled as such. The schools were combined to be analysed as one unit. In instances that results differed this was reported upon.

Table 2: Residence patterns of the learners in relation to the school

School	Location	N	%
S1*	Lives in school's community	75	88
	Lives outside school's community	10	12
S2*	Lives in school's community	18	38
	Lives outside of school's community	29	62
Total		132	

*S1: Represents results from school one, *S2: Represents results from school two

The above table presents the data of students' residence in relation to the school. The results show that there are more students in School One who come from the same community in which the school is located 75 (83.3%) than in School Two. There are more students residing out of the school's community 29 (60.4%) for School Two. What this alerts us to is that there may be a higher degree of multilingualism in school two than School One. Table 3 maps out patterns of mother tongue. The totals of the percentages from both school 1 and school 2 do not add up to a hundred percent as some participants did not fill out the item.

Table 3: Frequencies of mother tongue

Mother tongue	S1	S2	ALL n	ALL %
English	1	1	2	1.5
isiZulu	44	15	59	44.3
sePedi	3	0	3	2.2
seSotho	23	5	28	21
isiXhosa	5	7	12	9
xiNdebele	3	0	3	2
seTswana	2	16	18	14
Afrikaans	1	0	1	1
isiSwati	3	0	3	2
xiVhenda	0	2	2	1.5
Other	2	1	3	2
Total	87	47	133	100

*S1: Represents results from school one, *S2: Represents results from school two

The above table presents data of mother tongue speakers of all the official South African languages including other for foreign language mother tongue speakers. The most important result is that almost all the official languages are spoken in both schools. Already we can see a high linguistic exposure alerting us that the adolescents need to learn different languages to survive in the presence of linguistic diversity. In School One, isiZulu had the highest count of mother tongue speakers with 44 (48.9%). This is followed by Southern seSotho with a count of 23(25.6%). The highest mother tongue languages in the school two is xitshonga 16(33.3%) followed closely by isiZulu 15(31.3). xiTsonga as a minority language ranks very high in school tow. This explains why there are learners who come from outside the school's section. Young xiTsonga mother tongue speakers are travelling at from their respective communities to schools that formally offer the minority language.

The census 2011 results also reveal that isiZulu is the highest first language spoken at home in both Gauteng and in the country generally (Census, 2011). As in the

results above, the census from 2001 and 2011 both reveal that Nguni and Sesotho languages dominate the first home language category. The fact that there are also foreign languages is characteristic of the complex ethnic and linguistic diversity make up of Soweto. There are languages that were reported to not be spoken by the students. There is an absence of xiVhenda 0 mother tongue speakers in school one. Whilst there is an absence of sePedi 0, xiNdebele 0, Setswana 0, Afrikaans 0 and isiSwati 0 mother tongue speakers in school two. However these results from school two must be analysed with caution as the school contain over at least 200 grade eleven learners, however, as a result of unmanageable circumstances, the study could only manage to get forty-eight.

The tables below presents data for languages that are spoken in the different communities that the students come from.

Table 4.1: Languages spoken in the communities the learners come from

Zu	Xh	seSo	seP	Eng	Afr	Other
122 (87.2%)	13 (9.15%)	39 (26.5%)	2 (2.2%)	24 (18.2%)	2 (2.2%)	1 (2.2%)

IsiNdebele and IsiSwati had zero frequencies

Legend: Zu=isiZulu; Xh=isiXhosa; seSo=seSotho; sePedi; Eng=English; Afr=Afrikaans

Table 4.2: languages spoken in the communities the learners come from

xiTsonga	xiVhenda	seTswana
S1*1 (1.1%)	*S1:0	*S1:1 (12.2%)
*S2:16 (33.3%)	*S2:8 (16.7%)	*S2:1 (2.1%)

*S1: Represents results from school one, *S2: Represents results from school two

The results in Table 4.1 reveal in that more students come from the same community in school one than in school two as illustrated in Table 1. For the most part, the results for languages spoken in the communities that the learners come from are consistent with mother tongue languages reported in Table 3. There are noticeable differences which are illustrated in Table 4.2. There are more xiTsonga 16 (33.3%) speakers in communities that learners from school two comes from consistent with results from Table 3. xiVhenda 8 (16.7%) also ranks higher in school two than school one. These are minority languages that are not readily available in the school system. What these results tell us thus far is that there are still ethnic groupings within the communities as evident in large concentrations of particular mother tongue speakers. This may mean that the apartheid ethnic segregation design of Soweto has not yet been dissolved. This argument is rooted in the data as the languages stated in Table 3 as not having mother tongue speakers are also stated in the Table 4 as not spoken in the communities. Even though at lower rate, there are differences in seTswana speakers in the communities that the learners come from. School one 11 (12.2%) has the highest seTswana rank, which in retrospect is congruent with high ranks of seSotho mother tongue speakers in Table 3. SeTswana and seTswana are in the same language family.

School Two presents a rather interesting pattern of students coming to this school from communities beyond which the school is situated. The researcher expected then a higher linguistic diversity in the form of mother tongue and reports of what different communities speak. Students with specific mother tongues may be attracted to schools with a high prevalence of that mother tongue or language. The following table displays data of the degree of multilingualism in the learners.

Table 5: A measure of multilingualism

No of languages spoken	N	%
3	47	52
4	46	51
5	20	22
6	12	13
7	6	7
8	5	5
9	0	0
10	0	0
11	1	1.1
Total	90	

The most important result that the above table presents is the very high degree of multilingualism amongst these young people with none of them speaking less than three languages. These languages were acquired naturally in very heteroglossic context of discursive African multilingualism. This is a move away from the earlier European conceptions of multilingualism conceived multilingualism in a linear fashion where first and second languages are learned sequentially or additively with

one language code added to another (Makalela, 2009). Simultaneous multilingualism observed here suggests that these learners have versatile identities in which they use to understand themselves in the world and others too (Fay, 1996; Giles and Johnson, 1981). The languages are socially intelligible and available as expanded multilingual repertoires of the speakers in a dynamic multilingual space. This view is supplemented by Table 3 with almost all the eleven official languages being represented as mother tongues and by Table 4 where almost all the eleven official languages being represented in the communities that the adolescents live.

Given the high degree of multilingualism in the adolescents, the research explored the languages that the students speak presented in Table Six below.

Table 6: Names of the languages actually spoken by the learners

isiZulu	78.75%	
English	75.7%	
seSotho	52.2%	
isiXhosa	28.25%	
xiVhenda	10.95%	
seTswana	12.1%	
sePedi	8.15%	
xiTsonga	*S1: 4.4%	*S2: 56.3%
Afrikaans	4.7%	
isiSwati	3.2%	
isiNdebele	2.2%	
Other	3.2%	

*S1, *S2 represent school one and school two

The data presented above reveal very interesting data about what languages these highly multilingual students actually speak. The patterns are as follows: isiZulu

78.75%, English 75.7% and seSotho 52.2% are the top three most spoken languages by these young people. There is a marked difference in the xiTsonga use in both schools as it seems that there is a really low rate of xiTsonga in school one and the section of Soweto in which School One is situated.

Reflectively, caution has to be taken when analysing this aspect of attitudes to language as the researcher used more English in the administration of the language questionnaire than any part of the data collection process. Perceptions and attitudes to languages are about more than their semiotic functions (Meyerhof, 2006), but also for their symbolic function as languages of the imagined communities (Coleman, 1998), more-so for grade elevens soon to be graduating into tertiary education. Also the other hand, English is the language they use to learn at school. These may be some of the factors that contributed to high amount of spoken English by the learners.

Below is a representation of data about whom these different languages are spoken with. The following tables explore language and relationships with people, Table 7.1, and language and relationship to places, Table 7.2. It explores the sociolinguistics of mobility and language as speaker-centred.

Table 7.1: The relationship between people and language

LANG	FAMILY		FRIENDS		COMMUNITY	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
MT	93	64	22	16	30	22
MT+ENG	4	3	6	4	4	3
MT+V	10	7	20	14	23	17
MT+V+ENG	8	6	16	13	16	12
V+ENG	6	4	16	13	8	6
V ONLY	13	11	37	27	40	30
ENG ONLY	3	2	9	7	5	4
AFR	5	3	6	4	3	2
AFR+ENG	3	2	3	2	5	4
TOTAL	145	100	135	100	134	100

*vernac represents vernacular languages, synonym for indigenous languages

When analysing the table horizontally, we observe that mother tongue is used mostly in the family. Language is infused with culture and the home provides a space where culture can be practiced through language (Tofellson, 1991; Makihara, 2010). Vernacular languages are the most widely spoken of all categories of languages used in the survey. Therefore the mode of communication with people occupying informal or social spaces are conducted in vernacular. Perhaps the practice of “static maintenance syndrome” (Alexander, 2003), can be questioned as there is a considerable amount of English spoken by urban youth, especially in relationships with people considered to occupy informal spaces. Perhaps the boundaries between formal and social spaces in the use of language intersect for South African urban youth.

Table 7.2: The relationship between places and language

Language	School		Playground		Shops	
	N	%	n	%	n	%
Mother tongue	10	7	30	23	12	11
Mother tongue and English	27	20	16	12	24	22
Mother tongue and *Vernac	6	4	19	15	3.9	4
Mother tongue, *Vernac, English	25	19	10	8	12	11
*Vernac, English	18	13	4	3	13	12
*Vernac only	21	16	28	21	17	16
English	14	11	9	7	27	24
Afrikaans	11	8	11	8	0	0
Afrikaans, English	3	2	4	3	0	0

*vernac represents vernacular languages, synonym for indigenous languages,

Vernacular and English are used the most across all spaces as depicted in the data. What this suggests is high multilingualism and what is of interest later in phase two is how this multilingualism is actually used. However, throughout the table we are not able to observe the intrinsic relationship of language to context, and the instrumental nature of language as central to communicative needs (Garcia, 2011), as indigenous languages and English seem to be used primarily to serve communicative needs. Perhaps this is starting point for an argument for the sociolinguistics of mobility, where language is speaker centred and not necessarily context centred.

Given the current debates against Afrikaans in the country, there is a surprising presence of Afrikaans which features in the playground 5(5.6%) than any of the other settings. The most predominant use of Afrikaans amongst the youth is in a translanguage of Tsotsi-taal (Bembe and Beukes, 2007), now favourably known as Kasi-taal. This may be the case especially in a linguistically diverse setting as Soweto with a rich history of creole during the apartheid regime (Martin, 2006). The shift from tsotsi-taal to Kasi-taal shows shifts in perceptions about whether being a tsotsi is actually street credible. Kasi-taal means language of the home. Spaces such as townships have shifted status as temporary dwelling places, as once intended by the apartheid government, to a permanent residence that people can call home, especially the 'born free' generation that participated in the study. It is a term that categorises a sense of belonging; it is the tongue of the place they call home. A high use of English at the shops was reported by the learners signifying the use of English as the language of commerce, and the language of education.

4.3 Emotional life: Dreams and Prayers

The following Table 8 results reveal a projection of attitudes on categories of activities that are normally taken for granted or could not easily be recalled. They tell us about the use of language in private spaces and the attachment of language to emotion.

Table 8: Personal activities and language use

Languages	Praying		Dreaming	
	S1	S2	S1	S2
Mother tongue	36 (45%)	15 (34%)	21(24%)	15(37%)
Mother tongue and English	12(14%)	4 (9%)	33 (37%)	4 (10%)
Other tongue and *Vernac	3 (4%)	3 (7%)	2 (2%)	2 (5%)
*Vernac and English	5 (6%)	2 (5%)	5 (6%)	3 (7%)
*Vernac	7 (9%)	5 (11%)	7 (8%)	2 (5%)
English	8 (10%)	10 (23%)	6 (7%)	5 (12%)
I do not know	10 (12%)	5 (11%)	15 (16%)	10 (24%)

The above table was compiled to give us insight into language use in private spaces/private activities. The students ranked mother tongue 36 (40.0%) in school one and 15 (31.1%) in School Two to be the language that they dream in the most. This was followed by mother tongue and English 12(13.3%) in School One and English 10(20.8%) in School Two. Because of the little empirical evidence of accuracy in recall of dreams (Schredl, Numberg and Weiler, 1996), these results actually inform us about the relationship between language use and identity. Mother tongue is perceived to pervade the unconscious through dreams. Mother tongue seems to symbolise a very important aspect of identity and how people understand themselves and interpret the world around them. The learners seem to hold high regard for their mother tongues and also for English. This information is interesting as we can hypothesise the value of mother tongue and not just any indigenous

language to hold emotional value as the language of ethnic identity (Makihara, 2010), pervading the private space.

Learners reported on mother tongue and English (36.7%) and on mother tongue 21(23.3%) in school one as the languages used mostly for prayer. School Two reported mother tongue 15 (31.1%) and 10 (20.8%). Again for prayer we observe high positive attitudes towards mother tongue and English. We can perhaps already hypothesise on a competence of language value between mother tongue (as representative of indigenous languages) and English. English seems to be valued for its instrumental nature as the language of development and progress (Alexander, 2004). English on its own is also used religiously, invading even the private space. We then would infer from this that religion and prayer may be public for these young people. This keeps in mind that historically, people learnt how to speak languages such as English from missionaries who were trying to convert the African mind from its barbaric ways to a more Christian oriented way of life (Maphalala, 2000).

4.4 Media

The tables below are a depiction of the languages that the students are exposed to in the media or popular alternatives of learning different languages and maintaining multilingualism. These results tell us about how media influences multilingualism and language use.

Table 9.1: Media exposure to languages for school One

No. of langs	Tv	Radio	M
1	3 (3%)	9 (10%)	37 (44%)
2	8 (9%)	22 (25%)	34 (42%)
3	3 (3%)	35 (41%)	6 (7%)
4	9 (10.0%)	13(15%)	5 (6%)
5	10 (11.1%)	4(5%)	0
6	27 (30.0%)	3(3%)	1 (1%)
7	10 (11.2%)	1(1%)	
8	17 (19%)	0	0
9	2 (2.2%)	0	0
10		0	0
11	1 (1.1%)	0	0

Table 9.2: Media exposure to languages for school Two

No. of Lang	Tv	Radio	Magazine
1	1 (2%)	8 (17%)	34 (76%)
2	0	14 (29.2%)	6 (12.5%)
3	6 (13%)	11 (23%)	3 (7%)
4	1 (2.1%)	13 (27.1%)	2 (4.2%)
5	3 (6.3%)	2 (4.2%)	0
6	23 (49%)	0	0
7	4 (9%)	0	0
8	0	0	0
9	3 (6.3%)	0	0
10	0	0	0
11	6 (13%)	0	0

The above table presents data of the number of languages that the students are exposed to through the media. In both schools we observe a high level of multilingualism of at least exposure to six languages per program. School one scored 27 (30.0%) for exposure to six languages per program while school two score 23 (47.9%) for the same as highest scores in the category television. Programs included, generations, 7de laan, Mhuvhango, Isidingo and Egoli. This was coded from a list of highly occurring programs that the learners stated to watch. The researcher did an internet search of how many languages each program uses. Learners reported to be exposed to two to four languages over the radio. The radio stations stated to be listened to were Ukhozi fm (broadcasts in isiZulu), Metro fm (broadcasts in English), Lesedi fm (broadcasts in seSotho), Motswedding fm (broadcasts in

seSotho), Yfm (broadcasts in English). School one centred on three languages per program on the radio 35 (38.9%), while school two centred at two languages per radio program 14 (29.2%).

Languages seemed to decrease dramatically with the medium of magazines with results centering between one to two languages. We can infer from these results that television is the preferred medium of entertainment an average six languages per program. Reading patterns are very monolingual reflecting the education system that is mainly English.. This is a result of the monoglossic character of teaching language in the formal education system. Learners do not use language the same way that they speak it, especially indigenous languages. There is a great deal of incongruence in reading, writing and speaking of languages. The latter does not have the same underlying structure semiotically as the reading and writing, especially if we are to argue for multilingualism in the form of the translanguaging model. For example, Kasi-taal in South Africa does not have the same semiotic structures as other indigenous languages. These results also tell us about the different levels of exposure to multilingualism in the social sphere. They are congruent with the above tables about uses of language with different people and in different places. Given these results, discoveries of degrees of multilingualism reported in prior tables are not surprising. The learners are not only surrounded by multilingualism, but they also surround themselves at different levels of society with this multilingualism.

4.5 Choice and Educational Policy

Given this high linguistic exposure at the social level, it was worth exploring which languages the adolescents would actually choose to learn willingly out of choice. The following table presents data on language choice that the students would choose to learn.

Table 10: Language choice

Language choice	N	%
Indigenous languages	42	32
International languages	55	42
English	11	8
Afrikaans	20	15
English and other international languages	2	2
English and Afrikaans	1	1
Total	131	100

The above table explored languages that the learners would want to learn out of choice. The indigenous languages that were chosen were mostly the ones that they were not exposed to in their communities. These results reveal to us that there is still a high interest among young people to learn indigenous languages, and other languages beyond the South African linguistic scope, specifically languages that also hold power such as French and Portuguese. The choice of other international languages not only shows awareness of the power that languages carry with them, but also the high regard young South African adolescents from multilingual townships have for languages.

The following table explored languages that the students perceive should be used at different levels of the education system.

Table 11: Languages in the schooling system

	Pre-school	Primary school	Secondary school	Tertiary
Indigenous	16%	8.6%	3.2%	3.25%
Indigenous and English	23%	27%	21%	10%
Indigenous, English, Afrikaans	2.15%	3.75%	3.25%	3.25%
English	57%	58.45%	70%	80%
English and Afrikaans	2.1%	1.6%	2.1%	2.15%
English and International	0%	0%	1.1%	1.1%
International	0%	0%	0%	1.1%

There is a particular trend that this table reveals to us when thinking about the competition or rather the power dynamics between Indigenous languages and English. The preference of Indigenous languages declines as the educational levels advance and the preference of English increases as the educational levels advance. This enlightens us about perceived instrumental nature of indigenous languages and English, with English's applicability to the highest educational levels showing its perceived dominance. It also informs us about the imagined language communities (Anderson, 2006; Kanno and Norton, 2003) that the students perceive they would be part of as they advance further in to the education system. Having proficiency in English is not just the acquisition of another language, it a tool that opens up possibilities to the possessor. It means that one can have access to elite communities and access to job opportunities consequently high possibilities of upward social mobility. There is a higher social status that one adopts with the proficiency of English; it is a symbolic tool of power. For a Black person, proficiency in English means trading between two classes, the racial class and permeating into the social class of the privileged white minority by being able to communicate with them.

4. 6 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the participants have a wide array of languages that are used in a variety of social spaces. The participants' levels of multilingualism seem to cross traditional clusters that divide African languages into Sotho and Nguni clusters. As revealed in the analyses, the speakers' multilingual spaces are dynamic and mobile within an expanded notion of language. These speakers freely "language" to express various social identities that are multi-layered. This speaks to social intelligibility of speakers whose languages were separated politically over time and by extension, these urban youth cross between identities by means of their rich linguistic repertoire of simultaneous or dynamic multilingualism. Focus group discussions that reveal performance of this translanguaging phenomenon are presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION: PHASE TWO

5.1. Introduction

This section of the analysis gives an in-depth view of the reciprocal relationship between language identity, society and the education system. Analysis of the focus group has identified five overarching themes; namely:

1. My mother-father tongue: Relationships with Parents
2. The township hierarchies of indigenous languages: Gate Keeping of languages
3. Multilingualism as Social Capital: The Gendered Image of Language
4. Power and 'Race': A sense of Loss
5. Ambivalence

First, some illustration is offered of how languages were used in the focus groups. The learners were very multilingual and used language creatively in a way that is so unique to the South African context. This was illustrated through extracts of translanguaging. The researcher played a vital role in the focus group discussions in terms of encouraging the 'normal' use of language. Thus, I allowed the learners to use language as they would in daily conversations. This yielded quite interesting data as the learners showed how they use language to negotiate spaces, negotiate identities, and confirm a sense of belongingness to their social context. Translanguaging as creatively used by the students shows how linguistically diverse the young people are and how they are able to harmonize different languages to drive a certain point across. Language was used by these learners to make sense of their identities as multilingual persons, and also to show how complex this system of being multilingual is.

5.2 Discursive language use

The focus group discussions revealed discursive language performance that draws from arrange of linguistic codes prevalent in the area. These language practices are analyzed from the speakers' points of view under the translanguaging model where speakers soft-assemble language systems from a unified and expanded language

code. This discursive boundary crossing is referred to as “linguaging” (Garcia, 2009) as will be illustrated in the following extracts. Consider Extract 1 below:

Extract 1:

*Lebohang (seSotho): S'ka rona, most of the teachers mo s'kolong ke maZulu. Ke o *e-one o seng MoZulu oa re rutang Sesotho. So like ha *explaina a batla ho bua something, o tle e bua ka seZulu=*

(like us, most of the teachers here at school are Zulu. There is only one that is not Zulu and she teaches us Sesotho. So when he/she wants to explain something, they will speak in IsiZulu)

Lebohang is a mother tongue seSotho speaker, newly located to South Africa, Johannesburg, Soweto from Lesotho. Her extract is an example of languaging between Sesotho and English where these languages have been embedded into one another as a single code. She is responding to comments about the prevalence of isiZulu in their community and how this has pervaded the classroom pedagogy where most teachers are mother tongue speakers of isiZulu. The words with asteriks show that Sesotho and English have been mixed as one code where the word “one” takes the Sesotho prefix marker /e-/ as in *e-one* and the verb ‘explain’ takes a Sesotho suffix /-na/ as in *explaina*. The next strategy used by Lebohang is to embed English phrases and words like ‘most of the teachers’, ‘so like...’ and ‘something’ to punctuate the majority of words from the matrix (main) language of the utterance. Both strategies of Africanizing English vocabulary and embedding English words in Sesotho reflect a vivid case of translanguaging where the boundaries are crossed and merged in this multilingual space.

As understood from the translanguaging framework, which extended traditional views on code-switching, individuals modify their languages to accommodate other competing languages in their social environment. This is not to say that they trade their languages for other languages, but they simply modify them using linguistic tools such as code-switching, code-borrowing (Hung Ng, 2007). This illustrates a command of more than one language, and how languages do in actual fact lose traditional boundaries. The model of translanguaging posits that languages are fluid (Garcia, 2011).

The following extract (Extract 2) further illustrates fluidity of the adolescents' identities that are expressed through translanguaging. Here, the speakers are involved in metacognitive analysis of their day-to-day language use while the researcher makes sense of their reflection.

Extract 2:

*Khatisa (xiTsonga): well, besides **lokho** ukuthi *iEnglish *i-important or kanjani wena um'Tsonga or um'Sotho or um'Venda uzofuna uku funda **le language**, maybe wena ukhulum' is'Xhosa 'cause mina ng'funa uk'funda *ilanguage yakho, mara wena why ungafuni*

(Well besides the whether English is important or not, if you are Tsonga, Sotho, or Vhenda and you want to learn this language, maybe you speak IsiXhosa because I don't want to learn your language, but then why don't you want to learn it?)

*Thandeka (xiTsonga mother tongue speaker speaking here in isiZulu and English): since why ungang *offeri?*

(Then why don't you offer me)

*Khatisa (xiTsonga mother tongue speakers speaking here in isiZulu): no ang *offeri, angithi nawe uyabona.*

(No, I won't offer, you can see for yourself)

*Thandeka (xiTsonga mother tongue speaker speaking here in isiZulu and English): no angithi the *uinfluensi-wa yi the people in your society mabakhuluma uyaba mamela and then uzwe ukuthi bathini bak'fundise angithi, wena uhluhwa yini ukung'fundisa since ubona ukuthi angifuna ukwiyifunda*

(No, you are influenced by the people in your society, they speak and you listen and then you hear/listen to what they say and then they teach you right, why are you unable to teach me, since you can see that I don't want to learn it?)

The main topic of the conversation in Extract 2 was a negotiation of power in languages. Khatisa is a XiTsonga mother tongue speaker and Thandeka is an IsiZulu mother tongue speaker. Khatisa is responding to stereotypes about Tsonga as a

difficult language to learn as it is spoken by a small group of people in the country. One observes that although she uses isiZulu as the matrix language, she establishes her identity as Mutsonga in the first line with a xiTsonga time marker, 'lokho' (when). This is followed by the languaging pattern seen in Extract 1 where African languages are used to prefix and suffix English vocabulary. In this extract, a singular noun class prefix /i-/ is merged with English root words to result in combinations such as 'iEnglish', 'i-important', 'ilanguage'. Notably, where the deitic marker is used, the speaker does not merge 'e' and 'language' (that language) as it would be the case in either English or isiZulu when used separately. Moreover, Thandeka and Khatisa share the word 'offeri' (to offer), which has taken an isiZulu suffix /-i/. A fully re-negotiated word is uinfluensi (the influence) that shows both prefix and suffix of isiZulu. An Afrikaans conjunction 'maar' has been renegotiated to fit the African language syllable system to 'mara'. The use of four language systems (isiZulu, English and to a lesser extent, xiTsonga, and Afrikaans) in this conversation shows that these youth have expanded their linguistic identities in such fluid multilingual space. This display of multi-layered and versatile identities reflects a social harmonization of languages and identities in a manner that defies conventional separation of languages (Makalela, 2009). Within the translanguaging framework, this represents yet another case of fluid languaging practices and an embodiment of a township complex identity construction among the youth.

The participants' conversations also showed how fabrics of different languages can be used to serve specific purposes in talk in interaction. This is exemplified in Extract 3 below:

Extract 3:

Researcher: how did you guys learn to speak the different languages that you speak?

*Meme: Nna from ngisakhula and we used to travel a lot re *changa dipleke so akidula plekeng e so sangikhuluma *i-language lena mangiya kwenye kanjalo.*

(For me it began as I grew up I used to travel a lot from one place to another, so the language I spoke varied from place to place I lived in.)

Meme is illustrating her use of multiple language systems within a short stretch of talk. She is performing two things: answering the question that was posed to the group and illustrating the answer through her speech. As observed with Khatisa in Extract 2 above, Meme also begins the talk by establishing her primary identity as a Sepedi speaker when she says 'nna' (I) then moves to English, 'from', isiZulu, 'ngisakhula' (when I grew up) and then the following languaging order: English, Sepedi, isiZulu/English, Afrikaans/Sepedi, English, Sepedi, Afrikaans/Sepedi, English, isiZulu, isiZulu/English and isiZulu. Within one sentence, she made selections of all language forms available at her disposal, all of which display a mobile and versatile identity construction. Moreover, Meme shows similar use of African language prefix and suffix systems to localize English vocabulary such as *chang-a (change and *plek-eng (place). This is a prime example of translanguaging where multiple languages have become enmeshed in one extended code. In doing so, she establishes a social relationship with other speakers who share similar rules of interpretation. Nipel (2006) argues that the relationship that the speakers have with one another and their attitudes to the topics under discussion affect the language choice in the conversation. Language is acquired for its usefulness, and because it is a form of expression of the self, it not only serves as social capital, but as a marker of identity.

Using a more heteroglossic approach to language, Garcia (2011) explains multilingualism as talk in interaction, language as doing. Heteroglossic approaches to language posit that fabrics of different languages can be used in coexistence with another in a single language (Makalela, 2013a). How and when people talk or speak, illustrates not just social behavior, but the role-play of social norms and the construction of social activities. In the case of Meme, fluid identities are reflected both at word (vocabulary) and word order (syntax) and clearly depict what Kachru (1985) refers to as 'creative bilingualism' or an ability to juggle between various linguistic systems in a single utterance.

The next discourse practices observed in the data is the social contexts and extended constructions of ethno-linguistic identities. Meme's extract below confirms the diversity, variability in features in language, to show how continuous in nature ethnic identity within a cluster of languages:

Extract 4:

Meme (sePedi sa Pretoria): Nna ke moPedi ehmm, mara like aka golela, like a retswe Limpopo, retswa ko Mpumalanga ko Denilton then from Denilton to Pitori so ka kgolela ko Pitori then ka bua language tsa ko Pitori. Then ka tla kamo, then ha ke etla kamo..erhmm, hona le dilanguage tse dingata like Zulu, se Xhosa, Tswana, Tshangaan, Vhenda and all that. Then ka bua seZulu wa bona, then le batho ba ne ke bua seZulu le bona ba ntshega bare oh hase sharp sa beda

(I am Pedi, emm, but I did not grow up in Limpopo, we come from Danilton then from Denilton to Pretoria, then I speak languages from Pretoria. Then I came here, errm, there are so many different languages like Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana, Tshangaan, Vhenda and all that. Then I speak their Zulu, then the people I speak Zulu with laugh at me, they say I don't speak it properly)

Meme (sePedi sa Pretoria): so ntse ke thobeha ke bua le ko ntlong ha ke bua Sepedi se la se sedeeep se la wa bo'='

(So I go on and speak I speak deep Sepedi you see)

Researcher: =hmm=

Meme (sePedi sa Pretoria): ke bua se sa ko Pitori vele=

(I speak the Pretoria one obviously)

Meme introduces herself as a sePedi speaker but immediately connects this language to its context. Ethnicity is not just the human aggregate who share similar socio-cultural characteristics (Makihara, 2010), these characteristics are relative to place, time and situation (Garcia, 2010). According to the recent results from the census (Census, 2011), 52.9% of people in Limpopo are mother tongue sePedi speakers, and Meme asserts her ethnic authenticity by explaining where she grew up. This was particularly important in this focus group because I had already explained to the group my ethno-linguistic history including the fact that I too am a mother tongue sePedi speaker from Limpopo. Her comments above can therefore be understood in relation to her impression that I am a sePedi speaker from Limpopo and would immediately be able pick up her code-mixing sePedi with seTswana with a distinct Pretoria accent. This is a well known urban dialect of sePedi known as Pretoria sePedi or Pretoria seTswana/ sePedi.

Pretoria sePedi is a good example of the distinction between linguistic identity and ethnicity. Meme's extract gives us an interesting aspect to linguistic identity and the fluid nature of Sotho languages (Sesotho, Sepedi, Setswana) in the country. She is using these languages that are apparently separate as one entity for communication.

Meme's case is also an example of the impact of context on ethnolinguistic identity. When language groups share an environment, there is a tendency to construct a form of linguistic adaptation that is unique to that group (Makihara, 2010). Meme's traveling around has not only exposed her to other languages but also to different ways that languages are used and different language varieties. The use of sePedi and seTswana in the particular way that she uses them, links the specificity of language to context in that rural Danilton at the periphery of Mpumalanga is far more linguistically conservative as a rural context, than Pretoria which is a more urban context with more linguistic diversity.

When trying to define mother tongue and analyzing its complex nature in the evidence presented, it is observed that mother tongue shifts and intergenerational language retention are two competing phenomena and have implications for the survival and life of indigenous languages. Often times it has been argued that younger generations should learn and practice their mother tongues, and very rarely do these arguments consider the changing dynamics of the social spheres in which young people engage with unique language usage. Language use must be understood as a repository of culture (Spencer, 1999), but culture is in constant fluctuation. Caution must be exercised as aspects such as mother tongue are not just tools for self-identification with the ethnic community, but also serves as an interactional tool beyond the ethnolinguistic community. This means that language is altered and modified to fit boundaries beyond the ethnic community at the same time as it is a concrete marker of identity boundaries.

Extract 5:

Meme (sePedi s Pretoria): Like ha ngata neh, ke ntho e le e buang ko ntlong. Mazulu ba bua seZulu ko bona ko familing ya bona kao fela. Then la bua le bue le bue le bue. Then when you go oute o etswa le chomie tsa hao, o tloela language ya ko heno ko gaiting o nke language e ngwe then o bua le ona. Then o kgutlela hape

ko ntlong o bua langugae yako heno. Like ke ntho e eleng always e le teng ko lona. Like gore o e tlokgele ha eo that simple even though oe senya moo le moo.

(Like most of the time it's the language that you speak when you are at home. Zulus speak their Zulu with their families only, then you talk, talk, talk and talk. Then when you go out with your friends you leave your home language at home and take another language. Then you go back at home and pick up the home language from where you left it. Like it's something that is always there at your house. Like to leave it is not that simple even though you may not be able to speak it here and there.)

A very under-researched and taken for granted area of multilingualism is the negotiating of a sense of self between what socio-politics dictate about ethno-lingualism and being multilingual. Albeit these learners come from disadvantaged backgrounds and their social context is still very much the consequence of the apartheid regime, they are living in a contemporary society saturated with multiple ways of being and these multiple ways of seeing oneself in the world are communicated through language. For these young people living in Soweto, are at an advantage in their command of a diverse linguistic vocabulary. This necessitates a much more contemporary way of looking at ethno-linguistic identity, where young multilingual people have more flexibility in their formation of ethno-linguistic identity and theoretically extending the complexities of identities beyond myopia of linguistic units (Makalela, 2009).

What the data has shown thus far is that given the flexibility of language and identity in the twenty first century, even the language perceived to be oppressive is used in communication through code-switching and code-borrowing. This highlights the way people modify language to express how their identities fit into society, and in this case that society is inclusive of English, therefore their languaging is inclusive of English.

5.3 Themes

The following themes speak to the lived experiences of the learners in relation to language. It speaks to their identities as multilingual speakers, attitudes towards

English, attitudes towards indigenous languages, and how they negotiate a sense of themselves using the different languages they speak.

5.3.1 My Mother-Father Tongue

The concept of mother tongue has always been one that is complex to explore, increasingly in multilingual settings such as Soweto. As times change in society people construct new ways of being and new ways of talking about themselves and others (Fishman, 1971; Fishman and Garcia, 2010). The way relationships and families are constructed has also changed and this influences traditional ways of defining the self (Fishman and Garcia, 2010). Mother tongue as the language that the child first acquires, sometimes called the first language is often a marker of ethnicity as well (Fishman and Garcia, 2010). This theme was derived from the data as the learners were trying to make sense of what a mother tongue is and how this links to ethnicity.

The learners' of relationships with their parents speaks to a view that mother tongue is disrupted by contemporary family structures. The phenomenon of absent fathers in South Africa (Richter and Morrel, 2006) has had consequences for how young people define themselves ethnically and linguistically. The family structure is changed by relationships with parents as traditionally the African family structure was constructed mono-linguistically as marriage took place between or amongst clans, but the clans had a common language. Thus even though mother tongue is the tongue of the mother, ethnic identity is derived from the father's side. One had an ethnic identity which was linked to language identity. The absenteeism of the father has now shifted how young people define mother tongue to be. The twenty first century family structure is less rigid with an increasing number of parents who are not living together. This has given rise to more children assuming the maternal surname and assuming their mother's ethnic identity. One of the participants, Malinga, explains how this has affected his 'mother tongue' and ethnic identity.

Extract 6:

Malinga (isiZulu): Mina ngoMalinga, basically ngingumXhosa kodwa la esikoleni ngaziwa ngokuthi ngiwumZulu

((laughter))

(I am Malinga, in actual fact I am a Xhosa but then here at school I am known to be Zulu.)

Researcher: Okay, why?

Malinga (isiZulu): Ngikhuluma isiZulu esikhathini esiningi.

(I speak isiZulu most of the time.)

*Malinga (isiZulu): *Ja, ngikhulele kaMama*

(Yes, I grew up with my mother)(*Afrikaans word for yes)

Researcher: aha

Malinga (isiZulu): azange ngahlala nobaba.

(I never stayed with my father)

Researcher: hmmm

Malinga (isiZulu): That is why ngikwazi ukukhuluma isiZulu.

(That's why I can speak isiZulu.)

Malinga identifies ethnically as 'Xhosa' because his father is Xhosa, but his mother tongue is IsiZulu, the language of his mother. Ethnolinguistic identity is a social construct like other identities in which one has a degree of agency to alter ascribed characteristics (Makihara, 2010). But another participant, Zakhele, explains these shifts as follows:

Extract 7:

Zakhele (isiZulu) ng'cela ukuphendula kancane sometimes it happens ukuthi your mother is Zulu and your father is Sotho, ok you speak most, you speak mostly Zulu right, but you refer yourself as a Sotho, it differs on the relationship that you have with your parents, actually, coz you might live with your mom but wena kahle kahle uzwana no baba uyabona, like ubaba and ubaba ukulum' is'Zulu and umama wum'Sotho. So ok, maseskhuluma nga ma language uzothi um'Sotho because iredationship yakho between wena no baba hiyo eright uyabona, so ja sometimes singasho kanjalo, but thina, mina as a Zulu I go with iside laka baba.

(Sometimes it happens that your mother is Zulu and your father is Sotho, ok you speak most, you speak mostly Zulu right, but you refer yourself as a Sotho, it differs on the relationship that you have with your parents, actually, coz, you might live with your mom but you really get along with your father, you see, like your father speaks Zulu and your mom is Sotho. So ok, when we talk about languages you will say you're Sotho because your relationship with your father is the one that's good you see, so sometimes we say it like that, but we, me as a Zulu I go with my father's side)

Zakhele's explanation captures the emotive component of ethnolinguistic identity. Relationships with parents seem to be at the core of this identity and of language use. The above cases are exemplary of generational shifts in ethnolinguistic identity. Changes in the family structure and the environment, in which the family is situated, are central factors that drive fluidity in ethnolinguistic identity.

Below is an extract from another highly multilingual adolescent, which depicts the complexity of ethno-linguistic identity when families come from multilingual backgrounds.

Extract 8:

Ali (Arabic but speaks here in isiZulu): neh, mina ku-mixed kakhulu efamilini yami. Kuna ma-Arab, like eside-ini likha baba'mi kuna ma-Arab khona. Side-ini likha mama'mi ngathini, umkhulu wakhe, yi-Indian uyabona?

(myself, it's very mixed in my family. There are Arabs like in my father's side of the family there are Arabs, on my mother's side, how can I say this, her grandfather is an Indian you see?)

Researcher: hmm

Ali (Arabic but speaks here in isiZulu): so manje mina ngivele ngadopa from lang' thole khona

(So now I picked up from wherever they left off)

Ali's identity is highly complex as he comes from a family that crosses barriers of 'race', religion and language. He identifies himself as an Arabic speaker because of his Islamic faith. This is a very rare occurrence in the black South African community of Soweto. This language can only be used in the confines of the small ratio of people that speak it; in this case, his family and the Islamic faith community. He cannot use this language to communicate with his school peers. He uses Zulu to communicate with his peers as the dominant language amongst his peers, school and community. His extract above also displays the limited extent to which one can exercise agency in choosing the features and practices to assume as a member of an ethnic group (Garcia, 2011), given the generational diversity. Ali's case alerts us to the taken for granted factors such as a racialized history within South African families. It is clear that mother tongue language is still to a large extent influenced by family history and relationships between parents as is also depicted below in Rotondwa's explanation of her family history.

Extract 9:

Researcher: so tell me about your mother tongues, or mother tongue, how do you identify it?

Rotondwa (Vhenda): it's difficult to choose, my granny is Zulu, then my mom is Tsonga and then we got Vhendas. So when I grew up, I had friends that are Vhenda speaking and then Zulu I learnt from the house, like, they used to speak to us in Zulu, sometimes in Tsonga, so that's how we grew up. And basically the people around us influenced me.

Rotondwa was explaining how she got to be multilingual in her definition of mother tongue but as having a Vhenda ethnic identity. Like Ali, her family history and relationships she had with a close group of people influenced how she can cut between linguistic barriers. When asked, she had the following to say:

Extract 10:

Researcher: hm. Ok. So if I ask you what is your mother tongue? What would that be?

Rotondwa (Venda): TshiVenda

Researcher: ok. How do you define it? How do you define in the different languages that you speak, which one is your mother tongue? That's the question I'm asking.

((laughter))

Rotondwa: I think it's the language that you mostly speak at home.

Rotondwa has a specific way of defining what mother tongue is. Because she is so multilingual and comes from a multilingual family, she does not see it necessary to choose one. When forced to choose, she immediately categorises herself as a TshiVhenda mother tongue speaker, which is the language she learnt from her friends. Her case shows that people reach a point when they don't feel the need to make a choice about what their mother tongue is, especially if they value all the languages they speak. Rotondwa grew up in an environment where she was exposed to all the languages she is multilingual in, and she does not seem to feel the need to differentiate them. This is the degree of multiplicity of being that we engage in in the twenty first century. There is less of a need to commit oneself to one thing as it can change at any instance. In the case of Soweto, it appears that the notions of 'mother tongue', 'first' and 'second' languages do not apply since these constructs assume monoglossic view of multilingualism where the sequence of acquisition of languages and identities is straightforward. Dynamic multilingual spaces of Soweto are interpreted within translanguaging model of extended linguistic codes beyond conventional language boundaries or marked linguistic identities expressions.

5.3.2 Township hierarchies of indigenous languages:

This section focuses on how mother tongue IsiZulu speakers use language to position themselves and others and use their ethnic identities to situate their multilingualism. Our focus here is on how multilingual IsiZulu mother tongue speakers view themselves as the labeled dominant ethnolinguistic group in Soweto. It has been noted from the first phase results that most of the students are verbally competent in IsiZulu. However what the statistics did not reveal was whether IsiZulu mother tongue speakers were at an equal level of multilingualism as the other indigenous language mother tongue speakers.

Vuyo below illustrates the Zulu language dominance.

Extract 11:

Vuyo (isiZulu): Like sometimes uyabo uma ngithanda ukufunda amanye amalanguages kuba nzima kimi, uyangithola...

(You see sometimes when I would like to learn other languages it becomes difficult, for me... do you get me?)

Researcher: Why?

Vuyo (isiZulu): 'cause uyamlalela umuntu wakhona akhuluma then ukhreme but then mawusuhamba uthi ukwelinye iside mhlambe usuthi ukhuluma nomngani wakho uthola yena uyasiyazi isiSotho noma enye ilanguage, then uthi uyazama wena lapho, uyaphrathiza ukuthi nawe ukwazi , akuhleke uyangithola. Iyo-ke into egcina ngiyenza ukuthi ngingabi nendaba namanye amalanguage.

(It's very difficult for me 'cause you can listen to a person speaking the language you like to learn you then cram it but then when you go somewhere else and you try talking with a friend who knows that language, for instance Sotho or another language, so to practice it so that you learn the language, they will laugh at you that's the thing that makes me uninterested in learning other languages.)

Researcher: How many languages, o bua how many languages wena?

(How many languages, how many languages do you speak?)

Vuyo (isiZulu): Mina?

(Me?)

Laughter

Vuyo (isiZulu): *Yoh one!*

((laughter))

Researcher (seTswana even though she is a sePedi mother tongue speaker): *How is that possible? ho kgonahala bjang?*

(How is that possible?)

Vuyo (isiZulu): *Ibeke eceleni i-English [laughter], ibekele eceleni i-English!*

(Leave English out of this, just leave it out.)

Vuyo (isiZulu): *but lawa amanye angizihluphi ngawo...*

(But these other languages I don't bother myself.)

((Laughter))

This extracts shows an attitude of isiZulu speakers in multilingual context as the least group who would use other languages despite their full competence in these languages. Zakhele claims that he is afraid that people will laugh at him if he is not properly pronouncing words from other African languages, but he does not feel the same about mispronouncing English words. At one level, this attitude may be explained as an occurrence of the perfectionist traits of amaZulu who would prefer not to make mistakes in their attempts at new languages. At another level, this may be read as a reflection of speaker pride. The latter is demonstrated further as a reflection of feelings of feeling superior to non-mother tongue isiZulu speakers as revealed in Extract 12 below:

Extract 12:

Zakhele (isiZulu): *ok guys one other thing is Zulu is the most simplest language*

Zakhele (isiZulu): *yazi khukhona into enjani neh? Ok, ikanje lento, as I'm a Zulu neh, erh is'Tsonga angikwazi ukus'khuluma but ngiyakwazi ukukuzwa, so nawe you should meet me halfway coz ngiyakwazi ukukhuzwa that's why ng'khwazi ukuk'phendula, yabona*

(You know how it is? It's like this, I'm a Zulu, I cannot speak Tsonga but I do understand it. So you should also meet me halfway because I can understand you which is why I can respond to you, you see?)

The above extracts illustrate the dominance high status languages have. Both Vuyo and Zakhele come from isiZulu backgrounds where both their parents are Zulu speakers. Vuyo disregards all other languages and is proud to identify himself as monolingual, besides the fact that he can speak English and other African languages in his community. Both Vuyo and Zakhele's language use when answering questions in the focus group depict how comfortable with they are with their identities as isiZulu born speakers. We can also observe how there is a little code-switching or translanguaging in Vuyo's answers as compared to Meme's. There is a high sense of ethnic pride in Vuyo's confidence in his monolingualism which is evident in how he asserts the uncontested status of his ethno-linguistic identity as a mother tongue isiZulu speaker. The dominance of isiZulu is linked to the degree of multilingualism. In fact, the more dominant the language, the less the group members of that language find it necessary to learn other languages. They are then more predisposed to being monolingual.

These hierarchies amongst indigenous languages show that there is a performativity of ethno-linguistic identity. There are languages that play themselves out as linguistically and ethnically superior, and there are others that are awarded lower status. IsiZulu is one of the most highly spoken languages by none-mother tongue speakers. People learn how to speak dominant languages to fulfill their communication needs (Garcia, 2011). By contrast, Meme as a sePedi speaker, a lower status language in Soweto, speaks of her attempts to use isiZulu in Extract 11 below:

Extract 13:

Meme (sePedi sa Pretoria): ke rato ho, seZulu ka serata ka serata like ha holo, but then san'hloa but then ka fosta, so ntho eo nketsa ke be like more, ke kene mo dilanguaging tse dingwe haholo

(I love to, I love Zulu like a lot, but then I cannot speak it and I force to, that forces me to try to learn these languages even more)

She indicates her desire to speak IsiZulu and her appreciation of the language. There seems to be a linguistic conflict between sePedi speakers and isiZulu speakers in

urban contexts. This conflict however is not between two dominant ethno-linguistic groups as evidenced in phase one of the study, as isiZulu leads in geographical spread than sePedi which is spoken by a very small amount of people in the two research sites. The conflict is about who speaks whose language better and the use of correct accents when speaking the languages. This idea of conflict between languages is indicative of how languages spread and how people are also gate keepers of how languages should be spoken in society.

The geographical spread of isiZulu shows a move away from the Bantustan ethnic segregation imposed by the apartheid regime. It is a move away from how languages were spread out as clans before colonialism and how the colonizers mistook these clans for nations as geographical borders were not necessarily linguistic- the invention of the nation state. The provincial borders that are now in place are also not necessarily in the strictest sense linguistic as they were designed to be by colonizers, but they exist as a function of the exercise of power by authorities. This is especially observable in places such as Gauteng where people migrate from different places in the country and the world. From this, we see that where people are, they move around with language, and this is how languages get spread, compete and govern spaces.

The development of language in time means that there are some aspects of language that are left behind, modified or sustained. When language is passed on from one generation to the other, it is passed on using the standard that older generations used to language. Mbali and Vuyo are mother tongue isiZulu speakers who are now struggling with not being able to move out of their Zulu linguistic barriers.

Extract 14:

Vuyo(isiZulu): Umama wami nobaba wami amaZulu boyi-2, so angeke ngizihluphe ngokuthi ngiyazi enye into but ngiyathanda mina kwelami side ngiyabona ukuthi iyasizana le nto leyo.

(My mother and father are both Zulu, so I won't bother learning other languages, but on my side I like it I can see how useful it is)

Researcher: hmm=

Vuyo (isiZulu): = Abaningi abatholanga leyo-chance from abazali bethu uyabo ukuthi bona abazali bakudala ukuthi bafunde. Then amaZulu amaningi athola

ichance ukuthi agcwale ngapha, baza ngapha. Manje abafundanga labuntu laba abanayo i-education. So that's why mawefika la mawu khuluma naye kube ngathi, kube nzima kuye uku-understanda 'cause ak'sizinto ezijwayekile, so mina angibhlemi lokhu ukuthi umZulu uwrong. (Most of them did not get the chance to get education from their parents or their grandparents who themselves received no education. That is why when you talk to a person it becomes difficult for that person to understand what you saying because it is not what he is used to it. So I don't blame Zulu's for that.)

Lebohang (seSotho speaker but here she is speaking in isiZulu): Bengifuna ukuthi, hhayi, uthi abekho stubborn but abathandi impi mara abayi avoidi. Makhunempi bayaya nje=

(I just wanted to say, he say's Zulus' are not stubborn and don't like fighting however they do not avoid fights, they go for fights.)

Extract 15:

Vuyo (isiZulu): =Uyabona umugelezile ufundile ntombazana uyakwazi ukubona impi uthi hhayi kwamele ngi-avoide kanje nakanje uze ne-solution into i-solveke fast charks but uma ungafundanga kube nzima sometimes cause uyibona seyila eduze into then soyayimela manje

(You see if you are educated girl, you are able to see that you have to do this and that to avoid fights you come with solutions and matters are resolved swift and fast. But if you are uneducated it becomes difficult because you only realize matters late then one is forced to confront matters head on.)

Researcher (sePedi): Anybody else who comes from a mono-lingual household whose parents are both maybe ke BaSotho or ke ba eng, whatever?

(Is there anybody else whp comes from a monolingual household whose parents are both, maybe Sotho or something else, whatever?)

Mbali (isiZulu): Yebo Hhimi Boyi-2 umama nobaba wami bakhuluma isiZulu I find it difficult ngoba uma ngivulela i-radio uthola kuthi ngifaka i-english, uthi ngifake isiZulu...

(Yes it's me both my mother and father are Zulu speakers I thus find it difficult when I turn on the radio and put on an English radio station because I will be told to switch the radio to a Zulu station...)

The data above presents a different kind of a complex phenomenon to the dominance of isiZulu that can be transferred to other indigenous languages. When ethnic groups pass on values, principles, and traditions that characterise and distinguish the group from other ethnic groups, the generational gap and social applicability of their core practices and values (Makihara, 2010) are overlooked and an expectation is raised on newer generations to carry out these values. However, the above extracts enlighten us to two unexplored dimensions; namely, that the original values of isiZulu are still maintained by newer generations in the ethnic group given that they are modified to suit the social sphere in which these newer generations socialise, and secondly, older generations as gatekeepers of standard forms of language use and discouragement of the use of other languages other than isiZulu are a result of perhaps assimilation into current social realities which would help them understand and tolerate other languages.

5.3.3 Multilingualism as social capital

This section focuses on the instrumental use of multilingualism as social capital and demonstrates multilingualism in use. This section maintains that there is no alternative when living in a multilingual setting such as Soweto, than to be multilingual, and expose oneself to the ways that others use language. An important aspect of identity formation is that is a function of relations with the other. We construct a sense of self with the other in mind as an audience, we survive not just ourselves but the other, and we approve of who we are because the other approves of who we are (Bauman, 2001). We can only know who the other is or what the other's positions are as a self in society through language as the central tool and symbol of expression. Below are extracts illustrating how these young people view the importance of being multilingual.

Extract 16:

Meme (sePedi sa Pretoria): Ge o tsamaya ko strateng o thola batho ba bua language eo o sa etsebeng, o thola gore o tlo feela awkward obvious gore waitsi ba banseba ba bua ka nna,so o xena o kwata o lwanela ntho eo a sae tsebeng so it's better language gore le ga ba bua o kgone go communicater le bona,o kile wa bona?.

(When you walk around the street you find people who speak different languages that you might not understand and when you don't you feel as though they are saying something negative about you so because you don't understand you get upset and start fighting them for something you have no understanding of, thus, it is better to be multilingual to communicate better.)

Lebohang (seSotho): Ska o ile ko salon o le ngwanyana, hao thola o fihla ho nale ba buang seShangan, most of all ne, ke moSotho ke utlwa seZulu, so ha ba bua yoh, ene ba bua non-stop so o nale ho feela sometimes hore really ba bua kang, se o nahanile dintho tse dingwe. So ho important hore o tsebe dilanguage tse dingwe.

(For instance, you're a girl, you go to the salon to do your hair and find there are others that speak Shangaan and I'm Sotho and can only hear Zulu so when they talk yoh and considering the fact that they talk non-stop so sometimes you wonder what they're really talking about and think a lot so it is very important to learn and know different languages.)

The utterances by Meme and Lebohang capture what makes multilingualism such a vital attribute for these adolescents. They are at the prime of identity formation and have a heightened sense of what might be called “street credibility”. Multilingualism is a determining factor of whether one is part of the out-group or the in group in social circles. It is a tool they use to navigate their acceptability into different social circles. The value that social actors put in to the act of languaging itself as illustrated in the extracts is what makes multilingualism a social capital (Coleman, 1998). As social actors, the adolescents in this study depend on their multilingualism to get access to other social groups. Social groups impact one another either positively or negatively through language. However, if the social groups understand one another's languages regardless of degree of multilingualism, there is little negative impact on

the social groups and therefore little conflict and more social cohesion (Tajfel, 1978, 1974). This is realizable especially if multilingualism is understood in terms of translanguaging (Garcia, 2011), where code-switching is assumed to be the use of fabrics of different languages into one fluid entity (Garcia, 2011). This idea of the perception of multiple languages as one is illustrated below in Abram's extract.

Extract 17:

*Abram (seSotho): ... *eintlik re tlamehile re utlwisane kaofela hore re kgone ho bua
**dilanguage tse different eseng e one*

(Actually we all have to understand one another in order to use different languages not just one)

*** The word marked by an asterisk is an Afrikaans word, mostly used in Tsotsi/Kasi taal (language).**

Abram demonstrates a complex use of language. His extract is a move between Sesotho which is his mother tongue, Afrikaans, which is used in context as the language of the street (Kasi Taal), and English. He is doing this while making a point that in order for people to understand one another, to avoid conflict caused by misunderstanding, one must be multilingual. He makes selections of words and uses certain fabrics from different languages. Multilingualism has a function in a multilingual society as a tool of social cohesion. By being able to understand what others are saying and being able to respond in a language that they can understand helps people to be included in daily conversations. People are also able to navigate between different spaces.

The use of language not only differs contextually but on a gendered level. Language in Soweto is explained to be about "image". This is more especially important in adolescents who are still going through identity formation (Friedman & Schustack, 2005). This phenomenon is particularly noticeable in responses from the boys in the focus group, as Vuyo comments below:

Extract 18:

Vuyo (isiZulu): Mina ngithi kungcono kuye ngoba intombazana uyabo, like thina singabafana bheke lo uhleka ukuthi ngiyakhuluma manje. Le nto le iphathana kabi uyabo lo muntu engihleli naye eceleni kwami ayikho-right, nasesikolweni angikwazi

ukukhuluma uyabo. Like kungcono mangisekhaya nasekhaya futhi, abekho right like abafana bayabhayizisana esikhathini esiningi. So that's why ngingakwazi ukufunda, at least uma ngingama ntombazana uyabo.

(I say it is better for her because she is a girl. You see, unlike us as boys. Look at him he is laughing because I am talking)

((laughter))

(This thing makes one feel bad you see this person I am sitting next to he is not right, even at school I can't talk its better when I am at home but then even home it's the same. Boys are not good. They make you make mistakes at most times. So that's why I cannot learn other languages, its better when I am with girls.)

For Vuyo, learning other languages is a problem because as a boy he feels like he cannot show weakness and vulnerability. Vuyo is a mother tongue isiZulu speaker and thus his street credibility does not necessarily depend on his mastering of other languages. However he is aware of the instrumental nature of being multilingual. His incorrect use of other language may compromise his position as a high rank member of the in-group (Tajfel, 1978). He makes reference to how it is much better to be a girl in the position of using language incorrectly. Boys have a harder time maintaining their masculinity in the context of ridicule. As shown in the extract, it appears to be more about their male egos than the incorrect use of the languages themselves. They are trying to maintain a cool image as they mature into men. However, further evidence shows that intersecting with masculinity is the idea of the discomfort induced by teasing from that language's mother tongue speakers.

Boys restrict themselves to learning predominantly the influential language in the community and the language associated with masculinity. Research has shown that males tend to use more prestigious forms of language whilst the females are more flexible in their use of language (Labov, 1990). Below Nina outlines the South African townships realities of the gendered image of language use.

Extract 19:

Nina (isiZulu): Nakhona nina abafana ne, nikhuluma le language yasestradini
(But then there is a language that is spoken by you boys' on the streets)

Vuyo (isiZulu): Isitsotsi=

(Tsotsi-taal)

Nina (isiZulu): =Ja isitsotsi. At least -ke iyo-ke mhlabe mawungakhuluma nami ngeke ngifike ngithi ngumSotho noma ngumZulu kanje ngifike ngizokhuluma nomSotho... mangiqala ukukhuluma...

(Yes 'itsotsi. At least it's a language you come talk with me, I won't as a Sotho or as since I am a Zulu and just speak Sotho... when I start speaking....)

'Tsotsi taal' and now known as 'Kasi taal' is a language that thrives in the townships amongst men (Bembe and Beukes, 2007). This is mainly because tsotsi as used in the context of tsotsitaal, is mainly known to be male, a streetwise guy. This is also a person that is respected amongst his township community members. This is the most famous street language in most township residences and the most favourite amongst men. It finds its origins in the mines which were predominantly male and has carried its status as the language of the street that men used throughout generations. This language, as illustrated in Vuyo's extract, is the preferred language to the standard forms of languages. It is a mixture of indigenous languages with chiefly Afrikaans. We can see how languages of power have always been mixed with indigenous languages in multilingual settings. This illustrates how intertwined language is with an understanding of the self. In this connection, it is the power that accompanies 'tsotsi taal' that attracts its use amongst young boys. It is rough, tough and masculine.

For one to fit in to society, there needs to be a heightened sense of self that is both fluid and versatile. The use of tsotsi-taal shows how much mutually unintelligible languages can be woven together into one unit. Understanding of the self cuts back and forth between linguistic boundaries and the designated domains. The designations of languages, the compartmentalisation of languages as separate autonomus entities, which is the play of power dynamics inherently, are the central factors to the production/construction of fractured selves.

5.3.4 Power and 'Race'

This theme explores the power struggles between English and indigenous languages by using evidence from young people to argue that in a South African context language struggles reflect races and classes. The youngsters below speak about

attitudes to English. They are responding to comments about the low usage of English in the classrooms because their teachers code-switch a lot.

Extract 20:

Thandeka (xiTsonga): I believe, I believe that English erh, should be taught every day because it's the medium of instruction. In each and every subject every subject, we're using English except for Vernac so I believe everyone must try to speak English.

Ali (Arabic): oh. I wanted to say that ((laughter)). English, it is important, like now, but this English, it is making us to lose our, our traditions and our cultures. Its's not a choice, it has become compulsory I can say because for you to get job you have to know how to communicate in English, so if you don't know how to communicate in English you won't be employed.

The learners understand that being an English speaker has implications far beyond the classroom. Even though they may not consider themselves to be English speakers in the sense that they will not say “I am an English speaker”, they do consider themselves to be English users. Thandeka and Ali’s responses above reveal ambivalent attitudes towards the language. English is known to be the language of employment and upward social mobility (Kanno and Norton, 2003). English is a language forced on to them through colonialism.

Extract 21:

Zakhele: eh, kuna lento ek'thiwa yi ((inaudible at 15min 05sec)) mele uzazi ukuthi uyaphi, ? Ya, thina si nga khuluma is'lungu, then go home, nas'endlini bafike bakhulume is'lungu, then wena as an individual, where do you put yourself? Coz umele, you need ukuthi, ok I'm a Zulu, ok I can talk English in any way and anyhow, but this is, this is who I am a Zulu speaking person. I use English to communicate with other people. Not then to live with English I don't [see why]

(There's this thing/saying that you need to know where you're going, see? Yes, we can speak English and then get home and they also speak English, then you go home, then when you get home you can speak English too, then you as an individual, where do you put yourself? 'cause you have to, you need to, ok I'm a Zulu,...)

Zakhele's utterances do not refute the power associated with being an English speaker, but he rejects it as an identity marker of who he is. This is an interesting dynamic of power relations because even though most of the learners had a set idea of what their ethno-identities are, they did not reject other indigenous languages as part of who they are, even as non-mother tongue speakers of those languages. One can insinuate that this rejection of English as an identity marker is resultant of the inherent social inequality of English in post-colonial states. There are higher chances of one progressing in the socio-economic sphere if they are proficient in English, whilst those who are English illiterate are subject to poverty because English is the language of opportunities. English carries power as the language of production (Tofellson, 1991; Alexander, 2004).

Zakhele makes a very important point which outlines the dual identities that exist between being an English speaker and indigenous language speaker. This reflects how individuals are socialized into languages, that English and indigenous languages are opposite sides of the language continuum. It is an either or clash of identities because isiZulu and English are constructed as two conflicting social discourse communities (Makalela, 2005) with a continuous language policing that further entrenches boundaries between languages.

Perhaps one of the biggest contributors to unemployment in South Africa is the low level of education, and English proficiency. The extracts below outlines this problem.

Extract 22:

Ali: no, no there are people who are not learned, who are, who live in rural areas, you know. Those people it becomes hard for them, for example mang'a buza, khon'umuntu o tole e license like, angithi manje makh'mele uyobalela ilearners iEnglish le elaphaya, ikhona ilearners eza nges'Zulu?

(For example, let me ask, is there a person who has received their license...because now if you have to write your learners it's in English. Is there a learners' test in Zulu?)

Ali: ayikho neh? Which means that person o hlala laphaya ekhaya eyilaleni he won't get ilearners coz he doesn't know iEnglish.

(It doesn't exist right? Which means that a person who lives in the rural areas will not get his learner's license because he doesn't know English)

Even though Ali's statement is incorrect, his point is trying to illustrate Pierre Bourdieu's concept of "symbolic violence" (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990). The power awarded to English is the use of language to create certain social classes in society (Weber, 1984). For those who are English and Afrikaans 'illiterate', opportunities to be active in the formal economic sector are limited. South Africa is a prime example of systematic inequality through linguistic oppression where the majority are mother tongue speakers of indigenous languages and the minority are mother tongue speakers of English and Afrikaans. This systematic symbolic violence is argued by Zakhele below.

Extract 23:

Zakhele (isiZulu): ... So guess what, I'm an Afrikaner, Afrikaans speaker neh, right, and I come across a question paper then again it's written in English and Afrikaans and Afrikaans is my home language and English is just the language that I use at school, so I, ngizo yi understand-a better. Better than you as a black person 'cause wena you are a Zulu, you speak English at school and learn Afrikaans, you see? That's where, kuba ngathi thina as black people we are the ones who are slow learners or something...

(...so I will understand it better...better than you as a black person 'cause you are Zulu...that's where it looks like we as black people are slow learners or something)

Zakhele makes a strong point when he argues that the white populace is at an advantage as the language of the economy is also their mother tongue. Therefore language policies should focus on making indigenous languages of the economy such that the incorporation of indigenous languages in the education sector is constructed with the utility of these languages in a broader sphere of society. For English and Afrikaans mother tongue speakers in South Africa, the vast majority of whom are white, language continues in different spheres (private, social, educational and economic), and they do not have the problem of conflicting dual identities because they use the same language in all spheres of life. This depicts how language

plays a central role in organizing and reproducing institutions and further entrenching racial segregation in South Africa. The connection of race and socio-economic status continues to deepen as English not only advantages certain racial categories, but deepens the enclave development of the nation as a whole where the poor keep getting poorer and the rich richer. While the power dynamics between English (and to a lesser extent Afrikaans) and indigenous languages goes beyond issues of ethnicity and identity, it has direct effects on the socio-political climate of the country.

5.3.5 Ambivalence

In spite of much advocacy by the young South Africans for the importance of indigenous languages and multilingualism, there was still a lot of unresolved issues with regards to which language amongst the indigenous cluster has higher status or they would prefer as the common language.

The learners expressed a loss of self, ethnicity, and culture. This is illustrated by Dimakatso below.

Extract 24:

Dimakatso (seSotho): re shebe hobani, akere se ri adoptile English e, le bana ba rona se ba adoptile English e setho sa rona se tlo sala moraho

(We must observe, because we have adopted this English and our children have adopted this English our culture will get left behind)

Phulwani: we were colonised, we speak one language which is something we should try to put a stop uyabona? 'cause if you forget your roots, which means you have lost your own self

(You see because if you forget your roots....)

The above utterances are a move away from the much to be expected idealisation of English as the language of development and opportunities. The learners interrogated the power dynamic of English as the dominant language in society in relation to their languages of identity. The learners are explaining a sense of loss of belonging. In African cultures, language is associated with the place of birth, marking a heightened value of belongingness. The existence of a language is a story in itself as

it tells about the existence of a culture and the existence of a group of people (Fay, 1996). It is a way of life that has governed a group of people for a long time.

The power dynamics between English and indigenous languages in South Africa often creates anxiety in the minority languages (Tajfel, 1978). More so if the minority languages are the languages of the majority population such as in South Africa.

The following extract represents sentiments about a foreign language being forced onto people:

Extract 25:

Khatisa (xiTsonga speaker speaking here in isiZulu): angali neh, ichoice eyakho most of the time ukuthi ungayenzani but most of the times it's like manje, generation by generation we're being forced to something uyang'thola, as like for example lento ye English. Siyawa buza ama-culture ethu...ama-culture ethu ukuthi uyathanda or awuthandi uzob'u laphaya. Uyathanda or awuthandi, umlungu ma'kathi umsebenzi wam' ng'funa uyenze izinto zam nge English...

(I don't deny that the choice is yours most of the time it's like now, generation by generation we're being forced to something you understand. As for like example this English thing. We do ask about our cultures, our cultures, whether you like it or not you come from there. You like it or not the white person, when he gives you work he wants you do it in English)

When the constitution was formulated with eleven official languages, it was formulated to nurture an ideology of the rainbow nation, a conception of tolerance of differences. However, there is a gap between this constitution ideals and the historical power of English. The physical boundaries of apartheid were removed, but the psychological shackles tightened. The idealization of the “one language one nation state” is an inapplicable model of language in a country with a rich history of diversity (Makalela, 2005). There is a heightened sense of ambivalence in Khatisa's extract above. While at one hand the learners are aware of the utility of English in the future, they also feel a sense of loss because the utility of indigenous languages in higher education and the working world decrease.

By treating English as the language of liberation, in contrast with Afrikaans during the resolution of the apartheid regime, power was given to this language. The evidence of this power can be observed in South African mother tongue English speakers who are mostly monolingual nineteen years into the democracy. A very small number of the white population is bilingual, and an even smaller proportion is multilingual in South African languages. This implies that there are no policies, laws and regulations in place to enforce the eleven official languages. By implication when the constitution states that there are eleven official languages, it not only means that all the languages are equal, it implies that all the languages must share the chance of being used in all spheres of society, including the economic sector. The systematic prejudice of languages has been thoroughly exposed in this theme and advocacy for the recognition of indigenous languages cannot be further emphasised.

Learners tried to find solutions to multilingualism or how they would solve having too many languages at once. This question was asked despite the fact that the researcher was aware of how they are already enacting the solution through translanguaging. It was a sense making exercise for the learners. The learners expressed ambivalent attitudes towards the formalisation of indigenous languages as in the following extract:

Extract 26:

Zakhele (isiZulu): why can't you like have erh, question papers written in our language?

Ali (Arabic): at this stage as he's saying neh, njengoba abuzakanje it will be difficult for, it will be difficult for us to pass coz lama languages lawa they come with other words whereby you won't understand ukuthi kuyenzakalani

(As it is so difficult it will be difficult for us to pass 'cause these languages they come with other words whereby you won't understand what's going on)

After the expressions of loss with the continued excessive use of English, there is a sudden ambivalence about the formal use of indigenous languages to the extent that Zakhele is proposing is in the above extract. The way that indigenous languages are currently integrated into the formal education system, is such that they are being

taught in culturally irrelevant ways for the current generations. African languages are continuously treated as “pure” languages that should not be contaminated by time and space. This approach is responsible for the slow development of indigenous languages.

Therefore the integration of indigenous languages would have to be integrated from primary school level right through into tertiary education. This integration would fit into the current ministry of higher education’s mandate for scholars at tertiary level to do at least one indigenous language as part of their degree (Nzimande, 2012).

By introducing the indigenous language with rigor from early schooling, Ali’s problem of not understanding “some of the words” would be minimised. It also goes to educate the students not just about the languages, but their history. This is a crucial information border to cross as much of the ambivalence is driven by too much exposure to a curricula of British history of colonialism and little exposure of the history of indigenous languages in using indigenous languages; e.g the history of sePedi. A holistic approach to language education must include where the languages come from, providing the students with a foundation on to which they can view their languages and understand their development. This enriches identity as learners will get a deeper understanding of their world view.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter presented the results of the second phase of the study. It showed that navigation and expression of multiple identities was expressed through translanguaging phenomenon where fluid discursive resources are soft assembled and used to achieve social functions. In performing multilingualism, the participants showed strategies of embedding languages into other languages both within and between words in a continuous stretch of discourses. Regarding their metacognitive reflections on multilingual performances, the results showed high regard for discursive use of languages through a hybrid variety of the youth: kasi-taal, but also a dilemma between this extended linguistic code and the hegemony of English as a language of upward social mobility and sole language of instruction. The chapter ends with a the researcher’s reflexive note that identifies with the urban youth in their journey of discovering and re-discovering multiple selves through language and

opinions areas of future focus. The next chapter summarizes the major findings of the study and highlights areas of further research.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION, SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

The main aim of the study was to investigate the relationship between language, identity and attitudes of highly multilingual urban youth in Soweto high schools. This chapter provides summary of major findings, conclusions and recommendations for policy and further research.

6.2. Main findings and conclusions

The importance of education extends far beyond just its significance to the economic sector and development of a country, but also to the welfare of that society in general (Alexander, 2004). Education in this research project was not treated as an entity that functions in a specific space called ‘school’; it was approached from a holistic angle by extending it outside the boundaries of the school grounds to general society, recognising that learners do not stop being who they are, multilingual, just because the space that they occupy five out of seven days is officially monolingual. Multilingualism is an integral part of who these young people understand themselves to be; it is their identity.

Phase one gave a baseline description of language patterns of Black urban youth living in Soweto. The results showed that these young people are highly multilingual with all linguistic competencies in at least three languages, with a few even reporting proficiency in all eleven official South African languages. This indicated identity versatility. These learners come from communities that are highly multilingual, and families that are also multilingual. However, the learners reported residing in communities that predominantly spoke their mother tongues. Even though the ethnic segregation of apartheid has been scrapped, it seems that there has been little movement by residents between even within Soweto spaces. The learners seem to choose schools based not just on distance from home, but mainly on the formal teaching of what is classified as their mother tongues. This was observable in School One with a high prevalence of seSotho and isiZulu, while School Two had a high prevalence of xiTsonga and isiZulu, and to a lesser extent tshiVhenda.

One of the interesting findings was the high use of mother tongue in the home space. This confirms how native language speakers do play into “static maintenance syndrome” as explained by Alexander (2003: 6). The home is considered a private space and mother tongue represents the language of emotion. Therefore its exclusive use in the family space is not at all surprising. The family is also the space where older generations guard that language is used in a ‘standard’ form; this increases the exclusive use of mother tongue in the family space. However, mother tongue is also used beyond the family space in a less standard form with other languages to fulfil communicative needs in the highly multilingual social sphere.

Afrikaans was reported to be used in the playground. The playground represents an informal space in the school. This was a surprising finding as Afrikaans is not offered as a subject in either school in which the project took place. However, this was a good illustration of how language crosses boundaries. Afrikaans is used by these young people in the form of Kasi-taal. This kind of multilingualism can further be explained by the level of multilingualism that they are exposed to in the media as discussed in phase one. The young people enact and expand their multilingualism even through entertainment. For example, television proved to be the most popular form of media exposure for the young people. Their high degrees of multilingualism are maintained through watching programs in which at least six languages are spoken reflecting the multilingual social world. However, their reading was very monolingual and English. This was surprising as the learners should be able to read in at least two indigenous languages given that these languages are taught as subjects. What this tells us is that there is a gap in indigenous language literacy, especially to speakers of other African languages. The baseline descriptions of attitudes towards the use of indigenous languages in the formal education system were that they should decrease the higher one goes; conversely, there should be an increased use of English in the schooling system the higher one goes. The ambivalent attitudes towards English and indigenous languages were already visible in this phase.

Phase two entailed the thematic analysis of focus group data, as well as an illustration of language use from the focus group. This section sought to demonstrate the reciprocal relationship between language and identity, society and the education system. The findings reveal that young people do not have stringent criteria for what

constitutes a mother tongue. This is interesting coming from a highly multilingual group. It is this very dynamic multilingualism that relaxes the boundaries of mother tongue and identity. Changes in family structure (particularly the absence of fathers) also contribute to the flexibility that young people have in defining mother tongue. They can move away from traditional ethnolinguistic patriarchal definitions of mother tongue.

This research project did not only seek to explore the dominance of English, but it also explored the power relations within indigenous languages. Findings revealed township hierarchies of indigenous languages with isiZulu dominating as the most highly spoken language by non-mother tongue speakers of the language. The learners reported a heightened sense of linguistic gate keeping by older generation of isiZulu mother tongue speakers. Many of the isiZulu young mother tongue speakers presented themselves as monolingual and expressed the view that other language speakers should learn their language. They also expressed strong links between ethnic and linguistic identity.

Young people living in multilingual contexts view multilingualism as part of their identities and as social capital. Because Soweto is linguistically diverse, one needs to learn and be proficient in as many languages as possible. Multilingualism also acts as a central tool in maintaining social cohesion. When people understand one another, there is less likelihood of conflict. Multilingualism as central to the expression of identity is gendered. Females use multilingualism to build relationships with others, while males use it for utilitarian purposes. The boys in the study confirmed this by stating that they use street language, Kasi-taal. Kasi-taal is a performance of gendered belonging, signifying where these young people come from and the spaces that they socialise in. It is also a demonstration of the fluid nature of languages as used by urban black youth. Kasi-taal is a prime example of translanguaging as they cut across diverse linguistic boundaries to perform certain identities. Multilingual speakers are able to shift between fluid identities in different spaces and places to fit the context. Even though these young people are multilingual, there is an understanding of where and when to use specific languages. They use language fluidly while at the same time compartmentalizing particular languages; for example, mother tongue in the home and English in the classroom.

This has to do with the fact that they already live in a linguistically compartmentalized nation.

However, the participants also decompartmentalize language by harmonizing languages to form single linguistic entities particularly in social spaces with other young people. This creative use of language demonstrates how languages are fluid and in turn how identities are fluid. It is this performance and creation of language that lead to a sense of loss of indigenous languages through the dominance of English. The learners felt as though the more they get immersed into English, the more they are removed from their indigenous languages. However, there was also ambivalence in their attitudes to English as the language of development and opportunities and their loyalties to indigenous languages as languages of identity. These young black learners are from impoverished backgrounds, and they have dreams of social upward mobility and English gives access to that. English as the language of power in South Africa is centrally a racial and class issue. Most white people as mother tongue speakers of the language, already with leverage of their privileged standing from the apartheid regime, do not have to fragment their identities to fit into multiple spaces. English is both their mother tongue and the language that they socialise in, and use in the formal sphere too. This maximises their efficiency in society.

By translinguaging in the creative way that they do, by Africanizing colonial languages through inflections with indigenous languages (so that English is relevant in the social sphere where indigenous languages dominate), and by using different languages at once, the young people are using language inclusively. Their communication tries to reach as many people as linguistically possible. Code-switching has been rendered an inadequate tool for analysing and understanding multilingualism in a context such as Soweto. This is mainly because the results show that, from the speakers' point of view, colonial and indigenous languages are used as a single expanded code. Framed in this light, communication of the urban youth showed a lot of cutting across linguistic barriers and harmonizing mutually intelligible and mutually unintelligible languages alike.

The project found that central to the research question about attitudes towards English, is the question who English speakers in South Africa are. English is not just

speaking and writing; it is a carrier of culture and it is what people use to define themselves. The discourse of English advocates for monolingualism (Mtenje, 2009, Oune, 2009). Evidence of this is found in the geographical separation of languages and ethnic segregation in Soweto during the apartheid regime. However, languages were not geographically defined before colonialism in Africa. Therefore, the divide and rule strategy of colonialism and the apartheid regime in South Africa and the global application of English and, to a lesser extent Afrikaans, had become an anti-thesis of the African 'social self'. This disparity of identity is visible in the data presented as the young people tried to make sense of the dominance of English and their strong attachments to their mother tongues and other indigenous languages.

The exogenous model (prioritising English over indigenous languages) of language applied to the South African education system fails to recognise the repression of learners' identities created throughout the schooling system. The systematic oppression of persons through language is not only evidenced in the contradictory ways of viewing the self, as reported by the learners with regard to themselves as users but not "speakers" of English, may contribute to the failure rate and under-performance of learners (which was not explored in this research). The view of multilingualism as the Tower of Babel has been argued against through the model of translanguaging (Makalela, 2013b). This model as applied to this research was used to illustrate, from an identity and attitude perspective, that the subtractive and additive language policies in South Africa are in fact exogenous models of language that submerge African cultural identities into the values of ex-colonial languages.

The results show a high level of multilingualism in township youth who are in the formal education system. Phase one has displayed high levels of linguistic diversity at a community and social level reinstating multilingualism as a central tool for communication in a linguistically diverse context. Multilingualism is a phenomenon predominantly observed among black people in South Africa. Being multilingual means that one can reach a wider audience in the country, depending on the degree of multilingualism. But being multilingual in only indigenous languages also means one cannot communicatively reach white society and the upper social class. Multilingualism, in indigenous languages, as languages of the lower racialized classes, is a phenomenon that is not usable in the economic sector. Therefore, the language structure in the country is compartmentalized into languages of the social

spheres and the language of the economy. English has permeated the informal sphere, but indigenous languages are restricted from permeating the formal sphere. This binary relationship in language policies need to be re-evaluated.

6.3 Recommendations

The young people revealed incongruence in the way that indigenous languages are taught in the classroom and the way that they actually use language on a daily basis. For future studies, what this project has revealed is that young urban youth do not experience crises in their identities. They are comfortable using different languages in different contexts and translanguaging in the less formal context of interacting as a peer group. Perhaps the relationship between the multilingual identities of urban youth and language policies can be further explored. Phase two of the study revealed the nuances in attitudes towards not just English, but also indigenous languages separately. The results depict a picture that is for the most part ignored by the formulators of language policies in not just the formal education structure but language policies in the South African society as a whole. The language policy in the education system is monoglossic. It prioritises the use of one language and the learning of that one language to its fullest. This is one of the biggest errors that any language policy could formulate for a predominantly multilingual population. The learners in this project have shown that they are exposed to a high degree of multilingualism even from the home when they are young. A heteroglossic approach to language policy is highly recommended where language use carries a plural vision of the country as an imagined community of enlarged multilingual spaces (Makalela, 2009).

6.4 Conclusion

This study investigated the relationship between language, identity and attitudes among linguistically super-diverse urban youth in Soweto high schools. The main findings of the study are that (i) the adolescent youth have highly multilayered identities that are expressed linguistically in a manner that questions traditional definition of mother tongue and that (ii) their communication practices reflect a fluid, versatile and mobile linguistic repertoires that cuts language boundaries and extends the borders of self through translanguaging. This was exemplified by the pervasive streetwise languaging practice called kasi-taal. With regard to attitudes

towards indigenous African languages and English, there was a high ambivalence of self as the youngsters were torn between symbolic value of English and cultural selves embodied in their translanguaging practices. Given these findings, recommendations for a plural vision language in education policies encompassed under the concept of heteroglossia were advanced for a future linguistically equitable society. There is, however, a need for further comprehensive studies that investigates languaging and identity expressions among urban young adolescents in order to advance knowledge on dynamic multilingualism for the 21st century.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES FOR LARGER STUDY (Makalela, 2012)

The aim of the study is to investigate prototypical morph-syntactic features of Black South African English among educators of different African language backgrounds in Gauteng township schools. In order to realize this aim, the following specific objectives will be pursued:

- To determine frequencies of prototypical BSAE features across a range of classroom interaction discourses;
- To contrast established BSAE features with substrate linguistic structures of African languages represented by the participants;
- To assess attitudes of educators towards pre-recorded voice-overs that reflect BSAE communicative patterns; and
- To establish teachers' grammatical judgment of pre-selected BSAE sentences.

Methods and work plan

The research design for this project is both descriptive and quasi-experimental in nature. It relies on thick description of BSAE features, contrastive analysis of English and African language forms, and collection of data in various experimental conditions, which will provide an explanatory power for frequency of occurrence and institutionalization of salient BSAE features. Triangulation of qualitative and quantitative data collection and analytic techniques is envisaged to yield broad and deep understanding of the speech forms characterizing BSAE in Gauteng township schools.

Population and sampling

This study will include a population of 96 educators from 24 township high schools, which will be divided into four municipalities, namely, Emfuleni (n=24), Ekurhuleni (n=24), Metsweding (n=24), and Sedibeng (n=24). Each of the 24 school (i.e., six per municipality) will be represented by at least 4 English teachers. There are several sampling techniques that will be carried out in line with the objectives of the study.

First, the schools will be clustered according to established “township criterion”, followed by stratified random sampling procedure to arrive at the six (6) schools per municipality. Once this stage has been completed, a systematic random sampling technique (every 2nd teacher) will be used to select at least 4 (n=4) educators per school, two in the FET and Senior phases, respectively. In addition, only two teachers will be required for classroom observation and match-guised test (see below) per school. An additional simple random sampling technique will be used to this effect. Where feasible, demographics such as gender, first language, and educational level will be controlled to arrive at a representative sample of township school educators while ensuring that every English teacher has an equal opportunity of being selected.

Data collection instruments and procedures

After following procedures for permission to collect data at the selected schools, piloting, and testing reliability (using Grobach’s reliability estimate) of the instruments have been completed, the data for the study will be collected in four different ways, based on the study objectives:

a. Observation protocols (Objective 1)

In order to collect data on natural BSAE classroom teacher discourse, two (2) lessons offered by the participating teachers will be observed while teaching English language and literature content through structured observation protocols. An audio-visual recorder, supplemented by voice-recorders, will be used to capture the lesson segments.

b. Home-language equivalentents (Objective 2)

Once representative the samples of morphological and syntactic constructions have been deduced from the observation data (a), they will be translated into various African languages represented by the participating teachers. This way, the researcher will be able to carry out a cross-linguistic comparison and assess degrees of transfer, if any.

c. Match- Guised Test (Objective 3)

To assess attitudes of the teachers towards BSAE communicative patterns, guised voice-overs with morpho-syntactic features (gathered from mother tongue speakers of 9 African languages) will be played randomly to 2 the participating teachers (the remaining two teachers whose classes were not observed) in each school. The participants will rate the voices on semantic degrees of likeness to deduce their judgments of the speakers' personality, language background, 'standard-ness' of their speech, appearance and social status.

d. Grammar Judgment Test (Objective 4)

A designed grammar judgment test, consisting of 30 disguised sentences will be administered individually to each of the participants (n=96) on the day of class observations. This way, data on grammatical rating of prototypical morpho-syntactic features of BSAE will be elicited. Each sentence will be assessed on a three-point scale (correct, incorrect and unsure).

Data analysis

There are three data analysis procedures that will be followed in the study: first, categorical analysis of morpho-syntactic features unique to BSAE will be carried out. Second, frequency of occurrence will be established through descriptive statistical procedures and Pearson Chi-square. Multiple Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) and regression analysis will complement each other in assessing significance level of mean differences for each morpho-syntactic feature prevalent in the observed data as well as the relationship between different variables under scrutiny: first language background, education level, frequency of use, and judgment ratings. All inferential statistic tests will be pitched an alpha value of 0.5 for testing significance levels, and this will be followed by post-adhoc tests where the differences are statistically significant. In this way, feature prototypes and institutionalization of BSAE can be measured. To determine transfer of substrate forms from African languages to English, a contrastive analysis methodology will be carried out, using established parsing techniques in syntactic operations for comparison and contrast. This will be aided by native-speaker intuitions of the researcher and research assistants.

APPENDIX B

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET (QUESTIONNAIRE)

Good day,

My name is Pinkie Nkadimeng. I am a student at University of Witwatersrand, currently conducting research in Research Psychology to obtain my masters degree. I would like to invite you to participate in my research project.

I am interested in exploring how language is used among young multilingual South African. My interests lie mostly in how multilingualism is performed, attitudes to language and how language is used.

Please fill out the questionnaire provided as honestly and neatly as possible. Participation in this research will not affect your school work or your marks. Your teachers will not have access to this information. The information collected will be analysed by the researcher and her supervisor, which will then be compiled into a report. The report will be presented to the department of psychology and publication is also possible. You have the right to withdraw from participation without penalty as your participation is voluntary.

Your participation in this study will be greatly appreciated. This research will contribute both to a larger body of knowledge and on-going debates about language in the education system in present day South Africa.

If you have any questions about the final report of this study, please contact the researcher on the email address provided below.

Kind regards

Pinkie Nkadimeng

Participant signature (Consent):

Date:

Researcher

Pinkie Nkadameng

Email: pinkienkadameng@yahoo.com contact: 079 964 9571

Supervisor

Prof. Jill Bradbury

Email: Jill.bradbury@wits.ac.za contact: 011 717 4515

APPENDIX C

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM (QUESTIONNAIRE)

I _____ understand that participation in this research is voluntary.

- My signature on this document indicates that the researcher has briefed me about the nature of the study and what it is about has been explained.
- I understand that participation in this research will not affect my school work or my marks. My teachers will not have access to any information given for participation in this study.
- I understand that the information given in this questionnaire will be transcribed and analysed and compiled into a report that the department of psychology, translators and possible publications will have access to.
- Participation in the study is completely voluntary and as such withdrawal at any time will not result in any penalties.
- Should you feel psychologically burdened as a result of this research, please contact the centre detailed on your participant information sheet. The services are free.

APPENDIX D

QUESTIONNAIRE ABOUT LANGUAGE USE AND ATTITUDES

Completing this questionnaire will not have any impact on your school marks. Your name is not necessary for this form to be completed. Your teachers will also have no access to the responses given in this questionnaire.

Sex/gender:

Age:

Grade:

What part of Soweto do you come from?

What is your mother tongue?

How many languages do you speak?

What languages do you speak?

Which languages do most people speak in your community?

How did you learn how to speak the languages you speak?

When do you speak your mother tongue?

When and with whom do you speak English?

When and with whom do you speak the other languages you speak?

What languages do you speak the most in the following settings:

At home:

Friends:

Streets:

School:

Playground:

Shops:

What languages (s) do use to think in class?

What languages do you dream in?

What language (s) do you use to pray?

Fill in the following:

Name of TV programme	Language

Name of radio station	Language

Name of magazine	Language

What language do you speak most and why?

If you could learn any language you could choose, what would it be?

What language do you think people should be taught in at the following educational levels?

Preschool:

Primary:

Secondary:

Tertiary:

APPENDIX E

PARENTAL CONSENT FORM

Dear Parent/ Guardian,

My name is Pinkie Nkadimeng, and I am conducting a study for the purposes of completing my master's degree in Research Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am interested in exploring how language is used among young multilingual South Africans. My interests lie mostly in how multilingualism is performed, attitudes to language and how language is used.

Participation in this project is voluntary and the participant will not be penalized if they choose to withdraw during the course of the research. There will be a group discussion that will last approximately 45 minutes to an hour. The results of the study will not be shown to teachers and will have no impact on school results. The group discussions will be tape recorded. His/Her identity will remain anonymous and no names will be mentioned in the final report. Pseudonyms will be used and they are allowed to withdraw from the study without penalty. This research is comprised of group discussions and confidentiality must be observed by both researcher and the participants. This means that the information collected will be analysed by the researcher and the supervisor, which will then be compiled into a report, which will be presented to the department of psychology and publication is also possible.

If you choose to allow your child/nephew/niece/grandchild/brother/sister to participate in this study please sign below and ensure that this form is returned upon the learner's arrival at school.

Your child's/nephew's/niece's/grandchild's/brother's/sister's participation in this study will be greatly appreciated. This research will contribute both to a larger body of knowledge and on-going debates about language in the education system in present day South Africa.

If you have any questions about this study, please contact the researcher on the details provided below.

Kind regards

Pinkie Nkadimeng

Parent/Guardian's signature (Consent):

Date:

Researcher

Pinkie Nkadimeng

Email: pinkienkadimeng@yahoo.com contact: 079 964 9571

Supervisor

Prof. Jill Bradbury

Email: Jill.bradbury@wits.ac.za contact: 011 717 4515

APPENDIX F

PARTICIPANT ASSENT FORMS (FOCUS GROUP)

I _____ understand that participation in this research is voluntary. I am aware that this focus group will be recorded.

- My signature on this document indicates that the researcher has briefed me about the nature of the study and what it is about has been explained before the focus group.
- Pseudonyms will be used and all information concerning the focus group will be kept confidential. I understand that the information given in this focus group will be transcribed and analysed and compiled into a report that the department of psychology, translators and possible publications will have access to.
- As this research consists of group work, all information expressed within this setting will be confidential and not dispensed to other parties that are not part of the research.
- Participation in the study is completely voluntary and as such withdrawal at any time will not result in any penalties.

APPENDIX G

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET (FOCUS GROUP)

Good day,

My name is Pinkie Nkadimeng. I am a student at the University of Witwatersrand, currently conducting research to obtain my master's degree in Research Psychology. I would like to invite you to participate in my research project.

I am interested in exploring how language is used among young multilingual South Africans. My interests lie mostly in how multilingualism is performed, attitudes to language and how language is used.

There will be group discussion that will last approximately 45 minutes to an hour. You can choose whether or not you want to participate any of the activities that will be taking place and can stop at any time. No participant will be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way for choosing to participate or not to participate. The results of the study will not be shown to your teachers and will have no impact on your school results. The group discussions and activities will be tape recorded. Your identity will remain anonymous and no names will be mentioned in the final report. Pseudonyms will be used. This research is comprised of group work and confidentiality must be observed by both researcher and the participants. This means that the information collected will be analysed by the researcher and the supervisor, which will then be compiled into a report, which will be presented to the department of psychology and publication is also possible.

Participation in this research will not affect your school work or your marks. Your teachers will not have access to this information. You have the right to withdraw from participation without penalty as your participation is voluntary.

If you choose to participate in this study, you will be required to fill out a consent form to take part in the study. Should you feel psychologically burdened as a result of this research, please take down the contact details at the bottom of this participant information sheet.

Your participation in this study will be greatly appreciated. This research will contribute both to a larger body of knowledge and on-going debates about language in the education system in present day South Africa.

Kind regards

Pinkie Nkadameng

Researcher

Pinkie Nkadameng

Email: pinkienkadameng@yahoo.com contact: 079 964 9571

Supervisor

Prof. Jill Bradbury

Email: Jill.bradbury@wits.ac.za contact: 011 717 4515

Participant signature (Consent):

Date:

APPENDIX H

TAPE RECORDER PARTICIPANT ASSENT FORM (FOCUS GROUP)

I _____ understand that participation in this research is voluntary. I am aware that this focus group will be recorded.

- My signature on this document indicates that the researcher has briefed me about the nature of the study and what it is about has been explained before the focus group.
- Pseudonyms will be used and all information concerning the focus group will be kept confidential. I understand that the information given in this focus group will be transcribed and analysed and compiled into a report that the department of psychology, translators and possible publications will have access to.
- As this research consists of group work, all information expressed within this setting will be confidential and not dispensed to other parties that are not part of the research.
- Participation in the study is completely voluntary and as such withdrawal at any time will not result in any penalties.

APPENDIX I

FOCUS GROUP OUTLINE

KEEP IN MIND WHEN FACILITATING, THE FOLLOWING: With whom, when, how and why...

This guideline will start by asking the students to identify themselves, what their names are and what their mother tongue is as an ice breaker.

When, where and with whom do you speak your mother tongue?

How important is it to speak your mother tongue?

What other languages do you speak?

How important is it in Soweto to speak different languages?

So, when you talking to people, how do you know what language to speak?

Do you have to translate first when switching to other languages? E.g. from English to another language vice versa

Soweto is a linguistically diverse context, what language(s) do you use to communicate with people who do not share the same languages as you?

When in unfamiliar settings, which language do you decide to use to communicate with others?

What languages do you use in the school setting and why?

What languages do you speak at home with your family and why? What does this say about who you are?

What languages do you speak with your friends and why? What does this say about who you are then?

Does language have any significance to the type of person you are or would you remain the same regardless of what language you speak?

Do you ever struggle to understand what a teacher is saying because of the language he/she uses?

What do you do when this happens?

What are your thoughts on the formal use of mother-tongue/native languages in the classroom?

Do you think you would understand better if taught in your mother tongues?

The constitution states that all languages are equal and none should be given more power than the other. Thinking about your language experiences, do these language rights apply?

OR

Do you know any language rights stated in our constitution? What have been your observations when it comes to equality of languages in South Africa?

SABC 1 has been playing reruns of soapies from the mid-1990s, what do you guys think about those shows? E.g., Bophelo ke Semphego, Lesilo?

We live in the age of social net-working; do you guys have access to these mediums in different languages? Do you look for these mediums in different languages?

How much literature or reading are you exposed to either in school or outside school and why do you think this is the case?

Do you think it is important for languages to be preserved? Why?