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Research Project:

**Language choices of English L1 learners in a Western Cape
High School**



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DECLARATION

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ADDENDA

- A Letter of permission to conduct research
- 2a Questionnaire for learners
- 2b Questionnaire responses
- 3 Interviews

Abstract

This research focuses on the language repertoire, patterns of language use and language preferences of learners from Afrikaans homes, who are registered in the English first language classes in a particular Western Cape High School. Our interest is in how a profile of the linguistic resources of such learners and the context in which their linguistic identity develops may contribute to a perceived process of language shift in the bilingual/multilingual community where they learn and live. SCHOOL A is multi-racial and multi-lingual, with a large component of "coloured" learners living in a nearby predominantly-Afrikaans community. The thesis investigates the linguistic preferences and patterns of language choice and language use of the selected group of learners across various domains, notably at home, with relatives, at school, with peers and in their religious communities.

Data from various sources is presented and discussed in detail to illustrate the variety of language skills of English L1 learners between the ages of 15 and 17 in Grades 10 and 11. This will give an impression of how multilingual a given section of the local high school population is. The profile tests whether home language or academic language has a greater influence on the later language choice of learners whose parents use Afrikaans as home language and who have English as LOLT, meaning that these learners possibly possess considerable skills in at least two languages.

The data was collected by means of limited access to school records, questionnaires filled out by learners, interviews with a number of learners and a couple of parents of such learners. This gives a very good impression of which languages learners know, which they used most, which they prefer where the choice is between English/Afrikaans bilingualism, English only, Afrikaans only, or codemixed Afrikaans/English). The thesis reports on the linguistic repertoire and preferences, and also on reasons given by learners and parents for their selection of one or more of the various community languages in the different domains. Consideration is given to the possible accommodation of these learners as first language users of English which is largely a second language in the community, by other community members and institutions such as school and church.

The critical interest of this thesis is to determine the nature and extent of perceived language shift in this selected community of learners at a particular Western Cape high school, and to consider whether such a shift is indicative of a more extensive process of marginalization of Afrikaans in a community that historically had a strong Afrikaans identity.

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and rationale for the study

Language shift occurs when one language replaces or displaces another language as first language or sole language of a community. Usually a younger generation of speakers introduced to a second language, shifts from a language in which their parents/grandparents are monolingual to being bilingual. Research by Wei (1994) and Romaine (2000), amongst others, mostly concerns immigrants entering a new country and who subsequently give up their native language for that of the host country. Romaine (2000: 50), however, also cites research done in countries such as Australia where indigenous people, the Aboriginals, have given up their native language for English, the language of their colonizers. This situation is more closely related to that in South Africa, as both the Aboriginal languages and Afrikaans are native or indigenous languages.

Despite its Dutch origin, Afrikaans is considered to be a South African language with influences from many of the country's other indigenous languages. Afrikaans is used by South African speakers from diverse racial origins and has been adopted and adapted, especially by the indigenous people of the Western and Northern Cape where it is the primary language of the region. Afrikaans is sometimes considered to be the language of colonizers and may be important point to note in this study as some parent respondents who choose to have their children educated in English i.e. with English as their First Language or English L1¹, did raise this issue. The research investigates language use and language attitude across racial lines, at a multi-racial school. Nevertheless, a large majority of learners on whom this study is focused, are

¹ For the purpose of this study the reader should note that English L1 and English First Language is used to refer as part of the school curriculum.

"coloured"². Until 1994 in South Africa, Afrikaans and English were the two languages used as media of instruction in schools. Schools were divided according to the language medium; either English or Afrikaans.

Previously the majority of learners from the "coloured" community would have had their schooling in Afrikaans. However, this seems to be changing, in that growing numbers of learners from this traditionally Afrikaans community are currently being enrolled in English first language classes. Schools that historically were Afrikaans medium institutions have recently introduced English as an additional language of learning. Many schools indicate that, in relative terms the number of learners enrolled in the Afrikaans medium section, are decreasing. So, for example, a school such as the one investigated in this study, has shifted from being an Afrikaans medium school to a dual medium school with a very small proportion of learners in the Afrikaans stream.

According to Stats in brief (2002: 18), English ranks only fifth of the eleven official languages as home language of South Africa, despite its status as the *lingua franca* in media, business and politics. It also ranks third of the three most commonly used languages in the Western Cape, after Afrikaans and Xhosa. Afrikaans is the dominant language spoken in the Western Cape, followed by Xhosa then English. From 1996 to 2007, there has been a 1 percent decrease, from 20.3% to 19.3%, in the use of English as first home language in the Western Cape amongst coloureds, blacks and whites. During the same period, Afrikaans as first home language declined from 59.2% to 55.3%, showing a sharper decline of 3.9% percent. The number of speakers of isiXhosa as first home language in the same region has increased from 19.1% to 23.7%.

² This term is used for the purpose of this study, to refer to persons of mixed race including Muslims, to make a distinction between races and does not imply that this is the preferred term.

1.2 Context of the study

The decline of Afrikaans and concurrent increase of English as medium of instruction and as first language reflected in the Western Cape is in focus in this study. The study will investigate whether certain learners, across racial lines, at a previously Afrikaans only school situated between Somerset West and Strand (henceforth SCHOOL A) are shifting from Afrikaans to English. Notably the apparent shift coincides with a shift from predominantly white learner enrolment to a significantly larger "coloured" learner enrolment at SCHOOL A. Currently learner enrolment is estimated at approximately 60% "coloured", 20% white and 20% black African. English had, prior to 1994, been one of the two main languages of education in South Africa. In schools where it was not the medium of instruction, English held additional language status in education for all white and "coloured" learners. All of the learners' parents at SCHOOL A, who were educated in South Africa, thus had English either as first language or as first additional language (second language) during their schooling. Those who grew up in this region would have had access to one of only two Afrikaans medium schools, namely SCHOOL A (for whites only) and School D (for "coloureds" only). The apparent language shift towards English as first language, in schools, is determined by the parents. The parents of current learners who have been taught in English for all or most of their school careers would mostly have been educated through medium of Afrikaans and still are using Afrikaans as home language. This thesis is interested in examining whether the students, with Afrikaans First Language parents, are in fact using English as language of communication beyond the classroom as well as in other domains. The study intends to ascertain whether these learners identify themselves as English First Language (EFL), rather than AFL (as their parents are), or whether an Afrikaans-English bilingual identity has been developing.

A significant number of Afrikaans First Language (AFL) and some Xhosa First Language (XFL) parents in the Helderberg school community of SCHOOL A choose to have their children educated through medium of English i.e. the learners are registered in classes

where they are considered to be students with English as their first language. As isiXhosa is not used as a medium of education in high school, the choice for enrolment in the English group for XFL learners is not too surprising. The shift from Afrikaans to English as first language in schooling is however of interest. Not only in the Western Cape but also in other regions in South Africa, English is seemingly becoming a dominant language of choice for a younger generation. The fact that many of these learners have one or both parents who either speak Afrikaans (or isiXhosa) at home, or have grandparents with Afrikaans (or isiXhosa) as their home language, shows that there is a possibility of a generational shift in language from Afrikaans to English.

In many cases at this school, it appears that the learners have been raised with English as their first language, even if the parents are bilingual with a language other than English as their dominant language. The parents may speak Afrikaans (or isiXhosa) to each other and to their other community members, while speaking English to their children. The preference for English as means of academic instruction is often already apparent by the time learners enter the school system, although some change the language of learning from Afrikaans to English during their primary school years, between Grades 1 and 8. There is also some evidence that the choice of medium of instruction is sometimes made at a later stage in the family where younger children in families are raised EFL while their older siblings have been raised AFL. Dyers (2008: 111) cites a similar occurrence in her case study of a teenager in the sub-economic area of Wesbank in the Western Cape, where the teenager's youngest sibling is being reared with EFL while her older siblings were raised with AFL. The language of instruction for these learners is chosen in accordance with the Education Department's guidelines of 2003, which determines that learners may be educated in either one of the languages in their fundamental component³. The "fundamental component" is made up of the

³ This term is used by the Department of Education to refer to the *linguistic repertoire* of learners with proficiencies (often of varying degrees) in two or more languages.

learner's Home Language (i.e. first language) or First Additional Language (i.e. second language) and any one of these languages may be selected as the language of instruction. The language diversity which results from learners' exposure to various linguistic codes was, according to the South African National Department of Education, for the advancement of the ideals of multilingualism and intercultural communication (National Curriculum Statement 2003:11). Since 2003, the Western Cape Department of Education has been reconsidering the policy on the uses of first or second languages as medium of education. The Western Cape Education Department now aims increasingly to introduce indigenous (mother-tongue) languages as Language of Learning and Teaching (LOLT) during early primary school years, followed (where appropriate) by a switch to English during senior phase at primary school. This policy resembles the practice in other African countries, and aims to instill national pride in ethnic languages of these citizens and to promote the continuous use of these languages in younger generations. This policy is based on the belief (and apparently has strong support) that learners will be better off academically if they receive their education in their first language (i.e. their home language).

SCHOOL A was established in 1930 as a whites-only Afrikaans-medium school. This means that all content subjects were taught with Afrikaans as medium of instruction. During the Apartheid era (1948-1994), schools had to be either Afrikaans or English medium. All whites and "coloureds" were obligated by law to receive their schooling in either one these two languages. Under the South African Apartheid laws, black learners were obliged to receive their education in their mother-tongue (an indigenous language), as well as in Afrikaans and English. From the 1970s to 1980s, the school changed from Afrikaans to English dominant medium (i.e. very few Afrikaans medium classes remain). This is apparently due to an influx of English speaking whites into the Helderberg basin. After the removal of school segregation laws during the late 1980s, a large number of "coloured" learners with Afrikaans background and some Xhosa learners, mainly from the Strand area, enrolled at SCHOOL A as English First Language learners. This is remarkable as the, mostly, AFL parents have the option of enrolling their children in

either the Afrikaans group at SCHOOL A or at Afrikaans medium School B, which had also been a Model C school (i.e. for white learners only and thus privileged in terms of resources) under the Apartheid government. Thus SCHOOL B could equally be counted as a school with better educational facilities than were previously open to this group of learners.

One rationale parents regularly put forward for enrolling their children at ex-Model C schools is that the higher school fees would assure a better level of education for their children, due partly to smaller numbers of learners per class. Also, black and 'coloured' schools are historically known to have received a lower level of education under Apartheid laws. Previously, (prior to the scrapping of segregation laws) the "coloured" learners only had the option of attending one of two Afrikaans medium secondary schools for coloured learners only in the area i.e not SCHOOLS A or B. Dyers (2008), in her 2004 study of learners in the Western Cape, Wesbank area, found that "the role of English as the trajectory out of the township, out of poverty and towards employment and a better life was fairly unassailable." She further states that:

English is seen by black [and "coloured"-JLF] South Africans as a guarantee of upwards social mobility and as the key to good employment, in a country with 40% unemployment. It is highly unlikely that such entrenched attitudes will change, despite the fact that obtaining quality education in English is at this stage an unattainable dream for the majority of the population. (Dyers 2008: 115)

For the parents at SCHOOL A, who can afford it, the change to schools perceived as better equipped in many instances coincided with a shift from Afrikaans as language of learning to English as the language of learning. According to the school's 2008 CEMIS (Centralised Educational Management Information System) figures, the average percentage of Grade 12 learners receiving Afrikaans medium education is 31%, while the average from Grade 8 – 11 is down to 22%. This indicates that within the school, there has been a 7% increase in the number of learners in the lower grades enrolling for

English as medium of instruction from 2004 to 2008. SCHOOL A currently has five English medium classes and two Afrikaans medium classes per grade, with 76% of the enrolled learners having English as their academic language.

The perceived preference for English in communities where patterns of bilingualism historically show Afrikaans dominance among Afrikaans/English bilinguals is in focus in this research. While English has long been the second language of all learners who do not have it as first language or as LOLT, it has been the dominant language of fewer people than Afrikaans and Xhosa. According to Dyers (2007:112), "parents of all races are increasingly enrolling their children at schools where English is the main medium of instruction." This project may show a shift towards English as first home language in previously Afrikaans first home language families and communities, due to the fact that these parents opt for English as LOLT for their children. These learners are exposed to and also use various languages in settings (domains) which can be characterized as strongly multilingual; codeswitching occurs in classrooms, in corridors, on playgrounds, during sport practices and between home and school. In some cases, different languages are reserved for use in the different settings. Often, learners indicate that they speak only English at school, mix their languages with their siblings and friends, while speaking only Afrikaans to their parents and at church. English is also obviously the *lingua franca* on the school's playgrounds and sport fields, as Xhosa learners who do not speak Afrikaans and Afrikaans learners who do not speak Xhosa use English as a common means of communication.

The choice by parents to enter children in the EFL stream in a school which offers a choice between Afrikaans and English as language of learning, determines that English becomes the academic language of the children. This choice is also reflective of parent and learner attitude towards the two languages in co-existence. In many cases, it also determines that, while their parents may be bilingual with Afrikaans as dominant language, these learners may in the future choose to raise their families as bilingual with English as dominant language. Often learners may indicate that they feel more

comfortable speaking and learning in English and consider English to be their dominant language even if it is not that of their parents. Similar patterns occur among Xhosa parents and learners from this community, although this project could not investigate the choices of all learners in detail at this time.

1.3 Research Question

The main research question to be addressed in this thesis is the following:

What are the patterns of language choice and language use of English L1 learners who live and learn in communities with strong bilingual and/or multilingual identities⁴?

More specifically, the research question is interested in the linguistic resources and language choices of students in a specific school, who come from a community with a noted degree of shift from Afrikaans monolingualism or Afrikaans-dominant bilingualism, to either English-dominant bilingualism or (in extreme cases) to English monolingualism. The learners as focus group of this study have all been exposed to only English as LOLT from their early primary school years (foundation phase). The main research question will be answered by considering the following:

Q1. What are the linguistic resources of the English L1 learners in the chosen sample? (i.e. which languages does each learner know?)

Q2. Which languages are typically used in various social domains: home, school, church and among peers?

⁴ The term “bilingual identity” or “multilingual identity” is used in this study to describe communities where more than one language is used by members of the community and the learners are in regular contact with two or more of the community languages.

Q3. Do learners switch from one language to another in different contexts, or is there a strong preference for use of one language variety rather than another across private and public domains of language use?

Q4. Which language preferences are expressed?

Q5. How are the learners' language preferences overtly motivated?

This research investigates, on a limited scale, the distribution of various community languages in different domains (home, school, religion and social interaction among peers as well as language of learning). The research also considers how learners at a particular Western Cape High school accommodate the variety of languages that they know and to which they are exposed. It is primarily interested in drawing a profile of linguistic resources and experiences of English L1 learners who come from bilingual/multilingual families and are studying in a multilingual setting. While the study collects data from all language areas in the school, it cannot for logistical reasons, provide an in depth analysis of all areas. The groups of learners whose language practices are specifically being investigated in this study are those who come from homes where Afrikaans is the dominant language of the parents while English is the learners' medium of instruction. A small number of Xhosa/English bilingual learners are also interviewed concerning their attitudes to community languages and how this may differ from or share similarities with Afrikaans/English learners. The results of the learners' and parents' responses will be presented in the following manner:

1.3.1 Profile of multilingualism among respondents

An indication will be given of the variety of language skills of an extensive sample of English L1 learners between the ages of 15 and 17 in Grades 10 and 11. This will give an impression of how multilingual a given section of the local high school population is. The profile tests whether home language or academic language influences the later

language choice of these learners for their future families. The aim is to test a hypothesis that learners from an Afrikaans/English home background who are placed in the EFL group, by the time they reach grade 11, consider themselves to be less proficient in Afrikaans.

1.3.2 Patterns of English L1 use in family context, school context and with peers

Particular consideration will be given to different patterns of language use by English/Afrikaans-bilingual learners. The aim is to note which form (English only, Afrikaans only, or codemixed Afrikaans/English) is predominantly used in various contexts. It may be important to determine how significant (or not) codemixing is and how decided the shift from one form of language use to the other is.

1.3.3 Language attitudes of English L1 learners to various community languages

An account will be given of the pattern that emerges when learners indicate the value they perceive various languages to have for themselves and for others. In addition, the research will indicate to which extent learners regard the various languages as separable systems in everyday language use. The aim is to test another hypothesis, namely, that EFL learners with Afrikaans as the dominant home language, minimally switch to Afrikaans even if they have well-established receptive skills in their First Additional Language (Afrikaans in this case).

1.4 Hypotheses

This research thesis will investigate the research question specifically considering patterns of language choice and language use of learners at SCHOOL A enrolled in English First Language (EFL) classes who come from Afrikaans-dominant families in a multilingual community where the community languages are largely Afrikaans and English. The learners have all been in EFL classes since primary school. The research

aims to determine whether English, introduced as LOLT, begins to displace Afrikaans as the dominant family language to such an extent that the learners' personal and intimate domains of language use become increasingly English. The main hypothesis of this project is that by Grade 11 EFL students from Afrikaans First Language (AFL) families identify themselves linguistically as English rather than as bilingual Afrikaans-English speakers.

The research aims additionally to see whether other members of the predominantly AFL community, such as parents and grandparents, or institutions such as churches and mosques, accommodate the learners as primarily EFL speakers rather than as Afrikaans-English bilinguals. It will also attempt to determine through interviews what the patterns of language choice and language use are when the particular EFL learners communicate with older, AFL members of their home communities. The research is interested in finding out whether the introduction of English as LOLT is reinforced in other community and institutional discourses to the extent that Afrikaans is being marginalized. The research hypothesises that language shift is occurring in the particular community and that the use of English as LOLT which parents choose for their children contributes significantly to such shift.

1.5 Outline of the research methodology

The research methodology of this thesis includes collecting information from school records of registration that will give the number of learners enrolled at SCHOOL A for first language education in either English or Afrikaans. A survey is conducted as to which language the parents of the group of learners registered as English First Language most frequently use in their homes. A questionnaire is used to obtain data regarding the specific interests of the study as put forward in the research question. Interviews, with learners who indicate in their questionnaires that they often use a language other than English in various social domains, were conducted to determine attitudes towards community languages. Finally, a smaller number of interviews were

conducted with Afrikaans first language parents of learners who indicate that English is their first language.

1.6 Chapter layout

An overview of the relevant literature on the phenomena of domain, language choice, and language shift and language attitudes is given in Chapter 2, as well as an exposition of the theoretical framework for the present study. The methodology employed in the study is set out in detail in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 presents the results in terms of the school records as well as questionnaires collected by Grade 10 and Grade 11 learners. Results of the interviews with a selected number of these learners and parents are also documented. Chapter 5 presents the discussion and conclusion of the research study.

CHAPTER 2 - LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Patterns of language choice and language use amongst learners attending SCHOOL A and living in communities close to the Helderberg region in the Western Cape, is the focus of this study. Learners are from predominantly Afrikaans homes and communities and are learning through English. According to Stats in brief (2002: 16-17), Afrikaans is the dominant language spoken by the majority of "coloured" people living in the Western Cape and adjacent Northern Cape. English is also often used as *lingua franca* among people in these communities from different linguistic backgrounds and is the most widespread language in the country. Xhosa is the first language used by most blacks living in the Western Cape. English is second language to most of the people living in South Africa. Over the past decades, however, in certain communities there has been a noted shift towards English as first language, in academic and subsequently also other social domains, across racial lines. This present study aims ultimately to investigate the linguistic resources and related choices of which language to use in various domains, of learners enrolled at SCHOOL A. Three sociolinguistic concepts that are central to the research are "language choice", "language shift" and "language attitude". The discussion of the theoretical framework in this chapter will refer to literature related to each of these three concepts.

This study is interested in the patterns of language choice and language use of EFL learners who live and learn in communities with strong bilingual and/or multilingual identities. The literature examined here relates to previous studies on domains of language use, language choice and the attitudes and preferences of bilingual speakers which may or may not ultimately lead to one language displacing another and language shift in certain communities. The following sections give an overview of such relevant literature that has informed the data collection, analysis and interpretation of this study.

2.1 Domains of language use and codeswitching

As soon as bilingualism or multilingualism occurs within a speech community, the issue of domain becomes a key point of investigation of language choice in that particular community. The domain often determines the choice of a particular language of a bi/multilingual speaker. Domain includes interlocutor as well as the social make-up of a given situation.

Fishman (1972: 441) describes domains as:

...institutional contexts and their congruent behaviour co-occurrences. They attempt to summate the major clusters of interaction that occur in clusters of multilingual settings and involving clusters of interlocutors.

Saville-Troike (2003: 42) cites Fishman's definition of 'domain' as:

...a social construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationships between communicators, and locales of communication, in accord with the institutions of a society and the spheres of activity of a speech community.

According to Saville-Troike (2003: 42):

Topic is often a primary determinant of language choice in multilingual contexts; bilinguals have often learned about some topics through the medium of one language and other topics through the medium of the second, and thus only know the vocabulary to discuss a topic in one of their languages, or feel it is more "natural" to use one language for a particular topic.

Domain, for most bilingual speakers, depends on the languages available to them and the situation within which they find themselves which deems it necessary for them to use the language/s at their disposal. Languages which dominate in "intimate domains" are one of the focuses of Dyers' (2007: 110) study of the Wesbank AFL teenagers. She sets

out to ascertain whether indigenous languages remain the most often used in interpersonal relationships or if learners at Wesbank High used the "dominant language of power", English. While it may be that the Wesbank learners use their indigenous languages most often, it could be argued that they do not have the same exposure to English as the SCHOOL A EFL learners, although they may share common indigenous home languages i.e. Afrikaans and Xhosa.

The present study aims to investigate whether certain SCHOOL A learners, who may use English for most of their school day, consider this to be their main language as well as the one of dominant power rather than Afrikaans, which is the dominant language of their parents and home community. A concept supported by Dyers (2007: 121) is that learners' language use is "dictated by the different role relationships within their intimate domains". Languages which are learnt outside the home, such as academic languages, access the "intimate domains" last. This means that while these parents may speak English to their children in certain social domains, Afrikaans may remain the language which comes most naturally when parents and perhaps some learners need to express themselves emotionally. This research will test the notion that certain learners at SCHOOL A find themselves better able to express themselves in English, even though they also speak Afrikaans fluently as Afrikaans is often used at home and in their home communities. For a significant number of families in the SCHOOL A community, English remains a second language used in the limited domains of school and some social interactions by certain members in the community i.e. those learners attending schools like SCHOOL A. A number of families in the SCHOOL A community had introduced English to their children at birth while using Afrikaans for most other interactions. For certain other families English is the language which learners use to only at school. For this reason, it may be assumed that a number of learners who consider English to be their first language are only in regular contact with English at school, with schoolmates and teachers, while Afrikaans is predominantly used in their homes and home communities. Despite this, it may be that an increasing number of the learners feel that

they are more fluent in English and thus also use English in more domains than just school.

Fishman (1989: 235) says that it may be important to ascertain whether "additional languages are disproportionately *absent* in certain domains such as family and religion" and "whether they are disproportionately *present* in the (higher) education" domains, as may be the case of some families in the SCHOOL A community. The domains of "intragroup", as described by Fishman, would include especially family relationships, where it is supposed that English may well, in future, become the chosen language for these learners, not only in their "intergroup" relationships, but also their more personal "intragroup" relationships. While Dyers argues that (for now) indigenous languages remain the chosen languages of "intimate interactions" (intrapersonal domains) in the Wesbank community, this research thesis will investigate the validity of this claim in the SCHOOL A context.

According to Crystal (2003: 148) 'domain':

refers to a group of institutionalized social situations typically constrained by a common set of behavioural rules and is seen as of particular importance in the analysis of [multilingual] settings involving several participants, where it is used to relate variations in the individuals' choice and topic of language to broader sociocultural norms and expectations of interaction.

Milroy and Muysken (1995: 5-6) define Joshua Fishman's "key concept" of domain as a "cluster of social situations" which "account for patterns of language choice in bilingual communities." According to Milroy and Muysken (1995: 6), "higher-order societal structures" decide the language behaviour. Even in communities such as Wesbank where indigenous languages (Afrikaans and Xhosa) are preferred above English in most contexts (Dyers 2007: 119), learners realize that English is *lingua franca* not only in the academic domain but often also in other social domains. In the case of this research project the "higher-order" for the SCHOOL A learners may be (i) the school body which

determines that learners speak English in classrooms or (ii) parents who determine that the same learners speak Afrikaans and/or English at home, while (iii) social groups may allow them to mix languages. Additionally, in the understanding of Wesbank and SCHOOL A learners and in their aspirations for further study and employment outside of their immediate community, English is the language which is required. Other situations may compel these learners, who know English, to speak it with others with whom they do not share an indigenous language. The playground and sport field, so important for teenage interaction, are two of the domains where learners have to, some of the time, use English as *lingua franca*.

Wei (1994: 16) supports Fishman and Dyers' view that bilingual speakers use their languages depending on their interlocutor and the social situation. The assumption is that learners at SCHOOL A often use both English and Afrikaans with their peers whether they are discussing schoolwork or social activities. Also, as most of these learners' grandparents and older community members are Afrikaans-dominant, it would be expected, because learners are bilingual, that they would speak Afrikaans with certain family and community members.

Codeswitching is often a reality of communication when bilinguals communicate with the understanding that they as well as their interlocutors possess more than one language in their repertoire of languages. Wardhaugh (2002: 103) distinguishes between two types of codeswitching where bilinguals communicate with other bilinguals: *situational* codeswitching, where the topic does not change, and *metaphorical* codeswitching, where language choice depends on topic change. Mackey (2000: 39) speaks of "alternation", as a form of codeswitching, often used when two or more bilinguals are in communication and each uses his/her preferred language, which is different to that being used by the other interlocutor. The conversation takes place in two (or three) different languages, one used by each interlocutor, but with each interlocutor usually fully comprehending what the other is saying. This type of codeswitching seems to occur

more commonly between interlocutors who are familiar with each other and each others' preferences, such as parent and child or grandparent and grandchild.

2.2 Language choice

Language choice "is an 'orderly' social behaviour, rather than a random matter of momentary inclination." (Wei 2000: 59) According to Edwards (1994: 6-7), English, being one of "the 'large' languages of the world" for economic advancement and for status, is often the language of choice based on "many prejudices and preferences associated with languages." This view is also expressed in Kamwangamalu (2003: 227) who says that African languages may be seen as economically and internationally inferior in comparison to English. Schmied in *English in Africa* (1991: 191-3) says that English "is gaining ground among the coloured groups, which were historically strongly oriented towards Afrikaans". English in South Africa, he finds, has symbolic value as the language of liberation among blacks Africans. He says further that English "has pragmatic international value" in that it is seen as a *lingua franca* in the world of business and technology. Edwards (1994: 89) finds that English fulfills the wish for a *lingua franca*, for social access and for identifying with a new group. Edwards (1994: 103) notes that when "one possesses higher status" the possible effect is "lack of transmission to children". De Kadt's (2005: 19) study of language shift to English amongst Zulu students at the University of KwaZulu-Natal expresses similar concerns of lack of transmission of indigenous languages and the view amongst a younger generation that English is the only language of the future. She says that "English as language of learning and teaching has been shown to be spreading beyond the classroom and to be displacing the various indigenous mother tongues in social context and ultimately in the home."

In Dyers' (2007: 110) case study of a Wesbank teenager whose youngest sibling is being raised as English First Language, there is the strong likelihood that when she raises her own children she may opt to not only have them educated in English as she is, but also choose English as their dominant language at home. The introduction of

English at this stage, in pre-primary schooling, according to the hypothesis of this research (JLF), seems to pre-determine the dominant language for this and future generations. Already, even in this impoverished community, where people seem to prefer the use of their various mother-tongues, the attitude that English is the language of “upwards social mobility” and as “the key to good employment” is shared. Dyers’ case study teen also admits that she uses English when communicating with her boyfriend, which indicates that English is the language used by this multilingual speaker in at least one private/intimate domain. (Dyers 2007: 115)

According to Romaine (2000: 51), “choices made by individuals on an everyday basis have an effect on the long term situation of the languages concerned.” The “effect” of the choice made by a number of SCHOOL A parents to change the dominant or academic language of their children is that the other languages, notably (parents’ first language), are no longer used as media of instruction. Subsequently, use of the parents’ first language may diminish in other spheres, first academically and then, although perhaps not immediately, socially. The first obvious domain where the language diminishes is at school, while at home the “other” language is still often dominantly in use. The use of a language for academic reasons, which is also *lingua franca*, in one sphere nonetheless “positively” affects its use in other domains. Users gain greater confidence in a language they tend to use for a greater part of their day, at school and become more proficient in this language. The concern has emerged that those South Africans who are predominantly first language speakers of Afrikaans (or of any one of the other indigenous, official languages) and have chosen to educate their children in English, are prompting a shift towards using English as first language.

This investigation will attempt to determine whether SCHOOL A parents’ choice on macro-level impacts and encourages learners’ micro-level language choice and language use. Due to the fact that they are placed in a multilingual setting, learners at SCHOOL A use different languages or mix of languages in their different social domains and their choices determined by the setting, interlocutor and the topic. The school has

many learners who individually speak a vast array of different languages as home languages, but as most learners use English as medium of instruction or as their academic first language (LOLT), it also becomes *lingua franca* and thus their choice in various social and personal domains. This means that, as policy determines, these learners use English as first language at school, at least in classrooms, while their parents may speak another language as first language at home. On the other hand, with peers, learners use a mix of their known, common languages (English, Afrikaans and Xhosa) on the sport field, playground or social groupings. Learners may, for example, find that they only use formal English, i.e. not mixed with Afrikaans or Xhosa, in classrooms with their teachers, choose to mix three languages when communicating with their peers and use Afrikaans at home with their families.

2.3 Language shift

In David Crystal's *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* (2003: 259), 'language shift' is described as "the gradual or sudden move from the use of one language to another, either by an individual or by a group." Fishman (1989: 206) states that "what begins as the language of social and economic mobility ends, within 3 generations or so, as the language of the crib as well, even in democratic and pluralism-permitting contexts." The survival of a language is dependent on a number of factors, which influence one another and the individuals and communities who use the language.

...the central domains of intergenerational mother tongue continuity...include not only hearth and home but neighborhood [i.e. residential concentration], elementary schooling...religious sphere as well. Taken together, these are the societal foundations that one inherits, that define community and that one hands on to the next generation on a societal rather than merely on an individual basis. Fishman (1989: 396)

Studies by Li Wei in Tyneside, Britain and Suzanne Romaine in Oberwart, Austria, support this hypothesis. Further support is provided by, amongst other, South African

studies of Kamwangamalu (2003), de Kadt (2005) and de Klerk and Bosch (1998). The “pluralism-permitting contexts” in South Africa is one such area demanding the attention of numerous language shift studies by socio-linguistics. Despite eleven official languages in South Africa, it concerns certain linguists as well as academics in other areas of study, that only English is fast becoming the language of choice in many contexts and demographic areas.

Wei’s (1994) study in the Chinese British community of Tyneside shows that language shift often occurs when people settle in a foreign country and then adopt the first language of their host country as their first language. Wei (1994: 103) states that “language shift from Chinese monolingualism to English dominant bilingualism is taking place in the Tyneside Chinese community within the space of three generations.” Similar to the families in the Western Cape, the younger, school-going generation is where the language shift occurs, while the older generations maintain their first language, speaking English only to the children. Chinese, however, is not an official language in this British community and therefore Chinese parents have very little choice but to have their children educated in English if they are to participate economically and academically.

Saville-Troike (2003: 209-210) relates her research on the Alabama-Coushatta reservation in Texas where two languages were maintained despite the fact that the children received their schooling in English and all the afore-mentioned rewards were attached to being EFL speakers. She says that a survey done in these communities thirty years later by Halmari in 1998, shows that both the languages are still “viable and vibrant media of communication for many children and young adults.” Saville-Troike further says that positive attitude and talking the language to children when they are young is important for maintenance of such languages. “[T]he relationship between attitudes and language maintenance, shift, and spread remains a viable topic for investigation.” (Saville-Troike 2003: 209-210)

As a comparative study, a community of Spanish teenagers, newcomers to America and introduced to English, was the topic of investigation by Garcia and Bartlett (2007). In this study, the relatively closed community of Gregorio Luperon, a New York High School, where learners who excelled academically above similar other newcomers to America, was the topic of investigation. The interest this study has in relation to other studies presented here is that it indicates no such language shift towards their second language (also English) of the Spanish L1 learners. The reason for this as well as what happens in Dyers' (2007) Wesbank High study, in relation to SCHOOL A , shall be investigated when results of the current study have been analysed. Myers-Scotton's (2006: 70) three models of community organization which influence language shift will be looked at as the possible indicators of the likelihood of language shift or not.

According to Schmied (1991: 31-32), oral communication in English amongst African families is sometimes very limited, "except perhaps when educated, urban parents want to help their children to acquire English". He finds that even African language speakers who have little or no education themselves are ambitious for their children to learn English (Schmied 1991: 170). This may well be the case in the SCHOOL A community where, on first impression, it seems most of the parents are the first generation in their families to have completed high school and/or tertiary level education. Also parents who themselves did not have the opportunity of completing high school studies generally do not want their children to lack opportunities in the same way as they do. An English education has in the past been something to which certain races in South Africa were denied access due either to poverty or the Apartheid Government laws. Many may believe that English is the passport to a better life. "The instrumental value of English is recognized by all, even those who have not benefited from it." (Schmied 1991: 170)

In their study of language shift evidenced in the case of a primary school learner in Grahamstown, De Klerk and Bosch (1998) report a decrease of mother-tongue Afrikaans speakers as shown in comparative recordings of 1980 and 1991 census in the Eastern Cape. They further acknowledge a noted "shift in language allegiance in favour

of English in South Africa.” (1998: 43) In the study over the period of a year in the life of a 10 year old boy moved from an Afrikaans to an English medium school, they note a marked difference in attitude towards English (positive) and Afrikaans (negative). While his home environment remained Afrikaans, within a year of being in the English school, he considered himself to be English first language, and Afrikaans appears to now be his second language. Although de Klerk and Bosch considered him at the time to be “on the fulcrum of true bilingualism, simultaneously English and Afrikaans”, the boy reports to not being able to read Afrikaans as well as he does English (1998: 50). In the interview with his mother, it appears that it had never been the parents’ intention for him to become English, especially not his father who has strong Afrikaans bonds. The exposure to English at school alone served the purpose of changing his sense of linguistic identity from Afrikaans to English. This is the consideration of the present study: that exposure in the domain of school alone is, in some instances, sufficient for learners to identify so strongly with the LOLT so as to consider themselves as first language speakers of that language.

There seems to be two distinct types of language shift and language choice possible in such a community, namely: macro shift and micro shift. Macro shift occurs when parents decidedly opt for a first language other than their own as first language for their children. This means that they have changed the way in which their children would otherwise have communicated with the outside world. The language chosen for academic purposes becomes the dominant language. This language shift also, in this instance, influences the boundaries within which their children can communicate. English is a language not only more widely understood in South Africa, but also internationally. Afrikaans is a language limited to a specific part of the South African population only. The individual’s language thus influences communicative ability across academic and social boundaries.

Micro shift occurs when bilingual speakers switch from one language to another within their own social circles, among family members and friends. This could occur because

speakers are proficient in either language or feel comfortable switching between the two languages. The switch could also mean that there is awareness that one of the interlocutors is not as proficient in either one of the languages for prolonged conversations and the language shift occurs within the context of the conversation at either one of the interlocutor's initiation. According to Wei (2000: 61), there "is an understanding of social constraints and linguistic rules as part of a single communicative system." Myers-Scotton (2000: 137) sees codeswitching as an indicator of "social negotiations" between interlocutors.

Wei (1994: 23) says that being bilingual "is having two or more worlds of experience...cultures". For a younger generation to be bilingual, and not to lose their parents first language, could serve a number of important purposes. One reason is that persons who choose or are taught a first language which differs from the language predominantly used by the rest of their community, continue the use of the other language for intergenerational communication with family or community members such as grandparents. The advantage that these learners have over others in their community, who are not proficient in both, is that they are more able to communicate across national and international barriers.

Language shift occurs when "two languages compete for use in the same situations" and "a speech community collectively gives up [or switches first languages-JLF] a language in favour of some other". (Wei 2000: 60) Parents may not intend for their first language to be given up completely and may not realize the implications of the preferred language choice by their children. The reasons for the possible language shift in the Western Cape school community (attempting to assimilate with the host country is not relevant) is to be investigated in this study. Language attitudes which clarify "the feelings people have for their own [language] or the language(s) of others" must be considered in the context of the possible shift occurring here. Wei (2000: 14) states that the languages most popular among users are those which are internationally and economically common and that "lower place is given in the status ranking to minority languages which

are small, regional and of less perceived value in the international marketplace.” The reason that many learners whose parents have chosen to have their children educated in one language, still use their parents’ first language at home, could be that “[t]hrough language choice, we maintain and change ethnic group boundaries and personal relationships, and construct and define ‘self’ and ‘other’ within a broader political economy and historical context.” (Wei 2000:15)

Parents, while wanting to afford their children all the economic and social advantages of related to the language they speak at home. The fact that all but one of South Africa’s official languages has no or little international value should be of little consequence to the people who associate their indigenous languages with their cultural heritage. This may not be so in all communities where it is found that some families feel little loyalty to Afrikaans. Evidence of a lack of language loyalty is reported in Anthonissen and George’s (2003) study of three Western Cape families. Alternately, lack of linguistic loyalty seems not to be the case in Dyers’ Wesbank community nor for some in the SCHOOL A community, where parents and learners continue to use Afrikaans and/or Xhosa in their private domains. Also in this study, many speakers of isiXhosa as home language feel a stronger connectedness to their language than AHL speakers in the same school community. There is an assumption that there should be sufficient support for and proof of the continuous use of community languages, despite the possible preference amongst learners for English. However, it would seem that the unintentional result of introducing an internationally and economically viable language, English, as medium of education may have a negative impact on language use and numbers of future generation speakers of certain indigenous languages in all domains over time.

Kamwangamalu (2003: 225) cites research evidence by de Klerk 2000, Kamwangamalu 2001 and Reagan 2001, to show that there has indeed been “a steady language shift, especially from the indigenous African languages to English in urban Black [and “coloured”] communities” since the abolishment of Apartheid. The threat to the “stability”

of the language is due to the fact that two languages may “compete for use in the same domains.” (Romaine 2000: 49) De Klerk and Bosch (1998) show an overall decrease from 1980 and 1991 in mother tongue use of Afrikaans in the Grahamstown region. The two domains of chief concern in their investigation are school and home and how the mix of languages used between these two domains affects the use of the one as well as the other. This means that the influence of the academic and/or home language of learners may affect the social domains outside of school and home. In certain school communities across the Western Cape, families may often choose to have English as the medium of education for their children while the home language often remains that of the parents’ first language, Afrikaans. This, nevertheless, may change if children, educated in English, choose English as first home language for their own children. These learners may by the end of their school career consider themselves more proficient in English. Although learners may hitherto be comfortable speaking Afrikaans, the parents’ first language eventually becomes the learners’ second language.

2.4 Language attitude

Attitude towards a language is often the determining factor when deciding on one dominant language over another. One language has to be viewed as more beneficial for one or more reasons in order for a shift towards bilingualism and/or dominance to occur, especially when people have freedom of choice over their language. English and Afrikaans enjoyed equal status in South Africa during the Apartheid years and now share official status with 9 other languages. There is no apparent institutional threat to Afrikaans, as people still have relative choice to study and learn in either of the two languages. Support for this view is found in Fishman (1989: 240) who says that “spreading languages [such as English - JLF] that are not being imposed by force must provide (or promise to provide) entrée to scarce power and resources or there would be little reason for indigenous populations to adopt them for intergroup use, or, by extension, for certain subsequent intragroup use as well.”

Saville-Troike (2003: 201) reports that “a basic assumption in most theories of culture change is that there are always two counterforces operating in a society: one for change and one for persistence”. She says that speakers’ “different attitudes toward language may determine linguistic fate” and that the “affective functions a language is felt to serve in the community” is important to its survival. “Stability of multiple languages in contact...occurs where each has a unique domain, and is thus reserved a continuing function in society.” (Saville-Troike 2003: 202) Some learners at SCHOOL A may feel that they would want their own children to learn Afrikaans/Xhosa in order that they may be able to communicate with other Afrikaans/Xhosa speakers. While there is a shift towards English due to economic/academic benefits for its users, a certain number of these learners may indeed feel that their parents’ first language will continue to serve a social role for them as well as for their own children, albeit that it shifts to second language status. While the reason for using English as academic language by certain learners at SCHOOL A may be because of its universality, some learners may still realize that Afrikaans/Xhosa has a social function. Afrikaans may thus still be seen as a functional language in certain parts of communities where language shift is occurring.

Romaine (2000) expresses a more pessimistic view of what happens when language shift occurs:

Language shift generally involves bilingualism (with diglossia) as a stage on the way to eventual monolingualism in a new language. Typically a community which was once monolingual becomes bilingual as a result of contact with another (usually socially more powerful) group and becomes transitionally bilingual in the new language until their own language is given up altogether. (Romaine 2000: 50-51)

She finds the language choices which we make are influenced by the society in which we live. She says that “[l]anguage shift generally involves bilingualism” and that “[m]any smaller languages are dying out due to the spread of a few world languages such as English...” She uses the example of language shift from Hungarian to German in

Oberwart, Austria to illustrate the decline of one language due to social and economic pressures. Oberwarters have very little choice in which language they choose, as their freedom of choice is limited if they want to advance in business and employment opportunities (Romaine 2000: 51-53). In South Africa, similar cases have been researched, with languages of Indian communities, such as Tamil and Gujarati, declining in use by younger generations. This occurrence is due to similar reasons as in the Oberwater and Tyneside communities. Similarly, it may be that in South Africa, English proficiency is deemed necessary for academic and professional advancement. Unlike the situation in Oberwart, Afrikaans is recognized as an official language and is the language of a vast majority of people in more than one province. The people of the Western Cape, choosing English as first language for their children, are not under any obvious pressure to shift from one language to another. The common thread in the international and local examples of language shift is the perceived social and economic advancement associated with acquiring as first language the language which the shift is favourably leaning towards. The prospects for languages such as Afrikaans, however, appear not to be as bleak as Romaine finds in other similar communities, as Afrikaans is still widely used as community language for a vast number of people across the country and especially in the Western and Northern Cape. The concern is that because Afrikaans is not an internationally spoken language (i.e. it is not widely used in any other country except South Africa), it is not seen as a language benefiting its speakers economically or academically in the international arena.

Parents may feel that despite their current first language having official status, their second language may benefit their children more; they then choose to introduce that language as their children's first language. The language attitudes and language choices by parents of the learners at SCHOOL A for reasons other than trying to fit in with a host culture will also be investigated in this research. Crystal (2003: 259) agrees that language shift "is particularly found among second- and third- generation immigrants...faced with the pressure to communicate in the language of the host country." While this is not the case for most learners in the SCHOOL A community,

similar to the Tyneside Chinese community, certain learners at SCHOOL A use English firstly as medium of instruction, which then becomes their language of choice, even if their parents continue to use another language at home. Parents of these learners may not have given sufficient consideration of the implications of their decision to have their children educated in English. Loss or lack of proficiency in their parents' first language is a concern in this community, if not as much as in others where the parents' language is seldom used outside of their minority home communities. The children in the Tyneside community speak either both Chinese and English or English alone to some of their interlocutors (which does not occur amongst any other generation) Wei (1994: 90-95). The notion that learners at SCHOOL A would thus also either use only English or show English dominant patterns with their parents and/or grandparents, while neither their parents nor grandparents are English first language, will be explored. This thesis will also investigate whether older generations in the SCHOOL A community, as in Tyneside, accommodate or encourage their children's language choice. According to Wei (1994: 97-99), English dominant patterns occur in younger speakers, while they still use some Chinese with their parents and grandparents.

Saville-Troike (2003: 270) explains that "potential language related discrimination becomes institutionalized in the enactment of language policies" and that "these commonly privilege some languages". Saville-Troike further describes language as "potential force for social elevation...that communication is part of economics, and language is a resource which forms *linguistic capital*." While this may not overtly be the case in South Africa, it cannot be denied that English as *lingua franca* is the preferred language in business, academic studies and politics. In South Africa, as in the US (Saville-Troike 2003: 270), "covert implementation" allows English to hold "that *de facto* status and is covertly privileged in many ways." In South Africa, many parents may be aware that employment applications require proficiency in English as well as one/any other official language. Afrikaans now, as opposed to during the Apartheid era where it shared preferred language status only with English, seems seldom to be an equal

requirement for employment. English, thus, becomes the economic language of choice while the other 10 languages are left to share a sort of sub-status of "either/or."

De Klerk and Bosch's (1998) citation of census of 1980 and 1991 showing a decrease in mother-tongue speakers of Afrikaans in the Eastern Cape in favour of the use of English is further reiterated in Kamwangamalu (2003: 228-231), who gives interesting background on attitudes of language shift in South Africa. Kamwangamalu (2003: 226) shares Romaine's pessimistic view that certain languages are disappearing in favour of economically and globally dominant languages. Kamwangamalu says that with post-Apartheid social change in South Africa, language shift from mother-tongue languages to English is increasing. Negative attitudes towards mother-tongue education (an inferior form of education for blacks instituted by Apartheid government) and Afrikaans (due to the promotion of Afrikaans under Apartheid) persist in the new South Africa, where English has and is still seen as the mark of a better education. The promotion of mother-tongue education by current government policies seems not to be achieving its goals due to the double-edged sword it is fighting against, namely, social viability of English and history of a negative mind-set against indigenous language education in South Africa.

This thesis will, as part of its investigation, attempt to show whether parents from the mostly "coloured" community of SCHOOL A share the views as expressed by Kamwangamalu's (2003) general study of language attitude in South Africa. Anthonissen and George's (2003) study of language shift of particular "coloured" families in the Western Cape investigates parental attitude towards languages and how this attitude may encourage a generational language shift from Afrikaans to English. When parents see one language as having more value than another, these attitudes are often transferred to the younger generation, who then not only long for an English identity but may also be likely to deny their Afrikaans/English bilingual identity.

CHAPTER 3 - METHODOLOGY

The research reported here is interested in the patterns of language choice and language use by a particular community of learners at a multiracial school in the Western Cape who come from a predominantly Afrikaans community but are registered and learn as EFL speakers. Various research instruments were used to collect information on the linguistic resources and language use of learners in the senior phase of secondary school across various domains. The particular instruments used here were school records, questionnaires, recorded interviews and less formal interviews recorded by means of interviewer notes. Limited access to school records and distribution of questionnaires was made possible by the school management. Learner and parent language preferences and attitudes were investigated by means of interviews.

Due permission to conduct this research and collect the data according to accepted procedures, was obtained from the Western Cape Department of Education (see Addendum A), from school management and from teachers at the particular school. Also, learners and parents who participated were informed of the kind of research being conducted, and were asked to participate and to give consent for using the relevant data. All participants were free to refuse participation or to withdraw at any time. Assurance has been given that no person will be personally identified in the research output, and the schools involved are also, for obvious reasons, not specifically named.

3.1 Target group

Teenage learners from a former Model C High School in the Helderberg region close to the Boland were chosen for this research thesis. The school, which is one of the oldest high schools in the region, has within a number of years, become a multiracial, multilingual school, accommodating learners from vastly different backgrounds. The principal of the particular High School granted permission for the use of school records for the limited purpose set out in the proposal; he also very graciously allowed school

time during which learners could fill in the questionnaires, and learners could be interviewed during school hours but outside of lesson time.

3.2 Centralised Educational Management Information System (CEMIS)

CEMIS records, provided by the school, were used to establish the number of learners enrolled at the school, as well as numbers of learners in each grade and their LOLT. Register class teachers were helpful in ascertaining and recording which languages parents of learners enrolled in EFL classes, used at home. This allowed for maximum response in minimum time by all learners present at the school on one particular day. This information was used to determine the number of learners who come from homes where the home language or parents' first language differs from the learners' LOLT. While this may not be a true or completely reliable reflection of which language is actually spoken in the home of certain learners, it is useful as an indicator of what learners consider their linguistic identity to be, or what they would like others to think their identity is.

3.3 Questionnaires

Questionnaires were carefully designed to answer and take consideration of the research questions and hypotheses of this study. The questionnaires concentrate on behaviour, perception and attitudes of bilingual language use. An example of the questionnaire that was used is attached as Addendum 2a. Samples of a number of the filled out questionnaire are attached as Addendum 2b. The full set of questionnaires has been saved for reference purposes, but has not been attached as they would be too voluminous. Questions posed required a variety of closed and open ended responses. Six questions, three with sub questions, were posed. The first question required respondents to give ratings on a scale of 1-5. Further, multiple choice questions required respondents merely to tick either a box where a range of options are given, or to tick a

yes/no response. The boxes vary slightly in size and design so that respondents do not see a uniform structure and become uninterested in what is seen on the pages. These questions were placed at the beginning so as not to make the questionnaire seem intimidating to the respondents. There are two responses placed closer to the end of the questionnaire which required respondents to provide explanations or provide reasons for their responses.

One questionnaire was handed out to each of 303 Grade 10 and 11 EFL learners, the focus group of this study. The questionnaires were handed out on a test day so as to ensure maximum school attendance. This also ensured that questionnaires were completed under controlled conditions. Learners were handed the questionnaires immediately after completion of the school test and asked to fill them out before leaving.

The study focuses specifically on a group of learners in the senior phase, as it aims to determine whether learners in the EFL classes who come from Afrikaans dominant bilingual backgrounds consider their linguistic identity to be English by the time they reach the end of their school careers. Key questions for this study were developed by taking into account Fishman's definitions of domains and the importance of these as determining factors to language shift. The 303 learners in the Grade 10 and 11 EFL classes were asked to complete the questionnaire during a register class period (Home Room). Learners were allocated a period of 15-30 minutes within which to complete the questionnaire (this was due to time constraints of the school day). Teachers were available to assist learners, explaining any of the questions needing clarity. The educator supervision ensured that all learners present at school on this particular day, handed back the questionnaires and also ensured maximum responses.

The data collected by means of the questionnaires has been entered on spread sheets and used to determine learners' own perception of their language proficiency, comparison of their perception of language proficiency, patterns of domain usage as well as generational differences of dominant language i.e. grandparents, parents, learners and their siblings. The spread sheets also make it straightforward to note

respondents' age, gender, primary school attended and stage at which learners had been introduced to English as LOLT. The questionnaire also attempts to uncover learners' attitude towards their languages, perception of their own language ability in the languages which they know and patterns of language use in different domains. Choice of language for intimate domains is indicated by asking which language they use to study and whether this differs from their language of instruction. The information gained from the questionnaire gives a relatively broad perspective on the distribution of various languages in the particular group of learners. This is considered relevant to this study because it is necessary to first establish that the phenomena the project will investigate are in fact pervasive enough to justify the research interest. Also, some learners speak Afrikaans only at home while receiving instruction mainly in English. The purpose is to determine which language has the main influence on their private domains and future choice of language use. Learners were asked which language they would have preferred as main language if they were to be given the choice. Their responses were used as an initial indicator of learners' attitudes to the different languages at their disposal.

3.4 Learner Interviews

This section of the study is based on 23 interviews that allow for closer investigation of attitudes, choices and especially whether there is significant evidence of a sustained process of language shift. Learners were selected from those respondents who filled in questionnaires. The interviews were conducted with 20 of the EL1 learners who in the questionnaires had indicated that they use Afrikaans in social domains (with family, peers, religious domain) and with 3 EFL learners who indicated that they use isiXhosa in those domains. The interviews were recorded and have been transcribed for easy reference. Copies of five such interviews which serve as representative examples have been attached here as Addendum 3. All the learner responses of the interviews have been transcribed, and all recordings have been saved for future checking purposes.

They have not all been attached to the thesis because of the volume they would make up.

Learners interviewed are a selected group from those who indicate on their questionnaires that, while they are mostly exposed to Afrikaans in their familial and social domains and have a strong Afrikaans background i.e. one or both of their parents grew up AFL, they considered English to be their dominant language. These learners were eager to participate in the interviews without any offer of a reward. Nevertheless, they were given a cooldrink and a chocolate to thank them for their time. Learners were first reminded about the questionnaire which they had filled in about 6 weeks prior to the interview and asked to verify some of the information gained from these questionnaires. The reason that a relatively long time had elapsed between filling in the questionnaire and the interviews, is so that the recollection of specific questions posed in the questionnaire would not influence the interviewee's responses to the interviewer's questions. This is especially significant when raising issues of attitude and language choice in certain domains. It is important to get an indication of whether responses to similar questions in the questionnaire and interview could be correlated. Most learners could either not immediately recall having filled in the questionnaire or, and in addition, could not recall their responses to specific questions. While some interviewees admitted to being slightly nervous, all respondents reacted positively towards being interviewed and willingly complied. The names of the interviewees were called out in the hall and they were informed of the venue where the interviews were to be held. They were then asked, if willing to be interviewed, to report to the venue at a specific time. All of the respondents called, arrived on time of their own accord.

The procedure was explained to learners prior to the interview and they were informed that a digital recorder would be used and that the interview or parts of the interview would later be transcribed. Learners were asked prior to recording whether they would prefer the interview to be conducted in English or Afrikaans.

The following procedure was followed:

Pre-interview – Given a choice, would you prefer to have this interview conducted in English or Afrikaans? I have to ask the questions in English first, but please let me know if you would like me to repeat/translate anything in Afrikaans. Also, feel free to respond in Afrikaans or codeswitch (use Afrikaans words if you cannot think of an English word). You will notice that some of the questions I shall ask in the interview are similar to those in the questionnaire you filled in a little while ago.

Learner Interview Questions

1. Which languages can you speak, read and write?
2. Which of these languages are you better at in (a) speaking (b) reading (c) writing?
3. You indicated in the questionnaire that you often used Afrikaans in various social domains such as with peers, siblings, parents and at church/mosque. Is Afrikaans or English the language you feel most comfortable speaking? Can you give me a reason for your answer?
4. What language do you speak to you parents/ brothers& sisters/ grandparents/ other family members?
5. English is your main language at school. Do you find it difficult to use English at school and Afrikaans at other times/places?
6. Do you have friends who speak Afrikaans only?
7. What language is used at church/mosque?
8. What other interests/activities do you have? What language is used during these activities?
9. What do you plan to do after school – which language will be most helpful to know?
10. Would you have preferred English or Afrikaans as your main language in all spheres (academically and socially)? Can you give me a reason for your answer?
11. In EL1 classes, such as the one you are in, do you think that children who come from homes where English is the first language (i.e. their parents speak mostly English), often fair better than children who come from Afrikaans homes?

12. Should children be placed in First Language classes depending on the language which is spoken at home?
13. I do not know how you are performing academically. Do *you* think that you would have done better at school had you been placed in an Afrikaans First Language class because your family speaks Afrikaans at home?
14. Which language would you one day prefer to raise your children with? English, Afrikaans or strongly bilingual?
15. Which language do you think should be their dominant language? Why?

During the initial stage of the interview learners were asked which languages they could speak, read and write and then which of these languages they felt they were better at speaking, reading and writing. The learners were then asked whether, as stated in their responses to the questionnaires, they often used Afrikaans in various domains other than using English as LOLT. The learners also all indicated that they were enrolled in English medium classes and received all of their lessons in English, except for Afrikaans which they take as First Additional Language. Certain of the learners indicated that some of the classes are dual medium. The reason for this is that there are not enough Afrikaans First Language learners in certain subjects to warrant an Afrikaans class in that subject and not enough teachers to have two separate classes for so few learners.

As had been explained earlier, while questionnaires and data had been collected from all learners in the target group, this research thesis cannot investigate learners from all language backgrounds. Learners at the school come from diverse language backgrounds, such as Chinese, German, Sotho, French and Portuguese. Learners from isiXhosa language backgrounds were interviewed and some of their responses relevant to this study are also recorded. This study does not claim to be representative of the entire school population or community. It does, however, allow a representation of the majority of the interviewed learners as well as many of their peers, to show whether or not there is a language shift in favour of English. It may also show which language is shown to have a more profound effect on the preferred language use and linguistic

identities of these learners from AFL backgrounds, receiving their educational instruction in English. The most important indicators of this are, perhaps, the question of which language they indicate they want to be interviewed in and which language they may choose to be the dominant language of their own children. The language choices of these learners were also investigated in order to examine their language use across domains and their attitude to their various community languages indicated by which language the majority of learners say they would prefer to use in future outside of the domain of the classroom and school.

The questions set by the interviewer were mostly open-ended. While questions were set out, the interviews were conducted as conversations. If a topic arose which involved the answering of a question set out later, the interviewer allowed this and adjusted the questions later in the interview. It was not necessary to directly pose all of the questions as some were already answered as part of the conversation related to another question. Certain questions required short responses while other questions allowed for flow in conversation between interviewee and interviewer.

3.5 Parent Interviews

Parents selected for interviews were those who are AFL and have learners enrolled in grade 10 and 11 EFL classes at SCHOOL A. Parent interviews were conducted as field work through various conversations with parents of learners enrolled at SCHOOL A. Notes taken during and after conversations with parents recorded these interviews. Of the parents four are ex-colleagues at a school where the interviewer previously taught and one works at a private corporation. These parents all have tertiary education, i.e. have obtained diplomas or degrees at a training college or university. They all indicated that although they had been raised AFL they have opted to have their children raised as either EFL or English-dominant bilingual.

The following questions were used to structure the interviews with parents:

1. Which languages do you speak to your children?
2. Which language do your children speak to you?
3. Which language do your children use in their private domains such as crying out and counting to themselves?
4. Which language do your children use with their friends?
5. Which language do other older family and community members use with your children?
6. Why have you decided to enroll your children as EFL at an ex-model C school?
7. Which language did your own parents speak to you while growing up?
8. Are you aware of your children's attitudes towards their different languages?

Results of this data are presented in Chapter 4 and detailed discussion is presented in Chapters 5 and 6.

CHAPTER 4 - INFORMATION GAINED IN DATA COLLECTION

This chapter will describe the information relevant to the research questions as it was provided by the various instruments of data collection. The research questions given in Chapter 1 (see paragraph 1.3) topicalise three important matters, namely the linguistic resources of learners in the EFL classes at SCHOOL A, the various domains in which learners use the different languages they know, and their particular language preferences. Information on these three aspects of learner's language proficiency and language use has been collected by means of four different instruments, namely (i) CEMIS data, (ii) information collected by teachers, (iii) questionnaires of 303 grade 10 and 11 EFL learners, and (iv) interviews with the 23 learners and with 5 parents of learners. The information gained from each of these will be presented here, in three sections addressing the research questions systematically. Section 4.1 will give information on the linguistic resources of learners as it was revealed in the CEMIS data and teacher's lists. Section 4.2 will give information on the linguistic resources, the domains of language use and the preferences of learners as it was revealed in the questionnaires. Section 4.3 will give information on the linguistic resources, the domains of language use and the preferences of learners as it was revealed in the interviews. The interviews with parents focused on the various resources of learners, how parents motivate their decision on which language they prefer as the first language of their children and on which languages are used in which domains.

This section gives a profile of the linguistic resources of the learners who made out the set of respondents in this study. The interest is specifically in learners competent to some extent in at least Afrikaans and English; a smaller number of learners competent in at least isiXhosa and English have also been included.

The table below gives an overview of the various research instruments and how each contributed to answering to the five research questions. For easy reference the research questions are given again.

Q1. What are the linguistic resources of the English L1 learners in the chosen sample? (i.e. which languages does each learner know?)

Q2. Which languages are typically used in various social domains: home, school, church and among peers?

Q3. Do learners switch from one language to another in different contexts, or is there a strong preference for use of one language variety rather than another across private and public domains of language use?

Q4. Which language preferences are expressed?

Q5. How are the learners' language preferences overtly motivated?

	Department of Education data	Class lists Teachers' information	Learner Questionnaire	Learners Interviews	Parents Interviews
	963	303	303	23	5
Q1	Indicates languages for which learners are registered	Indicates which languages, according to learners, are used in their homes	Q 1 enquires which languages learners are able to speak, read, write	Learners asked which languages they can speak, read, write (Q 1,2)	Parents asked which languages their children use (Q 1,2)
Q2		Teachers asked learners which language their parents use with them	In Q 2, 3.1, 4 learners indicate which languages are used in various contexts	Learners asked which languages they use in various domains (Q 3,4,5,6,7)	Parents asked which languages their children use in various domains (Q 3, 4, 5)

Q3			In Q 2, 4, 5.2 learners indicate use of one or both language in various domains	Learners indicate whether they codeswitch in most domains (Q4, 5,6,7)	Parents asked which language their children prefer in various domains (Q 3, 4, 5)
Q4			Q 6.1 shows most learners indicate that they prefer to use English in most domains	Learners are asked which language they prefer (Q 9, 10, 14, 15)	Most parents indicate that their children prefer to use English in most domains
Q5			Q 6.2 shows most indicated that they prefer English as they understand it better	Better for job opportunities and tertiary education (Q 10, 15)	Better for tertiary education and live and work abroad (Q 6)

4.1 Profile of multilingualism among respondents: linguistic resources

This section profiles the particular community of learners' linguistic repertoire, i.e. it gives an impression of which languages they know and to what extent they rate themselves proficient in each. Here the research interest is specifically in information of linguistic resources provided by official records and teachers who have access to such records.

4.1.1 Profile of linguistic resources according to CEMIS Data

The CEMIS provides data of learner enrolment at all South African schools. This databank assisted in providing information on the linguistic resources of learners at SCHOOL A, particularly on the distribution of the two languages of learning and teaching

(English and Afrikaans) offered by the school. The 303 grade 10 and grade 11 EFL learners who participated in the questionnaire survey (see Addendum B); had EFL, AFL or XFL as home language. Of the surveyed learners only those who indicated that English and Afrikaans are the dominant home languages (i.e. 114 grade 10s and 115 grade 11s), were selected for in depth investigation of patterns of language choice and language use. Of the 23 learners interviewed, 20 had Afrikaans as home language and 3 isiXhosa.

As stated before, learners in SCHOOL A are mainly from the Afrikaans-dominant communities (Strand South, Strand North and Eersteriver). According to the CEMIS data of SCHOOL A for 2008, 963 learners are enrolled in all, of which 731 (76%) are registered EFL and 232 (24%) are registered AFL. Table 4.1.1 below shows the percentages and numbers of learners enrolled per grade as EFL or AFL learners. Although there is an indication of a slight increase over the grades in the use of English as LOLT, a trend which will see the complete disappearance of AFL cannot be predicted. Policy changes and/or advocacy in favour of multilingualism may turn this around in as short a time span. Statistically the percentage of EFL learners per grade is more or less similar in grades 8 to 10, indicating a stabilization of the EFL registration. The highest percentage increase is seen in grade 11 where there are only 19% AFL learners, 12% lower than the previous years' registration (grade 12) for AFL; in grade 12, the number of EFL learners is about 9% lower than grades 8 to 10. In the current 2008 grade 9 group, with only 22% (37 out of 166) learners enrolled with Afrikaans as LOLT, the numbers of learners did not allow for 2 AFL classes per grade.

Grade	EFL	AFL	Total
8	77% (171)	23% (52)	223
9	78% (129)	22% (37)	166
10	75% (162)	25% (53)	215
11	81% (141)	19% (33)	174
12	69% (128)	31% (57)	185

Table 4.1.1 CEMIS data: Learners enrolled per grade

The CEMIS data does not provide information of which languages are the home languages of the learners. The data also does not show how many learners speak languages other than English or Afrikaans, as these are the only two languages used as LOLT. There are, however, a number of learners who are proficient in other official national languages such as Xhosa, Tswana, Shona, as well as foreign languages such as Portuguese, Russian, and German in SCHOOL A. To gain more detailed information on the linguistic repertoire of learners, class register teachers of the grade 11 learners selected for this project assisted (i) by giving information available to them through regular interaction with learners and (ii) by circulating and collecting the questionnaires filled in by learners. The questionnaire used in this study was developed specifically to collect information for drawing a linguistic profile of the grade 10 and 11 learners enrolled in the group who indicated English as their first language and who therefore receive their schooling through medium of English.

4.1.2 Profile of linguistic resources according to teachers' class list data

Data regarding the home languages of learners indicates the linguistic repertoire and linguistic resources of the EFL learners in grades 10 and 11. This data could also be used to test how widespread multilingualism is in this speech community. The information collected from class register teachers can be triangulated with information gained from questionnaires and interviews in order to gain insight not only on which languages are used where, but also on learners' language attitudes and linguistic identities. The learners in the EFL-group who come from Afrikaans or Afrikaans/English homes are in regular contact with at least two languages namely English and Afrikaans. They all have English as their LOLT i.e. as their primary academic language.

Table 4.1.2 presents data collected from class lists of 162 grade 10 and 141 grade 11 EFL learners and indicates which language/s (English and/or Afrikaans) their parents, who are all from AFL backgrounds, speak at home. Although the CEMIS records of the school show a slightly higher number of learners in these grades, learner absenteeism on the days data was collected accounts for the lower numbers.

Language	Grade 10	Grade 11
Afrikaans	45 (27%)	16 (11%)
English	51 (31%)	69 (49%)
Afr/Eng (Codeswitching)	46 (28%)	34 (24%)
Blank or Other	20	22
Total	162	141

Table 4.1.2 Teachers' lists: Language spoken by parents of EFL learners

According to data collected 45 (27%) of the grade 10 learners and 16 (11%) of the grade 11 learners stated that their parents speak Afrikaans at home. In grade 11 49% (69) and in grade 10 31% (51) said that their parents speak English at home. In grade 10 28% (46) and of the grade 11 learners 24% (34) said that their parents speak both languages and codeswitch English/Afrikaans. It has to be kept in mind that a certain number of learners who said that their parents are English dominant at home could include learners who speak other official or foreign languages.

Some Other First Languages (OFL), besides Xhosa, indicated by learners as being used at home include Tsonga, Sesotho, Portuguese, German, French, Shona, Korean, Romanian, Zulu, Tswana and Dutch. However, unlike English, Afrikaans and Xhosa, these languages are used minimally at school, if at all. A number of learners whose parents use OFL and XFL, indicated that while they are able to speak these languages, they do not possess effective reading or writing skills. English and Afrikaans are taught as part of the school's curriculum, while Xhosa is used by a considerable number of learners as home language as well as with peers on the school grounds. The learners whose parents have an OFL, like the Xhosa learners, all have English as their academic language while many indicated that their parents use OFL as the dominant languages at home. This is worth mentioning as there seems to be a marked difference in attitude amongst the learners from AFL backgrounds when compared with learners from XFL and OFL backgrounds regarding languages used at home by their parents. A significant

number of learners with AFL parents indicated on teacher's class lists that their parents speak English at home, when it is later seen on questionnaires and in interviews that their parents in fact speak Afrikaans at home. Learners, whose parents use XFL and OFL as dominant languages at home, seem to be more overt about their parents' home language. Data confirms that the majority of learners at SCHOOL A including the EFL target group are bilingual, being able to understand, speak, read and write English and Afrikaans. Learners with other home languages than Afrikaans or English are most likely multilingual, i.e. besides their first language they probably know both English and Afrikaans, as these are the languages which are formally taught at the school.

4.2 Information gained by means of questionnaire

This section shows first the linguistic resources of learners as they were provided by learners themselves in the questionnaire. Second, it describes patterns and forms of language choice and language use (performance) by learners across various domains. Third, this section refers to the learners' attitudes to their languages by indicating the value they perceive each language has for them and for others.

Learners indicated their names, surnames, age, gender and primary school attended on the front page of the questionnaire. The learners' ages in this group range between 14 and 18 and most learners indicated that they attended local primary schools, some ex-Coloured and others ex-model C schools (see Addendum 2b). Most learners started their primary school as EFL learners or attended dual medium schools i.e. where both English and Afrikaans are spoken and taught. All learners who indicated that they started their primary school education with Afrikaans as LOLT switched to English as LOLT while still in their foundation phase.

Questionnaires of all respondents were coded to protect the privacy of respondents. The questionnaires were categorized and marked according to learners' responses as to whether their parents are English (E), Afrikaans (A) or Xhosa(X) dominant in communicating in the home. Where learners indicated that English and Afrikaans were

used together or codeswitching⁵ occurs (AE) is used. While only the Afrikaans/English and some Xhosa learners questionnaires were used for data analysis, questionnaires where learners indicated any other language as dominant parental language were also are marked (O).

The following table shows how questionnaires are marked according to learners' indication of dominant language at home. (A – Afrikaans, E – English, AE – Afrikaans/English with codeswitching):

Grade 10	A 15	E 23	AE 76
Grade 11	A 18	E 64	AE 33

Table 4.2 Questionnaire data: Learners' dominant home language (raw counts)

Questionnaires of the 303 respondents at SCHOOL A were used to gather information concerning the languages with which learners have regular contact and how these languages are used in different domains. While some respondents included languages other than English and Afrikaans as languages which are used in their homes, mainly data from the 229 EFL learners with Afrikaans backgrounds will be reflected and investigated here as the focus of this study. Those who indicated a greater use of Afrikaans in social domains and at home by their parents as well as some of those who indicate that their parents come from Afrikaans backgrounds will give an indication of whether language shift is in fact taking place in this community.

The parents of the learners chosen as focus group all have Afrikaans backgrounds but have chosen to have their children educated in the medium of English. The reason for paying dedicated to attention to learners from such a language background is to test the patterns of language choice and use of English more than Afrikaans across various

² The term "codeswitching" is used here to refer to the phenomenon whereby "individuals change languages frequently, often within one sentence." (Edwards 1994: 3)

domains in EFL learners from Afrikaans-dominant parents and communities. Certain other learners selected are those who mostly consider themselves to be English-dominant (i.e. indicated on class lists that English is used in the home) even though they have Afrikaans-dominant social and familial backgrounds (as noted in questionnaires).

Often in the analysis of questionnaire data the number of respondents per question may vary slightly (by 2-3) due to certain learners not having answered a particular question. In the English/Afrikaans grade 10 group 65 respondents were female and 49 male (114), while in grade 11, 60 were female and 55 male (115).

4.2.1 Profile of linguistic resources according to questionnaire

This section of the research sets out to identify the linguistic resources as well as profiling multilingualism amongst EFL learners at SCHOOL A of languages as used in their communities, homes and school. It will further show learners' perceptions of their own proficiency in these languages as tested in the questionnaire. This is relevant as certain learners chosen for the interviews are those who indicated in the data collected from these questionnaires and the class lists that their parents are from Afrikaans dominant backgrounds and that they often use (speak or hear) Afrikaans at home, as well as having strong Afrikaans communicative ties in the communities where they live. As stated above, learners indicated that they have received all or most of their primary school education in English. The reason for investigating learners' perception of their own language ability in Afrikaans and English is to ascertain learners' linguistic resources in light of the fact that they have been in regular contact with both languages from a young age, albeit in different domains.

The questionnaire firstly profiles learners' perceptions of their own proficiency in the languages which they use, namely English and Afrikaans. Here learners were required to rate, on a scale from 1 (very good) to 5 (not at all), their proficiency in reading, writing, listening and comprehending and speaking in English, Afrikaans and Xhosa or any other language.

Amongst the grade 10 group, 59% (67 out of 114) of learners rated themselves better in English than in Afrikaans, while 25% rated their proficiency equal in both languages and only 15% rated Afrikaans highest. Of the 15 respondents who had earlier indicated that Afrikaans is the dominant language in their homes, 3 (20%) rated themselves better at English, 7 (47%) rated their proficiency as equal, while 5 (33%) rated themselves better at Afrikaans.

In the grade 11 group, 76% of respondents (87 out of the 115) rated English as the language in which they speak, listen and comprehend, read and write better, while 16% rated themselves equally proficient in the two languages. Only 8% of the grade 11 group reported that they are more proficient in Afrikaans. Significantly, 72% (13 out of 18) of the respondents who had given an earlier indication that their parents mostly use Afrikaans in the home, rated themselves better at English. Of these respondents, 22% (4) rated themselves better at Afrikaans and 6% (1) rated themselves equal in both languages.

Learners, as bilingual speakers of Afrikaans and English, were also asked to indicate by means of a tick, which of the two they considered their strongest language. Some learners ticked both boxes, thereby indicating that they consider themselves equally proficient in their two languages. The reason for posing this question was to get a further indication of learners' linguistic resources and which of the two languages used in different domains, i.e. home and school, has the primary influence on learners' linguistic perception of which is their strongest language.

English	137(60%)
Afrikaans	24 (10%)
Both	68 (30%)

Table 4.2.1 Language considered as strongest amongst respondents to questionnaire (5.1)

When the learners were asked directly to indicate (as opposed to previously, when they were asked to rate their perceived ability on a scale) which of their languages they considered as their strongest, the majority of EFL learners (137 out of 229=60%) in grades 10 and 11 indicated that they consider English their strongest language. Recall that the majority of all learners in grades 10 and 11 stated on the questionnaires that they come from Afrikaans backgrounds (see Table 4.3). Out of 114 grade 10 respondents, 59% (67) rated English their strongest language, while 32% (37) of these learners rated English and Afrikaans equally and just 9% (10) consider Afrikaans as their strongest language. In the grade 11 group, 61% (70 out of 115) rated English their strongest language and 27% (31) of respondents said that the languages share this position. Here 12% (14) said that Afrikaans is their strongest language.

Furthermore, 47% of grade 10s (Table 4.2: A 1-15) who indicated that they come from Afrikaans dominant households said that English is the language in which they consider themselves to be the strongest, while 33% said Afrikaans is their strongest language. The rest of these learners rated their ability to be equal. Amongst the grade 11 group (A 1-18 in table 4.2) of AFL households, 50% rated English as their strongest language, while 33% said that Afrikaans is their strongest. Of the respondents, 17% said that they are equally competent in both languages. In both grade 10 and 11 groups who stated that Afrikaans is the language dominant in their homes, English is considered to be their own strongest language.

4.2.2 Patterns of language use in various domains according to questionnaire

This section shows the patterns of language use by EFL learners across various domains who live in Afrikaans-dominant communities and homes according to questionnaires. Table 4.2.2a below shows, in percentages, learners' use of languages across various domains. It shows which language form, namely: English only, Afrikaans only or codeswitched English-Afrikaans, is predominantly used in various domains. It

may be important later to determine how significant (or not) codeswitching is and how decided the language shift from one form of language to the other is.

Language	Classroom		School grounds		Parents		Peers (outside school)		Religious context	
	Gr10	Gr11	Gr10	Gr11	Gr10	Gr11	Gr10	Gr11	Gr10	Gr11
English	68%	69%	50%	50%	46%	54%	32%	33%	68%	70%
Afrikaans	0%	0%	8%	2%	12%	8%	14%	10%	7%	5%
Eng/Afr (codeswitch)	32%	31%	49%	48%	42%	39%	54%	57%	25%	25%

Table 4.2.2a Grade 10 and 11 learners' language use across various domains according questionnaires

Classroom According to the data, 77 out of 114 (68%) grade 10 learners reported that they speak mostly English in the classroom; the rest of the learners (32%) said that they use both languages in the classroom. None of the grade 10 learners indicated that they use Afrikaans alone in the classroom. Due to the fact that they are enrolled in EFL classes, school academic policy dictates that English is used during lessons. In grade 11, 69% of respondents said they use English exclusively in the classroom while 31% said they use both languages. Additionally, none of the grade 11 respondents indicated that they use Afrikaans alone in the classroom.

School grounds The data shows that 57 out of 114 (50%) of grade 10 learners said that they speak English on school grounds, 49 (43%) learners reported that they speak both languages (codeswitch) and only 8 (7%) learners said that they speak only Afrikaans. Similarly, 50% of grade 11 reported the use English only, 48% said they use both languages (codeswitch) and 2% reported to using only Afrikaans.

Parents In grade 10, 46% (52) learners reported that they speak English with their parents, 12% (14) reported to using Afrikaans and 42% (48) said they use both languages. Amongst grade 11 learners, 54% reported that they use only English with their parents and only 8% reported to using Afrikaans exclusively, while 39% reported using both languages (codeswitching).

Amongst the group of learners who indicated on teachers' class lists that their parents used mostly Afrikaans at home in grade 10 (A 1-15), 87% (13 out of 15) said that they speak Afrikaans to their parents. Amongst the grade 11 learners from this group (A 1-18) only 39% reportedly use Afrikaans only with their parents.

In both instances, a small number of learners said that they speak only Afrikaans to their parents (grade 10=14 while grade 11=8). Among respondents in the grade 10 (A 1-15) group who indicated on class lists that their parents most frequently speak Afrikaans at home, 76% (13 out of 17) indicated the use of Afrikaans exclusively with their parents, while 24% (4) said that they use both languages (codeswitch) at home. Amongst the grade 11 (A 1-18) Afrikaans group, responses to the same question showed that 41% (7 out of 17) of grade 11 respondents said that they speak only Afrikaans in the home.

Peers (outside school) 32% (37) of grade 10's said that they speak English with their peers, while 54% (61) reported to using both languages and 14% (16) said that they use only Afrikaans. 32% of grade 11s, reported using English only with peers, 57% reported using both and 10% said they use Afrikaans only.

Religious context 78 (68%) of grade 10's reported that English is most often used in this domain, 28 (25%) said both is used while 8 (7%) attend Afrikaans dominant religious institutions. Grade 11s, similarly reported that 70% of religious institutions accommodate attendants in English, 25% use both languages and only 5% are Afrikaans dominant.

4.2.2.1 Patterns of language use with family members

The data below shows the results from the questionnaire to language used in the home. It aims to determine whether or not, due to preferences shown of two community languages, learners use one (English) more than the other (Afrikaans) with members of their immediate family who are predominantly Afrikaans. The averages of grades 10 and 11 are shown in Table 4.2.2b.

	Siblings	Parents	Grandparents	Other family members
English	58%	25%	22%	16%
Afrikaans	7%	21%	26%	46%
Eng/Afr (codeswitching)	35%	54%	52%	38%

Table 4.2.2b Grade 10 and 11 learners' use of language at home

Responses indicated languages as used by the learners' family members at home as well as giving indications of how the learners use languages across different domains. The responses also showed that the numbers of learners registered in EFL classes who have Afrikaans family backgrounds i.e. their parents grew up Afrikaans or speak Afrikaans at home. The number of learners in grade 10 who responded to this question indicated that their parents are from Afrikaans background is 87 out of 114 (76%) and in grade 11, 85 out of 117 (72%) respondents said the same. This is significant because it shows that in both grades 10 and 11 at SCHOOL A, over two thirds or 74% of parents, who choose English as medium of education for their children, are from Afrikaans backgrounds. This also means that these learners are exposed to more than one dominant language, one at school and one at home or in the community in which they live. This information will also give a truer reflection as to which of the two languages will

be their dominant language or at least how the exposure to languages in different domains is considered to have the most influence on language choice.

In total 133 out of the 229 (58%) grade 10 and 11 EFL respondents stated in the questionnaires that they speak English with their siblings. Considerably less, 58 (25%) of respondents said that they speak English with their parents, 51 (22%) use it with their grandparents and 36 (16%) with other family members. Only 17 (7.4%) of these respondents use Afrikaans with siblings, 48 (21%) with parents and 59 (26%) with their grandparents. The remainder of the respondents indicated that they use both languages (codeswitch) in all their family domains. 'Other family members' is the only domain where Afrikaans is used more frequently than English.

It could be deduced that judging from parents' dominant language, most of the learners' grandparents are AFL. Yet only 35 out of 114 (31%) of grade 10 learners and 24 out of 117 (21%) of grade 11 learners indicated that their grandparents speak only Afrikaans to them. This signifies that learners' first language is accommodated by the older generation.

The difference between the number of learners who speak English with their parents and not their grandparents is minimal (4%), while the number of learners who speak English with their siblings (58%) are more than double than who speak it with their parents (25%). Only 30% of grade 10 learners, who speak only Afrikaans with their parents, also speak Afrikaans with their siblings. This means that 70% of learners who said that their home domain is Afrikaans due to the fact that their parents speak it, in fact, speak mostly English or codeswitch between English/Afrikaans.

In the grade 11 group, learners who speak Afrikaans with their parents, as well as with their siblings, is 22%, with 78% speaking English with their siblings but Afrikaans with their parents.

Learners were asked to state whether they use the same language at home with their family as they do with friends. In response, 169 out of 229 (74%) of grade 10 and 11 respondents indicated that they use the same language at home as at school. This has to be interpreted to mean that the majority of learners speak English or codeswitch across domains as most learners are in EFL classes. Some learners misinterpreted this question as many said that they use slang at school with friends but not at home.) Some learners also said that while they mix languages at school with friends, they do not do this at home.

Data shows that of those who interpreted the question as intended, 17 grade 10 learners indicated that they use Afrikaans at home and English at school. In grade 11, 8 learners who said 'No', indicated that they use Afrikaans at home and English at school with friends, while only 2 said it is the other way around i.e. Afrikaans at school with friends and English at home. Most responses of language switch i.e. where learners speak one language at school and another at home, is where learners speak English at school and Afrikaans at home.

4.2.3 Language attitudes and language preferences as expressed in questionnaire

This section gives an account of the pattern of language use that emerges by screening the data collected from the questionnaires as well as the value learners perceive their languages to have for themselves and others. It also considers to which extent learners regard the languages as separable systems in everyday use. Patterns of language use will be taken into account in order to determine how often one language is used over another, even when learners are in regular contact with both languages. The hypothesis tested here is that EFL learners from AFL parents and/or communities minimally switch to Afrikaans even if they have well-established receptive skills in their First Additional Language (Afrikaans in this case).

The question (3.1) posed to respondents acknowledges that while English is the medium of instruction, the learners may show a preference for one language over another. Learners were expected to indicate which language they are most comfortable using as means of studying. This was asked in order to establish which of their two languages has the greater influence on the learners' choice of language used for study purposes. Learners who indicate that they speak or are in regular contact with Afrikaans still said that English is the language they feel most comfortable with when studying content subjects. Also the Xhosa learners, who said that they are exposed almost exclusively to Xhosa at home, said that English is the language which they used for studying.

	Grade 10	Grade 11
Yes	88%	95%
No	1%	0%
Sometimes	21%	5%

Table 4.2.3 Learners' use of English for study: questionnaire data

Amongst grade 10 learners, 100 (88%) indicated that English is the language they use to study, while 1% said that it is Afrikaans. Of these learners 21% said that they sometimes use Afrikaans to study.

In the grade 11 group, 95% (109) of learners said that English is their language of learning, while 5% said that they sometimes use Afrikaans. Here none of the grade 11 learners indicated that Afrikaans is their sole language of learning, although 13% had indicated previously in the questionnaire that they do sometimes use Afrikaans.

The learners were asked about their language preference used for medium of education. Here 93% of grade 10s and 94% of grade 11s showed that they prefer English as their main medium of education. Only 6% of grade 10s and 3% grade 11s said that they would have preferred Afrikaans to be the language used for medium of

learning. The remaining 1% and 3%, respectively, showed no obvious preference for either of the two languages.

Most importantly, amongst the learners who indicated that Afrikaans is the dominant language used at home (see table 4.2), only 20% of grade 10s and 11% of grade 11s from these groups showed a preference for Afrikaans for study purposes, which means 80% and 89% respectively, showed a preference for English even though they and their family mostly use Afrikaans at home.

4.2.4 Overt motivation for language preferences by learners

Learners were asked to provide reasons for English being their preferred language for medium of education. Learners' responses in questionnaire had earlier shown that the overall (93% of grade 10 and 94% of grade 11) preference is for English. The most common reason learners gave for their preference is that they understand English better (25%). The second most common reason provided was that English is their home language (17%). English as a universal language was mentioned by 13% of learners and 12% of respondents said that they consider English to be the easier of the two languages.

Other responses included English being the better of the two languages and that English is comfortable and convenient to use. For some learners, English is seen as better for career opportunities. A few others said that because they had always been taught in English or had always received English schooling they are used to it. Only two respondents said that both languages 'are good' while 1 respondent sees Afrikaans as 'a stupid language'.

4.3 Information gained by means of interviews

This section deals firstly with the learner interviews, and secondly with the parent interviews. The interviews with learners were conducted to confirm findings from class list and questionnaire data that this community of learners from Afrikaans-dominant

homes and communities choose English, their LOLT, as the language of communication across various domains. The interviews were also conducted to establish the use of English across various domains as indicated in questionnaires. A substantial number of learners indicated in questionnaires that their grandparents (as well as other older community members and institutions) speak English to them, while it is almost certain, judging from the language which they raised their own children in, that many of these grandparents had grown up Afrikaans monolingual and to a lesser degree, Afrikaans-dominant bilingual. Learners' attitudes to their community languages were also further tested during the interviews. In addition, the interviewer wanted to examine the value which learners feel their languages hold for themselves, other members of their communities and their own families in future.

For the interviews, 20 learners from English/Afrikaans, 10 from the grade 10 group and 10 from the grade 11 group were used. All learners selected for interviews are those who indicated in questionnaires that they have regular contact with both English and Afrikaans and are from predominantly Afrikaans homes or communities. Questionnaires showed that over 80% of learners indicated that English is their preferred language LOLT, for study but also often used for communication in various other domains. This was confirmed when each interviewee was asked prior to commencement of the interviews whether she/he preferred the interview to be conducted in English or Afrikaans: 18 learners said that they preferred English, 1 said Afrikaans and 1 said that the language did not matter. This compares with earlier responses by learners to a similar question set in the questionnaires where 67% of the total grades 10 and 11 EFL learners indicated that they are better at English than Afrikaans.

Interviews with parents of five learners were conducted in order to confirm certain findings in learners' responses to questionnaires and learners' interviews. Parents were asked certain questions which could verify, as well as establish parents' perception of, the learners' reported linguistic repertoire and their use of languages across domains. For the purpose of detecting whether language shift is in fact taking place amongst this

community of learners, parents were also asked what the learners' and parents' language use is in private domains. In addition parents gave their reasons for choosing to raise their children as EFL, while they themselves are AFL. Parents' attitudes towards their languages were investigated as deciding factors in their language choice for their children.

4.3.1 Profile of linguistic resources according to learner interviews

In the interviews, questions 1, 2 and 5 topicalised the particular linguistic repertoire of the learners (see paragraph 3.4). Each of the 20 A/E interviewees was asked which languages they are proficient in. All said that they can speak, read and write both languages, while the Xhosa interviewees said that they can speak, read and write much better in English than Afrikaans and can only speak Xhosa fluently, lacking in reading and writing skills. When E-A learners were asked which of their two languages they are better at speaking, reading and writing, 18 (out of 20) learners said that they are better at English in all three spheres. One learner said that she feels is fully bilingual as she is equally exposed to both languages at home. Her mother speaks only English to her while her father speaks only Afrikaans. Later during the interview, however, she said that she is surer of English words and pronunciation. She is also the only learner who said that she would raise her children with either language as dominant language and has no preference as which should be her own dominant language. Contrary to this, another learner (grade 11 E52) showed a very negative attitude towards Afrikaans. She had indicated on the class list as well as in the questionnaire that she speaks only English and that her family is English-dominant. During the interview she said that her English is better all spheres and that she is not at all comfortable with Afrikaans.

Yes	No	Sometimes
3	15	2

Table 4.3.1 Difficulty in switching from English to Afrikaans in different domains according to interviews

Of the 20 A-E interviewees, 17 said that they feel they are more proficient in speaking, reading and writing English, while only 2 learners said they are better at Afrikaans in these three spheres and one said that she is equally good in both languages. While 15 interviewed learners at SCHOOL A said that they have no difficulty in switching between the two languages, 5 of these said that they feel that their linguistic resources in the two languages are not equal and therefore sometimes feel uncomfortable switching to Afrikaans. Responses show that 15 of the learners easily switch to Afrikaans at home. The reasons they gave for this was that at home they do not need to speak formal Afrikaans. Additionally, 17 of the interviewed learners said that English is the language they feel most confident speaking, especially if addressed by others outside the domain of their home. While most learners said that they are comfortable speaking either language at home or with friends, only 3 learners said that they feel proficient enough in Afrikaans to use it in domains outside of their home.

Xhosa Home Language (XHL) learners interviewed said that they are more proficient in English than in Xhosa in two spheres, namely reading and writing. They rated speaking English equal with isiXhosa, but all 3 interviewees said that they were not very proficient in reading and writing isiXhosa. Not one of the three respondents felt that they were very proficient in Afrikaans, even though they are required to do Afrikaans as First Additional Language with all other EFL learners at the school.

4.3.2 Language use in various domains according to learner interviews

Table 4.3.2a below shows learners' language use across various domains as indicated in interviews.

Language use	Classroom	School grounds	Parents	Siblings	Religious context
English	100%	50%	20%	70%	55%
Afrikaans			30%		20%

Eng/Afr (codeswitch)		50%	50%	30%	25%
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Table 4.3.2a Learners' language use across various domains – interview data

All interviewed A/E as well as the 3 Xhosa home language learners (23 in total) learners reported that they use English the classroom and with teachers except when they receive Afrikaans Second Language lessons. For some of the learners, certain subjects are presented in dual medium English/Afrikaans because there are not sufficient learners to necessitate a class period in Afrikaans alone. These learners indicated that they “switch off” when the teacher explains the work in Afrikaans as they find the terminology too difficult to comprehend.

On **school grounds and amongst peers** 10 learners said that they speak only English with their schoolmates, while the rest (10) codemix with their friends at school. Each of the 20 learners indicated that when they speak Afrikaans with their peers, it is with peers from the community where they live rather than friends at school. Xhosa learners said that they codeswitch most at school because few coloured and white school mates speak isiXhosa.

Family context The interviewed learners indicated that half of them (10 out of the 20) of them use a mix of English and Afrikaans with their parents at home and 6 of the learners' parents speak only or mostly Afrikaans with them. Only 4 learners said that their parents speak only English to them. Learners seem more likely to use English with their siblings even if they use Afrikaans with their parents. Table 4.4.2b below indicates learners' language use in their home and with close relatives as indicated in interviews.

Language use	Parents	Siblings	Grandparents, aunts and
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			uncles
English	4	Y=7 All=7	6
Afrikaans	6	Y=0 O=5 All=1	5
A/E codeswitch	10	5	6
isiXhosa	isiXhosa only	isiXhosa/Eng codeswitch	isiXhosa only

Table 4.3.2b Language use in family domain according to interviews Y=younger O=older

Of the interviewed learners, 7 who have younger siblings indicated that they speak English with these siblings, while 5 who also have older siblings use Afrikaans with them. Where learners indicated that they are the younger sibling, 5 indicated that they are spoken to in English by their older siblings while the older siblings speak Afrikaans with one another. None of the learners who have younger siblings indicated that they speak Afrikaans with younger siblings or that they are spoken to in Afrikaans if they are the youngest sibling. Five learners said that they mix their languages but 4 of the same learners said that they use mostly English with their siblings and 1 learner said that she only uses Afrikaans when making fun with her siblings, other than that they use English.

One learner said that she and her younger brother speak English to one another while the rest of the family, including seven older siblings, speaks Afrikaans. Two of the interviewed learners said that as they got older their mothers, who mostly spoke English to them in the past, increasingly speak Afrikaans with them. While only one of the 20 E/A learners said that her grandmother is EFL, only 5 learners indicated that their grandparents (as well as most of their AFL aunts and uncles) speak Afrikaans with the younger EFL generation. Twelve learners indicated that their EFL status is accommodated by the older members of their family who either speak English to them or codeswitch.

XHL learners indicated that they use mostly isiXhosa at home and in the community where they live with very little English being accommodated in the family domain

amongst parents, grandparents and siblings. XHL speakers also said that with friends at home they use isiXhosa.

In **religious contexts**, 18 of the interviewees said that they belong to a church or mosque. Eleven of the 18 said that the language used at church or mosque is English. While 7 said that Afrikaans is the dominant language spoken at the religious institution, 3 of these learners said that the younger EFL members are addressed in English by older members as well as religious leaders. Consider the excerpt below, from the interview with a 16-year old boy.

To me they (elders at mosque) speak mostly English because I'm still a youngster and they see us (younger members) as just English-speaking children, but to my parents they speak Afrikaans.

The 3 XHL learners reported that English is used at church and that sermons are often presented in both isiXhosa and English.

4.3.3 Language preferences and attitudes according to learner interviews

Learners were asked to state which language they would prefer to raise their own children with: *English, Afrikaans or Strongly Bilingual*. More than 50% of interviewees (11 out of the 20) said they would raise their children to be *Strongly Bilingual*. Nine learners opted for *English* but 5 learners who initially responded with *English* said *Bilingual* only when reminded that one of the options is *Strongly Bilingual*. Of these, 4 learners maintained their initial response of English even when reminded that *Strongly Bilingual* was also an option. One of these learners, who said that her mother insists that her friends speak only English with her, while her mother speaks Afrikaans to her, said she definitely wants her children to speak only English, while another learner said it will be fine if her children learned Afrikaans at school as Second Language (First Additional Language) but she will raise them with English as home language.

The 3 XHL learners all indicated that they would prefer to raise their children with isiXhosa as first language and English as second language.

When learners were asked which language (English or Afrikaans) they would have preferred to have as dominant language in all spheres, 14 learners said that they would have preferred to speak English in all spheres, academically and socially. Three said that they are content with the status quo, speaking English at school and Afrikaans at home. Another 3 stated that they would have preferred Afrikaans as dominant language. The learners' who indicated that they would have preferred Afrikaans gave their reasons for choosing Afrikaans as "it's comfortable" and "everybody in my home is Afrikaans." One learner said she is "happy with the way things are" (speaking English at school and Afrikaans at home) because "it's in my system..."

When learners were asked to choose which of their two languages should be the dominant language for their own children, 17 out of the 20 respondents said that it should be English. Two learners preferred Afrikaans and 1 learner said it will depend on his wife, as she may decide to raise them Afrikaans.

Amongst the XHL respondents, all 3 indicated that their language of choice as dominant language is isiXhosa and they would also have preferred this to be their language in all spheres.

4.3.3.1 Overt motivation for language preferences

Interview questions 9, 10, 14 & 15 investigated the particular learners' language preferences in their various domains. Including the XHL speakers, all but one of the learners (21 out of 22) interviewed said that English will be more beneficial to them for future academic studies and the occupations they intend to follow. The reasons given were that because English is an international language, their prospects of some day working abroad increase. Learners also believe that in order to study at tertiary institutions in South Africa, they need to be proficient in English. They also feel that they

have no option but to conduct their tertiary studies in English because it would be too difficult to switch to academic Afrikaans at this stage of their lives. Other motivations for why they would opt for English as first language is that they are “used to it” and it is what they “know”. While few learners expressed negative attitudes about Afrikaans, most feel that English is the language they will need in order to advance outside of their home and community. Both learners who hope to study or work abroad as well as those who intend to stay in South Africa feel that English will be the more valuable language to have acquired as first language.

The reasons given by 14 out of the 20 interviewees who said that they would choose English as their main language academically and socially, is that they are more comfortable with the language they had been educated in since primary school as they consider it their first language and feel that it is “normal” for them to speak English. While most of these learners are in regular contact with a reasonable amount of Afrikaans at home, many feel that they are not proficient enough in Afrikaans to communicate with persons other than immediate family members or close friends. One learner, whose parents speak Afrikaans to her most of the time stated that although she hears it everyday of her life, she struggles with Afrikaans as she has been speaking English for most of her life. She also prefers English because she has “grown used to it. More than Afrikaans.” This shows that English, her academic language and also language of choice, has had more impact than Afrikaans, her home language. One learner who claimed to be fully bilingual (one parent speaks Afrikaans and one speaks English) and would choose either language as her main language, when pressed to make a choice, said it would be English because she has never had schooling in Afrikaans.

Many learners said that they understand English better and not everyone understands Afrikaans. Some learners said that they do not have the confidence to learn in Afrikaans and learn more effectively in English. Even those learners who said it would not matter whether they were Afrikaans or English main language, when pressed to make a choice,

choose English because it had always been their academic language and therefore the language they feel most able to succeed in academically as well as socially. Consider in this regard the following excerpt from a 16-year old girl.

They way our parents speak to us...it's Afrikaans but not suiwerheid (sic) (pure) Afrikaans. If I speak to my kids like that they will grow up like not in a healthy way. They will speak like me. (File A9, male 15 yrs)

This learner seems frustrated with the Afrikaans dialect which is spoken at home and feels that she lacks the capacity to communicate with confidence in her parents' language. She feels better able to raise her own children with English as this is the language she feels she is most proficient in and more so than her parents are in Afrikaans.

Another learner, whose parent speaks only Afrikaans to her but who insists that she is EFL, said that she would teach her own children only English:

English. (Strongly bilingual?) No. English. (Why?) I don't know, because I understand it and I'll put them in a English school.

Most learners' motivation for wanting to raise their children EFL is because it is a universal language and because "everyone understands English".

4.3.4 Parent Interviews

Parents selected are those who are AFL and have children enrolled in grade 10 and 11 EFL classes at SCHOOL A. All parents interviewed reported that they were raised Afrikaans-dominant and 3 are raising their own children as English-dominant while 2 raised their children strongly bilingual in English and Afrikaans. Four of the parents teach at the Afrikaans-medium School C and one parent works as an international buyer for a well-known chain store. Although not the main focus of the study, it is important to gain information from parents to corroborate certain information received from learners

on the linguistic resources of learners and language use in various domains. The parents' motivation for their decision to have English as first language for their children is the focus of the parent interviews. The effect of these choices on learners' language use and preference of languages, are investigated. Prior information shows that 4 of the parents interviewed were raised in Afrikaans monolingual or dominant homes and other close family members and 1 of the parents was sometimes exposed to English by other family members.

Questions posed to parents and results by respondents:

1. Which languages do you speak to your children?

Response: 3 English, 2 A/E codeswitch

2. Which language do your children speak to you?

Response: 4 English, 1 A/E

3. Which language do your children use in their private domains such as crying out and counting to themselves?

Response: 4 English, 1 either

4. Which language do your children use with their friends?

Response: 3 both depending on friends, 2 English

5. Which language do other older family and community members use with your children?

Response: 5 said that older people speak English with their children, even in Afrikaans dominant church.

6. Why have you decided to enroll your children as EFL at an ex-model C school?

Response: All parents indicated that the reason is for better opportunities than they had had and 4 parents said for easier adjustment and admission to universities. Some parents (3) said they wanted their children to have confidence to speak to other people and feel that English would give them this confidence to speak to “anybody”. Parents also said that English is *lingua franca*/common language in the world as well as in South Africa. One parent said that “Afrikaans was forced on our generation. We had no choice in the coloured schools in the Strand” and another said “Afrikaans is die taal waarteen os baklei het, die rede vir die uprising.” (Afrikaans is the language we fought against, the reason for the [1976] uprising) and while they wanted their children to know Afrikaans for the sake of family and community, it did not have to be their first language. One parent said our world was made so small due to Apartheid and he felt that English would broaden the horizons for his child.

7. Which language did your own parents speak to you while growing up and which language do they use with their grandchildren?

Response: 4 parents said that their parents raised them exclusively with Afrikaans as home language and 1 parent said that while her parents spoke Afrikaans with them, they had other English speaking family members, but they did not have the confidence to speak English to them.

8. Are you aware of your children’s attitudes towards their different languages?

Response: Most parents said that learners do not seem to hold any negative attitude towards either of their languages. One parent said that her children use Afrikaans willingly with almost anyone as well as at home where the parents mostly use Afrikaans with their 3 older children. Most parents do however, agree that learners prefer to use English in all other domains when they have the

choice. Only one parent said that her children freely use Afrikaans in public domains while all other interviewed parents said that their children will always rather use English first and then switch to Afrikaans when the situation demands it.

4.3.4.1 Linguistic resources of learners (and parents) according to parent interviews

It can be accepted that, because parents are AFL bilingual and learners take Afrikaans as First Additional Language, all learners are at least bilingual in both English and Afrikaans. The parents all reported that their home language growing up had been Afrikaans with no or very little English spoken. Parents said that they were taught English at school, but seldom used it outside of the English class and were certainly not in regular contact with English in their homes or communities. The parent interviews showed that 3 parents speak English to their children and 2 parents codeswitch. This reveals that all parents interviewed are also at least bilingual in English and Afrikaans.

All parents reported that their children are raised EFL or strongly bilingual. While 2 parents reported that their children are fully bilingual, 3 parents said that their children are often uncomfortable speaking Afrikaans. One parent said that 2 of his children are uncomfortable with Afrikaans across all domains and does not even use Afrikaans with peers. One of the parents who said that her daughters are fully bilingual also said that they would not use Afrikaans in domains with strangers.

4.3.4.2 Language use of learners in various domains according to parent interviews

All parents reported that they speak Afrikaans with their spouses and other significant adults. When parents were asked which languages they speak with their children, 3 (60%) of parents said that they speak English with their children, while 2 (40%) said that they codeswitch. Two parents (mothers) who codeswitch said that while they spoke mostly English with their daughters when they were younger, now that they were older, they use more Afrikaans. When asked what the reasons for this are, one mother

responded that there were certain issues she only feels comfortable discussing in Afrikaans because she does not possess the proficiency in English on certain topical issues which need to be discussed now that her daughter is older, such as religion and sexuality. She also said that her children are more proficient in English than she is now that they are in high school and can correct her tenses and vocabulary, so she prefers to use the language she is most comfortable speaking. Another mother of teenage daughters said that she was not sure what the reason is, but said that now that her older daughters are in their teens, they partake in more adult conversations and because the mother is used to conducting her conversations with her own peers in Afrikaans, her daughters have to adjust.

Parents were asked which language their children use with them. Here four of the parents said that their children speak English or codeswitch English - Afrikaans. One parent indicated that while he and his wife speak both Afrikaans and English to their son and daughter, their children speak only English with their parents and each other. Two parents whose children codeswitch, said that their children are deliberately raised with proficiency in both languages. One said that this is important as the children's grandfather and father are pastors in an Afrikaans church and they did not want the children to feel that they do not fit in. The other parent also feels that her children should be able to communicate with the largely Afrikaans community and her family who are Afrikaans speaking. On the other hand, both parents said that they wanted to afford their children the advantages which they feel comes with being EFL.

Grandparents Most parents reported that grandparents speak either English or mostly English with the learners. Two parents said that their parents speak only Afrikaans to their children, but that other older members in their community do often speak English to the children.

Siblings One parent stated that her children speak only English with each other. She also said that when they need help with schoolwork, this can only be done in English.

Another parent said that her daughters speak mostly Afrikaans in the home but with their peers they speak only English.

Religious domains One parent said that her children are required to speak Afrikaans at their Afrikaans church as their father and grandfather are pastors in the church. Another parent said that at mosque, the dominant language is Afrikaans and her children are comfortable using Afrikaans there. Two parents said that they belong to English churches with some Afrikaans members who address the children in English. One said that although the church is Afrikaans-dominant, his children use English and are almost always addressed in English.

Private domains When asked about language use of learners when crying out if injured and counting, parents stated that many their children use English in their private domains. When crying out loud or counting, 4 parents reported that their children definitely perform these functions in English. One parent, whose three daughters are being raised bilingual, said that she thinks they do it in either language. She said that she feels very proud that her children are fully bilingual although they are EFL at school.

Peers Two parents said that their children speak only English with their friends and 3 parents said that it depends on whether the friends are EFL or AFL. Parents of 3 learners said that their children have no problem switching language in order to accommodate their friends. One father said that his sons feel uncomfortable when spoken to in Afrikaans even with peers. It is worth noting that this parent is the cousin of the parent who said that she is proud to have raised her daughters as fully bilingual.

4.3.4.3 Preferences and attitudes of parents and learners according to parent interviews

(a) Parent attitude and reasons for preference All interviewed parents indicated that their reasons for the language choice of their children is that they wanted their children to have easier access to tertiary education and an option to be able to live and work abroad. Of the interviewed parents, 4 also indicated that they felt that their children

would have more confidence in speaking to people of different races within their own country and abroad i.e. that English is considered *lingua franca*. One parent indicated feeling inferior as a child when she came into contact with English speaking peers. Two of the parents said that English education was denied them as children and that they had struggled to adjust at university where lectures and textbooks were mostly English.

(b) Learners' attitude towards their languages When parents were asked about their children's' attitude towards their two languages, 1 parent said that her while her children do not seem to mind her and her husband speaking Afrikaans in the home, they do mind them speaking Afrikaans at school with their teachers and sometimes in public. One other parent said that their children seem not to like Afrikaans simply because they are not proficient in the language and do not like visiting Afrikaans speaking relatives where English is not spoken because they feel left out and "have nothing to say". Two other parents, one an Afrikaans teacher, said that their children are proficient in both languages and do not mind speaking either of the languages. She did however say that her youngest, who is currently in primary school, does not understand Afrikaans as well as her older children and has to be addressed in English. She also said that her daughters' language of choice for study is English. She doubts that Afrikaans will die out as community language as the Strand South community is still largely Afrikaans-dominant. Most parents stated that their children speak only English to their siblings and will probably raise their own children as English-dominant. Another parent also said that while her children are proficient in both languages, they are most comfortable speaking English to people they are not familiar with.

When comparing learner and parent responses to similar questions, it is evident that definite associations can be drawn between responses. According to both sets of responses while parents are Afrikaans-dominant, learners are English-dominant. According to both, the majority of learners use English across various domains. Learners prefer to use English over Afrikaans across various domains including when speaking with peers, parents and siblings. Most parents also reported that learners'

grandparents accommodate the younger generation in their language use while most grandparents are Afrikaans-dominant. It is important to note that the larger majority of parents are aware that their children use English in their private domains, which tells us that this population of learners may be English-dominant. The only difference is noted in the learners' and parents' reasons for the use of English as preferred language. While most learners and parents said that they preferred English because it would allow them more career and study opportunities, learners were seemingly unaware of underlying political reasons for their parents' decision. While most parents did not say that their decision was politically motivated, most said that certain opportunities had been denied them while they were growing up and that they did not want their children to suffer similar consequences because of lack of choice. Parents seem to share the idea that English allows for broadening of knowledge and access to higher education, as lectures and textbooks are available mostly in English. All parents seem to feel that they had suffered somewhat because they received an Afrikaans education. This is due to either feeling inferior for being Afrikaans speaking or because they feel that an Afrikaans education had not afforded them the same opportunities an English education may have. Two parents feel that Afrikaans had been forced on them and that they were robbed of having the choice of an English education.

During learner interviews, none of the learners expressed any knowledge that the reasons for their parents' preference of English as LOLT for their children were politically motivated. While few parents actually said that their reasons were politically motivated, it did transpire through conversations with them that they felt their education was inferior and that the injustices suffered under Apartheid had an influence on their own educational progress. The common reason for their preference articulated by most parents and learners is that English is better for their academic, economic and global progress.

The learners' linguistic resources and language use in various domains will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 will discuss and interpret the attitudes and preferences of learners' growing up and learning in a multilingual setting and their reasons for such preferences.

CHAPTER 5 - ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF DATA

Linguistic resources and language use in various domains

The following two chapters present the discussion of the results given in chapter 4. Here the patterns of language use and language choice as well as linguistic resources of the identified group of EFL learners who live and learn in communities with strong bilingual and/or multilingual identities are discussed and interpreted in detail. Further discussion of the data also relates these to previous similar studies as presented in the literature review of this thesis. In the discussion particular attention is paid to the variety of languages with which learners are in regular contact in their family, in their home communities and at school, as well as to the language choices the group of learners make in each context. The data results portrayed in teachers' class lists, learners' questionnaires as well as learner and parent interviews are triangulated in order to provide answers to the research questions set out in Chapter 1. The investigation which aimed to test the hypothesis that the group of learners who were placed in English First Language classes in primary school, by the time they reach grade 11, consider themselves to be less proficient in Afrikaans, their parents' dominant language, is dealt with here. Furthermore the resultant effect that the learners predominantly use one code, and that there is more codeswitched English/Afrikaans with English as the dominant code than exhibition of fluent bilingualism across various domains, is attended to. Community and institutional discourses other than those in the educational setting, that underscore the findings, have also been examined and will be discussed. This thesis additionally aimed to test another hypothesis, that these learners minimally switch to Afrikaans and will in future most probably raise their own families as EFL, with English as their LOLT and as their home language. This predicts a deterioration of strong bilingual identities, thus a marginalization of Afrikaans in this community.

These two chapters will specifically refer to the data presented in chapter 4, to find answers to the research questions (Q1 – Q5) set out in chapter 1 and repeated below

for convenient reference. This chapter will draw an accurate profile of linguistic resources of learners and their patterns of language use across various domains. Chapter 6 will attend in more detail to the attitudes of learners to the various languages that form part of their repertoire.

Research questions:

Q1. What are the linguistic resources of the English L1 learners in the chosen sample? (i.e. which languages does each learner know?)

Q2. Which languages are typically used in various social domains: home, school, church and among peers?

Q3. Do learners switch from one language to another in different contexts, or is there a strong preference for use of one language variety rather than another across private and public domains of language use?

Q4. Which language preferences are expressed?

Q5. How are the learners' language preferences overtly motivated?

Data collected by means of the various assessment methods is analysed, triangulated and discussed in the order already presented in chapter 1, i.e. with attention first to the profile of multilingualism among respondents (par. 5.1), and second to patterns of respondents' language use in family context, school context and with peers (par. 5.2).

5.1 Profile of multilingualism among respondents: Linguistic resources of respondents

This section of the discussion concentrates on the variety of linguistic resources of the group of grade 10 and 11 EFL learners. Data that provide answers to research

questions Q1 and Q2 will inform this section. The aim is to show learners' perception of their bi/multilingual proficiency as they are in regular contact with English as LOLT and Afrikaans (or in a few cases, Xhosa) as home and community language. The aim is to test which of these languages has the greater influence on the later language choice of the group of learners considering that they are in regular contact with both these languages.

School history records reflect that increased numbers of EFL registration has transformed SCHOOL A from an Afrikaans-medium school at its conception in 1930 to its current predominantly English-medium status. Teachers who had been teaching at SCHOOL A since the 1960s and 1970s, said that when School B was established in 1960 as the second Afrikaans-medium school for white learners only, SCHOOL A found that the numbers of learners dwindled and decided to offer both Afrikaans and English as medium of education. School B remained an only Afrikaans-medium school and currently does not offer English as LOLT. School D, a school for only coloured learners, established in the 1970s, also offered only Afrikaans-medium education. During the 1980s, the number of learners seeking English-medium education increased and SCHOOL A had more or less equal numbers of classes for the two language groups per grade. The increase of English learner registration coincided with the acceptance of coloured learners at the school, as some previously whites-only schools now allowed learners of other races to enroll at their institutions. SCHOOL A was apparently the first school in the Helderberg to open its doors to other races. Teachers at the school said that after 1994, the registration of black and coloured learners at SCHOOL A increased drastically and this coincided with increased demand for EFL education. The school currently has 2 Afrikaans classes for every 5 English classes per grade in grades 8, 10, 11 and 12 and 1 Afrikaans and 6 English classes in grade 9.

CEMIS data (see Table 4.1.1) reflects that the majority of learners at SCHOOL A are registered in EFL classes, irrespective of their home language. Home languages of learners include English, Afrikaans, Xhosa and various other indigenous African

languages, as well as foreign languages. About one third of the learners at the school are registered as AFL, and so have Afrikaans as their LOLT. Teachers' class lists (see Table 4.1.2) show that a large number of the EFL learners who are the focus of this study, come from homes with Afrikaans-dominant bilingual parents or parents who codeswitch Afrikaans/English. Questionnaires filled in by 303 grade 10 and 11 EFL learners, 20 learner interviews and 5 parent interviews further support this finding. A large percentage of learners and all parents interviewed said that the parents predominantly use Afrikaans at home, if not with the learners themselves, then with other family members.

5.1.1 Linguistic repertoires: triangulation of data from CEMIS, teachers' class lists, questionnaire and interview data

All above-mentioned data reflect that the majority of EFL grade 10 and 11 learners at SCHOOL A are bilingual in English and Afrikaans. Some learners also indicated limited proficiency in another language e.g. isiXhosa, Shona, Portuguese or German. These are languages which the learners' parents may use at home, but most learners reported that while they are able to speak these languages, they are often not able to read and write in them. CEMIS records show that all learners at SCHOOL A take English and Afrikaans as school subjects. For the majority, one of these languages is taken at First Language level and the other as First Additional Language level; a limited number of learners take both English and Afrikaans at First Language level.

According to learners' responses to questionnaires and interviews, learners consider themselves to be bilingual, albeit most consider themselves as unbalanced bilinguals i.e. they are better in one language than the other, with most favouring English as their strongest language. While this is introspective data and so may not give a true reflection of learners' actual abilities in the two languages, it is still important information, as learners' perception of linguistic proficiency seems in many cases to determine their choice of language use in various domains.

While CEMIS and other data may show that learners know at least two languages, learners feel that for study purposes, for most formal conversations or for conversation with an interlocutor whom they do not know well, their English is the better language. According to all data, learners feel that their Afrikaans proficiency is not suitable for use in domains other than at home or informally in their community. Most do not believe this is true of their proficiency in English. Evidence of this will be revealed later in reference to interviews with learners whose use of English is not perfect but where the learners feel that their English proficiency is better than Afrikaans, so that they tend to use English more. This perception apparently influences learners' language choice when they communicate socially with peers from similar language backgrounds, i.e. who, like themselves, have Afrikaans parents. The reason given by learners for often choosing to use English rather than Afrikaans in their interactions is that their Afrikaans vocabulary is not sufficient for topics which they are often required to discuss. This they say is true not only for language used for academic purposes but also for other socially related matters such as sport, future studies, career options, etc. Evidence of this will be noted later in reference to the interviews with learners and parents. The interviewed AFL parents, 4 of whom are teachers at the Afrikaans medium School C, said that when they assist their children with their studies, they have to do so in English although they may otherwise speak to them in Afrikaans.

Responses to the questionnaires (as discussed in chapter 1 and par. 5.1) give an indication as to which language (home or school) has the greater effect on learners' perception of proficiency, as this may subsequently influence the learners' language preference and choice of language as well as linguistic identity. Most learners indicated that English is the language in which they perform best (68%) and is their strongest language (60%); this contrasts with the learners' indication in a previous question in the questionnaire that *Afrikaans* or *Afrikaans/English* is their parents' dominant home language (80%). The results from questionnaire data (Question 1 in questionnaire) support the finding that at least a number of these learners' language choice is influenced by their LOLT. Table 4.2 illustrates those learners' who use Afrikaans (A) or

Afrikaans/English (AE) as home language i.e. they are in regular contact with use of Afrikaans in their homes. A large percentage (72%) of the grade 11 group of learners who indicated considerable use of Afrikaans (marked 'A' in Table 4.2) also indicated that they are more proficient in English than Afrikaans (see paragraph 4.2.1). It shows that even where learners have reasonable exposure to Afrikaans in an important domain (home), their LOLT (English) appears, for more than of half of these learners, to be the one they consider to themselves to be most proficient in. According to the majority of learners, while their repertoire of languages includes both Afrikaans and English, English is the dominant language. It should further be noted that in most cases where the learners did not note English as their strongest language, it was rated as equal to Afrikaans. It seems, thus, according to data, that either because English is their academic language or because their parents had indicated to them from a young age that they are EFL, learners perceive their proficiency to be better in English than in the language they may have only learnt informally at home. For various and unconfirmed reasons, it seems that learners in this community consider themselves least proficient in Afrikaans, even when they enjoy optimum contact with use of this language in their homes.

5.1.2 Linguistic resources and levels of bilingualism: triangulation of data from class lists, questionnaires and interviews

According to the questionnaire and interview data there is evidence that many learners who are exposed mainly to English at school, may be minimally exposed to it at home. The information on the class lists suggest that a limited number of learners use both English and Afrikaans at home; nevertheless, learners reported otherwise. This may be due to a widely held perception that codeswitching, which is a regular phenomenon in bilingual and multilingual communities, is an unacceptable communicative practice. Learners often refer to the mixed code that is regularly used in this community as *kombuistaal* ("kitchen language"), thus as a lower form of language use. It was also notable that certain learners were reluctant to inform teachers that their home language

is Afrikaans. According to certain teachers, a possible reason for not stating that Afrikaans is their home language, may be that when enrolling their children, parents state their home language as English because they want to be certain of their access into EFL classes. Furthermore, there is an indication from questionnaires as well in interviews that some learners consider themselves to be EFL in more domains than at school even if they may be the only members in the family who predominantly use English. There is a strong indication from questionnaire as well as interview data that bilingualism and codeswitching is prevalent in many homes, that Afrikaans is not the only language used in the family; this is not reflected to the same degree in teachers' class lists. When comparisons are drawn between information from the questionnaires and the class lists, it appears that many more learners than the class lists would predict indicated in the questionnaires that they are frequently in contact with Afrikaans at home or in their community.

A finer breakdown of learners' linguistic resources shows that very few learners registered in EFL classes at SCHOOL A are from English only or English-dominant bilingual homes. This, however, does not mean that the learners themselves are not English-dominant. It is significant that many more learners (80%) indicated during interviews that Afrikaans (30%) or codeswitching (50%) is used as communication form in the home than had been reported previously in school records or in the questionnaires. During the interviews, learners often codeswitched between Afrikaans and English, or used the mixed code. This can be taken as an indication that the interviewees were at home with such communicative practices. While the exact reasons for such divergent responses to class list data (given to teachers), questionnaires (filled in under controlled confidential conditions) and interviews (with an outside interviewer) have not been tested and are uncertain, it could indicate that many learners who have English as their LOLT, when approached to make a choice, prefer to identify themselves as English rather than as bilingual or Afrikaans, even though they are presumed to be in regular contact with a considerable amount of Afrikaans and of English-Afrikaans codeswitching and codemixing at home. It became clear from questionnaire data and

during interviews that those learners who only later indicated that their parents do mostly speak Afrikaans to them, often prefer to speak English to their parents. For this reason, it would be interesting to test the hypothesis that the longer learners are exposed to English as an academic language, and certainly by the time they reach grade 11, the more likely they are to consider this to be their first language, even when it is not the dominant language of many of their other family or community members.

Class list data of grade 10 and 11 learners at SCHOOL A show the percentage of learners who indicated that their parents are Afrikaans dominant as 20% while 26% said that their parents codeswitched at home. When this information is compared with the learners' responses in the questionnaires, which were answered under more controlled conditions, only a slightly larger number of the same set of EFL learners (21%) indicated that Afrikaans is most often used in the home. On the other hand, the percentage of learners who said in their questionnaire responses that codeswitching is a regular practice increased from 26% (class lists data Table 4.1.2) to 54% (questionnaire data Table 4.2.2b). Here, only 25% indicated that their parents spoke mostly English at home compared with 40% who had indicated earlier on class lists that their parents speak mostly English at home. The teachers reported to being aware that on the class lists, some learners indicated English as the dominant home language when it is known to them that the particular parents predominantly speak Afrikaans. It may, however, be that parents speak Afrikaans to other members of the family and community, while parent-child communication is English. The reasons for this could be that learners are made to feel that not being educated in their home language is the reason for poor academic performance. During the face to face interviews, certain learners reconsidered what they had indicated on class lists and the questionnaires. While certain learners did this spontaneously, others may have felt a certain amount of pressure as some learners' home language is known to the interviewer. Here, even less (20%) said that English, rather than Afrikaans, is predominantly used in the home.

Interestingly, when XHL learners were asked to note their dominant home language, they all indicated in all data that they speak only isiXhosa at home and in their home community. These learners' responses are significant as they are so different to those of the EFL-AHL learners who sometimes only reluctantly stated that they are in regular contact with Afrikaans at home.

Although the EFL group of learners is indeed bilingual (often also multilingual) and it is shown that they possess a variety of language resources, their academic language correlates overwhelmingly with their language preference and their linguistic identity. The parents' and community's dominant language apparently has less identification power. This is a significant finding regarding language shift from Afrikaans to English in this community. It is particularly also significant when compared to how most of the XHL learners identify themselves linguistically as isiXhosa in all data.

5.1.3 Relating profile of research results on linguistic resources of young learners in multilingual communities to other similar research

Research results from other studies of bilingual speakers show that children from bilingual language backgrounds are prone to adopting their parents' second language as their first language, and consequently to considering themselves as more proficient in the family's second language. Parents from such communities may start using their second language with their children from birth, or switch to use of the second language when their children start their schooling in order to encourage the adoption of this language for educational or economic reasons. Wei's (1994) report on the Chinese Tyneside community and Gal's reports on the Hungarian community in Oberwart, Austria show similar results to those of this present study. The Chinese community in Tyneside adopted English from their host country, Britain, in order for their children to be able to fit in with British society. In Oberwart, Austria Hungarian parents chose German for their children for economic and employment reasons. In all SCHOOL A cases, English is the language adopted by parents for the progress of their children, a younger generation of speakers, in society, education, and consequently also with a view to

employment and economic mobility. While the parents' first language may often be used at home, the children are taught and often spoken to in English.

Sometimes, as articulated in two parent interviews in this study, parents may intend the children to become fully bilingual in the two languages. This, however, does not always happen. Two parents, one an Afrikaans First Language teacher, said that they encouraged their children to take both languages on first language level, yet find that the children choose differently, and show preference for English. During the interviews, both these parents acknowledged that they are experiencing difficulty in raising their youngest children with similar proficiency in Afrikaans, as the older siblings use English (with codeswitching) amongst themselves and with their young brother/sister. In one case, the younger sibling has to be addressed in English at all times, even by his grandparents who use only Afrikaans with the older sisters.

De Klerk and Bosch (1998: 43-50) noted the loss of first language proficiency in Afrikaans in a 1997-98 study of an AFL boy whose LOLT switched to English during his fourth year in primary school. The boy was moved from an Afrikaans medium school to an English medium school and within a year a noted language shift as well as linguistic identity shift had taken place. Similar to a number of learners in the SCHOOL A group, his home environment remained Afrikaans, yet he considered himself as EFL while the researchers considered him to be "on the fulcrum of true bilingualism, simultaneously Afrikaans and English" (De Klerk and Bosch 1998: 50). At the time he was interviewed, he indicated that he was not able to read Afrikaans well and that he did not find it hard to get through a day of English at school. This response is similar to that of some interviewed SCHOOL A learners, who said that their academic resources for reading, writing and speaking Afrikaans in First Additional Language classes do not match their resources in these same skills in English.

5.2 Patterns of respondents' language use across domains

This section gives an impression of EFL learners' patterns of language use across their various domains. The manner in which these bilingual and multilingual learners use their repertoire of languages and how they accommodate their interlocutors in these languages, are of interest here. Specifically, this research is interested in whether learners predominantly use one code across most domains. According to data collected discourse at school and in the home community reflects different patterns of use, namely English dominating at school and Afrikaans more widely used in the home. The question here is whether the two domains are oppositional or complementary to shaping the eventual language preferences of the learners. This section is informed by answers to research questions Q2 and Q3.

The majority of learners reported to using codeswitching across various domains outside of the formal learning environment of the classroom, although many learners define their interactions as English-dominant. Codeswitching/codemixing as form of communication is dealt with later in this chapter. The use of one predominant code (English only, Afrikaans only or codemixed English/Afrikaans) is discussed in detail, as this is an important factor in the possible language shift from Afrikaans to English in the given community of learners. This is seen in the use of English in domains previously considered Afrikaans-dominant, such as social and religious interactions. Results from data about language use from both questionnaires and interviews in each context will be considered in detail. As had been mentioned previously, learners with XHL from this community do not report the same patterns use of language use across social domains as learners from AFL backgrounds do. This study focuses on the patterns perceived in the AFL community.

Bilingual/multilingual communities may continue to use the languages in their linguistic repertoire for many generations, often because parents and grandparents use their first language while a younger generation uses both their first language as well as their parents' first language. This does not however mean that language shift does not occur.

The rate at which the shift occurs, how often or how little one of the languages is used by the next generation may change so that there is a strong possibility of language loss of one of the languages in a particular community. The EFL SCHOOL A learners are first generation users of English as their dominant language and data shows that codeswitched English/Afrikaans with English as the dominant code is used in most domains. In their homes, most learners use codeswitched English/Afrikaans with their siblings and/or parents (see Table 4.2.2b). This project anticipated that Afrikaans would be the language predominantly used in most learners' homes because it is known that their parents and their home community are Afrikaans-dominant. Data from two sources (questionnaires discussed in 4.2.2a and interviews reported in 4.3.2a above) however reflect that codeswitched English/Afrikaans is used more frequently in the homes with the learners who indicated that they more frequently used Afrikaans at home.

The data in chapter 4 (Table 4.2.2a) shows that English functions most prominently in the domains of school and church/mosque, but if one considers codeswitching with English as the dominant code, it is also widely used in the domains of home and other social spheres. This appears to be the pattern of use even where parents predominantly use Afrikaans with their children. In bilingual or multilingual settings such as Wei's Chinese Tyneside community and the SCHOOL A community, domains where a language is used by individual speakers depend largely on interlocutor and topic.

The displacement of Afrikaans by English in homes where the parents are Afrikaans is partially due to the fact that learners are in almost constant contact with English in the institutional domains of school and church or mosque, as well as in other media such as television, entertainment services and magazines. According to four of the parents interviewed, English was essentially introduced in their family for educational reasons. The fact that learners extensively use English in the classroom, as *lingua franca* on the school grounds as well as in religious domains are the factors which contribute to establishing the view among learners that English holds more advantages for them. Learners interact using English as their common language, improving their proficiency

academically as well as socially. This possibly affects others who share their social domains, so that choosing English as LOLT becomes the preferred pattern. The increasing number of learners in the community whose parents choose English rather than Afrikaans as first language for their children's schooling supports this interpretation.

5.2.1 Language use in school context

Learners' perception of better proficiency in English than Afrikaans seems to be confirmed by examining data about language use for study purposes (see Table 4.2.3), in school contexts, in the classroom and on the school grounds (see Table 4.2.2a). Topic-specific terminology is learnt in English and both learners and parents indicate that learners not only prefer the use of English for study purposes, but also feel that they possess inadequate linguistic resources for studying in Afrikaans. Learners often indicated during both questionnaires and interviews that they feel that they possess adequate proficiency in Afrikaans for informal social interactions with family and friends but not for academic progress.

All learners interviewed and 90% of all respondents to questionnaires reported that they feel that for study purposes such as discussing school work, they can only use English. All interviewed parents confirmed that their children, even if considered fully bilingual, can study in English only. Classroom observation has indicated that most of the EFL learners at SCHOOL A often codeswitch English and Afrikaans before the start of a lesson or when given the opportunity for classroom discussion, but will switch to English when required to do so for academic purposes. Amongst the selected group of grade 10 and 11 learners, data reveal (see Table 4.2.2a) that English is used in classrooms by the majority (69%) of EFL learners and by half (50%) on school grounds. Codeswitching is used much more often than Afrikaans only, which is reportedly not used in classes and only by 10% of learners on school grounds outside of classes.

According to most learners, English is the preferred language of many learners on the school grounds. When one grade 10 class of 33 EFL learners was asked immediately

after break which language they had used on the school grounds, 30% said English, 55% said English with a bit of Afrikaans and 12% Afrikaans; the rest reported using isiXhosa. At school, English is also the *lingua franca*, as some learners use languages other than Afrikaans as first or second language at home with their parents and are not proficient in Afrikaans.

...I use English most of the time around my friends at school and if I'm not speaking to my parents then it will be English to my friends. (File A3 Male 16 years)

Data from various sources show that codeswitching is prevalent amongst learners. According to learners and parents, the mixed code is English-dominant. Very little social Afrikaans is used with peers at school. When prompted to say if they codeswitched at all, many said that they do so all the time; nevertheless, English dominates. Parents and learners indicated that learners make a communicative distinction between peers at school and peers at home, most often using English with the former and Afrikaans with the latter.

The use and encouragement of English by certain AFL adults may be a factor which further reinforces English as a preferred language of learners from Afrikaans backgrounds and communities. According to Mackey (2000: 28-34), variables of "duration, frequency, and pressure" may influence learners' use of as well as proficiency in languages. The degree of proficiency in a bilingual's repertoire of languages is dependent on "external" and "internal" functions. These "external functions" include which language is the home language and which members of the family use it. According to Mackey, "the main language of one member may be different from that of other members" - this seems to be the case for some members from the SCHOOL A community of learners.

Learners spend a large part of their day at school and in contact with English (6 hours of formal schooling as well as 1-2 hours extra-mural activities). They speak and hear

English more frequently than their parents and some older siblings. Content subjects are taught in English. Possibly they feel added pressure from the larger society, school and home to speak English more than Afrikaans. While most teachers (80%) at SCHOOL A are also from Afrikaans-dominant backgrounds, all lessons are taught to these learners through the medium of English. During research at school, it was noted that teachers speak English to learners outside of the class, at school social functions and during intervals. Teachers reported that while they are aware that most learners' parents are AFL, learners do not possess the ability to express themselves in Afrikaans for academic purposes and because they are registered EFL, the staff will address them in English most of the time.

In addition to English at school, learners reported that they watch up to 3 hours of television per day with most programmes in English. Furthermore, many learners articulated in conversations that while their parents do not allow them to attend nightclubs, they are allowed to go to movies or watch DVDs with friends over weekends and most forms of entertainment are in English. This means that few hours are spent in contact with Afrikaans, both academically as well as socially. The early contact learners had with English as LOLT may already have impressed upon them the importance of this language in their lives. Education or at least the institution is a central part of these learners' lives. According to their parents, as articulated in interviews, an English education will give these learners opportunities which their parents were never afforded. Learners said that they are constantly reminded by teachers and other adults that their future depends on a good education; the same adults encourage learners to use English in education. The idea of English as dominant language is reinforced by various other media and institutions, such as television, magazines and by parents who emphasise English as giving access to higher education.

The relation between the dominant language of the classroom and its use on school grounds, as well as other schooling activities, can be noted. Classroom language practice, for content subjects as dictated by educational policy for EFL learners, is that

English is used as academic language for this group of learners, all of whom have been using it since birth or at latest since primary school. English is therefore expected in the classroom for normal educational activities; for group work and discussion the learners naturally tend to use the language they are most comfortable speaking or the one other interlocutor dictates. Few learners reported the use of Afrikaans in the classroom, even in group work. Also, on the school grounds, Afrikaans is used minimally, which reflects the preferred language of learners who could choose differently from their repertoire of languages. This may be the effect of the chosen LOLT and parents' use of their second language in raising their children. Certainly, it gives an indication of the linguistic identity of this group of learners. It can be stated categorically that English, even if not a standard variety of English, is used by a high percentage of learners most of the time across all school situations.

The data show that 69% of grade 10 and 11 learners speak English in class with peers either because they want to or because it is expected by classmates with whom they are interacting. More learners from AFL backgrounds use English outside of the domain of the classroom than those from AFL backgrounds who use Afrikaans. The reasons that learners who come from similar AFL backgrounds choose to speak English to one another rather than Afrikaans may be due to their commonly developed English identity. This group of learners has come to know one another in the EFL setting at school and now consider this domain and each other to be English.

Far more learners indicated in questionnaires as well as during interviews that they are better at speaking, reading, writing and comprehending English than those who said that they possess superior skills in Afrikaans. Considering that more than 70% of the learners are from Afrikaans home communities with English as LOLT, these findings open questions as to the role of the LOLT in the perceived language shift. A considerably larger number of learners consider English to be their strongest language and prefer to use English for study purposes. An even stronger point in case is that the few learners who said their parents speak Afrikaans to them at home, also consider

themselves to be more proficient and thus also more confident using English as opposed to Afrikaans. During interviews, almost all of the learners indicated that Afrikaans or Afrikaans-dominant codeswitching is used almost exclusively by their parents; only 1 learner here said that Afrikaans is his strongest language.

Evidence reveals that those learners at SCHOOL A who do not use English outside of the classroom or for other than academic purposes, codeswitch rather than use Afrikaans only. Consequently, for this smaller group of EFL learners whose parents speak only Afrikaans with them for between 6 and 8 hours per day, Afrikaans alone is minimally used. This affirms that English is the dominant language at school, even for the minority of learners who consider Afrikaans to be their strongest language.

It is clear when viewing this data that many parents decided to have their children educated at better resourced schools than were open to them before, and that the decision was taken only after their families had already started to shift from Afrikaans to English. It may be important to note that many EFL learners at SCHOOL A were pre-primary age (2-5 years old) in 1991 when ex-Model C schools were opened to all races. As already noted in paragraph 5.1, prior to this happening, "coloured" and white learners in the Strand area (as elsewhere) had access to only separate Afrikaans-medium schools. This could have influenced financially able parents' decision to have their younger children educated through the medium of English at SCHOOL A, as this option had not been accessible to them before. At the time SCHOOL A, although it had started out as an Afrikaans-medium school, had slowly switched to offering more dual-medium education, thus willing to accommodate English First Language learners. Parents in the SCHOOL A community also had the option of enrolling their children at another ex-Model C school in the region where only Afrikaans is offered as the medium of education, namely School B. Still, most chose to have their children educated through medium of English. The reasons behind their decision to switch languages when the opportunity arose to have their children educated at better-equipped schools may require further investigation (see parent interviews paragraph 5.3). It has to be noted

that the reasons for a similar shift to English as preferred LOLT by parents of the white community of learners may be different. The Afrikaans-medium School B is as well-equipped as SCHOOL A, but does not evidence the same kind of shift to English as LOLT. This means that parents from the same Afrikaans-dominant communities, who prefer to send their children to SCHOOL A, are those who are also more likely to choose English as academic language for their children. This indication is further supported by the fact that the majority of learners registered in EFL classes has parents from Afrikaans-dominant backgrounds and still predominantly use Afrikaans in the homes.

Many learners indicated that they use codemixed English with their school friends, whether on the school grounds, in the classroom or when they socialize outside of school domain. When given the option, over 90% of EFL learners, who were interviewed, said that they wanted to be interviewed in English. This lends support to later data examined, that learners prefer to use English with people they are not familiar with, even when they are from Afrikaans-dominant homes. Although most learners rated higher proficiency in English, during interviews they also indicated that they have no problem switching from English at school to Afrikaans in their home communities.

5.2.2 Language use with peers outside school

When compared with reported language use amongst school peers, percentages indicate that more learners use English with peers at school than they do with peers in their home communities (see Table 4.2.2a). Most learners indicated in questionnaires that they use codeswitched Afrikaans/English with their peers from the home communities. Notably, even here, where learners said that their friends are predominantly AFL, Afrikaans is the code used least of all codes in their repertoire. As mentioned above, the majority of peers from outside school domain attend Afrikaans-medium schools within the communities. This is the domain with the highest reported use of Afrikaans and codeswitching. Data captured from questionnaires indicated that 12% of the learners use Afrikaans and 56% codeswitch Afrikaans/English. It also shows the lowest (32%) reported use of English of all domains investigated. In interviews, only

2 out of 20 EFL AHL learners said that they use English with peers in their home communities.

Although Afrikaans in the social domain where learners communicate with peers from other schools, has the highest reported use of Afrikaans (at 12%), the number is still considerably lower than the 56% who codeswitch Afrikaans/English with Afrikaans-dominant peers. It also is notable that while such a large proportion of learners come from Afrikaans-dominant homes, so few of these learners reported using only Afrikaans with their peers outside of the domain of the classroom and school. This is especially significant because the school-going peers of the majority of these learners who do not attend SCHOOL A most likely attend one of the other two high schools in the areas where the learners live. Both of these schools (School C and School B) offer Afrikaans medium education only. This indicates that either these learners socialize mostly with other English/Afrikaans bilinguals in their community or that the English learners are accommodated by their Afrikaans-dominant bilingual peers through codeswitching. During interviews, one learner said that a friend from her home community cannot understand why a coloured person would say that she cannot speak Afrikaans. It is obvious that this particular friend views language as closely related to culture. However, reports of such language awareness were not forthcoming in the SCHOOL A data.

5.2.3 Language use in the home with parents, siblings and other family members

According to Fishman (1989: 399), “*the intimate domains are also the most sheltered: they nurture inter-generational continuity even if these domains are not the movers and shakers of the modern world...[e]ndangered languages must assume control of ...the intimate spheres of family and community*”. If English displaces Afrikaans, with Afrikaans being shifted to secondary position in private domains; it is in danger of never reclaiming its position as main community language. The EFL learners at SCHOOL A are a sample of the broader communities from which they come. According to Fishman, communities have to take the responsibility to continue “inter-generational” relay of an endangered

language, but first they must become aware of the potential dangers facing it and develop new respect for the language under threat. Parents who claim to be raising their children as fully bilingual, still report that their children, especially the younger ones, use English as their first language in all or most domains and that there is hardly any display by learners of fluent bilingualism. This claim was tested by asking interviewed parents about learners' use of language in their intimate domains or the internal functions of languages in the learners' repertoire of languages.

The internal functions of a language as described by Mackey (2000: 36) determine which the dominant language is for these learners. Respondents and their parents were asked which language the parents scolded in and prayed in. All the learners and their parents said that the parents performed intimate tasks in Afrikaans. When the same respondents and their parents were asked in which language the learners performed similar tasks (crying out loud when injured or afraid and counting), 4 parents and 5 learners said that learners performed these utterances in English. One parent said that her children performed these in either of the two.

Xhosa Home Language learners said that they speak only Xhosa at home as well as with their Xhosa peers while using English only at school. Most Xhosa and Other learners indicated that they use their parents' first language at home, as opposed to the majority of English/Afrikaans learners who said that they use English at home more than they do Afrikaans.

While some parents and grandparents may not actually speak English with the learners, they mostly encourage their children to use it. The learners in focus overwhelmingly report that they address their parents in English. Besides significant adult encouragement in learners' use of English as communicative tool, other media forms further reinforce and increase their contact with English more than Afrikaans.

Learners reported that they lack proficiency in Afrikaans for academic purposes as well as for certain other interactions, and predominantly they use one code, English.

However, the same learners often use Afrikaans in one domain - the home and home community (see Table 4.2.2b). At 12%, it has the second highest recorded use amongst EFL learners according to questionnaire responses. Two patterns of language use seem most common among learners with EFL at school and an AFL family background. One pattern is where learners use only English in the classroom, codeswitch to different extents in most other domains and use mostly Afrikaans at home and with friends from home. The second, yet no less common, pattern differs only in that some learners also speak English at home with family members, while family members speak either Afrikaans or (codeswitch) English with the learner.

Learners often reported that they feel they do not possess the skills to speak Afrikaans other than with friends and family. One learner who said that she speaks Afrikaans to her mother and codeswitches with her siblings also said that when she speaks to other adults she prefers to speak English as she is then certain she will not make any language errors. Another learner said that although she speaks only Afrikaans at home, she hardly ever speaks Afrikaans to anyone outside of her home. So for such EFL learners who use only Afrikaans at home, English is still the code predominantly used.

All interviewed parents reported that they speak Afrikaans with their spouses and other significant adults. When parents were asked which languages they speak with their children, 3 (60%) of those interviewed parents said that they speak English with their children, while 2 (40%) said that they codeswitch but use mostly Afrikaans with their children so that their children do not lose their home community language completely. These same two parents, however, speak only English to their youngest children. In both these families, the younger children (8 and 9 years) are significantly younger than the other children in the family who are all older than 16 years. In both of these families, learners reported that they are proficient in both languages but can study only in English. Their parents also reported to having to use English when assisting their children with academic work.

A number of learners reported that "alternation" is the code which is predominantly used at home; learners speak English to their parents or grandparents while their parents and grandparents speak Afrikaans to them. Mackey (2000: 39) identifies "topic, person and tension" as factors included in determining language "alternation". According to Mackey, "alternation" of languages (one form of codeswitching as defined in this research) or the "readiness with which a bilingual changes from one language to the other depends on his fluency in each language". Most bilinguals in this community have the perception that they are more fluent in English than in Afrikaans particularly in topics related to school which constitutes the larger part of their day. The frequency with which learners use their different languages may influence their perception that they are more fluent in one code, English, rather than being fluently bilingual in Afrikaans and English. This could affect on the possibility of language shift, as many also consider themselves more proficient in English in most other domains as well.

Mackey (2000: 28-32) further says that the "degree of proficiency in each language depends on its function". Under external functions, he includes "school languages" and "home languages", as two determinants of learners' proficiency. Learners consider themselves EFL partially due to single medium English instruction for all content subjects, while their parents' first language is taken as First Additional Language (Second Language) for just one period a day. Topic is an important indicator of language choice. Learners know English terms used in content subjects, and would not feel similarly confident in Afrikaans as they have never learned these terms in Afrikaans. Certain topics related to home domains also determine that learners predominantly use English. Learners' interaction with siblings (see table 4.2.2b) closer to them in age and with whom they have more in common, is mostly in English. Siblings all raised with EFL may identify each other as EFL even when their parents predominantly use Afrikaans in their interaction with others in the family and community.

Learners indicated that they may use Afrikaans with older siblings and English with younger siblings (see Table 4.3.2b). This could be due to some parents deciding to

switch their home language to English when English medium education became possible for their children. In many cases, the older children were already being raised with Afrikaans as main language at home and at school. One learner said that as the second youngest child, she and her younger sister speak English to each other while she speaks Afrikaans to her seven older siblings. During the 20 learner interviews, 5 learners said that they speak Afrikaans with older siblings and 7 said that they use English with younger siblings. All parents said that their children use English with one another even when they use Afrikaans with their parents and other members of their home community.

During the 20 EFL learner interviews 4 learners indicated that their parents speak English with them at home while the rest reported that their parents used mostly codeswitched Afrikaans/English. When the learners were asked which language their parents use when they are angry, all of the learners reported that their parents often scold them in Afrikaans while they may speak English to them at all other times. Three of the female interviewees also reported that as they grow older their mothers started to speak more Afrikaans with them. When parents were asked about this, the father of two learners said that he thinks that he speaks the same amount of English and Afrikaans to his children as before, while the mother of the same learners reported to speaking Afrikaans, the language in which she felt more comfortable with now that their daughters are older. Another mother said that she too spoke more Afrikaans to her three teenage daughters than when they were younger, yet she could not give a reason for this. While the reason for this occurrence is uncertain, it may be that as learners grow older the mother, feels most comfortable addressing certain topics in Afrikaans, her own first language. Another reason may be that as children grow older, they are allowed to be part of more adult conversations which are mostly conducted in the adults' first language (Afrikaans in this case).

During the parent interviews, the two parents (mothers) who codeswitch with their children said that they spoke mostly English with their daughters when they were

younger but now that they are older, they use Afrikaans more frequently. When asked what the reasons for this are, one mother responded that there were certain issues she only knows how to address in Afrikaans because she does not possess the proficiency in English on issues which need to be discussed with older children, such as aspects of religion and sexuality.

Daar is mos dinge wat ek net in Afrikaans kan se noudat die kinders grootword. Ek

There are things I can only explain in Afrikaans now that the children grow up. I

wil nie vir hulle *confuse* om die verkeerde woorde te gebruik nie, want ek ken nie

do not want to confuse them by using the incorrect terms because I don't always know

altyd die goed in Engels nie. Die geloof is ook baie na aan my hart en ek moet

these things in English. Religion is also very close to my heart and I have to

sommige goed in my eie taal verduidelik.

explain certain things in my own language.

(Parent response from notes)

This mother also said that now that her children are older they are more proficient in English than she is and they sometimes correct her tenses and vocabulary. This is slightly embarrassing to her, so she prefers to use the language she feels more proficient in.

Hulle ken mos beter as ek en *correct my left, right en centre* as ek

They know (the language) better than I do and correct me all the time when I speak

verkeerd praat. Engels is mos hulle *first language*, nie myne nie.

incorrectly. English is their first language, not mine. (Parent response from notes)

Another mother of teenage daughters said that she is not sure what the reason is, but now that her older daughters are in their teens, they participate in more adult conversations at home and because the mother is used to conducting her conversations with her own peers in Afrikaans, her daughters have to adjust. She said that at family gatherings, the women spend a lot of time in the kitchen to gossip and her daughters are now part of that culture, as they are also expected to help with cooking and baking now that they are older.

Ons praat mos Afrikaans met my susters en onse vriende, nou moet sy maar inval

We speak Afrikaans with my sisters and our friends, now she just has to fit in if she

as sy wil saampraat. Sy is mos nou groot genoeg. Ons kan in elk geval nie meer

wants to be part of our conversations. She is big (mature) enough, anyway. In any

sekere goed vir haar wegsteek nie, want sy verstaan tog Afrikaans.

case, we cannot hide certain things from her any longer because she understands Afrikaans after all.

When parents were asked which language their children use in speaking to their parents, 4 of the 5 parents said that their children speak only English with them. One parent indicated that while he and his wife speak both Afrikaans and English to their son and daughter, the children speak only English to their parents. Two parents said that their children are intentionally raised with proficiency in both languages. One said that this is important as the children's grandfather and father are pastors in an Afrikaans church and they did not want the children to feel that they do not fit in. The other parent also feels that her children should be able to communicate with the largely Afrikaans-dominant community and her family who are Afrikaans-speaking. On the other hand

both parents said that they wanted to afford their children the advantages which they feel comes with being EFL (see paragraph 5.3.3).

Evidence from data shows a direct relation between the use of English as LOLT and English as the preferred language for social interaction by those learners who said that their parents speak mostly Afrikaans to them. The predominant use of English in the community and other institutional discourses further reinforces English as dominant language for the identified group of learners. Learners also indicated they use English in school related social activities such as JIK (Jesus is King) which is presented at the school by an English-dominant church group. This will be topicalised in the next section.

5.2.4 Language use in religious institutions

Data reveals that the use of English as dominant language in school and religious institutions is higher than Afrikaans or A/E codeswitching (see Table 4.2.2a). According to questionnaire data, English is used by 69% of learners in the classroom and in 69% of their religious institutions. The equal percentages in these two institutional domains are remarkable when considering the possible effect the use of English as dominant languages has on continued use and development of other community languages. According to Fishman (1989), the language practices of such important societal institutions can have a profound effect on the linguistic identity of the community which it serves. In Fishman's (1989: 397) view, "intergenerational mother tongue continuity" is as much the responsibility of schools, religious institutions and home communities as it is the responsibility of the parents.

This view highlights the concern that when important institutions follow a particular language policy, the community in which it exists or which it serves is directly affected by this policy. As is noted in the selected SCHOOL A community of learners, the language shift initiated by the choice of certain parents impacts on the language use in these

institutions; this in turn may influence the language choice of those who will in future attend these institutions. Fishman comments further by saying that these institutions “transmit the values, loyalties...and traditions out of which a sense of community arises and is maintained”.

Many learners belong to churches or mosques where Afrikaans is predominantly spoken by the adult members even if many of the younger members predominantly prefer to speak English. Some learners indicated in their questionnaire that although Afrikaans is spoken by most adults at religious institutions, many adults and leaders of these institutions accommodate the younger generation by addressing the learners and, during sermons, the congregation in English.

Further investigation and parent interviews revealed that Afrikaans is now minimally used at certain religious institutions attended by these learners because of the language shift taking place amongst the younger generation. This indicates that these institutions have changed the language of communication fairly recently in order to accommodate learners from the largely Afrikaans home communities who now are more proficient in English. This has happened relatively quickly, as many of the learners in this community have only had access to English medium education since the late 1980s. While it may be that in certain instances parents switched to English-dominant churches and mosques, learners and parents have said that these institutions started switching languages in recent years. Paired with this switch, learners also reported that they are accommodated in their language choice by older members of these institutions. In the cases where churches are still pre-dominantly use Afrikaans, youth programmes and selected services are often offered in English. Religion, although housed in institutions, is where people act in a very private manner, namely: prayer. Although religious institutions, due to the nature of interaction amongst people and between the individual and God, seem to have dual status across public and private domains, religious prayer is considered an intimate domain - according to Fishman (1989: 399), “lay[ing] the foundations of community” and forming “inter-generational continuity.” The fact that

English seems to be displacing Afrikaans in certain religious institutions, in order to accommodate a section of its community (e.g. SCHOOL A learners). This indicates that for the community where these learners live English may be considered its dominant language.

An interesting point noted in the cases of the Muslim learners interviewed is the strong ties they hold to the use of Arabic for religious purposes. All Muslim learners indicated that they are able to recite verses from the Koran, which is written in Arabic. The learners attend special classes where they learn the language, as this religious book is not translated. What makes this interesting is the lasting value of one language in this religious domain. Fishman (1989: 397) refers to intergenerational continuity of languages as “recurringly transmitted to new generations” when these languages “have their clear and assured societal functions.” Afrikaans does not seem to hold the same value for many of these families as societal or family language as Arabic does as religious language. In Islam, religion is an important aspect of many Muslims' lives, and teaching children to read from the Koran is often an essential part of their upbringing. Afrikaans, on the other hand, is being used less and less by the younger generation in this community, of which Muslims make up a significant part of the community population. The value of the two languages, Arabic and Afrikaans is not comparable for this section of the SCHOOL A community. Afrikaans seems to hold the least value of the three languages for Muslim learners as it is replaced by English in certain domains and the linguistic importance of Arabic in religious domains remains unchallenged.

Most remarkable in this community of learners is the use of English in the two formal, institutional domains namely: school and church/mosque. It is at these institutions that ideologies and traditions are instilled, where the most lasting impressions are formed and also a sense of community is often associated with and formed within these institutions. This then implies that the language used by these institutions is probably the one which the majority of its members will use or feel encouraged to use. In this community, English is gaining power and Afrikaans is being increasingly marginalized. It

may not seem to be extremely obvious in all cases, but for this community as for many others, English seems to slowly displace Afrikaans in domains which had previously been almost the exclusive domain of Afrikaans, such as that of the school, the church and the family.

While XHL learners reported the highest use of home language, namely isiXhosa, in domains outside of school, most of this group of learners also indicated that English is frequently used in their religious institutions. Certain XHL learners indicated that English is often used in religious domains by preachers in order to accommodate immigrants from other African counties who have settled in the communities. So for this group of learners, as with the rest of the EFL group, English is most prevalent in school and religious institutions.

5.2.5 Codeswitching across domains

The high percentages of codeswitched English/Afrikaans evident in data justify the inclusion of the discussion here. Tables 4.2.2a and 4.2.2b reflect the percentages; here the averages of the two grades are discussed. Codeswitching mostly occurs with peers in the learners' home community. This is also the only domain where codeswitching reportedly occurs more than English or Afrikaans. The high use of codeswitching with peers in the home community is followed by use with peers on the school grounds (49%) and then use with parents (41%). Although codeswitching is not the focus of this study, it is important to note that these bilingual learners appear to have developed an awareness of the language abilities of others, and of speakers' preferences, as well as an acute awareness of domain-specific language use. These learners possess domain-specific codeswitching abilities which involve varying degrees of codeswitching depending on their interlocutor and domain.

Across all domains, Afrikaans is reportedly the language used least by both Grades 10 and 11 learners, while English is the language used most often as means of communication with teachers, school peers as well as parents. Learners are more

likely to use English with other learners at the school or use it nearly as often as Afrikaans. In the domain of school learners seem more likely to use English not only as LOLT but also when interacting socially with their peers. In the domain of peers in the home community, however, they tend to use codeswitched Afrikaans/English more often than use English alone.

According to Swann (2000: 168), codeswitching “is the use of both languages together that is meaningful, drawing on the associations of both languages and indexing dual identities.” Codeswitching is more prevalent amongst learners whose parents are Afrikaans-dominant, than actually speaking Afrikaans alone. Learners report that there is more codeswitched English/Afrikaans with English as the dominant code across various domains at school. Codeswitching is an acceptable code just as individual language entities such as English and Afrikaans. Swann (2000: 167) cites Gal and Myers-Scotton when she refers to “marked” and “unmarked” language choices. “Unmarked” choices are when the language used is the one which one associates with that particular domain, such as English usage in the classroom. “Marked” choices are those where the language choice is unexpected or unusual in that specific domain e.g. English with AFL grandparents. Gal (1979:110) speaks of “unreciprocal” manner of conversation or “language-switching” as encountered in her study of German/Hungarian bilingual speakers in Austria. This often occurs between parent or grandparent and child whereby a conversation is conducted with one interlocutor speaking one language and the other speaking another. Many learners at SCHOOL A reported that this happens in their households between them and older members who are not EFL, while casual codeswitching reportedly occurs more often with peers.

The bilingual or multilingual setting, which these learners find themselves to be part of, raises the topic of language choice used in each of their domains. Where bilingualism or multilingualism occurs, code-switching is likely to occur, and most learners reported that they use both languages when communicating with their peers as well as with their families and other community members. Wardhaugh (2002: 1) suggests that, when two

bilinguals communicate using their different languages (codes), they employ a third code, “one which draws on those two codes”, namely, codeswitching. Wardhaugh (2002: 103), amongst others, distinguishes between *situational codeswitching* and *metaphorical codeswitching*. *Situational* codeswitching occurs when interlocutors change languages according to the circumstances. The switch can happen “instantaneously” e.g. when learners discuss a subject-related topic in class amongst themselves using one code and then switch codes when reporting back to the teacher; there is no change of topic. *Metaphorical* codeswitching is where the language employed by interlocutors depends on the topic e.g. as when learners discuss an academic subject for study purposes in one language but when the same learners discuss an upcoming weekend event, they switch to their other language. Such codeswitching is apparent in many of the domains discussed below.

Circumstantial distinction by bilingual speakers is significant in relation to codeswitching as it determines the language choices of interlocutors. Learners are consciously or subconsciously aware of their interlocutors as well as their own language identities in both English and Afrikaans when choosing which language to communicate in during specific interactions. They learn to accommodate their interlocutors according to their individual or group language abilities and switch between the two languages accordingly, thus developing a means of communication by combining the languages common to the involved parties. According to Saville-Troike (2003:59):

specific functions are served by code-switching within and across communities, it adds to the verbal strategies that speakers have at their command, and is to be recognized as a dimension of communicative competence.

For the learners at SCHOOL A, codeswitching is a form with which they feel very comfortable and they see it as part of their and others' linguistic identity and on which they base judgments of others' use. During a group conversation on language use initiated by the interviewer, one bilingual learner at SCHOOL A says the following about visitors to their home community who are from Cape Town.

Ja, those *Kaapse kinders* come and talk all sturvy here, and I think, *joh*,

Yes Cape Town children/girls proper wow

what kind with this *kind*. They *seker* think they *so kwaai* but we can *mos* talk that

what's wrong girl probably smart obviously

English but only in class with the teacher. *Onder mekaar* we talk *gemaklik* like.

Amongst ourselves comfortably.

(Interviewer's notes)

In this instance, levels of codeswitching can be noted where the variety depends on the interlocutor's use of each language in a single communicative act. The level of codeswitching could vary from English-dominant codeswitching (as often used with classmates and siblings) to Afrikaans-dominant codeswitching (as often used with parents and grandparents). The learners are either acutely aware of codeswitching situations, as seen in the above example, or, when feeling less self-conscious, vary the level with which they codeswitch. This was noted during informal discussions with learners. When the issue of codeswitching was raised, although they had not heard the term before, once explained, learners recognized the phenomenon.

One learner, in an unrecorded conversation with interviewer and other learners, codeswitched as follows:

It is *seker* (probably) the best decision but it depends on the individual. You must *mos*

(obviously) feel comfortable with your language. (Interviewers notes: female 16 years)

The same learner was overheard speaking to a schoolmate outside the interview room after her interview:

For what are you *bang* afraid)? It's *lekker* (nice) to be interviewed. You just chat about school and family and *wat-wat* (what-what) and plus *jy* (you) score a chocolate and a coke. (Interviewers notes: female 16 years)

Gal (1979: 90) cites Labov to support the varying levels of codeswitching. According to Labov “[s]tyles can be ranged along a single dimension, measured by the amount of attention paid to speech...” This means that changes in individuals’ conversation between casual speech and formal interaction can be noted depending on whether the speaker is relaxed or strained. The assumption is that speakers use casual speech when they are least aware of themselves as when relaxed or emotional and formal speech when they are self-conscious and pay extra attention to their speech.

Another view cited in Gal (1979: 91) is that of Gumperz and Hernandez who say that “style-change” or codeswitching is used by speakers in order to socially define themselves or communicate a specific position. Gumperz and Hernandez draw an analogy between bilingual communication and story-writing: “codeswitching is a communicative skill which speakers use as a verbal strategy in much the same way that skilful writers switch styles in a short story.” Interviews with learners as well as parents lend support for both these views as were found to occur in the above examples.

Interviewed learners and parents reported that learners do switch codes from one domain to another. This does not only occur at school when communicating with teachers and peers but also with peers from school and peers from home communities. Learners and parents report that learners codeswitch and speak Afrikaans at home and with friends, but tend to use only English when communicating with strangers and when they may be feeling self-conscious.

In responses to both questionnaires and interviews most learners reported that when interacting at home, they speak English with siblings, while they may codeswitch (also alternate) or use Afrikaans with parents and grandparents. During observation of family interaction, it was noted that within the family domain, learners tend to vary their codeswitching depending on the family member they are directing their discourse at. This often happens within the same communicative act. Data examined from the questionnaire responses show that some learners use Afrikaans only with their grandparents and use codeswitched English/Afrikaans in almost all other domains. Learners are able to distinguish between the preferred language of one interlocutor and another, and vary their linguistic resources accordingly.

With my cousins from my mommy's side I talk English, with my daddy's family I talk Afrikaans because they are Afrikaans. Also with my aunties and uncles.

Ne mummy?

Isn't that so, Mummy?

(Interviewer's notes. Female, 16 years)

Um if I speak to my friends then like maybe Afrikaans cos like mostly I speak Afrikaans to my mommy. English and Afrikaans. But with adults I speak English cos I like don't wanna make a mistake.

(File B5 E37 female 16 years)

The Afrikaans at home is different to Afrikaans expected at school.

(Interviewers' notes. Male 15 years)

English mainly, because the word pronouncing in Afrikaans doesn't come out properly, so I rather speak English mainly.

(File B4 E54 female 17 years)

English is my first language, so, ja (yes), I was brought up with English, even though the majority of my family speaks Afrikaans or other friends.

(File B6, Qu E29, male 17 years)

I feel (most comfortable speaking) English...if I'm not speaking (Afrikaans) to my parents then it will be English to my friends.

(File A3, Qu A3, male 15 years)

Overall there seems to be a preference amongst learners for using codeswitched English/Afrikaans with English as the dominant code across most domains. Other family members seem to codeswitch with Afrikaans as the dominant code as learners reported the highest use of Afrikaans here (see table 4.2.2b). Some learners reported that they use Afrikaans with one set of grandparents and English with the other. As discussed earlier (see paragraph 5.2.3), alternation of languages often occurs in the language use of these learners with their parents and grandparents.

The fact that even a limited number (22%) of SCHOOL A learners who are bilingual, often use their preferred language, English, in domains where it is the second language of their interlocutors, e.g. with their grandparents, indicates that English is acceptable in domains which had previously been the domain of Afrikaans. A considerable number of learners indicated that their grandparents speak either English or use codeswitched English/Afrikaans with them (see Table 4.2.2b). This shows that some community members from the older generations accommodate and encourage the learners' language preference or first language when it is not their own first language, as is also seen in Wei's Tyneside community.

Even when English does not dominate in these domains, learners feel free to use English with significant others while they could equally be expected to use language of their interlocutor. The accommodation of the English speaking generation by the older members of the community further perpetuates its value as dominant language in certain social domains. The use of the language of the younger bilingual speakers, where factors such as topic and person often determine the use of a specific language, indicates that at least some of the learners at SCHOOL A are less likely to make the consideration in favour of their interlocutor. The consideration of person in terms of the age (grandparents and older community members) of interlocutor would perhaps be expected here i.e. because the interlocutor is older, the learner could out of respect, accommodate the interlocutor in terms of language use rather than vice versa. Additionally, as in Wei's Tyneside community, the older members often accommodate

the younger generation not only by alternation but by speaking the language preferred by the younger generation during social interactions. In such cases where learners choose or are encouraged to speak English with AFL speakers, such as with their grandparents and older church members, determine that English is used in domains where it had previously not been the language of communication for certain interlocutors i.e. AFL grandparents and certain other members of the home community.

Whether the grandparents had themselves defined that English or alternation of two languages shall be the language of context with their grandchildren or whether the learner determines that their preferred language be used in such interactions, the outcome is still reflective of the imminent language shift taking place amongst learners in this community. The older generations' use (speaking or listening) of English with the learners defines the linguistic context in these cases as English and this adds to a growing array of domains where English is used.

The relatively large number (58%) of learners who speak English with their siblings is significant to this study. In the case of many of these learners, while they speak English with their siblings, their parents do not necessarily speak English with them. This means that English, although not always the dominant language of the family, is being used in the home by at least half the occupants i.e. the children, while the rest of the time they codeswitch with the rest of the family. The implications are then that, if these learners are using English at school as well as with half their family members at home, it may translate to English or English-dominant codeswitching being used for more than 70% of the learners' day. This in turn could be interpreted as Afrikaans being used minimally each day by a considerable number of learners from a largely Afrikaans-dominant community. In these families, English indeed seems to be the dominant language if determined by its use by the younger generation.

One parent relayed the following about her children's codeswitching:

When YY and ZZ (older daughters) come home from school they greet me in Afrikaans, greet and chat with XX (their younger sister) in English and then go off to do their homework in their room and chat in that strange English they learn from friends at school. At church and at my parents place we speak only Afrikaans but they won't speak Afrikaans with their teachers or at the Municipality or even sales ladies in Truworths (clothing shop).

(Interviewers' notes)

More learners use Afrikaans with other members of the community, while fewer learners codeswitch. The fact that so few learners use English with others in the community where they live tells us that the community is Afrikaans-dominant and that the SCHOOL A community of learners is the exception rather than the norm in the areas where they live.

This chapter has discussed in detail what the linguistic resources are of senior high school learners in a multilingual school setting. In focus were learners with EFL who come from an AFL home language community. Patterns of language use across various domains in which the learners communicate have been traced, described and explained. In the following chapter, the attitudes of the learners to the various community languages will be described and interpreted.

CHAPTER 6 - ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF DATA 2

Language preferences and attitudes

Chapter 5 primarily answered research questions 1 to 3. This chapter takes further the analysis and interpretation of data collected with the variety of instruments set out in chapters 3 and 4. It specifically attends to some findings pertaining to question 3 and more specifically research questions 4 and 5, copied below for convenience. The topic here is the language preferences learners articulate and what such expressions disclose about their attitudes to the various community languages with which they have regular contact. Such language attitudes may be viewed as predictors of the nature and extent of language shift that is already evident in the particular community.

Q3. Do learners switch from one language to another in different contexts, or is there a strong preference for use of one language variety rather than another across private and public domains of language use?

Q4. Which language preferences are expressed?

Q5. How are the learners' language preferences overtly motivated?

CEMIS records of the school reflect that the majority of AFL parents choose to enroll their children in EFL classes. In comparing teachers' class lists and questionnaire data it appears that initially most learners identified their families as EFL; later, in interviews, it was revealed that many are in fact AFL. This attests to the preference for English as language and linguistic identity of parents and learners. Parents seem to attribute more value to English rather than Afrikaans as First Language and LOLT for their children. The fact that some learners indicated on the class lists that their home language and that of their parents is English when it was later shown to be Afrikaans, may also reflect the attitude they hold towards their two languages. The learners' attitudes may differ somewhat to that of their parents, as learners in their responses to questionnaires

identify themselves as EFL rather than distinguishing English as their LOLT and Afrikaans as their home language. While some learners' parents do speak English to them and Afrikaans to other members of the family, this is not true of learners who prefer to identify themselves as English First Language.

Attitudes of learners towards their different languages were tested by asking learners about which language they would prefer to use in future and why they think this choice would be more beneficial to use above the other. Attitudes towards languages (in this particular instance towards English and Afrikaans) could have a direct and lasting impact on language maintenance and language shift. The attitude of parents, transmitted to learners and indirectly to others in the community, could possibly affect language choice in all communicative contexts/domains. While recognized as a community language as well as culturally important language by some, it seems that the continued use of Afrikaans as LOLT as well as home language is threatened in a particular sector of a community because it is viewed as having less academic, economic and international value. This shifts Afrikaans to secondary position in the lives of a certain number of people, where English is allowed to overtake it in various domains.

The rest of this chapter is organized as follows:

First, attention will be given to the expressed language preferences learners have expressed in questionnaires and how this ties up with parents' reports on their children's patterns of use (par. 6.1). Second, attention will go to the reasons learners and parents present for the preferences and attitudes to which such preferences testify (par. 6.2). Third, attention will be given to other studies of language attitude and language shift in this particular community; also the process will be compared to similar shift in other Western Cape communities to check whether patterns perceived elsewhere are similar or different to the findings of this research (par 6.3).

6.1 Language preferences and associated attitudes of learners in English L1 classes to various community languages

According to Mackey (2000: 38), the “attitude of a bilingual towards his languages and the people who speak them will influence his behaviour within the different areas of contact in which each language is used.” While many of these learners do not have overtly negative attitudes towards Afrikaans, most view English as their first language and indicated English as the language they prefer to use when given the choice. While only one learner showed outright contempt towards Afrikaans, certain other learners in this community feel that their knowledge of Afrikaans is not of an acceptable standard for use outside of the community where they live.

As noted earlier, Mackey (2000: 28-32) reports that “degree of proficiency in each language depends on its function” and as determinants he places “school language” and “home language”. Furthermore, he says that there are certain *variables* such as frequency of use, duration of contact as well as pressure on the bilingual to use his/her languages equally or one more than the other (Mackey 2000: 34-35). It would seem that for some of the learners, all these determinants count in the favour of using English more than Afrikaans. Where Afrikaans is most frequently used, in the home and the home community, learners spend the least amount of time each day. Even then, in these domains, English and codeswitching is often used with members outside of the school community, such as with siblings, parents and in religious institutions. The patterns noted in the language use and attitudes by many learners show that for these learners, English is not only the preferred language and the one in which they perceive themselves as more proficient in, but also by this stage if not earlier, the one which is defined as their ‘internal language’. During interviews, parents as well as learners indicated that the majority of learners from the focus community use English in their intimate domains. Only one of the interviewed parents, notably one who had consciously tried to raise her daughters as fully bilingual, said that she thinks that her

three older children have dual intimate languages, but said with certainty that English is the intimate language of her youngest son.

Most respondents who overtly stated that they prefer English to Afrikaans in all domains showed no negative mind-set towards Afrikaans as community language, but most learners did indicate that given the choice they would choose English as their dominant language. English is the preferred language across many domains (even where codeswitching occurs) and is used virtually exclusively as LOLT and for studying purposes as indicated by more than 90% of learners in responses to questionnaires and interviews. Ninety percent (90%) of the learners also indicated that they prefer English as the language they will one day raise their family with. The use of Afrikaans as exclusive language in any one of the domains by a large number of respondents is so minimal that it warrants further investigation into the possible decline of Afrikaans as medium of communication in this particular community.

According to Saville-Troike (2003: 183), "language attitude" studies are concentrated around three key issues, namely (i) general attitudes towards language and language skills, (ii) stereotyped impressions towards languages and language varieties, their speakers, and their functions and (iii) applied concerns such as language choices, usage and learning. Saville-Troike (2003: 183) holds the opinion that "individuals can seldom choose what attitudes to have toward a language or variety." This means that every individual is part of a community, which implies that we share attitudes with others, make choices depending on choices made by others and that more others may follow suit.

6.1.1 Language attitude to English

For this community, English apparently offers more benefits for future success in a broader community, while Afrikaans apparently only serves a purpose in the home community. The contrasting views of these two languages "may determine linguistic fate" of each of these languages in this particular community (Saville-Troike 2003: 201).

The patterns of language use that emerge from the analysis of data show that the learners attribute more value to one of their languages (English) than the other (Afrikaans). While many learners codeswitch English with Afrikaans, they show a preference for English over Afrikaans in most domains. The patterns indicate that the group of EFL learners minimally switches to Afrikaans even though they have well-established receptive skills in this language. Whether the indications by learners is a true reflection or not, the use of English as dominant code is unlikely to change without a concerted effort on the part of the community and it seems likely that the shift will veer towards greater use of English or codeswitching with English as dominant code.

Reasonably, English is the language most learners indicated they consider as being their strongest. It is also the language most said they prefer as language of studying and learning. Data used in this investigation reliably show that English is increasingly used by this group of learners across various other domains for more than just academic purposes while Afrikaans has fewer domains where it is used either exclusively or as the dominant code in codeswitching. Most learners indicated that because English is the language they have always been taught in, they cannot now imagine switching to Afrikaans as LOLT, even in those cases where Afrikaans is the language most often used in their homes.

The majority of interviewed parents also prefer having their children not only educated in English, but also to have EFL identities. English is the language most of the interviewed AFL parents set out to use as home language for their children and all have chosen it as LOLT for the younger generation. Only two of the parents interviewed said that they wanted their children to have shared linguistic identities, but both these (sets of) parents have not placed the same emphasis on bilingual language identity with their younger children as they have with their older children. In both these families, the youngest child (in both cases considerably younger than their older siblings) has English as first language not only at school, like that of their older siblings, but also at home. The same

is true of a learner who has older AFL siblings, while she and her younger sister have English as first language at school and at home.

When asked which of the two languages they are most comfortable speaking, 17 (87%) of interviewees said that English is the language they feel most comfortable speaking. Only 3 learners said Afrikaans is the language they feel most comfortable speaking, although all learners acknowledge that the community, as well as their family, is Afrikaans-dominant. One learner, who said that she preferred English as language of communication as she is most comfortable with it, said that this is despite the fact that only her sister speaks English to her in their home. Her brothers and both parents mostly use Afrikaans. This is the reality in many of the homes which the learners come from. Most interviewed learners report to speaking English with their siblings while the rest of the family speaks Afrikaans to learners as well as to other members of the family. One learner said that although she belongs to an Afrikaans church where her father is a pastor and her parents speak a lot of Afrikaans to her and her older brother, she has to think in English before speaking in Afrikaans. Her brother was raised Afrikaans while she, born three years later, is being raised English. Another learner said she does not mind speaking Afrikaans to her friends but fears making a mistake when conversing with adults so she rather speaks English. In the following excerpts from learner interviews, learners expressed their reasons for using one language over the other in various domains.

English, because I can pronounce the words better and speak properly. (FileB2, male 16 yrs)

Um, if I speak to my friends, then like maybe Afrikaans cos like mostly I speak Afrikaans to my mommy. But with adults I speak English cos I like don't wanna make a mistake. (File B5, female, 16 yrs)

The learners in this study seem all too aware of the fact that they possess the ability of conversational Afrikaans to be used within their community or where they feel most

relaxed, but feel neither comfortable nor proficient using it in other domains. They do not, however, have the same anomalous sentiment about English. None of the learners said that they cannot converse comfortably in English, their language of formal instruction. It seems that learners feel that if they possess the academic skills for English, it automatically means that they can use it in any domain. This seemingly influences the use of both languages across domains, one negatively and the other positively, in language shift.

6.1.2 Language attitude to Afrikaans

For a certain number of learners from Afrikaans-dominant homes, the language of the home is of less importance than Afrikaans as they find that more people outside the home and community use English as a main language, and it is widely used in institutional discourses, such as in education and at church or mosque.

Because when I speak English I can understand what I'm saying, when I speak Afrikaans um I don't really know like how to carry on because I only know like the basic Afrikaans, like I don't understand those high words, like if you wanna speak fast you can speak English like easily. (File A9, male, 15 yrs)

For these learners, their Afrikaans is not as "high" a form or variety. Many learners said that they would rather speak English with strangers, because their Afrikaans is "kombuis" (an inferior form) Afrikaans. Mackey finds that because speakers may be embarrassed by their "accent" or variety, as is the case with Afrikaans among some speakers from this community, it may cause them to shun this language and show a preference for the other. Evidence of this is seen in the learner who at first denied that her parents speak Afrikaans to her at home and identified herself as being able to speak very little Afrikaans. This learner later said that her parents speak only Afrikaans to her yet insisted that her friends speak only English to her. This learner seems to be an exception in this community, as she is also one of only two learners interviewed who said that her children will one day be raised as English monolingual. This learner's

report, of an interaction between her and a friend who is from her home community and does not attend SCHOOL A, is reflective of differing attitudes within the home community towards community languages.

Learner: (But then I say because) my mommy say I'm then in a English school, why mustn't I then speak English.

Friend: You then a coloured, but you speaking in English.

(File B9, female, 17 years)

During the interview, however, it transpired that not only does she come from a strong Afrikaans background; her family speaks only Afrikaans at home, also with her, while both she and her mother insist that her AFL friends speak English with her as she is EFL. This learner's attitude does not only demonstrate an obvious preference for English, but also resentment to Afrikaans. Although nearly everyone she converses with at home and in her home community speaks Afrikaans to her, her identity is English. As for her friend, he obviously feels that Afrikaans is part of his social identity. What was notable in this interview was that this particular learner's English exhibits more grammatical errors (from a standard language perspective) than any of the other learners who were interviewed, but she did not codeswitch, not even using the common "ja" which is a very prevalent filler word or replacement for "yes" among English speakers in the Western Cape. This sets the particular learner apart from other EFL learners who regularly codeswitch and seem to be comfortable with dual linguistic identities.

Although none of the other interviewed learners showed such negative attitudes towards Afrikaans, there are indications that learners do not value the form of Afrikaans used in the community as much as they do English.

The way that our parents speak to us...it's Afrikaans but it's not like suiwerheid (sic) (pure) Afrikaans. It's not that high Afrikaans. If I speak to my kids like that

they will grow up like not in a healthy way. They will speak back like me.

(File A 9, male 15 years)

Another learner said that although his parents speak Afrikaans to him at home, Afrikaans makes him nervous. He has older brothers and sisters who are raised Afrikaans, while he receives his education in English. Although Afrikaans is dominant in his home he says that when he becomes confused his parents will switch to English. When asked if he has friends who speak Afrikaans only and how easy he finds it to switch from one language to the other, he said:

It's a bit weird because their Afrikaans is different to mine. Theirs is "coloured" Afrikaans to my... (implied: white Afrikaans). (File B11, male, 16 yrs)

This can be interpreted that this learner feels that not only does he have to contend with speaking a language (Afrikaans) he is uncomfortable with; he also has to accommodate a dialect of Afrikaans which is different to his.

One parent, who is an Afrikaans teacher, feels that Afrikaans will not ever die out in this community as too many older and less economically viable people still use it. However, this may only mean that language shift happens at a slower pace in this section of the community than it does amongst the SCHOOL A community of learners. Already, the second school which opened in the Strand offers dual medium education where previously the less economically able section of this community had access only to Afrikaans-medium education.

6.1.3 Language attitude to code-switched English-Afrikaans

During interviews, many of those learners who mentioned codeswitching seem to find codeswitching with English as the dominant code a more acceptable form of language use, than they do Afrikaans. A number of learners referred to the form of Afrikaans as used in their homes and/or home communities as "kombuis" (inferior form) Afrikaans, while no such inference was ever made about the standard of English used by the

learner. Learners feel that their standard of English is more acceptable for use in various social and public domains and would often indicate that they speak English to one another or with their families while not immediately recognizing it as codeswitched English or English with grammatical errors.

No, because it, I don't know, my parents, since small they speak Afrikaans and English to me so I feel comfortable but sometimes people do really struggle.

(File A8, female, 16 yrs)

It will be English (for my children) because it looks more, it's better for the person that if he has English because if you got Afrikaans or a mix then he has a slang it's not, doesn't look so good when they speak. So I think that English will be better for the children.

(File A3, male, 15 yrs)

According to the data, codeswitching, more often with English as dominant code, occurs wherever English is not used exclusively.

6.1.4 Language attitude regarding bilingualism as opposed to monolingual English

When the parents of some of the learners were asked which languages their children were able to converse in, all said English and Afrikaans. One parent said that it was imperative for her and her husband that their children are comfortable with Afrikaans as well, because the church, which is Afrikaans, is an important domain in their family, as her children's grandfather and father are pastors in the church. The parents said for this reason they speak Afrikaans at home while the children are EFL at school. This parent insisted that her children speak both languages equally well and are comfortable with both, "unlike other children at SCHOOL A." However, when asked which language her three daughters prefer speaking in domains outside of home and church, she reported that it is English.

In de Klerk and Bosch's study they noted a marked difference in attitude towards English (positive) and Afrikaans (negative) over the period of one year in which a 10-year-old boy switched from Afrikaans as LOLT to English as LOLT although his home language remained Afrikaans dominant. His parents had decided to enroll him in the English-medium school three years after he had already started his primary school education in Afrikaans. Due to the fact that they did not want him to lose his Afrikaans identity, they continued to use Afrikaans at home. This is similar to the intentions of two parents at SCHOOL A, who continued using Afrikaans at home because they intended for their children to be fully bilingual. Evidence however in both the Grahamstown case study and SCHOOL A learners reveals that this seldom happens. In both cases, the learners identify more strongly with English as first language and it seems evident that they would choose English as their preferred language in future.

6.2 Motivation for language preferences as expressed by learners and parents

A correlation can be drawn between some of the learners and parents reasons for the preference shown for English. Many learners expressed as their motivation that English is a universal language and the language used at many tertiary institutions. Learners' perception of their proficiency is directly linked with how often and the number of contexts in which their languages are used. They perceive their proficiency in their repertoire of languages as vastly different from each other, because of the different domains where the languages are used i.e. English is used in domains of school, church and with many peers while Afrikaans is used mostly in their home community. Parents' motivation for opting for English as language for their children were mostly due to their own lack of English proficiency while growing up and entering tertiary institutions which they found to be predominantly English.

6.2.1 Directly expressed reasons for language preferences

Many learners may prefer to use English as they expressed that they possess a “lower” form of Afrikaans as opposed to a “higher” form of English. Although some learners said that a lot of Afrikaans and codeswitching is used in their homes and home communities, learners said that they prefer to use English, the language they feel more confident using when interacting with those they feel less comfortable e.g. strangers. It is for this reason that many learners said they use English more than they use Afrikaans. Another reason is possibly that academic skills are viewed as more important and impressive than social skills.

Many learners also said that their reason for preferring English is that they consider it to be their home language even if not all others in their home use it predominantly. All learners had always been taught in English; they feel that they would not manage with Afrikaans as first language in any of their domains, except at home.

They only speak Afrikaans at home. At school they all English.

Further responses by learners where that for tertiary study, they would require English either because they feel more comfortable using it for study purposes or they believe that the majority of tertiary institutions use English as medium. When one learner was asked if she thinks that most of the literature at tertiary institutions will be English she said that she hoped so because she would not be able to study in Afrikaans. One learner said that in order to become a chartered accountant, she has to know English.

JF: So you think at university everything's going to be English?

RB8 : Yes, that's why my parents decided to raise me English.

JF: What do you plan to do after school? Which language will be most helpful to know?

RA1: I wanna become a marine-biologist...landscape architect...

I don't know, maybe because I understand it (English) more better than

Afrikaans when I read it on paper. (File A1, female, 16 years)

JF: Okay. And what language do you think is going to help you more?

RA3: I feel English will because more of the people will speak English I feel

in that field. Or to most of the people to socialize English will be the best.

JF: Where do you intend to study?

RA3: At the University of Stellenbosch.

(File A3, male, 15 yrs)

Another learner said that besides opting for English for further studies to become an engineer, she said that “to most of the people to socialize English will be the best.” The few learners who said that they could choose either language if they had a choice, feel that for further education or job opportunities, English is the obvious choice because of its universality. One learner, who intends to study accounting, receives her accounting lessons in a bilingual class because there are too few AFL learners doing accounting to warrant a period on the school roster. She said that the terms are too “tough” for her to comprehend and the Afrikaans words are “very complicated”. This sentiment was reiterated by another learner who wants to become a personal trainer but would not be able to pronounce the required words in Afrikaans.

This particular learner had earlier said that he finds it easy to switch between the two languages and given the choice now, he would have liked Afrikaans to be his main language because he “like[s] Afrikaans.” One learner said that should she study in Afrikaans, “[she] wouldn't know what would be going on.”

Parents' reasons for preferences of English education or EFL for their children were mostly for purposes of tertiary education. One parent said that because the option of an English education had been denied to his generation, he felt that being proficient in English would afford his own children the opportunities that he feels comes paired with an English education. He said that he remembers how the Apartheid government had tried to enforce Afrikaans as LOLT on black learners and he had always regretted having Afrikaans as his first language. He had felt as though he was a supporter of the Apartheid regime and was often embarrassed about being AFL. Another parent, who had attended Afrikaans medium School D for "coloureds", said that she had always felt slightly inferior to English students at the tertiary college (which was situated in the Southern Suburb of Athlone) she where studied and had made the decision to raise her own children as bilingual. She indicated that while her decision was not politically motivated, she felt that being EFL was better for the future of her children. Another parent said that the English-speaking children she knew as a child always seemed to achieve so much more than their Afrikaans-speaking peers and that they sounded more eloquent.

Engelse kinders het beter presteer en dit het gelyk hulle het makliker dinge behaal wat ons nie altyd kon nie.

English children performed better and it seemed that they achieved things more easily which we could not always achieve.

(Interviewer notes)

Another parent said that while she does not necessarily think that this is true, she still feels that having English as first language broadens her "children's horizons and outlook on life." She did not want her children to have to struggle at university as she did because their first language was not their academic language. She said that growing up, her generation did not have the option of having English as LOLT, as they were obligated to be educated in Afrikaans because the only school in the region for "coloured" learners was the Afrikaans-medium School D. She said that when she

reached university, all textbooks and most lectures were in English and it was a struggle translating from English to Afrikaans while she studied. She said that her older daughter who is studying medicine has no such difficulty, as she is proficient in English as her first language, while she is still able to communicate with her Afrikaans-dominant family members, as her home language is Afrikaans. One father said that his children will advance “much faster”, as they were proficient in English from a young age. He said that he sometimes regrets that his children feel uncomfortable communicating in Afrikaans, especially at family gatherings when most others are more proficient in Afrikaans. He said that he does not however regret his decision of choosing English as their first language, as they are much more confident interacting with others and making friends than he was at the same age.

The same parent said that EFL speakers are more likely to “make it to university and go to work overseas.” His perception is that (in the Helderberg) the learners from English-medium schools have a higher number of university entrances than their counterparts from Afrikaans-medium schools.

6.2.2 Indirectly expressed reasons for language preferences

Learners and parents often indirectly expressed preferences for one language. In giving their reasons for choosing English as language for their children, parents often indicated that children preferred English, when in fact parents may have indirectly relayed their views to learners by enrolling them in EFL classes. Learners who indicated a preference for Afrikaans language use over English often indirectly indicated that they felt pressure from the majority of English speaking learners at the school. All the parents interviewed stated that they have no confidence in their children’s abilities to pursue further studies in Afrikaans, even those parents who feel that their children are more proficient in Afrikaans than other learners at the school. This is probably due to the fact that these parents had experienced difficulty studying at tertiary institutions in their second language, English. Parents now feel that because Afrikaans is the second language of

these learners, they would experience similar difficulties if expected to use their second language as academic language.

One learner said of her preference:

Afrikaans, because everyone in my household speaks Afrikaans...but in front of my friends I have to talk English because they like look at me in a certain way.
(File A1, female, 15 yrs)

It is obvious that this learner feels pressurized by her peers to speak English. This kind of pressure may prompt learners to choose English as their main language. This same learner had, however, expressed the preference of having the interview conducted in English and said that she speaks some English with her mother and grandmother, English only with a younger sibling and Afrikaans with seven older siblings. At home, all of her friends speak Afrikaans whereas at school all speak English. Other learners also say that it is at home and with friends in the community where they live that they speak Afrikaans, but at school their friends are mostly English. One learner said that their chances of further study were better than learners who do not receive their education in English. Some learners feel that they will fare better at tertiary institutions than AFL learners. These sentiments may be learnt from some parents who feel that an English education was denied them under Apartheid because they are "coloured" and could not afford to attend the better schools due to financial or geographical constraints. Although there were English-medium schools for "coloured" learners, they were mostly situated in the Southern Suburbs of Cape Town and too far for people from these communities to travel.

Some of the learners also said that, while Afrikaans may be the language most often spoken at home, they feel more comfortable speaking English and would raise their own children as EFL. The learners from XHL backgrounds, without exception, indicated that

they would raise their children with isiXhosa as Home Language. They said that while they realize that English is for better academic purposes, they would not want their children to lose their cultural identity. All isiXhosa learners interviewed related that isiXhosa is important to their cultural identity.

The EFL learners from AFL parents obviously possess linguistic resources in both of the languages to which they are exposed. In most cases, the dilemma arises with the learners' perception of their proficiency in either of the two languages. While Afrikaans is the language most often spoken at home, the learners lack confidence in using it when the need to speak formally arises. This reflects largely on their perception that their knowledge of Afrikaans is inadequate because it has not been taught to them in the same formal manner as English has. This perception may have a negative impact on their use of Afrikaans in domains other than at home. This may be the reason that the use of English spills over from the domain of school into other domains.

The assumption which is drawn from interviews with parents that English is seen as the language for academic, economic and social advancement. Parents view English First Language from the memories of their childhood years as the language which was denied them and which was used by those better off than they were. It was also often the language spoken by those "coloured" communities who lived closer to the cosmopolitan centre of Cape Town, employed by English-speaking whites and who were afforded better opportunities because of these advantages. Afrikaans, to some of these parents, is the reason they had struggled to adapt at universities or colleges and they may have passed this attitude to their children.

CHAPTER 7 - LANGUAGE SHIFT IN THE FOCUS COMMUNITY

The research findings in this study give an indication of the nature of the language shift taking place in this community. This section will show how language shift is taking place in this community on a macro level as well as on a micro level. Learners' language preference is reflected in the increasing number of domains where they are in contact with and also use English.

Many families who have decided to shift from Afrikaans as first language to English may not be overly concerned with or even realize the threat this poses to the survival of Afrikaans as a societal language. Thus, intergenerational continuity of Afrikaans is not an obvious concern. According to Fishman (1989), a language is replaced when "it has no safe institutional base of its own outside of school." For many SCHOOL A learners, Afrikaans is seen as one more school subject and certainly not one which plays a deciding role as far as future employment or study is concerned.

Scenarios as sketched in Excel spread sheets show how English displaces Afrikaans in the SCHOOL A community of learners. The majority of parents of the learners' at SCHOOL A were brought up with AFL; their grandparents had been Afrikaans monolingual. Within the family domain, many of the parents, even if they do not speak English to their children, indicated that their children speak English (or use English-dominant codeswitching) with one another. In certain cases, the learners are accommodated by their grandparents who speak English or alternate languages with learners. Where certain learners are not in contact with English in their homes or home community and where it is used only for academic purposes, a strong preference for English learning is still evident. In interviews, these same learners have also indicated that they intend raising their own children as EFL. This shows that even for those learners with minimum exposure to English, it is still seen as the language with the most power, not only academically but also socially. All indications are that English is likely to displace Afrikaans for 99% of learners or their children in this community, with 90% indicating that this is already the case in most domains.

7.1 Patterns of language shift apparent in this community

The following patterns are predicted for this community by using information gathered from data of learners' patterns of current language use across domains, learners' preferred linguistic identities as well as learners' own predictions of future language use.

Pattern 1: Afrikaans dominant parents and grandparents → children with academic English/ codeswitch social interaction → English dominant bilingual adult → English dominant grandchildren

Pattern 2: Afrikaans dominant bilingual parents (grandparents) → children raised English/academic English/codeswitch social interaction → English dominant adult → English dominant grandchildren

Pattern 3: Afrikaans dominant bilingual parents (grandparents) → children academic and home English dominant → English dominant adult → English (almost monolingual) grandchildren

In the opinion of the researcher and from personal experience, teaching in this community, the shift from Afrikaans-dominant bilingualism amongst parents to English-dominant bilingualism amongst learners seems already to have spread to that part of the community which has up to now not yet have access to English-dominant education. Many parents, due to economic circumstances, have previously not had the option of sending their children to ex-Model C schools in the region, where English as LOLT is offered. The most recently established high school in the area was opened within walking distance from the Strand South community and with more affordable school fees had a considerable number of learners enrolling. This means that English as LOLT is more accessible to those who could not previously afford to attend SCHOOL A or who thought it too far to travel. Where the Afrikaans-dominant Strand South community had previously had only one (Afrikaans-medium) high school, it now has two, one of which is dual-medium English-Afrikaans.

The manner in which language shift takes place within families who opt for English as LOLT for their children, is that siblings who are educated in English (who speak English with each other although not always with other older family members) will in all likelihood raise their own children as EFL from birth. Unless they marry partners who feel strongly about having another language as equal or dominant home language, all of the next generation will have English-dominant home environments and be addressed in English by almost all significant adults i.e. grandparents, aunts, uncles and possibly most of their parents' friends. This means that their own children will have less contact with Afrikaans on a daily basis than the community of SCHOOL A learners currently do. This concludes that within the next generation, the family will shift to English-dominant bilingualism, with the possibility of a few cases of English monolingualism. English monolingualism for a minority of future generation speakers is not a far-fetched notion; especially if one considers that as adults some of these learners may move out of the Afrikaans-dominant community where they now live. The future grandparents (parents of these learners) will most likely speak English with their grandchildren, even if they are not already using it with their own children. This assumption is made based on the knowledge that these parents had prompted the language shift towards English by introducing it as their own children's academic and/or home language.

The far-reaching implications of the shift to English as dominant language in this community also have to be considered. The use of English in other institutions in order to accommodate the EFL users initiates a shift in other domains and thus the broader community.

Further proof of language shift lies in the fact that English is used increasingly in "intragroup" relationships with family members and not only "intergroup" relationships, such as with teachers and school mates. Fishman, as cited in Wei (2000: 95), says that in multilingual societies the interacting members of a family have different role-relations and thus may express different preferences of language use depending on who they are communicating with. For this current research, this idea is supported in that we can

distinguish the different language choices of learners depending on whether their interlocutor is grandparent, parent or sibling. Certain learners speak only English with siblings, mostly English with parents and mostly Afrikaans with grandparents (or any other mix of their repertoire of languages with different members). Fishman (2000: 95) refers to the role-relations within the family domain as “differentiability of role relations” and says that this also occurs in other domains such as religious institutions.

For this study, the significance in the language shift lies in the fact that English is introduced, accepted and encouraged in domains where previously Afrikaans had been predominantly used. So while it is, according to Fishman, that most speakers consider the language preference of their interlocutor, this study shows that in a considerable number of instances, certain of the SCHOOL A learners are the ones who enjoy that consideration, and whose preferred language is often used during interactions.

The numbers of learners who use English in the domains of classroom and school grounds show that the learners in this particular community can be considered English-dominant and that language shift is taking place in this community. Although the study may also indicate that a certain number of learners do speak Afrikaans with their parents and certain others in the home communities, it is unlikely that Afrikaans will be the dominant language in their own homes in future. This is evident in interview data of learners and parents, where it is revealed that most learners use English in their private or intimate domains as well as with most peers from school and their siblings (those interlocutors closer in age).

The view that English becomes the preferred language of learners, to whom it is introduced initially as main language for educational purposes, may be confirmed. This statement gains support from both questionnaires and interviews where learners and parents state that while English is not always used exclusively by a number of learners, even those from strongly Afrikaans households tend to use the two languages mixed rather than Afrikaans alone. For all of the learners in this community, English is at the very least used exclusively in at least one domain, interaction with teachers for

academic purposes, while Afrikaans has no such domain in the case of all of the learners.

While not wanting to sound fatalistic, language shift is happening to a noticeable degree in the focus group of this study within the seventeen years since the abolishment of separate schools. It is shown to have had some impact on certain other institutions such as the church and mosques. It thus cannot be said with absolute certainty that it will not impact the possible language shift amongst more people in the broader communities from which these learners come.

7.2 Motivation: Reasons for current patterns of language shift in the focus group

Language maintenance of Afrikaans as dominant language seems to be unlikely in this school community, as more than 80% of learners are registered EFL while more than 70% are from Afrikaans-dominant backgrounds and more than 90% showing a preference for English.

- Most learners share the opinion that English is necessary after school for employment and tertiary education.
- While most learners said they want their own children to be bilingual, 98% of respondents to questionnaires and interviews indicated that English should be the dominant language for their own children. Similar reports are reflected in de Kadt's (2005: 31) study when university students agree that English is the language required for future success.
- Most learners feel that they need to maintain Afrikaans for social identity or connectedness to their families, but it is unlikely that their parents will choose to speak Afrikaans to their grandchildren in future. Learners do not experience any sense of negative otherness, chiefly because they are accommodated by so many members of the community where they live. The older generation as well as many of the religious institutions in the community has shown a willingness to

partially change their language to that of the English speaking children in the community.

- While all learners from isiXhosa backgrounds feel the need to maintain their indigenous language and indicated that they will raise their children with Xhosa as home language and strongly bilingual with English, the same is not true for a large majority of learners from the Afrikaans community, who indicated that they will choose English as dominant language with Afrikaans as second language.
- Amongst the focus group, 4 out of 5 parents interviewed said that English is the language of their intimate domain.
- According to Milroy and Muysken (1995: 6), “higher-order societal structures” i.e. the school and other important domains determine the languages used at school: In SCHOOL A, it is English, in GL it is Spanish and Wesbank Afrikaans and Xhosa. For this reason, even though the learners at these different schools seem to have English as other community language in common, SCHOOL A is seemingly the only school community where the community language is in danger of being shifted to second language status.
- Afrikaans suffers as it is taught formally for only one period per day while English is used formally for all content subjects in school. Most forms of codeswitching has English as the dominant code.
- English, which is used as *lingua franca*, seems to be the language of the multicultural generation. Most learners at the school will thus have their parents’ first language as their second language while their shared identity is English. The majority of children attending multiracial schools have English as their first language.
- While some of these learners have plural or multiple language identities, these identities are skewed towards an English identity.

The language shift initiated by AFL parents’ language choice of EFL for their children has extensive and possibly permanent effect on the language identity and use of their children. While many learners codeswitch with Afrikaans and English, the switch to

English as LOLT and learners' first language has had a marked effect on learners' use of Afrikaans and English in this community, as well as on their proficiency in the two languages. Swann (2000: 160) cites Gal as saying that bilingual communities must be recognized as "salient instances of a universal phenomenon: the multiplicity and functional distinctiveness of language varieties in speech communities." Furthermore, she says "that language shift can be explained as a special instance of linguistic change" within this paradigm. When viewed in this manner, it may be relevant to discuss why language shift would occur in certain communities such as at SCHOOL A but not in similar communities where similar studies of possible language shift were conducted.

7.3 Language shift in the Western Cape – comparison to other studies

In certain families, as in certain communities, language shift is more likely to occur than in others. While a strong sense of language loyalty may be present amongst some families and communities (or while economic viability narrows options of choice), other families and communities seem to make a concerted effort in encouraging language shift in children. In the Western Cape, some "coloured" families have used English as home language for many generations, especially in the Southern Suburbs where families lived closer to the cosmopolitan Cape Town Central area and they were more likely to be employed by English-speaking whites in the early 1900s. Other families had decided later, for reasons varying from Afrikaans being the language of the oppressive Nationalist government to economics, to switch to English as first language for their children.

Anthonissen and George (2003: 15) find in their study of three "coloured" families from the Cape Town area, across three generations many similarities to the present study in terms of reasons that parents choose to shift languages for their children to English from Afrikaans. Among these respondents the reasons for the shift are because of post-Apartheid accessibility to schools and practical reasons of easier access to tertiary institutions and employment. Similarly, in some instances, neither the children nor parents seem to experience a strong sense of loyalty to Afrikaans or a sense of loss at

the suggestion that their community may be losing an established linguistic resource. For most learners at SCHOOL A, the *status quo* was acceptable because, as many learners said, this is the only way they know. For two SCHOOL A parents interviewed, it was important for family connectedness that their children be able to communicate in Afrikaans as well as English.

Anthonissen and George (2003) also found that children in the studied families are reluctant to speak Afrikaans despite being bilingual. This also happens in the SCHOOL A community, where some learners prefer to be identified as EFL rather than as bilingual speakers of English and Afrikaans. This seems to stem from parent attitudes of English as status language. Parents in both these studies said that they felt embarrassed at their own lack of English proficiency. The sense that Afrikaans does not hold the same social value as English could subconsciously be passed from one generation to the next.

Gal (1979: 3) determines that what should be investigated when examining language shift is not whether “social change...effect changes in the uses to which speakers put their languages in everyday interaction”, because it is already known that it does. She says that what should rather be investigated is how and why this happens. This is a salient point when comparing two communities which share certain cultural similarities or exist within the same limited geographical area. For what reason is there a seemingly greater urgency for the SCHOOL A community, with similar perception of ‘positive’ implications of language shift towards English for their children, as Gregorio Luperon and Wesbank, to initiate a shift. What necessitates the shift at such a pace in one community and not the other? There must be a larger societal influence from outside or within the community which aggravates or necessitates language shift in one community which does not exist in the other. This is not to say that the influence is not experienced at all by the other communities, because there is proof that English has affected these communities. The influence of English is experienced to a lesser or larger degree in a

particular community depending on intersocietal and/or intrasocietal interaction within that community which determines language shift or language maintenance.

The SCHOOL A community seems to experience an acute consciousness of demands by tertiary institutions and other middle class structures with which parents come into regular contact for English language proficiency. This does not mean however that this awareness is not present in the other communities studied by other researchers. The learners at Gregorio Luperon realise the importance of learning English in order to fulfill the requirements of fitting in with the larger American culture which necessitates the acquisition of English. Similarly, in the Wesbank community, the younger sibling of one of the learners in the case study is being raised in English directly because of the influence of family members in a different community closer to such structures alluded to earlier.

The difference in these communities is the willingness by the SCHOOL A community of learners to take their parents' second language as their own first language, with the encouragement of other community structures. This causes them to place one language over the other in order of dominance in most domains, which means the displacement of the other language by English. For the SCHOOL A community, English displaces Afrikaans with little or no resistance from learners and parents, while in the other communities there exists a stronger preference for the language of the home communities to be preserved. Similarities can be drawn between the SCHOOL A community of learners and parents and Wei's Tyneside community and Romaine's Oberwart community. The difference though should be noted that the language which in SCHOOL A is being moved to second place is not a language belonging to a minority in the greater society nor is there a need to acquire it for the purpose of adapting to a new country. Such an argument could hold value in support of the Gregorio Luperon learners should language shift occur here, but these learners are not willingly giving up their

home community language as the Chinese in the Tyneside (Wei 2000) community or the Hungarian community in Austria (Gal 1979: 24 and Romaine 2006: 51).

According to Myers-Scotton (2006: 70-75), there are three models of community organization which may predict language shift or language maintenance". These may be a relevant consideration when comparing the SCHOOL A community with the Gregorio Luperon and Wesbank communities. The model is made up of the following:

- i) Horizontal of vertical multilingualism: **Horizontal multilingualism** is where speakers "live in their own geographical spaces and are often monolingual" with multilingualism "present at a higher level of society". The relation to this study is that the GL and Wesbank communities are largely isolated from the rest of the English speaking society. **Vertical multilingualism** is where, as in the SCHOOL A community, "people work, live, go to school, and shop in communities with speakers of other languages."
- ii) Network models of social organization: **Social network analysis** looks at how different relationships within a society influence language shift or language maintenance. "The **strength of a tie**" is determined by "frequency of interaction" as well as "intimacy and intensity of interactions."
- iii) Ethnolinguistic vitality: On the **sociological level**, a community of speakers' language maintenance is determined by "opportunities for speech events in the groups' language" which affects acquisition of their home or community language and other languages. On a **psychological level**, patterns of language use is determined by "beliefs reflecting subjective Ethnolinguistic vitality" which "influence what languages group members use, and where and when." SCHOOL A learners show a preference for using English in social domains outside of the home, even when they use Afrikaans in the home and their community. The Spanish L1 learners, on the other hand, prefer to use Spanish at all times outside of their formal English classes.

Myers-Scotton (2006: 68) differentiates between “long-lasting bilingualism” and “bilingual shift to their L2 as their main language” in speakers and refers to language maintenance and language shift “as possible outcomes when speakers become bilingual.” A prediction for the SCHOOL A community of learners is that language shift is more likely to occur amongst these speakers than amongst Dyers’ Wesbank community. Most of the SCHOOL A learners have parents who are employed and they are considered to be a middle-class community. The majority of SCHOOL A learners intend to embark on tertiary study which will mean learning and working outside of the Afrikaans-dominant bilingual community where they currently live. These learners will in future be in similar regular contact, as they are currently at school, with other English speaking bilinguals of similar generation with languages other than Afrikaans as their L2, which will mean that English will continue as their dominant language and *lingua franca*.

The comparison between the SCHOOL A, Wesbank and Gregorio Luperon (GL) studies is intended to illustrate the reasons, using Myers-Scotton's models of community organization and reasons presented by the authors, that language shift may be more likely to happen in the one school community than in other seemingly similar communities.

7.3.1 Language shift in the Helderberg region compared to Wesbank⁶

In Wesbank, as opposed to SCHOOL A, there is a high unemployment rate amongst parents or many parents work within the home community. This means that socialization takes place within the confines of the community. This may be the reason that English is not included as an important language in the repertoire of languages spoken by this community, not even the learners. Myers-Scotton (2006: 69) says “in some situation, bilingualism isn’t favored at all”; “small, isolated, and homogenous communities are often monolingual.” Although Wesbank is not a monolingual community, the languages

⁶ During the course of this research it has been found that Wesbank now offers English as LOLT

mostly spoken (Afrikaans and Xhosa) are those used by the learners and parents in almost all domains, while English seems to be used less in comparison. Learners who took part in Dyers's research are minimally in contact with English as part of their linguistic repertoire. Few English First Language speakers live or work in this community and English is not recognized by as many as the idealized language as in some other Western Cape communities such as SCHOOL A. English is largely viewed as the language of "out there" and for most, basic survival and minimum wage employment is much more a reality than upward mobility.

Although both these communities are situated in the Western Cape and in relative close proximity of one another, the vast differences in current economic conditions determine their linguistic attitudes towards English and their home languages. For the SCHOOL A community there is far more movement in and out of its permeable borders which makes it more open to influences from outside. The aspiration for higher education and employment means that the SCHOOL A parents see English not only as beneficial but essential for their children's academic and economic advancement. The majority of SCHOOL A learners view English as their first language and those who do not view it as such have already decided that it will be their children's first language.

The learners at SCHOOL A do not seem to share precisely the same attitude towards English and Afrikaans when compared with learners at Wesbank High. This may be due, in part, to the level of contact with the two languages, as well as parental attitude towards English and Afrikaans or other community languages. While this study cannot conclude the Wesbank parents' attitude, the SCHOOL A parents consider English acquisition as important to their children, not only as academic language or LOLT, but also as social language. This is noted as many SCHOOL A parents set out to use English as home language from birth or as their children enter primary school. It is notable that this attitude does also, though currently to a lesser degree, affect communities such as Wesbank, since the youngest sibling of one interviewed teenager is being raised with English as LOLT and an attempt is made to use English as home

language, while her older siblings have Afrikaans and Xhosa as dominant languages. Also other learners at Wesbank High recognize the social and economic status presumably enjoyed by English-speakers.

They [English-speaking cousins] are those 'high' people...we [Afrikaans relatives in Wesbank] don't have money. (Dyers 2007: 123)

In Wesbank, learners are exposed to more Afrikaans (and Xhosa) in school and in the home community than learners at SCHOOL A. Dyers (2007: 123) indicates that many teachers in previously-disadvantaged communities are often not as proficient in English as found in ex-Model C schools such as SCHOOL A. English is accepted by these communities as second language and thus not used in other domains by teachers, parents or learners.

7.3.2 Language shift in the Helderberg region compared to Gregorio Luperon High

While there are differing views as to ideal age for second language acquisition, the comparisons will also show that regular contact with English from an early age as well as a substantial amount of time spent in contact with English (as LOLT) make language shift more likely in one community than in the other. By the time the SCHOOL A learners reach grade 10, they have either had English as first language since birth and/or LOLT since the age of 6 or 7 years and receive all their content subjects in English. For GL learners, English is taught as second language for one lesson period per day and these learners often only come into contact with English formally when they reach high school. The teachers at GL educate the learners in English for the specific purpose of passing the exam and learners "value English especially as the language of the test that holds the key to their graduation from high school." (Garcia 2007: 14) Many SCHOOL A learners are aware that English is their parents' second language but see it as their own first language. When compared with the GL learners, SCHOOL A learners are also more prone to language shift because of institutional attitudes such as at school and church.

SCHOOL A learners use English far more than GL learners, as they are in regular contact with other English speakers outside of the home community, while the GL learners socialize mostly with other Spanish speakers both at school and in the home community. Increased proficiency among SCHOOL A learners are due to their use of English-dominant codeswitching across various domains. SCHOOL A learners receive all of their content subjects in English, while GL learners receive their content subjects in Spanish.

There are also other reasons that the GL learners do not use English across domains as often as SCHOOL A learners. GL can be described as a closed or isolated community where teachers and learners often share common backgrounds and mostly live in the same communities. The common languages among learners and teachers are also those used as LOLT for the learners, which means that contact with English is minimal. At SCHOOL A, most teachers share an AFL background with parents, but all participants are interested in the acquisition of English and recognize learners as EFL speakers. The home language of most teachers at GL is the same as that of the parents and learners. Garcia says that many of the teachers at GL are from the same community and share heritage with the learners they teach. Almost all of GL teachers are Latino and the intention for acquiring English, although defined by passing and excelling in an exam, is seemingly limited to achieving this outcome.

Furthermore, the GL community is a low-income community with a high unemployment rate, which mean that most adults do not often move outside of the boundaries of the community. According to Garcia (2007), the reasons for Spanish being used more than English is due to various aspects of the speech community within which the learners learn and live. Learners at schools such as GL are more isolated than those in the SCHOOL A community where the pressures of English “present at a higher level of society” is more prevalent. Due to the fact that GL learners are not “particularly integrated” into the larger societies, English seems not to have the same influence. The borders of these communities are not very permeable and they are thus not exposed to

outside English influences as the SCHOOL A community where most parents are middle-class and the employment rate is higher. Most SCHOOL A parents and families work outside of the community where they live.

There is a “vertical” influence of English and multilingualism on the SCHOOL A community as their families and the school itself has much more contact outside of the immediate school community as well as the communities where the learners reside. The SCHOOL A school community is also made up of learners from different areas, which further exposes these learners to more outside influence. This contact in turn influences the “mental outlook on life” in that many SCHOOL A learners indicated that they aspire to study at universities or even move abroad which will require them to move out of their immediate community after school.

The social organization of the SCHOOL A learners makes them more likely candidates for language shift despite the fact that, like GL learners, they live in a community with a language other than English as dominant language. Not only do the SCHOOL A learners speak English extensively amongst themselves, their families may also have numerous ties with the English speaking community outside of their home community due to high employment rate amongst parents in this community. In the case of Wesbank and GL, the learners and parents seldom socialize outside of the Afrikaans or Spanish speaking communities thus having weaker ties with the English speaking world than SCHOOL A learners. These weaker ties, although according to Myers-Scotton they may influence speakers of other languages, do not seem to impact in the same manner the possible language shift in these communities.

Ethnolinguistic vitality has a stronger influence on GL learners, for reasons that the learners are educated by teachers who share their background and ethnicity as well as loyalty to their community language. The SCHOOL A learners are from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, although they may share linguistically similar backgrounds. The learners at GL socialize almost exclusively within their community of other Spanish speakers.

7.4 Conclusion

The identified group of learners from School A is multi/bilingual and they possess a variety of linguistic resources, due to the fact that they are raised and educated in a multilingual setting. They live in a country with 11 official languages, three of which are widely used in their region, two of which are widely used in their home communities. This research project has found, however, that one of their languages, namely English, very strongly influences their language choice and also their linguistic identity. English has become more formative to them than the first language of their parents, namely Afrikaans. The majority of learners from this particular community show a preference for English-dominant codeswitching across all domains where English is not used exclusively, although they are in regular contact with Afrikaans as either home and/or community language. Many learners are encouraged in their use of English as first language by parents, other community members as well as by practices in institutions such as the school and church or mosque. Most learners use Afrikaans in their home communities but prefer to be identified as EFL speakers and use English in their private and “intimate” domains. These are significant findings regarding language shift in this community, as they not only confirm that there is a significant process of language shift underway, but they also provide insight in why and how this is happening. Additionally, it is interesting to note that the data reflects a different process for EFL learners with XHL; these learners identify themselves linguistically as isiXhosa although they similarly reported that their academic knowledge of isiXhosa is not as strong as that of English.

The Helderberg community is certainly a bilingual one. It has been determined that most learners in School A, their parents and grandparents speak both English and Afrikaans. A concern that this research raises is that language shift from one dominant language to another within two generations is taking place virtually unchallenged. A further concern is that, in some instances, due to the influence of English, learners deny their dual English-Afrikaans identity in favour of a singular English identity and even more learners desire such an identity for their future families. Certain parents who had every intention

of raising fully bilingual children by maintaining Afrikaans as home language also note language shift taking place with their children who have the parents' second language, English, as LOLT. The end result for over 90% of learners in this community is that English will most likely displace Afrikaans in all domains. A very small number of the learners who participated indicated that they would raise their own children with either language as dominant language.

7.5 Recommendations for further research:

Due to the researcher's close ties to this community, the personal interpretation of data may be interpreted as a weakness of this study; it is possible that some conclusions will not be confirmed if the same study had been done by an outsider.

However, the 5 different instruments used provide a good overall picture of language shift and can be considered as strengths of this research. The use of various instruments, which all produce similar results to answer the research questions, makes this a comprehensive study and gives a reliable picture of language shift in this community.

Similar studies conducted in other Western Cape school communities could assist in either clarifying language shift as a broad trend or otherwise disproving language shift in such communities.

Further research could be to investigate an underlying constructs which (a) explains language choice and (b) explains attained proficiency levels in languages. An example of interest from this study is the fact that more than one mother indicated that she used Afrikaans more with her daughters as they grow up to discuss issues of sexuality and religion.

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Addenda

Addendum 1

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR LEARNERS

SECTION 1 – RESPONDENT BACKGROUND

Name and Surname:

Gender: Female Male

Age:.....

Primary School attended:.....

Language of instruction at Primary School:

1. Which of the languages given below do you know?

Use a number on a scale of 1 to 5 to indicate how you rate your ability in each column:

1 = very good

2 = good

3 = satisfactory

4 = not good

5 = not at all

Speak

Listen &

Read

Write

Comprehend

	Speak	Listen & Comprehend	Read	Write
English				
Afrikaans				
Xhosa				
Other (specify which)				

2. Which language do you use in each context? (Use a √ in appropriate column)

Classroom	School grounds	Parents	Peers (outside school)	Religious context
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English					
Afrikaans					
Xhosa					
Other language (specify which)					
I use more than one language (specify which ones)					

3.1 English is your language of instruction. Is English also your language of learning?

Yes	
No	
Sometimes	

3.2 If you answered **no** or **sometimes**, which other language do you use in learning?

Afrikaans	
Xhosa	
Other (specify)	

4. Which languages do your family use at home?

	Siblings	Parents	Grandparents	Other members
English				
Afrikaans				
Xhosa				
Other (specify)				

5.1 As a bilingual speaker of English and Afrikaans or English and Xhosa, which of the two is your strongest?

English	
Afrikaans	

OR

English	
Xhosa	

5.2 Do you use the same language with your family at home as you do at school with friends?

No	
Yes	

If you answered NO, explain:

.....

.....

.....

6.1 If you had a choice now, would you prefer your schooling through medium of

English	
Afrikaans	
Xhosa	

Give reasons for your preference.

.....

.....

.....

.....

Addendum 3

Interviews were conducted with learners at the school on a digital voice recorder and transcribed onto a Microsoft Word document. Interviewer is referred to as JF and respondents as R plus the number on the digital voice recorder file. Five interviews are included in this addendum. All respondents in the Addendum indicated that they preferred to have interviews conducted in English.

(Recorder #File A3) Questionnaire A3. Male. 15 years old. English preference.

JF: Which languages do you speak, read and write?

R3 I speak in English and Afrikaans and I can write in both also.

And I can do Arabic also. I can read it.

JF: Which of these languages are you better at (a) speaking (b) reading (c) writing?

R3: In English in both. In reading and writing.

JF: You indicated in the questionnaire that you often used Afrikaans in various social domains with your peers, siblings, parents and at mosque. Is Afrikaans or English the language you feel most comfortable speaking? Can you give me a reason for your answer?

R3: I feel English, because I use English most of the time around my friends at school and if I'm not speaking to my parents at home then it will be English to my friends at home.

JF: If English is your main language at school. That is what you have now indicated. Do you find it difficult to use English at school and Afrikaans at other places?

R3: No not at all, because it's two different things so I can use it whenever I choose so if I wanna speak to the English person then I can use English if I wanna speak to the Afrikaans person then I can just change it

JF: And you feel comfortable making that change.

R3: Yes

JF: What language do your parents/ brothers& sisters/ grandparents/
other family members?

R3: My mother and father speak Afrikaans to me and my (older) brother and to my sister (baby) they speak English and the rest of my family they'll be mixed Afrikaans and English...depending on the day.

JF: Do you have friends who speak Afrikaans only?

R3: Yes at home some of my friends they speak just Afrikaans because their first language is Afrikaans.

JF: Language at mosque?

R3: To me they speak mostly E because I'm still a youngster and they see us as just English speaking children and to my parents they'll speak Afrikaans.

JF: So already other people also see you as a different culture **because** they speak English to you even if their first language is Afrikaans.

JF: What other interests and activities do you have and what language do you use there?

R3: My Arabic. I'll use Arabic at home because it's like you go with the religion and they'll use Arabic and we'll also use Afrikaans depending on like my mother because she comes from an Afrikaans background, she brought me up in Afrikaans

JF: What do you want to do after school?

R3: I want to be an engineer after school so I have to study if I want to be an engineer.

JF: Okay. And what language do you think is going to help you more?

R3: I feel English will because more of the people will speak English I feel in that field. Or to most of the people to socialize English will be the best.

JF: Where do you intend to study?

R3: At the University of Stellenbosch.

JF: Would you have preferred English or Afrikaans as your main language in all spheres (academically and socially)?

R3: I'd have choose English because I'm more comfortable speaking English all the time.

JF: In EL1 classes like the one you are in, do you think that children who come from homes where there parents speak English, unlike your parents who speak Afrikaans. Do you think that those children do better academically or does it not make a difference?

R3: It does make a difference but it also depends to the child what he takes in of the language because if he's gonna concentrate more on the Afrikaans it's gonna have a bigger effect on him. If you still keep with English then it won't make such a big effect. I feel that for me it doesn't make a difference. Having both languages at home.

JF: Should children be placed in First Language classes depending on the language which is spoken at home?

R3: No not really because a language doesn't predict what the child or what the parent taught the child. I think depending on the child what language that's better.

JF: I do not know how you are performing academically. Do *you* think that you would have done better at school had you been placed in an Afrikaans First Language class?

R3: No I don't think so because Afrikaans is more...is foreign to me because I don't know everything about it I only know as like a part-time because like my mother doesn't teach me like any detail about it, but I know more about English because they brought me up in English and I spend more time speaking in English.

JF: And which language would you one day prefer to raise your children with? English, Afrikaans or strongly bilingual like you?

R3: I think bilingual cos that's good because it gives them both sides of the Cape. And that will make them able to socialize better and be more available to go to different schools than me.

JF: And if you were to choose a dominant language for your children? Which would it be? Why?

R3: It will be English because it looks more, it's better for the person that if he has English because if you got Afrikaans or a mix then he has a slang it's not, doesn't look so good when they speak. So I think that English will be better for the children

JF: Thank you XXX. That's it.

(File A8) Questionnaire AE50. Female 16 years old. English preference.

JF: Which languages can you speak, read and write?

R8: In English and Afrikaans

JF: Which of these languages are you better at (a) speaking (b) reading (c) writing? If you were to decide, because I see you put on your questionnaire, that you're equal in both, but if you were to decide, off the mark, which one you're better at, which one would you chose?

R8: Definitely English, definitely.

JF: You indicated in the questionnaire that you often used Afrikaans in different social domains with your peers, parents, at church. Is Afrikaans or English the language you feel most comfortable speaking?

R8: Well, in the church I have to speak Afrikaans, because most of them are Afrikaans there which I'm very comfortable with, and at home English but I'm more comfortable with English.

JF: And why do you think that is?

R8: Just cos you don't have to, cos sometimes I have to think a lot before what I'm going to say because it's Afrikaans so in English I automatically know what I'm going to say.

JF: So your thought processes are in E?)

R8: Yes, yes

JF: English is your main language at school but as you said you don't find it difficult to switch English at school and Afrikaans at other times at church and so on?

R8: No, no

JF: What language do you speak to you parents?

R8: Well, both. I'm starting in both but if I have to choose, it's E.

JF: And your brothers and sisters?

R8: My brother, well he was raised to speak Afrikaans, so he speaks Afrikaans but he also can speak in E.

JF: Is he younger than you?

R8: No, he's older.

JF: How many years older?

R8 He's three years older.

JF: So your parents made the decision with you to raise you in English?

R8 Yes, but he still became English. They swapped him to English.

JF: And your grandparents?

R8: They are Afrikaans.

JF: Aunts and uncles and cousins?

R8: They are English.

JF: Aunts and uncles as well?

R8: No aunts and uncle are Afrikaans but when we speak to each other it's in English.

JF: And do you have friends who speak Afrikaans only?

R8: Yes, a lot, especially at netball.

JF: How do feel about that?)

R8: Fine, very comfortable.

JF: And do you have friends who speak English only?

R8: Yes, a lot.

JF: And at church you say you speak Afrikaans?

R8: Yes, my father is a reverend.

JF: What other interests/activities do you have other than school sport, what other activities do you take part in?

R8: I take part ... in piano things like that. In our church we do like soup kitchens and help the children and things like that.

JF: And what language do you use there?

R8: Uh, E. Yes. Because they are Xhosa children and they don't like understand Afrikaans, so I have to explain in English.

JF: Would you have preferred English or Afrikaans as your main language in all spheres academically and socially?

R8: Definitely English.

JF: What do you plan to do after school?

R8: I want to be a pediatrician.

JF: Which language do you think will serve you better?

R8: English, because I find it easier to study, like in Afrikaans there's a few words that ok what is this? But English I automatically know. This is that. It's much more easier for me.

JF: You are in an EL1 class; you receive all your subjects in English, except of course for Afrikaans. Do you think that children who come from English homes fare better than children who come from Afrikaans homes but they are in an English class?

R8: I find that sometimes, not really, sometimes the people that come from Afrikaans homes to English, they actually do very well. But sometimes we have more of an advantage cos they have this language spoke to them everyday and know exactly what's going on. So I'll say the English (learners) has an advantage. Ja, ja.

JF: Should children be placed in First Language classes depending on the language which is spoken at home, for example if you are Afrikaans at home you should be in an English class?

R8: I think so, yes.

JF: Why do you think that?

R8: Because it will make their lives easier and it's not too complicated for them, they'll feel comfortable with the subject and the language that they speaking to others.

JF: But it hasn't made it difficult for you?

R8: No, because it, I don't know, my parents, since small they speak Afrikaans and English to me so I feel comfortable but sometimes people do really struggle. But you adapt to the language because we have someone in the class that's first language is Afrikaans, sometimes you just get confused, you know.

JF: And if you were to choose a language for your children with? Would it be English or

Afrikaans or the same as you, strongly bilingual?

R8: Strongly bilingual... because then they'll be able to relate to other people and they won't feel less confident, they'll have this confidence to talk to other people and approach them in a positive way, not scared to open their mouths you know.

JF: And if you were to choose a dominant language for your children one day?

R8: like uuh?

JF: Ja, which language to use mostly. Like you have English and Afrikaans, but if you were to choose a main language?

R8: Oh, definitely English.

JF: And the reason?

R8: English, because today most things are in English, and everyone understands English. Afrikaans is good, but English definitely.

JF: Thank you, XXX

(File A7) Questionnaire A11. Female 16 years old. English preference.

JF: What languages can you speak, read and write?

R7: English and Afrikaans

JF: Which of these languages are you better at (a) speaking (b) reading (c) writing?

R7: English

JF: You indicated in the questionnaire that you often used Afrikaans in various social domains with your peers, siblings, grandparents. Is Afrikaans or English the language you feel most comfortable speaking? Can you give me a reason for your answer?

R7: English. Because I understand it much better and I can speak it better.

JF: English is your main language at school. Do you find it difficult to use English at school and Afrikaans at other times/places?

R7: Not at all.

JF: You don't find the switch awkward?

R7: No

JF: What language do you speak to you parents/ brothers& sisters/ grandparents?

R7: Afrikaans (parents) To my brother Afrikaans but now and then English. Afrikaans (grandparents)

JF: Other family members? Cousins?

R7: Also Afrikaans. Afrikaans (cousins)

JF: Do you have friends who speak Afrikaans only?

R7: Yes.

JF: And do you feel comfortable speaking to them in Afrikaans only?

R7: Yes. But sometimes I have to switch to English because I'm not so good in Afrikaans.

JF: So you'll speak to them in Afrikaans but English you'll say comes naturally. And when you speak to English friends, people who speak only English, do you find that you have to switch to Afrikaans?

R7: No

JF: So you would say English is definitely your dominant language?

R7: Hmm. (positive response)

JF: What language is used at church?

R7: At church, most of the time it's Afrikaans.

JF: Any other social activities, hobbies, anything that you do outside of school?

R7: No.

JF: What do you plan to do after school?

R7: I plan on studying at university. Forensics.

JF: And which language do you think is going to be more beneficial to you?

R7: English.

JF: Why is that?

R7: Because as I said I understand it much better.

JF: And you feel you'll be able to study...

R7: Yes, better in English.

JF: So when you study you study better in English?

R7: Yes.

JF: Would you have preferred English or Afrikaans as your main language in all spheres, academically and socially?

R7: English.

JF: So you are happy in English? Why is that?

R7: Because Afrikaans, I understand Afrikaans but sometimes it's hard for me to speak it, like sentence structures and stuff like that.

JF: In EL1 classes, that you are in, do you think that children who come from English homes do better than children who come from Afrikaans homes, who are also in an English class?

R7: Most of the time it is children that's Home Language is Afrikaans that's speaking English.

JF: Do you think that children should be placed in First Language classes depending on the language which is spoken at home?

R7: No

JF: I do not know how you are performing academically. Do *you* think that you would have done better at school had you been placed in an Afrikaans First Language class because your family speaks Afrikaans at home?

R7: No

JF: Which language would you one day prefer to raise your children with? English, Afrikaans or strongly bilingual?

R7: English. because I grew up speaking English and I would like to teach my children also.

JF: Would you like them to learn Afrikaans also though?

R7: Yes

JF: Why?

R7: Because it better to learn two languages, to read and write or sometimes it's more than two languages

JF: Which language do you think should be their dominant language? Why?

R7: English, because it's better that way and in that way you can, the world is more open to you because nowadays most of the jobs is in English and interviews and stuff like that.

(File A9) Questionnaire AE 65. Male. 15 years old. English preference.

JF: Which languages can you speak, read and write?

R9: Afrikaans and Arabic, ag Afrikaans and English but I can only read Arabic.

JF: Which of these languages are you better at (a) speaking (b) reading (c) writing?

R9: English, English, English

JF: You indicated in the questionnaire that you sometimes used Afrikaans in other social domains with friends and family members and so on. Is Afrikaans or English the language you feel most comfortable speaking?

R9: English.

JF: Can you give me a reason for your answer?

R9: Because when I speak English I can understand what I'm saying, when I speak Afrikaans um I don't really know like how to carry on because I only know like the basic Afrikaans, like I don't understand those high words, like if you wanna speak fast you can speak English like easily.

JF: So you express yourself much easier in English. Ok.

R9: Ja.

JF: English is your main language at school. Do you find it difficult to use English at school and Afrikaans at other times?

R9: No, it's ok

JF: What language do you speak to you parents?

R9: I speak English (parents)

JF: Brothers& sisters?

R9: I speak English

JF: Grandparents and other family members?

R9: English. My other side, my mother's side I speak Afrikaans.

JF: Aunts and uncles?

R9: From my mother's side I speak Afrikaans .

JF: And your cousins from your mother's side, children that are the same age as you?

R9: Afrikaans

JF: From which area are they?

R9: Strand

JF: Do you have friends who speak Afrikaans only?

R9: Yes.

JF: And how do you communicate with them?

R9: I don't really speak like a lot to them. I only speak the basic Afrikaans words. But if they speak fast, I must like, speak in a higher tempo, then I'll speak English back.

JF: And at mosque? What language do you use there?

R9: English

JF: What other interests/activities do you take part in?

R9: Extramural? (Ja) Hockey, I speak English to the coach. Rugby, we speak Afrikaans cos most of the rugby players is Afrikaans. Extra math classes, I speak English and I used to take Arabic classes, and that was English and Afrikaans because the lecturer, he spoke both languages. And um when we go to like youth, the person there speaks Afrikaans, but then I still understand, I just don't speak back.

JF: Would you have preferred English or Afrikaans as your main language in all spheres, academically and socially?

R9: English.

JF: So you'd prefer English. Why is that?

R9: I understand it better.

JF: You are in an EL1 class, as we already said. Do you think that children who come from Afrikaans homes don't fare as well as children in English class as children who come from English homes?

R9: Ja , I don't think so because they grow up in that kind of environment, they understand Afrikaans much easier. When you speak English it will be like Afrikaans (is) to me, if we speak English to them. So they wouldn't understand it that easily .

JF: So you feel that children who have an English background have a better understanding of the work?

R9: In Afrikaans ja, but not in English.

JF: So do you think that if children come from an Afrikaans home, that the parents should put them in an Afrikaans class? And from an English home in an English class because you understand the work better if it's explained in your home language?

R9: Yes. Yes.

JF: I do not know how you are performing academically. Do *you* think that you would have done better at school had you been placed in an Afrikaans First Language class because your family speaks Afrikaans at home?

R9: Ja, I don't think I would have excelled there because the work that they explain.....

JF: Ok. You wouldn't understand the language that well?

R9: Ja

JF: Which language would you one day raise your children with? English,...

R9: English. Because I can speak to them in a manner that they will speak to me like effectively, because....The way that our parents speak to us..it's Afrikaans but it's not like suiwerheid Afrikaans. It's not that high Afrikaans. If I speak to my kids like that they will grow up like not in a healthy way. They will speak back like me.

JF: But would you not allow your children to be bilingual?

R9: Ja , I would go but I would mostly want them to speak English like mostly...

JF: So English you would choose as their main language?

R9: Ja

JF: What do you plan to do after school ?

R9: I wanna be an accountant.

JF: Which language will be most helpful to know?

English, because I'm actually in a bilingual class but the work that they do it's like very tough, because in Afrikaans the words are very complicated.

JF: So you find Afrikaans words difficult. Especially academic words.

R9: Ja.

JF: Ok, thank you XXX. That was well done.

(File A10) Questionnaire AE64. Female. 15 years old. English preference. Twin sister of respondent R9.

JF: Which languages can you speak, read and write?

R10: English and Afrikaans

JF: And which of these languages are you better at (a) speaking (b) reading (c) writing?

R10: English, English, English. All 3 English.

JF: You indicated in the questionnaire that you often used Afrikaans in various social domains sometimes with family and so. Is Afrikaans or English the language you feel most comfortable speaking?

R10: It depends like with who I am like, with my friends I'm like more Afrikaans, with my family..... I try to English

JF: English is your main language at school. Do you find it difficult to use English at...

R10: Ja. Sometimes. Ok Afrikaans I can speak like Afrikaans to my friends and my family easily, but if I come to class it's like a whole different situation.

JF: Why is that?

R10: Because the Afrikaans I use with my friends and family is like different to the uh standard that I use in class.

JF: What language do you speak to you parents?

R10: Mixed. Like full-time mixed.

JF: Is it? Brothers and sisters?

R19: Also mixed like if we making fun, we speak Afrikaans but if we having serious conversations it must be English. With my parents also, if it's serious stuff it's English. And social it's Afrikaans.

JF: And if your parent scold you? What language do they use then?

R10: Afrikaans- laughing.

JF: Grandparents? What language do they use?

R10: Afrikaans. My whole family is Afrikaans but all most of my cousins also Afrikaans, and then some of them are English.

JF: How do you feel about that? You are English but all your cousins are Afrikaans?

R10: I don't really feel different because all my cousins we live close together so we like grew up together, and we all just used to speak Afrikaans to them and not English to them.

JF: Do they ever speak English to you?

R10: They try but they, we usually just make fun of each other because they can't really speak English.

JF: Do you have friends who speak Afrikaans only?

R10: Ja. Afrikaans lot.

JF: And do you feel comfortable?

R10: I don't feel....real Afrikaans people I don't really feel comfortable, because I'm not so strong with it so they might find it funny when I speak wrong.

JF: And at mosque? Do you go to mosque?

R10: I go to mosque, but it's mostly English. They speak English in the mosque.

JF: What other social activities do you partake?

R10: Nothing. Oh, I go to youth, but that's also just Afrikaans. Most of my friends are there and it's Afrikaans and then....

JF: Youth, like a church thing?

R10: It's like a community, not the Strand community, like a church but it's a Moslem thing....so I just take part in their classes...

JF: Would you have preferred English or Afrikaans as your main language in all spheres (academically and socially)? If you were to choose, which...

R10: English.

JF: Why is that?

R10: Because it's like a universal language, everybody knows it right around the world and like anyone you can speak to will understand English and unlike Afrikaans, not everyone can understand it.

JF: English is your main language at home. Do you think that children who come from strictly Afrikaans homes should be placed in an Afrikaans L1 class and children who come from an English home should be placed in an English L1 class? Or do you not think that it makes a difference?

R10: I think it does make a difference, but ja, children should be placed in a class for their language. But it's not that difficult to like adapt quickly to the other language, if the teacher speaks mixed. But not if it's like straight Afrikaans or straight English.

JF: Why do you think children should be placed in a class depending on the language which is spoken at home?

R10: It makes it easier for them to understand, it's like, otherwise the teacher needs to translate and you need to ask your friends....

JF: Do you think children placed in an English class from Afrikaans homes don't do as well academically?

R10: No. They actually do that well, because in our accounting class our teacher just speaks English and there's like one Afrikaans learner and she does better than most of us.

JF: So you don't think children should be placed in First Language classes depending on the language which they speak at home? Or should they?

R10: I don't think so.

JF: I do not know how you are performing academically. Do *you* think that you would have done better academically placed in an Afrikaans class?

R10: No.

JF: Because you feel that English is still your strongest language?

R10: Ja

JF: What do you intend doing after school?

R10: Studying. I don't know what yet. But I have to study. My parents are, like, you have to study.

JF: Do you have any ideas? What sort of fields are you interested in?

R10: I told my parents, like teaching. Like with people. Working with people.

JF: And if you are going to study, it seems you are going to study after school, your parents won't give you much choice? Which language do you think would serve you better?

R10: English.

JF: Why do you think that?

R10: I don't know. Most people understand English. I find it easier. I can understand most people, I can speak to most people and communicate with other people.

JF: And uh if you were going to raise children one day? Would you raise them as English, Afrikaans or strongly bilingual?

R10: I think bilingual, strongly, but mostly on the English side. I won't like take Afrikaans away from them...

JF: You would like them to be able to speak Afrikaans, but English is going to be their dominant language?

R10: Ja.

JF: Thank you very much XXX. That is well done...