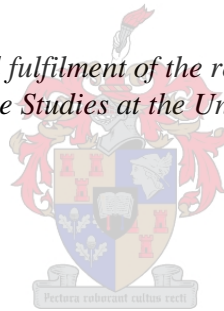# Code-switching and translanguaging inside and outside the classroom: bi-/multilingual practices of high school learners in a rural Afrikaans-setting

by
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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

The dominance of Afrikaans as medium of communication in the rural town of Upington in the Northern Cape, South Africa, is reflected in the day-to-day communication practices by the vast majority of its inhabitants. Confirmation of this statement is revealed in the fact that all formal educational practices in Upington and surrounding areas use Afrikaans as language of learning and teaching, both during classes and during extra-mural activities provided for by the institution itself. However, it is when those learning and teaching at these schools and colleges engage with English as a first additional language, that the opportunities for cross-language transfer, especially in the forms of code-switching and translanguaging, usually arise. The aim of this study is to establish if linguistic strategies like code-switching and translanguaging are used by senior high school learners and teachers when they communicate in bi/multilingual settings where English is the target language. Furthermore, the study also investigated the reasons for using these linguistic strategies, as well as their educational value.

The study focused on investigations into the language practices in two different high school educational settings (i) in-class activities, namely a teacher's presentation of a poem and learner discussions at Pabalello High school, and (ii) after school activities, namely informal debating practice sessions led by a teacher, at Carlton-Van Heerden High school. In both cases, the linguistic activities were recorded and orthographically transcribed and, together with data collected from learner questionnaires and semi-structured interviews conducted with the teachers, formed the corpus of the material to be analysed.

A significant number of code-switches were observed in the linguistic interaction of participants at both schools. The reasons for employing code-switching ranged from switching at word-finding difficulty and maintaining social cohesion in the group, to the very general switching of codes to explain, to expand, to clarify and to elaborate. Similarly, translanguaging strategies formed a significant part of the participants' linguistic repertoire and had been used to fulfil a number of functions, including reprimanding elaboration of content and exclusion. Both these linguistic strategies played an important role in simplifying the subject matter and improving understanding.

From the findings of both investigations, it becomes clear that linguistic strategies like code-switching and translanguaging are helpful tools in bi/multilingual educational settings, and that the most important role players in the educational setting, the teachers and learners, are using these strategies, regardless of the educational policies which favour the monolingual approach. It is therefore recommended by this study that the notions of code-switching and translanguaging should be acknowledged as enhancing the educational process and should therefore be made part of the policies which influence the curricula at our schools.

OPSOMMING

Die dominante gebruik van Afrikaans as voertaal in die landelike gemeenskap van Upington in die Noord-Kaap, Suid-Afrika, word gereflekteer in die dag-tot-dag gespreksituasies van die oorgrote meerderheid van sy inwoners. Die bevestiging hiervan word geopenbaar in die feit dat alle formele opvoedingspraktyke in Upington en omgewing Afrikaans as taal van onderrig en leer gebruik, beide in klassituasies en gedurende buitemuurse aktiwiteite wat deur die instituut self gereël word. Dit is egter wanneer diegene wat leer en onderrig gee by hierdie skole en kolleges gemoeid raak met Engels as eerste addisionele taal, dat geleenthede vir kodewisseling en *translanguaging* gewoonlik opduik. Die doel van hierdie studie is om vas te stel of linguistiese srategieë soos kodewisseling en *translanguaging* wel deur senior hoërskoolleerders en onderwysers gebruik word wanneer hulle kommunikeer in bi/multilinguistiese gespreksituasies waar Engels die teikentaal is. Verder ondersoek die studie ook die redes vir die gebruik van hierdie srategieë en hul opvoedkundige waarde.

Die studie fokus op die ondersoek van die taalpraktyke in twee verskillende hoërskool opvoedkundige situasies, (i) klasaktiwiteite, nl. 'n onderwyser se aanbieding van 'n gedig en die inhoudsbespreking deur leeders by Pabalello Hoërskool, en (ii) buitemuurse aktiwiteite, nl. informele debatsvoeringsoefeninge gelei deur 'n onderwyser by Carlton-Van Heerden Hoërskool. In beide gevalle word die taalaktiwiteite van deelnemers op band geneem en ortografies getranskribeer en, tesame met data verkry vanaf vraelyste wat deur die leerders voltooi is en semi-gestruktureerde onderhoude met die onderwysers, vorm dit die korpus van die materiaal vir analisering.

'n Beduidende getal kodewisselings is waargeneem tydens die kommunikasiepraktyke by beide skole. Die redes vir kodewisseling strek oor 'n wye omvang, vanaf kodewisseling wanneer dit moelik is om die woord in die teikentaal te erken en om groepsidentiteit te behou tot algemene kodewisseling om te verduidelik, uit te brei en om iets duidelik te maak. Op 'n soortgelyke wyse vorm *translanguaging* strategieë 'n noemenswaardige deel van die deelnemers se linguistiese repertoire en was dit gebruik om 'n hele aantal funksies te vervul, onder andere, teregwysing, uitbreiding van lesinhoud en uitsluiting. Beide hierdie linguistiese srategieë speel 'n belangrike rol in die vereenvoudiging van vakinhoud en begripsverbetering.

Uit die resultate van beide ondersoeke word dit duidelik dat kodewisseling en *translanguaging* as linguistiese strategieë, optree as hulpverleningsinstrumente in bi/multilinguistiese opvoedkundige situasies en dat die belangrikste rolspelers in die opvoedkunde, die leerders en onderwysers, gebruik maak van hierdie srategieë, ongeag die taalbeleide wat 'n monolinguistiese benadering voorskryf. Hierdie studie beveel dus aan dat kodewisseling en *translanguaging* erken word as hulpverleningselemente in die opvoedingsproses en derhalwe deel moet wees van die beleide wat die skoolkurrikulums beinvloed.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1   Historical background

The dry harsh landscape and related extreme weather conditions along the lower basin of the !Garib River (Orange River) is historically known as a melting pot of cultures, races and language groups for the past approximately 2000 years (Smith 1995, cited by Lange & Dyll-Myklebust 2006:1). The San hunter-gathers, whose ancestry can be traced to being the first inhabitants of southern Africa, came into contact with the cattle-herding Khoekhoe people migrating south from Namibia and Botswana, and during the course of the 18th century, the Orange River became a frontier area where the interactions between these peoples were of a harmonious nature (Penn 1995, cited by Lange & Dyll-Myklebust 2006:1). Also settling on the banks of the river at the time, were the early Tswanas, who are described as of mixed Khoe/Ba Tlaping (Tswana) ancestry, and who shared evidence of complex identification with the Korana, who were residents of an area east of present day Upington. In adding to this melting pot of cultures, Penn (1995, cited by Lange & Dyll-Myklebust 2006:1) states that it was not uncommon for Europeans to take Khoekhoe Nama wives in this remote Gariep area, which was quite distant from the prominence of the Cape. This practice gave rise to the "Baster" communities, who joined the Korana along the banks of the Orange River from at least the 1870's (Legassick 1996, cited by Legassick 2013:2). Baster occupation of this Gordonia settlement on the north banks of the Orange River was confirmed, and with them were joined the remnants of Khoekhoe, San and others (Legassick 1996, cited by Legassick 2013). By the early 1880's, the building of the Upington canal enhanced agricultural productivity through an effective irrigation system from the river, and this project was pioneered by the Baster farmer, Abraham "Holbors" September. In 1895, though, the Basters were dispossessed and reduced to manual labourers on land that rightfully belonged to them (Legassick 1996, cited by Legassick 2013:2).

During the 1940's, however, a growing national concern about segregating Black people from Coloured people was realized, and this led to the residential areas in Upington, Keidebees and Blikkies (Afrikaans for "tins", as many of the houses there were constructed with recycled tin cans) being divided across racial lines. Keidebees, which functioned as an *onderdorp*, an area

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where Black people and White people lived together around the emerging businesses in town, was declared a white residential area. The Black people residing in Blikkies, who had over the years assimilated and intermarried into the Coloured community, were forcibly removed from Blikkies and relocated to Pabalello, a single new location for Black people. In 1958, just after the introduction of the Group Areas Act (1957), the Apartheid government's intention of creating separate residential areas for the different races in the country was realized: Keidebees for White people, Blikkies for Coloured people and Pabalello for Black people.

1.2 <u>Linguistic orientation and the dominance of Afrikaans around Upington</u>

In recounting stories about the Water Snake in the !Garib (Orange River), Lange & Dyll-Myklebust (2006:3) quotes one of the Upington storytellers, Nana de Wee, relating the complexity of her origin and the languages she was exposed to:

> *My oupa-hy is afkomsig van Afrika wêreld van 'n groot trek deur die land tot in Suid Afrika. My oupa is 'n Griekwa-Kleurling, sy taal is Khoitaal, 'n Namataal. My pa is ook 'n Tswana, gemeng met Kleurlingbloed. Sy kinders is almal gemeng Tswana, Kleurling, Baster, dit bring ons nou uit op Kleurling. Ons kerkverbond issie NG Kerk. Ons huistaal is Afrikaans.*
>
> My grandfather comes from somewhere in Africa and after a trek came to South Africa. My grandfather is a Grique-Coloured whose language is the Khoe language, a Nama language. My father is a Tswana mixed with Coloured blood. His children are all mixture of Tswana, Coloured, Baster, bringing us to Coloured. Our affiliation is NG (Dutch Reformed) Church. Our home language is Afrikaans.

This extract provides evidence of the various linguistic resources in use alongside the Orange River during the 19th and 20th centuries. The biggest and most comprehensive linguistic influence in the territory, however, came from Afrikaans, now the dominant communication tool in Upington particularly, but also the language mostly used in the Northern Cape.

From the late 18th century, groupings of partially Europeanized Khoekhoe from the Cape Colony introduced Cape Dutch to the Orange River territory (Stell 2009:87). The Khoe language had a significant influence on the development of a variant of Cape Dutch, Afrikaans, because members of the Khoekhoe group and the slaves in the Cape wanted to master Dutch.

The Khoe influence is strongly noticeable in Orange River Afrikaans, which historically links part of Namibia's Coloured population with Northern Cape Coloured people and constitutes a variety of Afrikaans used by people who settled in the vicinity of the Orange River (Stell 2009:88). This particular variety of Afrikaans, in addition to the Eastern Cape Afrikaans (which became the standard variety) and Cape Afrikaans (a non-White variety) formed the three generally recognized varieties of Afrikaans. It would be fair to state that, despite the multicultural and multilingual history of Upington and the vicinity of the lower Orange River, the dominance of Afrikaans has remained steadfast in the linguistic repertoires of its inhabitants.

In illustrating the Afrikaans orientation of the Blikkies township, it would be apt to refer to Poppie Nongena, the main character in Elsa Joubert's (1978) Afrikaans novel, *Die swerfjare van Poppie Nongena*, who was a real life resident of the township in the late fifties and early sixties. From a News24 article (2003-08-13) a veteran Blikkies resident, Auntie Uilers, 64, who remembers "Poppie" well, had this to say, "Although 'Poppie' was a Xhosa girl, she mostly spoke Afrikaans, still the dominant language of the area today. Her grandmother had often admonished her not play with the Bushman." (*Boesman* in Afrikaans – referring to the Coloured (mixed race) inhabitants of Upington.)

1.3   Early education in Upington

Approximately around 1885, a classroom with very limited teaching aids and a few learners became the starting point of schooling in this area and became known as the "Upington Public School". This school expanded and was able accommodate learners in higher standards. It was only in 1949 that the very first primary school, "Op die Voorpos", was established. However, Upington High School had already been in operation since 1896. Both these schools only made provision for White learners and teachers. With the ever increasing population in the early 1940's, which resulted amidst the discovery of various minerals in the district as well as the realization of the agricultural and karakul product markets, the need of an institution to provide secondary education for non-Whites was increasing by felt. In 1942, there were 28 non-White primary schools in the Upington Municipal area, the largest of these being the Upington United Coloured School (Statistics obtained from the Upington Municipal Offices). In pursuit of addressing the need for a high school in Upington, a designated delegation of community leaders went to Cape Town in 1942 to secure permission to build a high school, but they were

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denied monetary resources. The delegation was told in no uncertain terms that the community should provide the building for the school, and as such the Congregational Church was approached. In 1943, the very first education facility for non-Whites, the Gordonia Coloured Secondary School, opened its doors to serve communities as far as Calvinia in the south, the Kalahari peoples to the north and the surrounding rural towns like Prieska, Kakamas, Brandvlei and Copperton. Carlton-Van Heerden, as the school became known, is today one of seven high schools in Upington and all of these institutions have retained Afrikaans as medium of instruction.

1.4   Motivations for undertaking research and the research question

A geographical space with a history rich in linguistic diversity such as Upington, should reflect this diversity when people communicate. This research project aims to investigate the communication strategies used by high school learners and teachers when they communicate in situations where more than one language is used. Such communication practices are most vibrant and explorative when young people engage in discussions, hence the focus of the investigation is on learning and teaching activities at high school, during tuition time as well as during extra-mural activities after school. Furthermore, the study also aims to present evidence of these bi/multilingual communication activities, taking into account that the majority of residents are Afrikaans-speaking.

As a teacher of English as additional language for more than thirty years, the researcher himself had the opportunity of witnessing the linguistic behaviour of senior learners during classroom activities. In addition, the researcher has also been the convenor and facilitator of the debating team at one of high schools in Upington. During both the English classes and the formal debating sessions, learners are required to express themselves in English. It is expected, therefore, that learners would employ linguistic tools, quite like code-switching and translanguaging, to alleviate the challenges in situations where English is the target language.

The three decades of teaching English as a second language (L2) to Afrikaans first language (L1) learners, and particularly the insight and understanding drawn from these learners' linguistic interactions during and after tuition time, has brought an elevated level of experience to the researcher's educational repertoire. During the 1980s, the educational policies of the previous government favoured the monolingual approach to language learning and it was

common, for example, to evaluate a learner's oral capabilities by assessing the presentation of a pre-learnt speech and the reading of literature texts prescribed by the teacher. The democratic processes which unfolded after 1994 brought along new educational policies with effected changes to the existing approaches to language learning and teaching. According to the requirements set out by the new curriculum and assessment policies, language teachers had to rearrange the learning environment to accommodate groupwork. The objective was to foster a communicative approach to language learning and to assess learner's oral activities when that are interacting in a group.

It is this communicative approach, which enables learners to draw on their diverse linguistic skills and resources, that prompted the researcher to formulate the research question, which is outlined as follows:

> How do Afrikaans L1 learners in the dominant Afrikaans-speaking community of Upington express themselves in educational communication settings, both inside and outside the classroom, where the use of English is standard practice?

In response to the research question, this study explores the notions of code-switching and translanguaging and how senior learners use these communication tools when they face challenges in bi/multilingual settings.

1.5   Chapter outline

Chapter 2 provides an overview of code-switching and relevant literature linked to its use. In chapter 3, the term "translanguaging" is introduced and the literature discussed in this chapter reviews its origin, its roles in bi/multilingual contexts and how it is used within the educational setting, particularly in South Africa. Chapter 4 sets out the methodology used in order to answer the research question above. In chapter 5, the data is presented and analysed. Chapter 6 concludes this study by discussing the findings, referring to the implications for education in general and presenting suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER 2

CODE-SWITCHING

2.1   Introduction

A significant number of sociolinguistic research projects in the field of second language studies focus on code-switching in bi/multilingual communities, particularly within the educational settings of such communities. These research projects identify two major approaches in their studies of code-switching: the sociolinguistic approach is to be distinguished from the grammatical approach, which aims at establishing the syntactic and morphological characteristics of the constructions being code-switched. The former approach focuses on the role played by social factors, such as context and speakers' role relationship. It is important to note that these approaches are complementary to each other to such an extent that the grammatical approach identifies the structural features of morphosyntactic patterns embedded within code-switching grammar, while the sociolinguistic approach builds upon this framework in explaining why code-switching is viewed as a discourse phenomenon, creating social meaning in bilingual communication.

Among earlier research examining the role of social factors in code-switching is the work of Blom and Gumperz (1972), which distinguished between metaphorical and situational code-switching. The study focused on the two linguistic codes, Bokmal and Ranamal, as used in Hemnesberget, Norway. Situational code-switching is a result of speakers' perceptions of one another's rights and obligations. This type of code-switching holds that, within a particular social setting, some linguistic forms may be more appropriate than others. Teachers, for instance, report that lectures are delivered in the standard Bokmal, while general discussions in class are performed in the regional Ranamal. On the other hand, metaphorical code-switching occurs when using two linguistic varieties within a single social setting (Blom and Gumperz 1972:409). Observations revealed that within a community administrative office, interactions between clerks and residents showed that greetings took place in the local dialect, but changed to the standard language when business was conducted.

One of the most influential research studies focusing on the role of social factors in code-switching, originated from the work done by Myers-Scotton (1993). In order to explain social

motivations for code-switching, Myers-Scotton (1993) proposed the Markedness Model. Since this present study is in part informed by Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model the theory will be discussed in detail here.

Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model, which is modeled on Grice's (1975) co-operative principle, introduces a "negotiation principle" (Myers-Scotton 1993:113) which underlies all code choices in the context of code-switching. This negotiation principle concerns the choice of a linguistic variety in relation to a set of rights and obligations which the speaker expects to be in place in that particular conversation (Myers-Scotton 1993:113). The term markedness, according to Myers-Scotton (1998:4), is related to the choice of one linguistic variety over other possible varieties. The markedness evaluator, therefore, allows a language user to (i) recognize a continuum of linguistic varieties and (ii) understand that language users will react differently to marked vs unmarked choices. An unmarked choice is a reference to what community norms would predict, and what community norms would not predict, is marked (Myers-Scotton 1998:5). Socially appropriate rights and obligation (RO) sets can be linked to speaker motivations, which in turn can explain the linguistic choice. Speakers, therefore, can choose and switch codes to index the different RO sets. As a result, language users are enabled to design their conversations to be in line with what is expected from the addressees, and they can also base their linguistic patterns on the linguistic choice of a specific social group (Myers-Scotton 1998:5).

The Markedness Model further states that speakers have the ability to select the linguistic code they wish to use based on the context of their linguistic interaction, i.e. the addressees. The normative basis within the community allows for speakers to know the consequences of making marked choices (Myers-Scotton 1993:75). Speakers can also make these choices intentionally with particular social aims in mind. Myers-Scotton (1998:19) states that a speaker will choose a specific linguistic code with the expectation that the addressee will recognize the choice with a particular intention. The speaker's objective would be to enhance the rewards and minimize the costs of that particular choice. Very often speakers need to use a combination of choices and assess all available evidence in order to come up with the best strategy for the specific interaction (Myers-Scotton 1998:20).

2.2   The markedness of codes

Any competent user of a language has the ability to assess the acceptability of a given social context (Myers-Scotton 1993:79). In addition, the Markedness Model includes a markedness metric which assists speakers in deciding whether the code choice is marked or unmarked for the context in which the speaker interacts (Myers-Scotton 1993:79-80). In essence, the metric is a universal feature, since all code choices are viewed in relation to their markedness. However, the markedness of a specific code choice is only valid in the social context of a particular community (Myers-Scotton 1993:80).

2.3   Types of code-switching

Markedness, as an organizing device, accounts for all types of code-switching and their social motivations as one of four complementary types (Myers-Scotton 1993:113). The Markedness Model has its base firmly rooted in the negotiation principle as well as the maxims which follow from the principle. These maxims are (i) the unmarked-choice maxim (ii) the marked-choice maxim and (iii) the exploratory-choice maxim. The virtuosity maxim and the deference maxim are two auxiliary maxims to the unmarked-choice maxim which direct the speaker to a seemingly unmarked choice (Myers-Scotton 1993:113). Code-switching, which arises from the application of one of these maxims, may then be classified as one of four related types namely, (i) code-switching as a marked choice, (ii) code-switching itself as an unmarked choice, (iii) code-switching as a sequence of unmarked choices and, (iv) code-switching as an exploratory choice (Myers-Scotton 1993:113).

2.4   Code-switching as an unmarked choice

When the unmarked-choice maxim is applied, the speaker is directed in the following manner. The speaker decides on a code choice according to the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in a particular speech exchange when he/she wishes to establish or affirm the RO set (Myers-Scotton 1993:114). The two types of code-switching resulting from the unmarked-choice maxim are code-switching as a sequence of unmarked choices and code-switching itself as the unmarked choice. Both these types of code-switching occur under different situations, but they have related motivations. When unmarked code-switching occurs during a conversation, the situational factors remain unchanged. However, the presence thereof depends

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more on the participants' attitudes toward themselves as well as the social attributes which are indexed by the codes and their alternation. In both cases, though, code-switching is the unmarked choice for the unmarked RO set, given the participants and other situational facts.

2.4.1   Sequential unmarked code-switching

When some of the situational factors change as the conversation progresses, the unmarked RO set may change (Myers-Scotton 1993:114). The unmarked RO set changes when the composition of the participants making up a conversation changes, or whenever the topic changes. When the unmarked RO set is changed by such factors, the speaker will switch codes if he/she wishes to index the new RO set. When the speaker makes the unmarked choice, he/she is accepting the status quo and acknowledging the indexical quality of the unmarked code (Myers-Scotton 1993:114). The model predicts that speakers normally will choose to accept or negotiate the new RO set, and this prediction is motivated by a number of factors, the most important one being the costs/rewards model (Myers-Scotton 1993:115). The switch in the markedness of RO sets, which trigger sequential unmarked code-switching, is external, but the emphasis should still be on the speaker who has the choice to respond to this switch. It should therefore be indicated that the change in codes is speaker-motivated and not necessarily driven by the situation.

Myers-Scotton (1993:116) explains sequential unmarked code-switching by referring to a conversation in an office where two colleagues are having a conversation. While both English and Swahili are the unmarked choices for both speakers, they address each other in English. However, when one of the gentlemen addresses his secretary, the unmarked choice code is Swahili. The speaker switches from one language to another as the person addressed changes (Myers-Scotton 1993:116).

2.4.2   Code-switching itself as the unmarked choice

In many bi/multilingual communities speakers make use of two languages within the same conversation, thus following the unmarked choice maxim for such speakers (Myers-Scotton 1993:117). Among urban Africans, switching between the official and indigenous languages is the preferred unmarked choice in various interaction types, as is the case elsewhere in the world, but is not particularly true of all communities (Myers-Scotton 1993:117). This type of

code-switching differs from the other types in that there is no special indexicality for every switch in unmarked code-switching but that communicative intent is carried by the overall pattern (Myers-Scotton 1993:117).

2.4.3   Code-switching as a marked choice

Instead of following the unmarked choice maxim, the speaker takes a different path and "disidentifies" with the expected RO set (Myers-Scotton 1993:131). Myers-Scotton (1993:131) states that a speaker makes a marked choice which is not the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in an exchange, when he/she wishes to establish a new RO set which is unmarked for that interaction.

2.4.4   Code-switching as an exploratory choice

Code-switching may also be employed when speakers themselves are not sure of the communicative intent. The exploratory choice maxim (Myers-Scotton 1993:142) states that when the unmarked choice is not clear, speakers would use code-switching to make alternate exploratory choices in order to establish an unmarked choice as an index of an RO set favoured by them. Although this type of code-switching does not occur very frequently, some of the reasons for its occurrence are discussed by Myers-Scotton (1993:142):

  (i)   A clash of norms – a conversation between a brother and sister, but not at home.
  (ii)   When it is not clear which norms apply – When little is known about the social identity of a new acquaintance.

It should be noted that the Markedness Model is in operation within Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame Theory (1993), which indicates that bilingual speakers alternate between the Matrix Language (ML) (the more frequently-used language) and an Embedded Language (EL). The ML, most commonly, is seen as the unmarked choice in an everyday conversation.

2.5   Code-Switching in South African educational contexts

Within the South Africa context, with its eleven official languages, a phenomenon like code-switching is a natural consequence of communication in communities which allow for speakers with different native languages. Sociolinguistic researchers of various disciplines have

therefore been prompted to investigate these bi/multilingual communication strategies the speakers apply in order to be effective. Code-switching, as one of these strategies, became a focal point for many researchers, who particularly turned their attention to linguistic activities associated with the educational set-up. The studies of two South African researchers whose investigations focused on Afrikaans-English code-switching have relevance here. Uys (2010) investigated Afrikaans-English code-switching among teachers and learners in the Northern Cape, and found that teachers made use of code-switching for academic reasons (clarify, explaining), for social reasons (maintaining social relationships) and for classroom management (reprimanding). Rose (2006) on the other hand, investigated Afrikaans-English code-switching at an all-girl, former white "Model C" high school in the Western Cape, where code-switching functions included better self-explanation, to express oneself differently and to be accommodating towards others using a different language. This present study was informed by the work done by these researchers, particularly referring to the range of code-switching functions revealed.

Although Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model serves as a foundation on which many research projects focusing on code-switching are built, there are a number of researchers, among them Auer (1995), who challenge certain aspects of the Markedness Model. Auer (1995:132) is of the opinion that there is a sequential arrangement of language choice in a conversation and that the meanings provided for code-switching should be considered according to conversational context. He produced a "theory of code-alternation" in which he noted patterns that serve to negotiate language choice between interlocutors, and where one language is inserted into the other within turns. Auer (1995:124-126) further notes that an "unmarked" (base) language may be in use in a given conversation but that the interlocutors sometimes allow for changes to the "unmarked" language. This means that the determination of the "unmarked code" is not possible. Auer (1995) further challenges the Markedness Model in that it attaches socio-pragmatic information to the marked/unmarked character of each language. He argues that a switch itself, regardless to or from which language, is significant, apart from the socio-pragmatic information attached to a certain language (Auer 1995:119-120). In a given bilingual community, according to Auer (1995:124-126), one language may be perceived as being the "base language" or ML in one conversation, but in another conversation in the same community, the other language appears to be the ML.

Following their research into code-switching patterns of a typical multilingual community in the Gauteng Province, Finlayson and Slabbert (1997:131) identified the most prominent function assigned to code-switching in the complex, urban context, to be the accommodation of the addressee. The interpretation of the accommodation function within the Markedness Model of Myers-Scotton (1993), according to Finlayson and Slabbert (1997:131), is deemed problematic with regards to expectedness and social distance. In order to explain their "awareness of what the addressee prefers", Finlayson and Slabbert (1997) cite the work of Giles and Smith (1979:46) who call it "the process whereby individuals shift their speech styles to become more like those with whom they are interacting". Such an action on the part of the speaker would correspond with an expected obligation, an unmarked RO set. Furthermore, as argued by Finlayson and Slabbert (1997:131), when seen as a single code, switching to the preferred code of your addressee, in most cases his/her first language, would normally be interpreted as decreasing the social distance between participant, or a marked choice. Finlayson and Slabbert (1997:132) quote Myers-Scotton herself (1993:147), conceding that the use of code-switching as a deferential strategy is a violation of the unmarked choice maxim, and is interpreted as unmarked code-switching. The awareness of what the addressee prefers carries strong undertones of a deferential strategy, Finlayson and Slabbert (1997:132).

Kieswetter (1995) conducted an investigation into code-switching among African high school learners in Soweto, KaNgwane and Johannesburg. Kieswetter (1995:96), noted that these learners manipulated their speech patterns by switching codes during conversations. In the Soweto school, the conversations of learners display an overall pattern of code mixing as the unmarked choice, and the dominant language is isiZulu. The learners at the KaNgwane school use an overall pattern of isiZulu and Swazi as the unmarked choice for their conversations. Learners at the English Model C school in Johannesburg code-switch between English and isiZulu, their mother tongue, and this communication serves as the unmarked choice. The difference in the overall patterns of conversation among the three schools, indicate the code-switching, rather than code mixing, carries the social meaning (Kieswetter 1995:95). Kieswetter (1995:22) states that code-switching as a linguistic tool can reinforce and negotiate social factors such as identity, social positions, interpersonal relationships and solidarity.

Adendorff (1993) investigated code-switching among Zulu-speaking learners and teachers, and particularly focused on the functions and implications of code-switching. While observing a lesson where a teacher introduced the poem "Death be not proud" to a class of native Zulu-

speaking learners, Adendorff became aware of a number of hampering factors within the classroom setting: it was the learners first experience with the poem; the overcrowded classroom accommodated more than sixty learners; a large number of learners appeared inattentive and disrupting and, lastly, the English code proved difficult to understand. During the discussions, Adendorff (1993:9) noted the first switch to Zulu in the following line:

(1)   When we are asleep, we dream and
           yonke into oyiphuphayo
           ("all we dream about is recorded in our minds")

This is followed by laughter and general discussion by learners. The switch to Zulu did not add any semantic value to the content, according to Adendorff (1993:9), but reinforced the likelihood that the Zulu words are significant in stimulating discussion and group identity. During further discussions in the same lesson, another function of switching codes was identified, namely the language of provocation. The teacher switches to Zulu, provoking the learners with the question:

(2)   *Sikhonaisihogo*?
           ("Is there hell at all?")

Adendorff (1993) argues that this switch to Zulu has reached everyone in class and therefore facilitates the teacher's accomplishment, enabling him to clarify information and involve learners through provocation.

Many useful and encouraging examples of code-switching within the classroom context, like the example discussed by Adendorff (1993:9), have also been reported by researchers in the Southern African region. In the next section, particular reference will be made to code-switching in Mozambican bi/lingual educational programmes and classroom interference in Botswana Primary schools.

2.6   Code-switching in the Southern African educational contexts

The research done by Chimbutane (2013) focuses mainly on the use of L1 within second and foreign language contexts and, with particular reference to L2 learning and L2 medium learning

contexts, states that the use of multi/lingual resources in interaction in classroom settings is often frowned upon (Chimbutane 2013:314). In advancing this argument, Cook (2001) and Macaro (2001), quoted by Chimbutane (2013:314), discuss the two different perceptions on code-switching in these contexts: those opposing code-switching, referring to the use of L1 as interfering in developing the target language, which can be seen as justification for banning L1 from L2 monolingual programmes. In contrast, those who favour the use of code-switching point out that L1 involvement can increase pupils' openness to learning the L2 and, in addition, can facilitate communication since it reduces the degree of language challenge and cultural shock (Cook 2001; Macaro 2001,2006) cited by Chimbutane (2013:314). When referring to research literature on interaction in multilingual classrooms, Chimbutane (2013:315) argues that the use of multilingual resources in teaching and learning is a communicative and pedagogical strategy that can aid learners' target language comprehension. The three main positions about the use of L1 within the L2 classrooms range from total exclusion of L1 on the one hand to its optimal use on the other (Cook 2001; Macaro 2001, 2009; Turnbull 2001) as quoted by Chimbutane (2013:315). This "optimal use" is where code-switching in broadly communicative classrooms can enhance second language acquisition and/or proficiency better than second language exclusively, and, in addition, presupposes a principled use of L1 in these learning contexts (Macaro 2009:30), as quoted by Chimbutane (2013:316).

In an ethnographic study conducted by Arthur (1996), who investigated the classroom interaction between teachers and pupils in two Botswana primary schools, the focus is on the prestigious position held by English in language education and the consequential marginalization of Setswana and other indigenous languages in Botswana schools. During the first four years of primary education in Botswana, children receive education through Setswana, the national language after Setswana, and other indigenous languages play no official role in classroom interaction (Arthur 1996:17). After standard four, English is the language of education and the only officially approved classroom language, and one of the ground rules of classroom discourse in the classes observed, is that pupils avoided switching from English to Setswana in the sequences of participant-related code-switches observed by Arthur (1996:17 and 18). These communication interactions in class, where only teachers have access to Setswana, have been referred to as an institutionalized phenomenon of recitation routines (Arthur 1996:18), derived from conventions imposed during colonial rule, which required the use of a foreign language as medium of instruction. In order to achieve effective learning and teaching outcomes and promote adequate classroom interactions, Arthur

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(1996:18) explores the switching from English to Setswana in these classrooms, which offers insight into teacher-pupil collusion in a face-saving effort.

The teachers observed in the study by Arthur (1996) are ambivalent in their perceptions of code-switching, since adhering to the language policy implies the exclusive use of English in classrooms, whereas their personal and professional instincts lead them to code-switch in response to pupils' communicative needs (Arthur 1996:21). Teachers would therefore use discourse-related code-switching to contextualize or give encouragement or to praise (Arthur 1996:21), and this enables them to refine their explanations conveyed to the pupils. The switches from English to Setswana are confirmed in the use of tag questions, like *ga ke ra* ("isn't it?") and the use of expressions of solidarity like *Buela go godimo tsala ya me* ("stand up my friend") (Arthur 1996:21). The aim of the switches by teachers is to facilitate the English contributions by pupils (Arthur 1996:21).

In conclusion, Arthur (1996:21) argues that the unequal access to English, where teachers display a higher level of competence, is a constraining factor which places pupils in a minor role during classroom interactions. Throughout the interactions observed in the Botswana primary schools, Arthur (1996:29) states that it is the combination of routinized teacher-dominated performances and the use of English-medium instruction that severely hampers the pursuit of more challenging and culturally congruent interaction with the curriculum.

The literature on code-switching discussed in this chapter shows that the challenges experienced in the target language can be overcome through the implementation of knowledge from the individual's primary language. Switching to the L1 is an attempt to enhance understanding and this gives rise to a situation where bi/multilingual speakers shift between languages to optimize meaning making in the bi/multilingual communication set-up. A discussion on translanguaging will be dealt with extensively in the next chapter.

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CHAPTER 3

TRANSLANGUAGING

3.1   Introduction

While code-switching, in essence, is reference to a bilingual-mode activity where two linguistic varieties are used in alternation, and where, typically, the speaker switches between his/her native language (L1) and second language (L2), translanguaging, according to Lewis, Jones & Baker (2011:641), is defined as the process of making meaning, shaping experiences and gaining deeper understandings and knowledge of the languages in use. The difference in the notions of code-switching and translanguaging, according to Garcia and Wei (2014:22), is that translanguaging is not merely a shift or shuttle between two languages, but refers to the speaker's construction and use of original and complex inter-related discursive practices that cannot be easily assigned to one or another traditional definition of a language, but that make up the speaker's complete language repertoire.

Within the context of bi/multilingual research, a fairly new trend of examining the shuttling between languages, thereby treating multiple linguistic entities as one integrated system, has emerged. According to Garcia and Wei (2014:22) translanguaging practices are not here seen as marked or unusual, but rather taken for what they are, namely the normal mode of communication. Creese and Blackledge (2010), cited by Garcia and Wei (2014:92) in reference to translanguaging as a pedagogy, state that both languages are needed simultaneously to convey the information, each language is used to convey a different informational message, but it is in the bilingualism of the text that the full message is conveyed.

This chapter has as its aim the discussion of the origin and development of translanguaging and its application within the educational set-up in South Africa.

3.2   Historical overview

During the late 1800s and early 1900s, a number of European societies, headed by the British Empire, established colonies throughout the developing world, which brought about conquered minorities – communities where educational failure could be directly linked to members

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playing an inferior role in the context of the politics of the day. Consequently, a powerful social class of English speakers emerged from these indigenous peoples, as a result of them being taught in English. It was then that leading first world countries, notably the United Kingdom and the United States of America (USA), began to grasp the importance and mutual benefit of education for all in order to ensure prosperity as industrialized nations. It became necessary, according to Garcia and Wei (2014:85), for a country like the USA to educate the many immigrants coming into the country, as well as the indigenous peoples living there. In order to keep the tradition of an elite monolingual educational system, English was forcefully imposed on these non-native English speakers, creating a monolingual nation state.

It was only towards the second half of the twentieth century, during the world-wide ethnic revival of the 1960's, that the shift from strictly monolingual schools to more a bilingual orientation took shape. The relationship between empire and colonies changed, according to Garcia and Wei (2014:85), and gave rise to many nation states acknowledging their multilingualism.

The growing awareness around translanguaging surfaced in the 1980's, stemming from the linguistic dilemma facing Welsh schools with their parallel monolingualisms, Welsh and English. Lewis et al (2011:642) noted that this challenge was about the English language dominance and the Welsh language endangerment, and that this "language struggle" ensured the revitalization of the Welsh language. Consequently, the opportunities for a bilingual set-up became a reality, despite the negative views of bilingualism held by learners, educators and researchers in the past. Lewis et al. (2011:642) cite the studies of Saer (1922, 1923), who found that bilingualism caused mental confusion, and Peal and Lambert (1962), who showed a few cognitive rewards for being bilingual. The more important positive side however, as noted by Lewis et al. (2011:642), was the idea of Welsh and English being seen as holistic, additive and advantageous, allowing for the emergence of translanguaging to develop within the educational context. Recent neurolinguistic studies (Thierry and Wu 2007, cited in Lewis et al 2011:643) show that both languages remain active when just one of them is being used and can easily be accessed by the bilingual speaker. This is reflected by the idea that bilingual children use both their languages in order to maximize understanding and performance at home, street and school (Lewis et al. 2011:643).

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3.3   The development of translanguaging within schools

Translanguaging therefore originated in an educational set-up and was first elucidated by the Welsh educationist, Cen Williams, to refer to a pedagogical practice where you receive information through the medium of one language and use it yourself through the medium of the other language (Lewis et al. 2011:644). With the emphasis on translanguaging in the classroom, Williams (2003), cited by Lewis et al. (2011:644), suggests that translanguaging often uses the stronger language to develop the weaker language, thereby contributing towards a potentially balanced development of a child's two languages. This translates into a strategy for retaining and developing bilingualism rather than the initial teaching of a second language (Lewis et al. 2011:644), as was the case in the USA, where priority was placed an acquiring a second language for educational purposes.

The conceptualization of translanguaging was further developed when Lewis et al. (2011:645) identified four potential advantages of translanguaging within the school set-up:

- Translanguaging promotes a deeper and fuller understanding of the subject matter.

When taking into account that further learning is based on stretching pre-existing knowledge and that cross-linguistic transfer is enabled through the interdependence of two languages (Cummins 2008, cited in Lewis et al 2011:645), translanguaging can be successfully employed. Lewis et al (2011:645) states that to read and discuss a topic in one language and then to write about it in another language, means that the subject matter has to be processed and 'digested'.

- Translanguaging improves the development of the weaker language.

When developing oral communication and literacy levels, students are prevented from using the stronger language to complete the main part of their work, thus developing academic language skills in both languages.

- Translanguaging facilitates home-school links and co-operation.

Children receiving education in a second language have to reprocess the content to gain deeper understanding and to place less strain on learning. These mental activities allow for children to

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discuss what has been learnt in the second language with caregivers at home in the other language.

- Translanguaging facilitates the integration of fluent L1 speakers and L2 speakers at various levels of attainment.

When both languages are used strategically and sensitively, the development of subject content and the second language could take place at the same time.

3.4   Translanguaging in the bilingual educational context

In this section, an examination of translanguaging within a bilingual educational context is considered.

3.4.1   Bilingualism through language separation vs. flexible approaches to pedagogy

Bilingual education can broadly be captured by Cummins's (2008, cited by Creese and Blackledge 2010:103), definition: "the use of two (or more) languages of instruction at some point in a student's school career". The educational perspective on bilingualism has undergone a significant change, over the years, from *the two solitudes* assumption (Cummins 2008, cited by Creese and Blackledge 2010:103), where the two languages are treated separately and independently from one another, to the innovative and rather recent approach that questions the validity of boundaries around languages. Quite a number of studies focusing on linguistic practices at bi/multilingual educational institutes lean towards the latter approach, which creates opportunities for cross-language transfer. Creese and Blackledge (2010:106) cite the research by Anderson (2008), who calls for *flexible approaches* to pedagogy that do not fit into existing paradigms, Lia and Martin (2005) who have argued for *more multilingual and curriculum research* and Arthur and Martin (2006), who mentioned *the pedagogic validity of code-switching*.

In a historical sense, language separation had been the strategy used in bilingual classrooms. Cummins (2005, cited by Creese and Blackledge 2010:105), explains this prevalence of monolingual instruction by identifying three assumptions underlying this approach:

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- Instruction is carried out exclusively in the target language without support from the L1.
- Teaching does not allow for translation between L1 and L2.
- Within L2 immersion and bilingual language programme, the two languages are kept separate.

These assumptions support the research of Heller (1999, cited by Creese and Blackledge 2010:105), who suggested the term *parallel monolingualism*, where students learn to become bilingual in particular ways and that these constructions of bilingualism advantage particular groups of students. Still referring to the monolingual instructional approach, Creese and Blackledge (2010:105) note the terms *bilingualism through monolingualism*; *separate bilingualism* and *two monolinguals in one body* used by Swain (1983), Creese and Blackledge (2008) and Gravelle (1996) respectively – terms describing the boundaries erected around languages. These studies mentioned here emphasize the avoidance of movement across the languages and the absence of notions like code switching and language mixing.

The linguistic diversity of bilingual classrooms, however, calls for an approach that would consider the development of new languages alongside the development of existing languages (van Lier 2008, cited by Creese and Blackledge 2010:104). This ecological approach is reference to the study of diversity within specific socio-political settings in which the processes of language use create, reflect and challenge particular hierarchies and hegemonies, however transient these might be (Creese and Blackledge 2010:104). Instead of developing language policies attempting to hermetically seal languages, Makoni and Mashiri (2007, cited by Creese and Blackledge 2010:106) suggest the use of vernaculars that leak into one another to understand the social realities of their users. One example of a pedagogy that explicitly seeks to develop bilingual strategies based on ecological perspectives, is the study of Hornberger (2005, cited by Creese and Blackledge 2010:106), which suggests that bi/ multilinguals' learning is maximized when they are allowed and enabled to draw from across all their existing language skills (in two + languages), rather than being constrained and inhibited from doing so by monolingual instructional assumptions and practices.

In summarizing their views around bilingual education, Creese and Blackledge (2010:112) argue for flexible bilingualism as pedagogic strategy that links learners' cultural, social and

linguistic domains. This flexible bilingual approach is evident in the linguistic practices of classroom participants investigated by Creese and Blackledge (2010:112-113):

- The use of translation across the existing languages
- Being able to engage audiences through translanguaging
- The use of students translanguaging to establish identity positions
- The recognition that all languages are needed to convey and negotiate meaning
- Recognizing that simultaneous literacies keep the pedagogic taste moving
- The use of languages for different functional goals such as narration and explanation
- The use of translanguaging for annotating text in order to provide greater access to the curriculum.

3.4.2   Linear Bilingualism vs. Dynamic Bilingualism

The notion of fixed first languages and autonomous second languages is a monoglossic ideology held in relation to multilingualism (Garcia 2014:108), which has shaped our understanding of bilingualism as linear, either subtractive or additive (Lambert 1974, cited by Garcia 2014:102). The former term is reference to students forced to shift to a majority language, whereas additive bilingualism, the more popular approach in the field of second language education, refers to one language being added to another in a linear fashion (Garcia 2014:102). In opposing this view, Garcia (2014:109) states that bilingualism is not additive and linear, but dynamic, and that dynamic bilingualism be defined as the development of different language practices to varying degrees in order to interact with increasingly multilingual communities (Garcia and Kleifgan 2010, cited by Garcia 2014:109), suggesting that the languaging of all bilinguals is complex and interrelated and does not emerge in a linear way. If language education programmes are able to conform to the superdiverse multilingual communities we live in, Garcia (2014:112) foresees that second languages would not be taught in isolation from first language, but that the combination of language and literacy practices that make up this superdiversity would lead to different language education programmes and language use expectations that would focus on students' full linguistic repertoires, and their dynamic language practices. Garcia (2014:113) concludes this discussion by stating that translanguaging is the rooted belief that bilinguals and multilinguals select features and co-construct or soft-assemble their language practices from a variety of relational contexts in ways

that fit their communicative needs; that one language and then the other does not exist prior to or independently of the task content.

These relatively new ways of understanding the dynamics of bilingualism and multilingualism, particularly within the classroom context, are creating alternative opportunities for language learning and teaching, and that this translanguaging approach, according to Creese and Blackledge (2010), as stated by Garcia (2014:112), is increasingly used to sustain the dynamic languaging of students. The following section will address the multilingual context of education in South Africa in relation to the provisions made by law.

3.5   Multilingual Education and Language Policy in South Africa

South Africa has an education system which provides for eleven home languages during children's first three years of schooling, yet, despite efforts to advance students' achievement through multilingual education, recent research showed the declining student achievement figures (Heugh 2013:215).

The government policies which allow for multilingualism as language policy in the educational sector do not realize in practice, instead, policy was implemented through an assimilitory drive towards English (Alexander and Heugh 1999), as stated by Heugh (2013:215). A number of scholars involved in multilingual educational research, amongst them Stroud and Heugh (2011), have identified a disjuncture between multilingualism as contemporary education policy and the multilingual reality of students (Heugh 2013:215). This reality can be attributed to the different constructions of multilingualism in education policy in relation to sociolinguistic and educational linguistic considerations and also the contradictory interpretations of multilingual education in a series of education policy documents. (Heugh 2013:215).

Since the inception of a new, human rights-based democratic dispensation after 1994, the South African government drove towards an equitable socio-economic order which included the development and promotion of multilingualism. A national Language Plan Task Group (LANGTAG), who operated under the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (DACST), was tasked to employ linguists, sociolinguists and applied linguists to map out a new orientation towards multilingualism (DACST 1996), as outlined by Heugh (2013:216).

Two distinctive policy documents, introduced to discuss and education policy based on the principles of equal access, provision and respect for languages, came into being: one for language (Department of Education [DoE], 1997a) and one for new curriculum policy (Department of Education [DoE] 1997b), (Heugh 2013:216). It was this language-in-education policy (DoE 1997a), according to Heugh (2013:216), that gave rise to three iterations of new curriculum and assessment policy between 1997 and 2012: Curriculum 2005 (DoE 1997a), the Revised National Curriculum Statement (DoE 2002) and the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) (DBE 2011a).

The nature of South Africa's linguistic diversity can be traced to its colonial history which saw colonial migrants competing against indigenous peoples with regards to educational interests. The government's education policy, therefore, became an area of contestation, particularly since 1953, when a segregationist paradigm was embraced by authorities (Heugh 2013: 216), and certain areas of contestation were identified:

- During the first era, which spanned from 1955 to 1976, ethnolinguistic groups were kept separate from one another through an education policy which used the mother tongue as medium of instruction throughout primary school (Stroud and Heugh 2004, cited by Heugh 2013:217). It has been argued that the Apartheid government's use of missionary groups to administer education has led to flawed constructions of African languages (Heugh 2013:217), thereby enforcing mother tongue education as representative of the Apartheid ideology.

- A second area of contestation dealt with English being prioritized as language of education after the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1901) and the consequential resistance from the white Dutch (Afrikaans) speaking communities, attempting to limit opportunities for access to English (for Africans) through education (Heugh 2013:217). Between 1955 and 1976, Afrikaans was forcefully imposed as medium of instruction for half of the African-speaking students' subjects taken at high school, effectively minimizing the use of English. The result of Afrikaans, seen as the language of the oppressor, being part of the African language- speaking students' curriculum in high school, was one of the foremost reasons that culminated in the 1976 Soweto uprisings, which, in itself, was a turning point in the history of language education in South Africa. Apart from their rejection of Afrikaans as language of learning and teaching, the African resistance

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against Apartheid education policies in the late 1970's is also associated with a rejection of mother tongue education (in upper primary years) and a strong aspiration towards English (Alexander and Heugh 1999), as stated by Heugh (2013:217).

The constitutional negotiations of the early nineties brought three ideologies, concerning language, for discussion (Heugh 2013:217):

- A segregationist approach, where the ethnolinguistic rights of each group would be protected
- An assimilation-to-English approach which advanced the view of English as a language providing global access to its users
- A third approach that would focus on the functional use of multilingual systems of communication.

The negotiations resulted in government opting for a combination of the first two approaches: a segregationist view of languages as separate entities combined with a gradual assimilation to English (Alexander and Heugh 1999) as quoted by Heugh (2013:217). What transpired from these negotiations, was that multilingualism, within the educational context at least, be viewed as multiple forms of monolinguals, or parallel or separate systems (Heugh 2003), as was stated by Heugh (2013:217). The emphasis was on support for African languages up to the third year of the African- speaking students' schooling, according to Heugh (2013:218), after which students were to be led via the curriculum towards a switch from home language to English medium education, thus implementing both separatist and assimilation trajectories.

3.6   Translanguaging practices in South Africa

Having examined the general literature on translanguaging, as well as having provided background on the language policy that governs multilingual education in South Africa, this section now examines literature on translanguaging practices in South Africa.

3.6.1   Introduction

The multilingual character of the South African society provides a catalytic blanket of opportunity for the development of translanguaging practices. Since the inception of

democracy and the consequential freedom of movement in the early 1990s, black South African townships, specifically, have become culturally and linguistically diverse residential areas, accommodating people from different backgrounds, who had been kept apart by policies from the previous regime. These newly-formed multicultural and multilingual communities in South Africa have become what Makalela (2013:112), when citing Blommaert (2010) and Mignolo (2000), calls "a microcosm of superdiversity with spatiotemporal complexes that define global movement in the 21st century". Within the multilingual contexts of these societies, hybrid language forms develop and become an accepted means of communication for these diverse language users. Towards 2000 and beyond, black township dwellers, despite their diverse backgrounds, could find common ground when communicating by using these hybrid forms of language. Makalela (2013:112) refers to these township dwellings as "ekasi", which have become "new site(s) of linguistic contact between linguistic communities that were separated from one another during the apartheid era". This means of township communication, or kasi-taal, according to Makalela (2013:112), is not a form of behaviour, but rather wants to "emphasize weakening boundaries between languages in space...", the argument being that the complex rules and norms associated with kasi-taal practices disregard the boundaries of the monolingual structures that had been in existence previously. Makalela (2013:123) concludes that the multilingual nature of the townships around Johannesburg is experienced through the fluid, mobile and flexible ways of language use that transcends traditional African language boundaries, making designations such as "mother tongue" seem irrelevant to the individuals from the locations who favour the hybrid language form (kasi-taal), which involves a confluence of Afrikaans, English, Nguni and Sotho languages.

Another hybrid language form, a South African township argot which is used mainly, but not exclusively, by Black males in urban centres, is referred to as Flaaitaal/Tsotsitaal (Makhudu 2002:398). According to Makhudu (2002:398) the origins of Flaaitaal/Tsotsitaal can be traced back to the late 1800's, when the discovery of minerals on the Reef lured not only the indigenous peoples of South Africa, but also a huge variety of Europeans, who among themselves, were speaking all the major languages used in Europe, like English, French, Dutch and German. Given this multilingual context in the densely populated mining areas of Johannesburg and elsewhere in South Africa, Makhudu (2002:398) argues that Flaaitaal may thus have arisen as a "mixed" language on account of Bantu and/or Khoesan-speaking people attempting to express themselves through one or more of the Indo-European languages that they encountered. The reason why females are excluded from using Flaaitaal, lies in

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Makhudu's (2002:399) argument that the male hostels, accommodating miners for long periods of time, "would largely exclude women and include the world of work and prison". One specific use of Flaaitaal was to denote resistance or defiance, like the commonly used cry of resistance against the infamous Group Areas Act (1957): *Ons dak nie, ons phola hier* (literally meaning 'we won't move, we're staying') (Makhudu 2002:401). This sentence displays the interweaving of grammar and lexis of the dispossessor – *dak* from Afrikaans slang *nak* (to leave), or from the English *duck*(v.) and *phola* from Zulu *ukuphola*, which means 'to be cool, to sit down and reflect' (Makhudu 2002:401).

One notable characteristic of Flaaitaal is the inclusion of Afrikaans within its structures. Makhudu (2002:401) cites a personal conversation with Don Mattera (an African poet) where it became evident that "coloured male speakers employ a variety of Flaaitaal and have, over the years, contributed to the association of Flaaitaal with Afrikaans". With reference to Tsotsitaal, also known as Iscamto, Slabbert and Myers-Scotton (1996) noted that "prison gangs are among the socially based groups that have been associated with their use". Shuring (1985), cited by Slabbert and Myers-Scotton (1996), attributes the use of Afrikaans to the fact that some of the leaders of these gangs were Coloured people "who are typically Afrikaans first-language speakers". Ntshangase (1995), according to Slabbert and Myers-Scotton (1996), ascribes the Afrikaans base to the fact that many Africans who moved to the city came from white farms, and they knew Afrikaans. The use of Afrikaans as medium of instruction in schools prior to the advent of democracy could be added as another reason for Afrikaans being used as part of the discursive practices around many communities.

3.6.2   <u>Translanguaging within the South African educational context</u>

The South African education system has language-in-education policies in place which favour the multilingual context of language practitioners in the educational sphere. These speakers are allowed to pull from an extended pool of available multiple discursive practices to advance the particular linguistic aims they have in mind. In a study conducted at the University of the Witwatersrand, Makalela (2013:114) observed the dialogues of 20 second year education students, who, among themselves, had exposure to and were using all of South Africa's official languages. The results of the study reveal that traditional linguistic boundaries between indigenous African languages have been re-negotiated, and that semantic shifts and morphological derivations from Afrikaans and English as source languages are used to create

an urban lingua franca which he calls kasi-taal (Makalela 2013:116). One of the themes explored in the study emphasizes the students' linguistic flexibility, as is evident in Speaker A's utterance in (3) below.

(3)   Speaker A: *Ai baba. Yiningawe*? What is your problem? *Hawu*
            "Hey man. What is your problem?"   surprise marker

(Makalela 2013:116)

The utterance of the speaker shows the use of discursive resources from both isiZulu and English to bring into effect the social function he had in mind, which is typical of a translanguaging practice. Kasi-taal, as a hybrid linguistic variety, constitutes translanguaging, which is different from the traditional conceptions of code-switching, according to Makalela, citing Garcia (2009), in that translanguaging is what speakers do and perform with their mobile and flexible discourse practices, rather than using a single language as an autonomous skill.

Although South Africa's language policies are arguably among the most progressive in the world, and have been praised by scholars such as Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (2001), (Parmegiani & Rudwick 2014:108), it has also been pointed out that English has been appropriated by many Black South Africans, who are using it as part of their linguistic repertoires to express themselves and negotiate power relations (Parmeganni 2008, 2009, 2010, cited by Parmegiani & Rudwick 2014:108). In a study conducted by Parmegiani & Rudwick (2014), the implementation of the bilingualization policy at the University of Kwazulu-Natal (UKZN) gave rise to a level of skepticism among students. The policy strives for the development of isiZulu as language of learning and teaching (LOLT) and aims for the language to gain the same institutional and academic status as English (Parmegiani & Rudwick 2014:109). The study focused on 25 isiZulu L1 students who were interviewed over a period of 4 months about language practices and attitudes in the contexts of their lives and the social complexities of South Africa (Parmegiani & Rudwick 2014:115). The results suggested that isiZulu-speaking students have a strong investment in their mother tongue, but regards it with skepticism as a medium of instruction (Parmegiani & Rudwick 2014:119). The monolithic notion of the mother tongue as problematic, as argued by Parmegiani & Rudwick (2014), means that a continuum of languages, dialects and literacies, rather one discreet mother tongue, might be the most effective medium of instruction to help Black South African students, in particular, succeed.

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The paucity of translanguaging research focusing on language practices in schools in South Africa, is quite concerning, given the opportunities available within the multilingual context of South Africa. Although all 11 of South Africa's official languages are equal as far as our constitution is concerned, the majority of parents prefer having their children educated through the medium of English, thereby ignoring the resources captured within African languages. Madiba (2012), who investigated the use of English alongside Tshivenda by Tshivenda-speaking students taking part in an Academic Development Programme, posits that the potential role of indigenous languages in South African education has not been fully assessed with reference to their use for academic purposes (Madiba 2012:15) The study conducted by Madiba (2012) has as its aim the discussion of various perspectives on indigenous African languages as languages appropriated for academic purposes, and, citing the work of Prah (2009), states that no single indigenous African language is used as a medium of instruction beyond primary education level other than specific language courses, and that is why many African scholars believe that this could be the reason for the high failure rate of Africans while attending school. Madiba (2012:24) concludes his study by suggesting the principle of complementary language use, which provides for English to be used in conjunction with an African language in order to affect academic language skills.

In an effort to understand learners' and teachers' opinions and perceptions about translanguaging in schools, Shifidi (2014) studied the language practices at three different high schools in different districts in Namibia. The reason for embarking on this study of translanguaging in Namibia, as argued by Shifidi (2014:18), was to establish if translanguaging had the potential for enhancing learners learning and understanding and also their participation and socialization within the multilingual/multicultural classrooms. Although English is the official language in Namibia, and the only language of instruction in Namibian secondary schools, it is rarely used outside classrooms (Shifidi 2014). In fact, it is pointed out by Shifidi (2014) that Afrikaans is the language most prominently used when learners and teachers are not at school and serves as lingua franca in these communities. The most prominent reason for the occurrence of translanguaging at these schools, as was found by Shifidi (2014), deals with clarifying difficult concepts/terms because many learners find English difficult to understand and as a result would consort to translanguaging. Shifidi (2014:74) concluded that translanguaging is not a general tendency among the role players in these schools, nor does it form an inherent part of the strategies employed to counter the language problems in Namibian

high schools yet, but Shifidi (2014) foresees relevant changes, particularly a shift to accommodate the translanguaging phenomenon in Namibian schools.

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The studies discussed in this sub-section have relevance when perceived as alternatives to the traditional monolingual educational systems which are still in place in the South African education fraternity. The present research project is informed by these studies and will aim to further the objectives associated with translanguaging.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This present study focuses on the phenomena of code-switching and translanguaging as linguistic tools used by senior high school learners to confront the challenges brought about by bi/multilingual education in the South African context. These young adults, functioning at the top end of their school career, are explorative by nature and would adapt to linguistic challenges in an innovative way. A high school environment, which is representative of a bi/multilingual community, is therefore an ideal location for investigation linguistic interactions by learners and educators in a setting where more than one language is in use. The objective of this study project, therefore, is to present evidence of bi/multilingual activities at high schools situated in a community where the overwhelming majority of residents practice monolingual communication. The reason for selecting Upington as focal point for bi/multilingual research among learners, comes from a particular question:

> If most of the inhabitants of Upington are Afrikaans mother tongue speakers, and if Afrikaans is the major language used for learning and teaching in the local schools, how do learners combat the challenges arising from education beyond mother tongue?

In response to this question, the researcher has selected two high schools from different residential areas in Upington to investigate the linguistic strategies employed by these Afrikaans L1 learners when they are facing challenges in their English classes. The aim of this chapter, particularly, is to present a research design which details the research sites and participants involved and shed light on the data collection instruments and procedures, as well as how the analysis of data was undertaken and the ethical procedures adhered to.

4.2 Research design

A research design, according to Kothari (2004:31), refers to the arrangement of conditions for the collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy in procedure. To this aim, the present research project adopted a

qualitative, ethnographic approach in order to gather all relevant information pertaining to bi/multilingual activities at the research sites and to explore participants' views on and experiences with/in practicing bi/multilingualism. The research done by Myers-Scotton (1992) and Finlayson and Slabbert (1997), who made use of the ethnographic, qualitative approach as base for their code-switching research, has been used to inform this research project. As the researcher, my role in the project was to observe and physically record the learners' linguistic activities during both parts of the investigations, and, as an English teacher and debating facilitator and co-ordinator at one of the research sites, I was able to attend unobtrusively.   In order to gain the maximum output from these investigations, the researcher has employed a semi-structured interview, a questionnaire as well as audio recorded physical observations inside and outside the classroom. The use of these sources of information provides a general overview of the participants' linguistic capabilities and their perceptions concerning bi/multilingual education in South Africa.

4.3   Research sites

The two high schools selected for the present research project represent the two communities in Upington which had historically been disadvantaged by the previous racist government of South Africa. Carlton-Van Heerden High School, which was founded in 1943, is situated where the two Coloured townships to the east, Progress (previously the township of Blikkies) and Rainbow, meet the adjacent Morning Glory and Rosedale and where a predominating Coloured community found their roots since the implementation of the Group Areas Act (1957). The school currently accommodates more than 1300 learners, mainly from the surrounding Coloured townships, but also from the Black township of Pabalello. Afrikaans is the dominant language used in the townships and is also the school's language of learning and teaching. English, as first additional language, is the only other language offered as a subject at school. The majority of the inhabitants of the townships are lower-income workers and many are parents of these leaners, playing a significant role as stake-holders in the learners' educational future. As such, the Department of Basic Education has identified the school as a quantile 4 unit, serving the impoverished Coloured communities mentioned above.

Towards the end of the 1930's, the need for a high school in Upington became critical as there were 28 non-White primary schools in what was then the Union of South Africa's largest municipal area, the Gordonia district (statistics obtained from the Upington Municipal Office).

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The rapid increase in population was due to a number of reasons: the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley, the discovery of manganese, asbestos and uranium in the district, the full realization of markets by farmers for their agricultural initiatives and the boom of the karakul industry in the former South West Africa (statistics obtained from the Upington Municipal Offices). The plight for the establishment of a high school fell on deaf ears as the Department of Education refused to co-operate on the grounds that the number of pupils who passed standard six was too small to justify one (statistics obtained from the Upington School Board Office). It was only in 1943 that the first non-White high school, the Gordonia Coloured Secondary School, was established with a roll of 99 pupils and four teachers, including the principal. In 1944 the school was renamed to Carlton-Van Heerden Secondary School in honour of their founders, Messrs. J. Carlton and C. Van-Heerden.

The second research site is Pabalello High School in Pabalello, a township whose origins can also be traced to the introduction of the Group Areas Act (1975) in Upington, when Black people were forced to move to the demarcated area of Pabalello. The need for a high school in Pabalello was realized in 1982, when Pabalello High School came into being. The school has enrolled 863 learners this year and almost all of them reside in Pabalello. The language mostly spoken by township residents is Afrikaans. The school offers Setswana, isiZulu and Afrikaans for home language instruction, while English functions as an additional language. The school currently serves as a 'no-fee' school, implying that parents are not burdened with financial responsibilities towards the institution. The highly impoverished community battles the effects of unemployment and the school itself has very few facilities to offer its learners.

4.4   **Participants**

As the focus of the present study is aimed at the observation of learners' bi/multilingual activities at high school, the selection of participants is theoretically based on the assumption that, since both schools offer more than one language of learning and teaching, the teachers and learners in attendance would express themselves in a bi/multilingual fashion. It was further assumed that when learners with an L1 different to English, communicate in an English setting, both codes would be in use in these communication practices, be it within the classroom setting or elsewhere. In particular, learners in the FET-phase approaching the final stages of their schooling were targeted as participants in this study since they had been exposed to at least two languages of instruction for a number of years, and should therefore be able to display a certain

level of competency in both. The schools identified for this study offer English as first additional language and in the case of Carlton-Van Heerden Secondary School, the only other language of instruction is Afrikaans. In addition to English and Afrikaans, Pabalello High School also offers Setswana and isiXhosa as subjects, thereby promoting multilingualism, in accordance with Section 6 of the South African School's Act 84 of 1996. Afrikaans is offered as home language at both schools. All the learners participating in this study are 16-21 years of age.

4.5   Data collection

The data collection procedure included observation, audio-recordings and interviews. This process unfolded in two parts:

4.5.1   Part one: classroom observation at Pabalello High School

The researcher has purposefully selected to observe English lessons with the aim of establishing the linguistic varieties in use when the role players in class communicate within the context of the learning-teaching framework. After vigorous encouragement from the side of the researcher and whole-hearted co-operation from the grade 12 English teacher from Pabalello High School, the researcher was able to observe two poetry lessons of 50 minutes each. The teacher, Mr AM, introduced the researcher and explained the purpose of the study. The focus of the observation was on learner activities and their responses to the instruction of the teacher. The learners were divided in groups of four to five learners, and Mr AM had no hesitation in pointing out the group that could be expected to display encouraging responses. During both lessons, recordings were made of the pre-selected group (five learners) who were discussing the contents of the poem "The birth of Shaka" by Oswald Mtshali. After the observation process, the participants of the identified group were provided with learner questionnaires and the teacher was asked to complete a semi-structured interview.

The learner questionnaire consisted of questions about learners' language use at home and in the community. The data gathered indicates the linguistic capabilities of each individual. The completed semi-structured interview provides an indication of the teacher's qualifications in teaching languages and his experience in teaching in general. Furthermore, it should reveal his perceptions on translanguaging as opposed to the conventional monolingual teaching practises.

The data that was collected, i.e. the transcription of audio recordings, the questionnaires and the structured interview will be used to establish the occurrence and frequency of bi/multilingual activities inside the classroom.

4.5.2   Part two: observing discussions prior to formal debate at Carlton-Van Heerden Secondary School

Debating is offered as one of Carlton-Van Heerden Secondary School's extra-curricular activities and is practiced under the auspices of the South African Schools' Debating Society. Different institutions, government departments and non-governmental organizations (NGO's) present debating competitions at high school level, aiming to focus awareness on a variety of national and global challenges, thereby expanding knowledge and creating interest. Debating competitions allow for participants to present an argument, to rebut the opposition's reasoning and to summarize the important points made, all within a pre-arranged timeframe. Adjudicators assess the speeches and a certain outcome is reached.

All formal debates take place in English in order to allow learners from different linguistic orientations to participate fairly. Prior to such a formal debate, participants are given time to discuss, do research (mainly using the internet through their cell phones) and plan strategies for each team member's speech. It is during these discussions that learners feel free to use their L1 in addition to the prescribed use of English and, in doing so, they create possibilities for code-switching, translanguaging and various other bi/multilingual speech activities.

The first team of the school's debating society, consisting of five girls in the age group 16 to19 years, had been selected for this investigation. While this group was preparing for a formal debate against a neighbouring school, the researcher used the opportunity to observe three discussion sessions of roughly one hour each. At the end of these sessions, the researcher requested the participants to complete a questionnaire to establish their linguistic versatility in these social situations. The debating sessions take place in a classroom after school. The debating trainer divides the debaters into groups where they discuss separate topics, usually the topics relevant to their next competition. The physical environment is very similar to a learning environment during class and the trainer maintains a formal relationship with the learners,

although the communication intent is informal. The researcher, being well-known at school as a teacher, did not disturb the proceedings and would at times join in the discussions.

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The tables below provide a distribution of the linguistic profiles of participants from both parts of the investigation. In order to comply with ethical commitments, the names of the individuals are not revealed.

TABLE 1: Participants: Pabalello High

	Learner	**Gender**	**Home Language**	**Other languages individual is able to use in communication**
1	U.M	F	Afrikaans	English
2	A.B	M	Afrikaans	English; isiXhosa
3	J.N	F	Afrikaans	English
4	W.M	M	Afrikaans	English
5	S.G	F	Afrikaans	English

TABLE 2: Participants: Carlton – Van Heerden

	Learner	**Gender**	**Home Language**	**Other languages individual is able to use in communication**
1	C.D	F	Afrikaans	English
2	R.O	F	Afrikaans	English; Setswana
3	E.D	F	Afrikaans	English
4	A.V	F	Afrikaans	English
5	C.I	F	Afrikaans	English

4.6 Data-collection instruments and procedures

In this section the questionnaire and semi-structured interview schedule used in the study are outlined and a discussion of the data transcription procedure is given.

4.6.1 The questionnaire

A questionnaire, given in Appendix A, was issued to all learners in the study because both parts are related to the objectives of this study project. After completion of the investigation, the

participants were required to complete questionnaires for submission. The questionnaire was drawn up to establish participants' overall linguistic repertoire and the languages they are exposed to when at home, at school or elsewhere in the community. In addition, the questionnaire also investigates the linguistic influences the participants experienced while developing their language prior to the educational era. The information captured in the questionnaire is indicative of the participants' linguistic capabilities and shows if participants' early language development had any influence on their present-day abilities.

4.6.2   Semi-structured interview

The semi-structured interview, see Appendix B, was completed by both the English teacher at Pabalello High School and the debating trainer, who is also a teacher at an intermediate school, also in Pabalello. When the interviews took place, the same questions were asked to both parties. The responses to these questions are indicative of the participants' formal qualifications in the fields of education and languages and, more particularly, how these languages are utilized when executing their duties as educator and debating trainer. Furthermore, the semi-structured interview also investigated their views on bi/multilingual teaching as opposed to the existing monolingual model of teaching, and how these activities are practiced in their educational spaces.

4.6.3   Transcription of data

During the investigation in both phases, the researcher provided cellphones with audio-recording devices, which were placed relatively close to the affected speakers. None of the participants reported any disturbance in this regard and it was accepted that the presence of these devices had no direct influence on the activities taking place. After completing the investigations, the researcher used the audio recordings to identify the content for analysis. From the content, the researcher wrote down all relevant passages of speech and assessed these according to the requirements of code-switching and translanguaging.

4.7   Ethical considerations

In order to produce an ethically sound research project, the researcher adhered to the requirements associated with a research study of this nature. First, permission was sought form

the Department of Education in the Northern Cape allow the investigations to take place at the two identified schools. Such permission was granted by the District Director of the Z.F. Mgcawu region in Upington. The principals at the respective schools were enthusiastic about the project and had no reservations about giving permission for the study to take place. To minimize the challenges of getting hold of parents to sign consent forms, thereby giving permission to their children to participate in this research project, the researcher paid home visits to get the task completed without wasting time. The permission letters by the relevant authorities and the consent forms from the parents and learners have been included in Appendices C and D. The following chapter will specifically deal with the analysis of the transcribed data.

CHAPTER 5

DATA ANALYSIS

5.1   Introduction

The analysis of data gathered during the investigations at the two high schools will be presented and discussed in this chapter. The first part of the presentation deals with the participants' linguistic capabilities and language experiences as reflected by data from the completed questionnaires and semi-structured interviews. The following section will discuss the analysis of participants' classroom discourse, both in terms of the occurrence and functions of code-switching as well as the use of translanguaging strategies to confront the challenges of bi/multilingual communication. Section.5.4 discusses the analysis of participants' communication during debating sessions after school, again in terms of both code-switching and translanguaging, before a conclusion is reached.

5.2   Linguistic repertoires and language experiences

In addition to the data gathered during the observation of language activities in classroom interactions and debating preparations, this investigation was also able to establish participants' language orientation during social interactions at home, at school and in the community through questionnaires for learners and semi-structure interviews for the two teachers. The data gathered through those procedures provide a clear indication of participants' bi/multilingual competency and their use of linguistic tools like code-switching and translanguaging.

5.2.1   Questionnaire data

The first three questions (a, b and c) refer to the learners' individual homes and the inhabitants he/she shares the home with. This basic information is relevant in determining the languages in use in the particular environment that is home to the learner. It also gives some indication of the socio-economic conditions of the learners, because if caregivers are unemployed, the burden of children attending school becomes heavier.

Questions one to five investigated the learners' linguistic activities at home, particularly with regard to their home language and the language choices they make when communicating with family members at home. In the response to question 1, all learners indicated Afrikaans as home language except for one learner whose home language is English. One learner indicated that the language used at home is isiXhosa, because he lives with his grandmother who is very old, did not receive formal education, and can only speak isiXhosa. One learner added English as another L1, since he speaks Afrikaans in Upington and English when visiting his father in Prieska. In summarising the information gathered from questions 1-5, it becomes evident that the dominant discourse practice in the households of these learners is Afrikaans, and that Afrikaans had been a major part of their linguistic repertoire throughout their lives.

Questions six to eight focussed on languages used at school, and in terms of language use in the classroom setting, 70% indicated that Afrikaans is the language used by teachers and 60% prefer to be taught in Afrikaans. Furthermore, the data revealed that only Afrikaans and English are used when these learners communicate at school. Seventy percent of the students indicated that they use Afrikaans and the rest indicated the use of English in the school setting. These responses again show the dominance of Afrikaans within the school set-up at both research sites.

Questions nine to twelve are relevant to the languages constituting the learners' linguistic repertoire and their orientation towards the changing of codes during conversations. All participants indicated that switching codes in a single communication setting is part of normal conversation and in no way does it influence understanding.

5.2.2 Semi-structured interviews

Both teachers who participated in the study completed a semi-structured interview which provided information regarding their educational training and, more particularly, their language orientation while teaching and performing extra-curricular duties after school.

Mr AM is a male teacher who has eleven years of experience and is currently teaching English to three grade 12 and two grade 11 classes. His home language is Afrikaans but he is capable of using English, isiZulu and Venda quite comfortably. Mr AM holds a teacher's qualification that he obtained from North West University and he serves as the Head of Department English

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First Additional Language at Paballelo High School. Mr AM thinks that learners are coping well in their performances in the additional language and that by equipping themselves with knowledge of English, would benefit themselves in future. He is of the opinion that the difficulties experienced by learners in coping with the additional language have to do with their shortcomings concerning speaking, spelling and a general disinterest when it comes to discussions. Mr AM allows for code-switching and is comfortable with learners using languages other than English in his class, since it enhances their use of the target language.

Mr LM, who is a teacher at an intermediate school in Paballelo, has six years' experience of teaching English as an additional language. In addition to teaching, Mr LM is also a debating trainer, assisting various schools in the district with training and developing learners who are interested in debating. As a student at Phatsimang Teacher's Training College in Kimberley, Mr LM practised debating and was selected to take part in national debating competitions for tertiary students. His association with Carlton-Van Heerden High School started when he enrolled there as a learner and continued after he completed his studies, when he was approached by the school to train the debating team.

In response to the questions from the semi-structured interview, Mr LM indicates that learners experience difficulty in expressing themselves in English. He is of the opinion that teaching English as a global means of communication develops learners' communication skills and makes them more confident when they speak. He attributes the difficulty in coping with the additional language to learners' poor reading skills, which is reason for their inability to express themselves effectively in the target language. In addressing this need, the teacher makes use of switching between the home language and the target language to simplify the challenges and make learners more confident. Mr LM feels that learner performance is negatively influenced as they shy away from expressing themselves in English.

5.3   Analysis of participants' communication inside the classroom

This section aims to identify the linguistic tools used by learners in their attempts to make meaning of the challenges they experience in the target language. The researcher particularly distinguishes between code-switching, which had been extensively discussed in chapter two, and translanguaging, of which elaborate reference had been made in chapter three. Apart from

identifying these linguistic tools, this section also points out the reasons for employing these tools.

5.3.1 <u>Occurrence and functions of code-switching during classroom activities</u>

As was discussed in chapter two, the Markedness Model presents a Markedness metric which assists speakers in deciding whether the code choice is marked or unmarked for the context in which the speaker interacts (Myers-Scotton 1993: 79-80). When the unmarked code choice is practised during a conversation, the situational factors remain the same. Code-switching itself as the unmarked choice is the type of code-switching that is mainly found throughout the investigations in the class. According to Myers-Scotton (1993:117), this type of code-switching differs from other types in that the communicative intent is carried by the overall pattern. In the following two examples of code-switching, it is clear that the speakers' switches to Afrikaans served to explain and simplify.

Example 1

After concluding his discussions on the poem, Mr AM allows for the learners to complete the exercise handed to them.   While trying to find the answers to the questions, the five members of the identified group are discussing line 8 of the poem, particularly the term "claypot of passion". In her effort to clarify the word "passion", SG switches to Afrikaans:

UM: Explain a "claypot of passion".

SG: His blood is being described as a claypot of emotion **want**

                                        because

      as jy mos passion **het, het jy** emotion, so Shaka's blood was full of emotion
      if you PM[1]   *have, have you*

JN: **So, dan moet ons sê**, "a pot of emotions…"
      So, then must we say

---

[1] The lexical item *mos* is a pragmatic marker (PM) that serves, among others, as an indicator of shared knowledge or to signal new but essential information in a narrative (Jantjies and van Dulm 2012:9).

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In this passage of speech, SG's switch to Afrikaans simplified the term and made it easier for the group to formulate an answer to the question.

Example 2

UM struggles with the meaning of "thongs" because the group must indicate if the comparison "muscles like thongs" is a good one.

UM**:**   **Ek sê** yes, because thongs are strong and hurt…can hurt a person…thongs **is**
      I say   *are*
   mos steek-goete.
     PM   *poke-things*

JN: **Nee,** thongs **is nie steek-goete**, thongs is leather-strips…thorns **is dorings**…
       No,   *are not poke-things*   *are thorns*

UM**:**   **Wat is** leather-strips?
     What are

It is evident that SG is under the impression that *thongs* is reference to *thorns* ("steek-goete"), which has the ability to hurt people. The confusion is cleared up by JN with her reference to leather strips. In the next example, Mr AM asks a question in Afrikaans while handing out notes to the learners.

Example 3

Mr AM expresses concern about some learners attending class without the notes that had been handed out the previous day. He explains what should be done if learners are not present to accept the hand-outs. When switching to Afrikaans ("Verstaan julle mense?"), he seeks confirmation that the learners would follow his instructions in future. The function of the switch to Afrikaans is to confirm learners' understanding.

Mr AM: Just go to **Meneer**'s office and say, "**Meneer**, I was not at school yesterday and I
          Sir's   *Sir*
          understand that there was some hand-outs, so please, furnish me with one or two.
          Verstaan julle mense?
          Understand you people?
          Now, around the poem, is there any question?

The teacher's question in Afrikaans was met by a concerted "yes" from all groups indicating that the switch to Afrikaans was understood by everyone.

Towards the end of the lesson, Mr AM required of the learners to indicate the marks they have achieved in the previous tests and tasks on a form he supplied to them. The switching of codes in the following two examples involves three different languages but is still understood by everyone:

Example 4

In the following example of code-switching, the function of the switch serves to expand learners' understanding in a situation of difficulty. Since the learners had a number of marks to be entered on a mark sheet and some of the marks needed calculation, the teacher had his hands full making himself understood.

While explaining how learners should go about indicating their marks on the supplied forms, Mr AM switches to Setswana twice (albeit the same word) but does not impede the flow of the conversation, since the switch is understood by the learners. Even though he was switching codes, the teacher could still expand his explanation to ensure that everyone was able to follow his instructions:

Mr AM: You say from Task 5, they're out of twenty, maybe it's fifteen. Another out of
          twenty…out of thirty-five…something plus total **yako** Paper I, Paper II, Paper III
                                                              from
          yako three hundred and twenty-five. Then we say that total is divided by a
          out of
          hundred.

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Although the communication in class usually centres around English and Afrikaans, such switches to Setswana do not influence understanding, and since it is understood by everyone, it broadens their understanding.

Example 5

In this example, the code-switching function is the request for clarity. Mr AM explains the calculation of a figure to be entered as a mark on the form supplied. The explanation is quite lengthy and his repetition of some of the figures caused a mumbling, which resulted in SG's request for clarity. The request, uttered in Afrikaans, is understood by the addressee, who responds in a slower, clearer manner:

Mr AM: You take all those marks and you sum them up. The total is out of thirty…then you
say that total out of thirty divided by…hundred. It is for your… (*inaudible)...*
mark.

AB: Wait, **meneer**
sir

SG: **Ek verstaan nie**
I understand not

Mr AM (speaking noticeably slower): Out of ten, maybe you got five…out of fifty you got
twenty-five…out of forty…

Mr AM's response indicates that he understood the request in Afrikaans and hence tried to make himself clear.

The following two examples of code-switching adhere to the requirements of sequential unmarked code-switching, as identified by Myers-Scotton (1993:114), which occurs when the unmarked RO set changes. When the unmarked RO set is changed by situational factors, like a change in speaker composition, for instance, the speaker will change codes if he/she wishes to index the new unmarked RO set. (Myers-Scotton 1993:114)

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Example 6

Throughout the poetry lesson, Mr AM mainly communicates in English (except for single word interjections from other languages) while explaining or responding to questions by learners. Towards the end of the lesson, though, when the researcher signals his intent to leave the proceedings, Mr AM switches from one unmarked choice of codes to the other as he now addresses the researcher:

Mr AM: … and if you have not completed these forms, if I don't receive these forms by
             tomorrow… I know of some of you guys… Oh! Are you going… **Baie dankie**
                                                                          Thank you

           meneer, **ek hoop… vir jou die beste**.
           sir   I hope   for you the best.
           Stand up everyone.

The conversational situation changes when the teacher starts addressing the researcher, whom he regards as Afrikaans-speaking, and code-switching occurs as a result of the change in speaker composition.

Example 7

In the following situation, Mr AM changes the focus of the conversation when he switches to Afrikaans to rebuke/warn one group whose loud arguing interfered with the proceedings. Mr AM's change to a new unmarked RO set occurred because of the change in the relationship between the speakers. The function of the switch to Afrikaans is to reprimand the disorderly conduct of the group:

Mr AM: Now before we can jump to the next stanza, can someone please point out the
          example of alliteration… in that stanza that we have just… There's too much
          noise… JW, **bly julle nou stil**, you are too loud, **hoe kan die anders hoor**?
                      keep you now quiet   how can the others hear?

Learner from another group: Sir, is the alliteration in the …
Mr AM: Just wait… OK, let's look again to that stanza.

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The topic and content of the teacher's speech has changed when he reprimanded the learners, making this code-switching instance an example of unmarked code-switching.

5.3.2 <u>The use and functions of translanguaging</u>

The observation of the poetry lesson (referred to in the previous examples) in the English class of Mr AM, revealed that the teacher mainly used English in his explanations and when asking questions. The learners' responses were in English as well, except for a couple of Afrikaans interjections like *haai* ("hey") and *nee* ("no"). When instructed to discuss and find answers for the written questions supplied to them beforehand, the learners switched between Afrikaans and English in a way that is indicative of the flexibility of bilingual learners taking control of their own learning, to self-regulate when and how to use language, depending on the context in which they're being asked to perform (Garcia and Wei 2014). The learners, therefore, employed translanguaging as a resource for meaning-making and clarification, and are thus able to manage the task at hand. The following examples of translanguaging have been identified in the transcribed spoken data, and are explained in terms of the metafunctions of translanguaging, as stated by Garcia and Wei (2014:82).

Example 8

The discussion in this example focuses on Shaka being compared to a lion because of his physical strength.

UM: **Ja, kyk hier, ons kan sê die** … the animal is well--- because a lioness, **'n leeu is**
    Yes, see here, we can say the   a lion is
    mos 'n sterk dier   en Shaka **is mos ook** powerful.
    PM   a strong animal and   is PM   also

AB: And that shows a woman's strength

SG: **Wat praat julle mense so Engels?**
    What talk you people so English

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In this exchange involving three learners of the group, both Afrikaans and English are used and they are shuttling between the two languages comfortably: thus translanguaging to benefit themselves. When she starts to explain, UM begins in Afrikaans, thereby gaining the attention of the rest of the group. Then she continues in English, but switches to Afrikaans again, this time to emphasize what had been said in English. Besides the functions of drawing attention and emphasizing, this extract also reveals another reason for translanguaging: to mediate understanding among members of the group. The utterance of the second speaker, AB, indicates that he could extract from both languages in order to understand the link between Shaka and a lion(ess).

Example 9

In the poem the word "forge" is used, and AB takes it upon himself to explain:

AB: **Kyk, daar by** forge **is mos** something out of nature **mos, wat ge-**create **is**, **soos in** steel
See there at   is PM   PM which PT-[2]   is like in
word   mos ge-forge, **sien jy**, **nou word hulle in** muscles **gemaak,** muscles **is mos**
become PM PT-   see you now become they in   made   is PM
sterk gemaak
strong made

AB: **'n Iets   wat   mos ge-**forge **word, is mos soos 'n** horse shoe **mos**, **van 'n**
a something which PM   PT-   become is PM like a   PM   from a
blacksmith **af**,   **'n** blacksmith forge **mos 'n** horse shoe
*   from a   PM a*

WM: Yes

AB: **Aweh**
Yes

---

[22] The morpheme *ge* is a past tense (PT) marker in Afrikaans.

In the exchange above, translanguaging is used to explain, to clarify and to reinforce (Garcia and Wei 2014:103). When saying, "*Is mos* something out of nature *mos, wat ge*-create *is*…" AB explains through the medium of both Afrikaans and English what "forge" means. He then emphasizes this explanation by linking "muscles" to "steel", thus reinforcing what he has said. In his second exchange, AB clarifies the term "forge" with an example of a blacksmith creating a horse shoe. The word *aweh* is a term in Setswana (also used in isiXhosa and isiZulu) which signals understanding.

Example 10

SG: **Jy sit hom in 'n warme pan in…. as jy hom uithaal, dan sny jy hom** to your liking
You put him in a hot pan in...   if you him take out, then cut you him
en as hy koud raak, kan jy miskien kom to that,… **sien jy? dan kom jy na die** poem
and if he cold get, can you maybe come   see you then come you to the
toe, wat praat van ancestors... **is die mense waarin ons glo,   in onse** *badimos*,
*to,   what talk of   are the people in whom we believe, in our **ancestors***
verstaan jy*?*... **so nou het die** ancestors **vir hom** muscles **gegee,… nou sê hy** is a
understand you…so now have the   for him   gave…   now say he
good image …. example or what?

UM: **Ek soek hom in Engels lat ek hom kan afskryf.**
I search him in English that I him can write.

WM: **Hê batho?**
Hey people

The function of translanguaging in the utterance by SG is to elaborate ideas, as she mentions the involvement of the ancestors. Her explanations conclude with an Afrikaans question, assessing if the others understood: *sien jy?*. She continues, by simplifying the term "ancestors" when she switches to the Sotho term for ancestors, *badimos*. This switch adheres to the metafunction indicated by Garcia and Wei (2014:82), namely to construct meaning within themselves, since the other group members knew what the word meant. UM shows that she understands when she switches to Afrikaans indicating that she needs help in formulating the

answer in English. WM's response, *Hê batho?* is a very commonly used Tswana expression, stating surprise.

Example 11

Another general function of translanguaging, identified by Storch and Wiggleworth (2003, cited by Garcia and Li 2014:81), deals with task management and task clarification among students when they are developing their target language. When students want to argue a point or when helping each other with defining difficult vocabulary and explanations of grammar, the use of the home language becomes helpful. This function of translanguaging is captured in the following speech interaction between UM and JN. As part of the group discussion, the two discusses the meaning of "thongs" in the comparison "muscles like thongs", which appears in the poem:

UM: …because thongs are strong and can hurt a person. Thongs **is mos steek-goete**
                                                                                 is PM poke-things

JN: **Nee**, thongs **is nie steek-goete**, thongs is leather-strips. Thorns **is dorings**.
        No   is not poke-things   is thorns

It is clear that UM had difficulty understanding the meaning of "thongs", but when JN explained the meaning through the home language, the confusion is cleared up.

Example 12

The following speech interaction demonstrates how a learner used translanguaging to demonstrate the knowledge required to clear up a confusing situation:

Mr AM: Which lines contain a simile? Which line contains a simile?
Silence. No response.

Mr AM: Which line contains a simile? Is it line 6, 7, 8 or 9? Two lines contain a simile.

Mr AM: It is lines 6 and 7. No, no, lines 7 and 8. Now in line 7, which letter is being alliterated… Oh, I see…

Learner: **Is verkeerd meneer**. **Is** alliteration **in** line 7**. Issie** simile **nie.**
           Is wrong   sir   is   in   Is not   not

Mr AM: You're right. Line 7 contains an alliteration. Look at the b in "blood is boiled". You're quite right, (name of learner).

When Mr AM abruptly stopped in his explanation of the figure of speech contained in line 7, the learner who responded displayed his knowledge by supplying an answer through the medium of both Afrikaans and English. The learner's translanguaging provided a solution to the mistake made by the teacher. This function of translanguaging is identified by Garcia and Wei (2014:82) and is representative of the metafunctions linked to translanguaging.

Example 13

The group discusses the concluding stanza of the poem, specifically focusing on the "white swallows" coming from over the ocean. While the discussion continues in English, WM interrupts proceedings with an Afrikaans explanation which brought a different perception, and a joint understanding is reached afterwards. This example is a combination of the first two metafunctions of translanguaging, as identified by Garcia and Wei (2014:82), where learners are able to mediate learning among each other, as well as co-constructing meaning of what the others are sayig:

SG: The "white swallows" are the white men, **die Boere**, who come to Zululand. So the
                                                        the Boers
           swallows is the whites. Must I write…

WM: **Nee, nee**. **Die** line **is** "see white swallows". **So**, "see" **is soos** "visionary sight**", soos**
           No no   the   is   So   is like   like
           meneer sê, "his eyes are lanterns", **so** Shaka **kan** see beyond his time, **wanneer die**
           sir   says   so   can   when   the

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Boere 'n gevaar raak vir die Zulus.

Boers a danger become for the

SG: So the "white swallows" is **symbolies**?

symbolic

JN: **Ja**, it makes sense. **Skryf nou**, SG.

Yes   Write now.

SG: So must we say that Shaka had a symbolic vision of the danger of…of the Whites?

WM: **Ja**, who came from Europe, over the sea.

Yes

In this example of translanguaging, WM constructs meaning with his Afrikaans explanation, while at the same time mediates understanding among the rest of the group.

Example 14

The following speech interaction occurred right at the start of the investigation, when the researcher had just set up the audio-recording devices and was in discussion with the teacher, while the learners were settling in their groups. It does not become particularly clear what the identified group was discussing, but the intention of the switch to Tswana adheres to a function of translanguaging identified by Garcia and Wei (2014 :82), namely that of exclusion:

JN: **Akayaze kosi thetha ngaba akathete elweme yethu xa six akaziyaz**

He does not understand because he does not speak our language. If we lie he would not know

(Laughing)

WM: **Ahoi mfethu**

Friend

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SG: **Maar issie mooi nie**. We must co-operate. Come guys, **meneer** says it's poetry. JN,
but is not pretty   sir
waar's my boek?
where's my book?

JN's utterance in Tswana had as its aim the exclusion of someone not familiar with the language; in this case it was seemingly directed at the researcher, who could have been viewed as not understanding Tswana. It was however, the only instance of translanguaging that had the exclusion of others as its function.

5.4   Analysis of participants' communication outside of the classroom

This section deals with the bi/multilingual strategies used by learners during extra-mural activities outside school hours. The use of these linguistic strategies enables learners to negotiate the challenges experienced when interacting in a bi/multilingual communication setting. Mr LM, the debating trainer at Carlton-Van Heerden High School, manages the debating practice sessions after school and it is during these practice sessions that learners strengthen their communicative skills in the target language by incorporating relevant knowledge from their L1. The two linguistic strategies used by the debaters are code-switching and translanguaging.

5.4.1   Occurrence and functions of code-switching during debating sessions

The following examples of Afrikaans-English code-switching are again discussed in terms of Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model, which was referred to in chapter two. The Markedness Model assigns a number of functions to the various types of code-switching identified by Myers-Scotton (1993), and these functions will be discussed here in relation to the data gathered during the classroom activities. The first type of code-switching identified in this section is unmarked code-switching, which has been discussed in chapter 2.

Example 15

The following example, where code-switching functions to clarify and simplify, emanated from discussions around the roles of the various speakers in a debating contest. Mr LM explains the

different roles of the third speaker and the reply speaker in a formal debating session. He addresses the group in English up to a point where he becomes unsure of their understanding. When one of the learners switches to Afrikaans, commenting on the difficulty to understand, Mr LM switches to Afrikaans to simplify his explanation.

Mr LM: So your third speaker rebuts that. The reply speaker, on the other hand, now points out what was rebutted and what was given as positive matter. I don't know if that is clear.

RO: It tells you why your team should win.

Mr LM: It sounds it bit…

RO: **Dit klink baie** complicated
           It sounds very

Mr LM: It's not as complicated as it sounds. Ok…uhm…yes…ok.
           As julle twee stry, dan's jy die person wat daar gestry het. As sy vir meneer Strauss gaan sê julle het gestry, dan is sy die een wat nie betrokke was by die stryery me, maar sy is jou vriendin en sy gaan vertel vir meneer Strauss sodat dit lyk is haar skuld.
           If the two of you argue then you are the person who argued there. If she tells Mr Strauss that you have argued, then she is the one not involved in the argument, but she is your friend and she tells Mr Strauss so that it appears she is guilty.
           Does that make sense? Huh? Does that make sense?

Switching to Afrikaans in this passage of speech serves to clarify, as the teacher relies on the learners' knowledge of their L1 to clear up the difficulty experienced in the target language.

Example 16

While discussing ideas relating to the topic "Digital communication is better than talking face-to-face", the following speech interaction took place in one group. The switch to Afrikaans serves to elaborate and expand understanding.

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AV: Certain technologies that are used in factories will eliminate the use of humans to… to do certain work and that would lead to unemployment, **soos hongerte en**

like hunger and

dood en begrafnis

death and funeral…

ED: **Ja**

Yes

AV: **So ek weet nie hoe om dit in 'n sin te sit nie.**

So I don't know how to put it in 'n sentence

ED: Modern technology can lead to the reduction of job opportunities for people or humans…

In this speech activity, AV switches to Afrikaans to expand on the idea of unemployment caused by certain technologies. She uses Afrikaans examples which prompted the next speaker, ED, to respond creatively.

Example 17

In many cases participants code-switch among themselves to mark an in-group activity as the languages in use are understood by everyone. Code-switching occurs as a natural way of speaking in conversations where English is the target language, but the switches to Afrikaans enhance the social cohesion within the group and contribute to the code-switching function of establishing group identity:

Mr LM: Look, if you have the prop-team starting, from there it's prop-opp, prop-opp. Right?

Dan was daar nog iets

Then there was something else

Los eers die POI's.   **Ek wil hê die ding moet** flow**.**

First, leave the point of information. I want   the thing must

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CI: So South Africa is a rainbow nation. Why do we…**Daai sin is nie voltooi nie,** RO

                 That sentence is not completed

RO: **En?**

     And?

AV: So why do we have to conform to just our race and religion?

RO: Google **gou. By my download nou 'n boek**.

      quickly. With me download now a book.

When Mr LM switches to Afrikaans with the statement "Los eers die POI's, ek wil hê die ding moet vloei", he uses terminology which is relevant to the process of debating and therefore understood by the members of the debating team. The term "POI" (point of information) is a common term used in debating competitions and which contributes to the establishment of group identity. It is obvious that this particular switch to Afrikaans, which contains the English acronym, is not used by the teacher to enhance understanding or assist in explaining; the function of the switch is rather to confirm group identity.

Example 18

The following speech exchange was observed in the group while discussing the motion "This house believes that orphaned children should be placed with foster parents of the same race". One of the girls, CI, experienced difficulty in finding an appropriate way to complete her sentence in the target language. She then switches to Afrikaans to express her dismay at the moment of word-finding difficulty:

RO: The children's minister said that race should be no barrier to find a child an adoptive family.

RL: **Ek het 'n moeilike dag op my skouers.**

     I have a difficult day on my shouders.

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CI: **Ek weet nie. Ons kan se daar kan nie…**
        I don't know. We can say there can be no
        daar kan nie gewag word…Ek is nie seker nie, my woorde man.
        there can be no waiting…   I am not sure   my words man.
        Julle moet my help.
        You must   me help

R.O: We can't wait for a family of the same ethnic group as a particular orphan because more than twenty per cent of all orphans or children in foster care never find a family.

CI's switch to Afrikaans called upon the assistance from RO, who seemed to have cleared up the confusion. As this switch to Afrikaans was understood by everyone in the group, it alleviated the challenge brought about by bi/multilingual communication.

While examples 8 – 11 above discuss unmarked code-switching, the next three examples focus on marked code-switching, which was observed during the debating sessions. Marked code-switching according to Myers-Scotton (1993:13), refers to code-switching in order to establish a new RO set as unmarked for the current exchange, and which usually occurs only in relative formal conversational interactions.

Example 19

In the following speech exchange, one of the groups is discussing the advantages of euthanasia in preparation for proposing the topic "The South African Health Profession should allow euthanasia for terminally-ill patients". RO advices ED on how to approach the argument as the first speaker in the team:

RO: You give the definition, you say: euthanasia is the killing of a person who is ill, who is very ill and who is going to die. We want to stop the dying, stop him from suffering. And then you look up **en kyk hulle in die oë.**
                          and look them in the eyes

ED: **Wag, wag, hierdie woord is "opsetlik".** Their view is "**opsetlik**".
        Wait, wait, this word is deliberately.   deliberate

RO: Deliberately!

        (laughing)

ED: Ag, shut up. You just want to be clever.

The translation of the single word "opsetlik" clarifies the difficulty in constructing an effective definition. The function of code-switching in this case is to clarify meaning.

Example 20

In the following communication setting, RO is leading the discussions on the topic which relates to the implications of euthanasia administered to terminally-ill patients. As group leader, she indicates to every speaker in her team what is expected from them. After responding to RL's question, she switches to Afrikaans to confirm that everybody has understood.

RO: It is the killing of a person…**kyk**, the person is lying in hospital, the person suffers and
                            see
        has a lot of pain, so euthanasia means that living person can be killed because it is
        hard…

RL: Who kills this person? Who is the killer?

RO: His family, his wife. **Is die mense wat staam leef met hom**. If it is a man, his wife is
                        Is the people who together live with him
        the one who says he must die. **Verstaan jy? Sien julle dit ook so?**
                            understand you? See you it also so

AV**:   Ja, maar** killing **klink soos** murder.
        yes, but   sounds like

RO: No, it's not…

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The switches to Afrikaans in RO's questions "Verstaan julle? Sien julle dit ook so?" is to establish if the others understood her explanation and if they agreed. The switches fulfil the function of seeking confirmation from the rest the group members.

Example 21

Still on the topic of euthanasia, RO addresses her group her group in English, but switches to Afrikaans to add humour to the explanation.

RO: Humanly searched a new level of low…How do we reach a level where we kill our own guy, simply because of suffering. It suffer emotional stress, but I can't kill myself. I can't ask my mom, **Mammie, sit af die masjien**…(laughter)

<div align="center">Mommy, put off the machine…</div>

RO: You can use a joke in your speech…

This address by RO takes place in a formal discussion session as she elaborates on the suffering terminally-ill people and her switch to Afrikaans does not have a social interaction. The code-switching example here is classified as marked code-switching.

5.4.2 The use and functions of translanguaging outside the classroom

The examples of translanguaging captured in the following transcribed recordings, reveal that during the translanguaging process, the use of the home language serves a number functions, according to Swain and Lapkin (2000, cited by Garcia and Wei 2014:81). These functions are discussed in relation to the examples of translanguaging identified from the transcribed recordings.

Example 22

In an effort to create a joint understanding of his explanation, the debating trainer switched to the home language (Afrikaans) to make his point clear. In this exchange, he tries to explain the order of the speaking turns of the proposition team:

Mr LM: Look if you have…. you are the proposition, so proposition starts, then opposition, proposition, opposition, proposition and then opposition… the third one… **eers die** opposition …**dan die** proposition, **verstaan jy my?**
                        first the   *then the*   *understand you me*
                   right, so the third speaker summarizes…

The switch to Afrikaans clarifies the explanation, after which the debating trainer seeks confirmation with the Afrikaans question, *verstaan jy my*? and a joint understanding is reached.

Example 23

RO: Google **gou.   By my** download **nou 'n boek**.
               quickly. With me   now a book

AV: **Ek het 'n moeilike dag op my** ……
          I had a difficult day on my…

CI: **Ek weet. Ons kan sê daar kan nie gewag word nie.** We can't wait for an… uh… to
           I know.   We can say there cannot   waited be   not.
          find a… **Ek is nou nie seker nie, my woorde man**. **Julle moet my help**.
              I   am now not sure not, my words   man.   You must me help

RO: We can't wait for a family from the same ethnic group, because more than… (inaudible)... **bevolkingsgroepe man**...
                     population groups man

CI: **Daar's hy,** ethnic family… There's an urgent need for foster parents in South Africa…
          There's he

The group discusses the placing of a black orphan into a white family when CI experiences a challenge with completing her sentence in English. Her plea is expressed in Afrikaans *my woorde man Julle moet my help*. RO's response *a family from the same ethnic group... bevolkingsgroep*, solves CI's problem of finding a suitable English term to continue her argument. The change to Afrikaans *bevolkingsgroepe* is relevant to translanguaging, allowing

for learners to focus on vocabulary and grammatical items, one of the functions of translanguaging, as identified by Swain and Lapkin (2000, cited by Garcia and Wei 2014:81).

Example 24

The use of the home language during translanguaging activities also fulfils the function of enhancing interpersonal interaction, according to Swain and Lapkin (2000) as quoted by Garcia and Wei (2014:81). The following exchange is reflective of the increased levels of excitement just before the start of a formal debate, and the switch to Afrikaans confirms the more interpersonal contact among group members:

CI: Uhmm… South Africa is a rainbow nation, so, uh, how can we…

AV: Why should we propose that foster children be put in families with a similar background… culture as them?

RO: And why do we have to conform to just our race and religion?

CI: So we can mix…

AV*:*   **Is nie lekker om so te voel nie. Jy wil iets sê**
         Is not nice   to so to feel not.   You will something say

CI: **Dan kom die woorde nie**
         Then come the words not

AV**:**   **Dan kan jy nie**
         Then can you not…

CI: **As ek ongemaklik is met mense dan kan ek nie praat nie**
         If   I   uncomfortable am with people then can I not talk not

AV: Come help us, RO

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CI: **Groot** crowds freak **my uit.**
          Big   me out

The switches to Afrikaans in the extract above is indicative of CI's emotional state and she feels comfortable expressing these feelings in her home language since AV understands and supports her, thereby creating a strong interpersonal bond.

Example 25

The following conversation took place between CI and RO while the other group members listened attentively. The function of translanguaging in this case plays a role in the home language being useful in defining difficulties in the vocabulary of the target language. The group is discussing the placing of foster children with families of their own race when AV experiences challenges with the English terms "physical" and "psychological":

CI: **Hoor gou hierso julle**…. RO **luister gou**….
          Hear quickly here you (all) …listen quickly

RO: Second speaker

CI: In South Africa thousands of children… There's an urgent need for children to
          belong… and a stable home… a family. These children have been removed from
          their families due to physical and psychological abuse, as well as neglect. They
          have an urgent need for becoming part of a family where… they can be loved

RO: CO **lat sy gou daai hele ding afskryf**
            let her quickly that whole thing write-down

AV: **Sê   weer van** physical **en** psycho**… wat**?
          Say again of   and   what

RO: **Dit gaan oor liggaamlike en** mental... **sien jy… emosionele probleme wat**
            It goes about physical   and   see you   emotional problems   what

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kinders verhoed om hul volle potensiaal te gebruik… sien... emotional

children prevent   to   their full potential   to use   see

problems

AV: **Maar is** like an idea**, om te wag**…to wait for people with a certain background

but is   to   wait

Mr LM: Time guys

When RO switches to the home language, she defines and explains "psychological", which results in the joint understanding being reached. Since the explanation is in Afrikaans, AV is able to alleviate the difficulty of the facts being presented in English through the intervention of RO.

The findings from both parts of this study as outlined in this chapter, will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1   Summary of the findings

This study aimed at providing evidence of high school learners' bi/multilingual practices while in the classroom on the one hand, and while engaging in extra-mural activities after school. Their communications are viewed against the backdrop of the dominance of Afrikaans as discourse linguistic agent in the communities of Upington, with particular reference to the two identified high schools. In this research project, the selection of participants is representative of the vibrant youth – the more mobile and innovative members of society – the speakers would exhaust all possible linguistic resources when expressing themselves. The language practices of these learners were approached from a holistic angle, taking into account that high school learners spend at least six hours a day at school, and many more, like the participants from Carlton –van Heerden High School, who commit to various learning-orientated activities after school. This study, therefore, has covered an extensive period of the participants' day- to-day linguistic engagements, and can thus be useful in constructing a linguistic profile of the learners involved in the study.

The participants from Pabalello High School only used English and Afrikaans as linguistic resources when investigated, except for a few utterances from African languages, as was indicated. From the findings of the learner questionnaire, only one learner indicated the use of isiXhosa at home since his grandmother is a Xhosa L1-speaker. Except for Afrikaans and English, none of the participants offer another language as a subject in their curriculum. Though not captured within the transcribed recordings, some boys in the class were heard using instances of Kasi-taal (cf. Makalela 2013) like, "hey ta, my broer"; "sharp my bra" (greetings when meeting and separating respectively), but these were not enough to be of any significance. It would be fair, therefore, to refer to the learners' communication as bilingual rather than multilingual practices.

During the investigation at Pabalello High School, both the teacher and learners employed code-switching and translanguaging strategies to get the message across. The examples that had been transcribed and included in chapter 5, together with the communication interactions

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with other learners in class, confirm that learners very often refer to Afrikaans to provide solutions to the problems they encounter during the English lessons. In the examples of code-switching in chapter 5(5.3), both the teacher and learners switched between Afrikaans, English and Tswana (only once) to explain and simplify, to confirm understanding, to expand, and to ask for clarity. These examples adhere to code-switching as an unmarked choice, as stated by Myers-Scotton's Markedess Model (1993: 114). The last two examples are evidence of sequential unmarked code-switching, identified by Myers-Scotton (1993:114) and have been used because there was a change in speaker composition and also because of the teacher's rebuke when some learners got unruly. Translanguaging as a linguistic resource had been recurring in learners' communication, and served the functions of explaining and emphasizing, clarification and reinforcement. The switches involving Afrikaans particularly assisted in the explanations and clarifications and difficulties were cleared up. The functions of task management and task clarification, which had been alluded to by Storch and Wiggleworth (2003), as cited by Garcia and Wei (2014:81),as well as the functions of demonstration of knowledge and the mediation and co-construction of meaning were some translanguaging functions which had been observed during the investigations at Pabalello High School and, in the opinion of the researcher, strategies which provide solutions to the challenges they experience in the English class.

Very similar results regarding the participants' linguistic choices emerged from the findings of the investigations at Carlton-van-Heerden High School. The questionnaire data as well as the transcribed recordings confirm participants' use of only Afrikaans and English during discussions prior to the formal debating sessions. It is the opinion of the researcher that participants act more spontaneously when they engage in learning activities outside school hours, as was evident in their bilingual discussions where they switched between Afrikaans and English comfortably – a comfort that disappears when the learner operates within a monolingual (English) class.

The code-switching examples reflected both marked and unmarked code-switching, which was referred to in chapter 2. The code-switching functions are very similar to the functions of code-switching observed in the English class of Mr AM, except for the one dealing with social cohesion, which was only observed during the debating sessions. In this case, the in-group activity focused around the technical aspects of debating, as the term "POI" is commonly used in debating circles. During the debating sessions, ample examples of translanguaging surfaced

as the general conversations shifted between Afrikaans and English to create meaning and foster understanding, and these functions were identified as creating a joint understanding (when the teacher switched to Afrikaans to deepen learners' comprehension), a strategy used at word-finding difficulty, and enhancing personal contact.

The communication strategies used by the participants at both schools are very similar and indicate their use of the two linguistic strategies which alleviate the challenges of bi/multilingual communication. When restating the research question, this research project provides a response which explains and clarifies the linguistic tools used by the participants, expands on the method employed by the researcher to acquire the data, and the analysis drawn from the investigations at both research sites.

6.2   <u>Implications of the study for education in South Africa</u>

The results of this present study display the evidence of bilingual linguistic practices at both research sites. The participants are aware of their strengths regarding their home language and, when expected to use their second language, they draw on their resources from the L1 to find solutions. Furthermore, this study highlights the positive influence of translanguaging: by practically implementing all the linguistic resources at one's disposal, one can produce an effective act of communication which can be meaningful and comprehensible.

This study aims to contribute towards a radical change in language teaching, to the extent that a multilingual approach to language learning and teaching should be adopted: such an approach should adhere to the following requirements:

- That all official languages of South Africa be granted the opportunity to develop into academic languages
- That multilingualism be developed into a resource which would enable individuals to obtain jobs, acquire academic qualifications and social prestige
- That the study of languages must foster the knowledge of multilingualism
- That every South African be able to communicate in at least three languages

6.3   Limitations of the study

The very limited research on language use in the Upington area severely hampered the fact finding processes related to this study. For a town with such a rich linguistic history, too few linguistic research projects had been undertaken to justify all the available resources.
 Retrieving consent forms from minor learners' parents proved to be a time consuming process, as was retrieving the completed questionnaires from two participants. These learners went absent prior to the researcher visiting the school for the collection of these questionnaires.

6.4   Recommendations for further research

The process of translanguaging proves beneficial in communication where two or more languages are used. Some translanguaging research projects relating to education , particularly at university level, brought a fresh approach to bilingual and multilingual research relating to learning and teaching, but such research is conspicuously absent at school level. Further research focusing on translanguaging activities among bi/multilingual high school learners, at primary or secondary level, would be an advantage to the education system in South Africa in general, but particularly to the language teachers and learners.

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Appendix A

<u>PARTICIPANT QUESTIONNAIRE</u>

<u>INVESTIGATING BI/ MULTILINGUAL PRACTICES AT TWO</u>

<u>RURAL HIGH SCHOOLS IN UPINGTON</u>

Please answer the following questions honestly and completely as it will assist in the success of the study undertaken

Where have you lived for most of your life?

CITY:……………………………PROVINCE……………………………

<u>MY HOME</u>

a) How many people live at home with you?

....

b) How many children in in your family/living at home with you go to school?

....

c) How many people living at home with you/in your family have a job?

....

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MY LANGUAGES

1. Which language(s) do you regard as your first language?

....

2. Which language(s) do you use at home?

....

3. Is this/are these language(s) used by everyone at home?   YES   NO

If your answer is No, please indicate which other language(s) is/are used at home.

....

4. What language(s) do/did you use when speaking to your parents/caregivers?

....

5. Is your first language different from the language that your parents/caregivers use?

YES   NO

If your answer is Yes, please supply reasons for why you use a different first language:

....
………………………………………………………………………………………………..

6. What is the main language used at your school by your teachers?

....

7. Which language would you prefer your teachers to use at school?

....

8. Which language(s) do you use when you talk to your friends/fellow-learners at school?

....

9. Which language(s) do you use when communicating with people in your neighbourhood?

....

10. Name the language(s) you are able to use

………
………
………
………

11. Are you able to use more than one language at different times?

YES   NO

12. Are you able to use more than one language at the same time?

YES   NO

Please list the languages that you are able to speak, read, and understand.

Indicate how good you believe you are in each of the languages you list. Your spontaneous and honest response is important for the success of the study. You are required to indicate your degree of proficiency/skill/expertise/ability by crossing the appropriate block.

How to rate the blocks:

For example, if you could say:

Block 1 : Excellent : I have no problems with this language and would not hesitate to enroll in a class where this is the language of teaching

Block 2 : Good : I have some skill in this language and could cope in a classroom where this is the language of teaching

Block 3 : Average : I am not very good in this language and am not sure if I could do all my studying if this were the language of teaching

Block 4 : Fair : I know some of the language but would need to do a lot of extra work to keep up with a class where this is the language of teaching

Block 5 : Poor : I would never consider attending a class where this is the language of teaching because I are not good enough in the language

B.   **Languages I am able to speak:**

		Mark only one block with a cross				
B1	Afrikaans	1	2	3	4	5
B2	English	1	2	3	4	5
B3	Xitsonga	1	2	3	4	5
B4	isiZulu	1	2	3	4	5
B5	siSwati	1	2	3	4	5
B6	isiXhosa	1	2	3	4	5
B7	Setswana	1	2	3	4	5
B8	Tshivenda	1	2	3	4	5
B9	Sesotho	1	2	3	4	5
B10	isiNdebele	1	2	3	4	5
B11	Sepedi	1	2	3	4	5
B12	Other : List any other language:	1	2	3	4	5
		1	2	3	4	5

C.   Languages I am able to read:

		Mark only one block with a cross				
C1	Afrikaans	1	2	3	4	5
C2	English	1	2	3	4	5
C3	Xitsonga	1	2	3	4	5
C4	isiZulu	1	2	3	4	5
C5	siSwati	1	2	3	4	5
C6	isiXhosa	1	2	3	4	5
C7	Setswana	1	2	3	4	5
C8	Tshivenda	1	2	3	4	5
C9	Sesotho	1	2	3	4	5
C10	isiNdebele	1	2	3	4	5
C11	Sepedi	1	2	3	4	5
C12	Other : List any other language:	1	2	3	4	5
		1	2	3	4	5

D.   Languages I am able to write:

		Mark only one block with a cross				
D1	Afrikaans	1	2	3	4	5
D2	English	1	2	3	4	5
D3	Xitsonga	1	2	3	4	5
D4	isiZulu	1	2	3	4	5
D5	siSwati	1	2	3	4	5
D6	isiXhosa	1	2	3	4	5
D7	Setswana	1	2	3	4	5
D8	Tshivenda	1	2	3	4	5
D9	Sesotho	1	2	3	4	5
D10	isiNdebele	1	2	3	4	5
D11	Sepedi	1	2	3	4	5
D12	Other : List any other language:	1	2	3	4	5
		1	2	3	4	5

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E.   Languages I use regularly on social occasions

		Mark only one block with a cross				
E1	Afrikaans	1	2	3	4	5
E2	English	1	2	3	4	5
E3	Xitsonga	1	2	3	4	5
E4	isiZulu	1	2	3	4	5
E5	siSwati	1	2	3	4	5
E6	isiXhosa	1	2	3	4	5
E7	Setswana	1	2	3	4	5
E8	Tshivenda	1	2	3	4	5
E9	Sesotho	1	2	3	4	5
E10	isiNdebele	1	2	3	4	5
E11	Sepedi	1	2	3	4	5
E12	Other : List any other language:	1	2	3	4	5
		1	2	3	4	5

F.   Languages I speak at home and with family members:

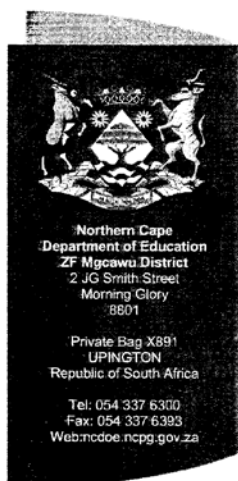|		Mark only one block with a cross				
F1	Afrikaans	1	2	3	4	5
F2	English	1	2	3	4	5
F3	Xitsonga	1	2	3	4	5
F4	isiZulu	1	2	3	4	5
F5	siSwati	1	2	3	4	5
F6	isiXhosa	1	2	3	4	5
F7	Setswana	1	2	3	4	5
F8	Tshivenda	1	2	3	4	5
F9	Sesotho	1	2	3	4	5
F10	isiNdebele	1	2	3	4	5
F11	Sepedi	1	2	3	4	5
F12	Other : List any other language:	1	2	3	4	5
		1	2	3	4	5

Appendix B

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW WITH THE TEACHERS INVOVED IN THE INVESTIGATIONS

1.   In which language do you feel most comfortable expressing yourself clearly to learners?

2.   How do you rate your learners' English proficiency?

3.   Do you think it is necessary for the learners to be taught in English rather than their mother tongue (Afrikaans)?

4.   What do you think are the benefits of English as language of learning and teaching (LOLT)?

5.   How are the learners coping with English as language of learning and teaching (LOLT)

6.   What are the challenges you meet in using English as LOLT?

7.   How do you overcome these challenges?

8.   Do you think using English as LOLT has an influence on the learners' academic performance?

9.   Do you use more than one language during lessons?

10.   What is the result of using more than one language during one session?

Appendix C

Northern Cape
Department of Education
ZF Mgcawu District
2 JG Smith Street
Morning Glory
8801

Private Bag X891
UPINGTON
Republic of South Africa

Tel: 054 337 6300
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DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

Enquiries/ Navrae:	Mr. G BERENDS
Tel/Cell/Sel:	054 337 6300
Date/ Datum:	04 AUGUST 2015

To whom it may concern

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH : MR. S STRAUSS

Permission is hereby granted to Mr. S Strauss to conduct research at Pabalello High School on a project entitled Code-switching and translanguaging inside and outside the classroom : bi-/multilingual practices of high school learners in a rural Afrikaans-setting.

Trust that you will find it in order .

Kind Regards

G .Berends
District Director

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**CARLTON - VAN HEERDEN
HIGH SCHOOL
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UPINGTON
8800**
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Fax: 054 - 339 0900
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carltonvanheerdenhs@telkomsa.net

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Sir/Madam

RE: REQUEST FOR PERMISSION FOR RESEARCH: MR S.G. STRAUSS

The above matter refers.

I, Mr A.A. Pretorius, in my capacity as Principal at Carlton- Van Heerden High School hereby acknowledges the importance of Mr Strauss research and extends our permission for him to carry out the research at our school.

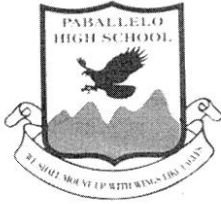We hope that you will find it helpful to your studies and also benefit our learners.

Wishing you all the best in your studies.

Thank you.

...................................(mr A.A. Pretorius)
PRINCIPAL

NOORD-KAAP PROVINSIE
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80

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Telephone No.054-3322121
Fax No.   054-3322765
E-MAIL: paballelohs@gmail.com

17 August 2015

Dear Sir/Madam

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: REQUEST FOR PERMISSION FOR RESEARCH

The above matter refers.

I, Z.M. Gudula, in my capacity as Acting Principal of Paballelo High School hereby give permission to Mr. Stuart Strauss to conduct his research at Paballelo High School.

We hope that you will find it helpful to your studies and also benefit our learners.

Wishing you all the best in your studies.

Thank you.
Z.M. Gudula (Acting Principal)

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Appendix D

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| CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH |

<u>TITLE:</u>   <u>CODE - SWITCHING AND TRANSLANGUAGING</u>
<u>INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE CLASSROOM: Bi AND MULTILINGUAL PRACTICES OF HIGH</u>
<u>SCHOOL LEARNERS IN A RURAL AFRIKAANS – SETTING</u>

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Stuart Strauss (BA. H.D.E; M. Phil) from the Department of General Linguistics at Stellenbosch University, The investigator is currently a Master's degree student and the result of the study will contribute to finalizing his thesis. You were selected as a possible participant in this study as you are a high school learner who is capable of using more than one language in a communication setting.

1. **PURPOSE OF THE STUDY**
   The purpose of the study is to investigate the use of different languages within the communication set-up of high school learners in a rural Afrikaans setting.

2. **PROCEDURES**

i) <u>Debating Sessions</u>
   The speeches of learners who take part in debating will be investigated by the researcher. During the debating session, the researcher will record the relevant discussions for further investigation.

ii)   **Lessons**

   The researcher will record learner discussions during lessons. These recordings will be transcribed for further analysis.

3. **POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS**
   No risks, discomforts or inconveniences are foreseen when participants engage in the activities of this study.

4. **POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS / SOCIETY**

The aim of this study is to reveal the multilingual speech patterns of high school learners in the Afrikaans setting of Upington. This study may broaden the perspective of Upington as a monolingual community.

5. **PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION**

No payments will be made to anybody involved in the study.

6. **CONFIDENTIALITY**

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with the participant, will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with the permission of the participant,

The audio taped conversation will be available for scrutinizing by the participant and will be erased when the study had been concluded.

7. **PARTICIPANTION AND WITHDRAWAL**

Any person volunteering to take part in the study can withdraw at any time without any consequences.

8. **IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATOR**

If you have any questions or concerns, please feel free to contact the investigator:

Stuart Strauss
13 Kanonkop Street
Rosedale
Upington
Cell: 0724071975
Email: Strauss.stuart33@gmail.com

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY
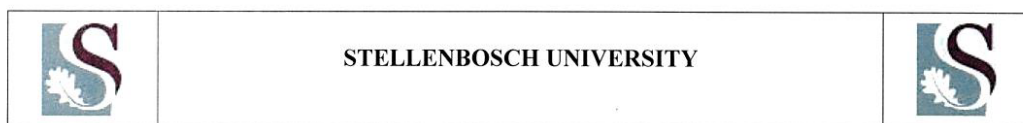
PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM: MINOR

RESEARCHER'S NAME: S.G.STRAUSS

What is RESEARCH?

Research is something we do to find new knowledge about the way things (and people) work. We use research projects or studies to help us find out more about topics to understand them better and to find possible solutions.

You are kindly invited to help with such research by allowing me to observe you and your teacher in classroom activities and by asking you to fill in a questionnaire.

Are you willing to take part in this research project?

| YES | NO |

_____   _____
Signature of Child   Date

_____   _____
Signature of Parent/Guardian   Date
(where applicable)