The linguistic identities of multilingual adolescents involved in educational enrichment programmes in Johannesburg.

Anthea J. Bristowe

Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
Master of Second Language Studies at the University of Stellenbosch

Supervisor: Dr Marcelyn Oostendorp
Co-supervisor: Prof Christine Anthonissen
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
Department of General Linguistics

December 2013

Declaration

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Anthea Bristowe

December 2013

i

Abstract

This thesis focuses on a community of multilingual adolescents who are high performers in mathematics and science, and whose primary language of teaching and learning is English. The participants who form part of the study all attend selected educational enrichment programmes in the greater Johannesburg area. The thesis is particularly interested in how students' language repertoires feature in their learning and in how their language repertoires contribute to their identity construction. This research is informed by literature which views identity not only as complex, contradictory, multivoiced and multifaceted, but also as dynamic and subject to constant renegotiation across space and time. In seeking answers to specific questions about the linguistic identities of the teenage participants in this study, this study will establish what the full linguistic repertoire of each participant is, and whether or not participants identify themselves by means of language. While there have been a number of very authoritative studies of language repertoires, many of these have focused on indigenous minorities, migrants or refugees who need to improve their life chances in a context where their L1 is not dominant. Although this study does include a number of participants originally from outside of South Africa, the majority of the participants are South Africans whose first languages are official languages. This study uses a multimodal approach in data collection and analysis in an attempt to investigate the multi-semiotic nature of the linguistic identities of the participants. Following the work of Busch (2010), I argue, that multilingualism can no longer be seen as an abstract competency, and that 'language crossing', the appropriation of elements across boundaries, becomes a competency in its own right. These competencies can thus be used as a way of constructing a speaker's linguistic identity. Finally, the thesis makes a recommendation that more multimodal studies should be conducted in order to investigate the 'performativity' of 'identity construction'.

Opsomming

Hierdie tesis fokus op 'n gemeenskap van veeltalige adolessente wie toppresteerders is in wiskunde en wetenskap en vir wie Engels die primêre taal van leer en onderrig is. Die deelnemers aan die studie woon almal geselekteerde opvoedkundige verrykingsprogramme by in die groter Johannesburg area. Die tesis is spesifiek geïnteresseerd in hoe studente hul 'taal repertoires' gebruik wanneer hulle leer en hoe dit moontlik bydra tot die konstruering van hul identiteite. Die studie gebruik as uitgangspunt literatuur wat 'identiteit' as kompleks, teenstellend, veelstemmig en dinamies beskou. Verder word 'identiteit' ook beskou as onderworpe aan konstante heronderhandeling in elke spesifieke situasie en konteks. Die studie probeer vasstel wat die volle 'taalrepertoire' van elke deelnemer is en of die deelnemers hulself d.m.v. taal identifiseer. Hoewel daar verskeie belangrike studies oor taal repertoires bestaan fokus baie van hierdie studies op inheemse minderhede, migrante of vlugtelinge wie hul lewenskanse moet verbeter in 'n konteks waarin hulle eerstetaal (T1) nie dominant is nie. Alhoewel hierdie studie 'n aantal deelnemers insluit wat oorspronklik van buite Suid-Afrika afkomstig is, is die meerderheid van die deelnemers aan die studie Suid-Afrikaners wie se eerstetale, amptelike tale is. Die studie gebruik 'n multimodale manier van data insameling en analise in 'n poging om die multisemiotiese aspekte van die 'taalidentiteite' van die deelnemers te ondersoek. In ooreenstemming met Busch (2010) stel ek voor dat veeltaligheid nie langer gesien kan word as 'n abstrakte vermoë nie maar dat ander praktyke soos 'taal oorkruissing', die gebruik van elemente oor taalgrense, 'n vaardigheid in eie reg is. Hierdie soorte vaardighede kan dus ook gebruik word om die 'taalidentiteit' van 'n spreker te konstrueer. Laastens word die aanbeveling gemaak dat meer multimodale studies gebruik moet word om die 'performatiwiteit' (*performativity*) van identiteitskonstruksie te ondersoek.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1   Background to the study: The multilingual transforming context of South Africa

The South African educational context is shaped by a number of historical factors which, of course, include 40 years of an apartheid government. Black South Africans, living under apartheid as the oppressed majority, endured inferior education in a system which did not recognise the value of the African languages and so did not give their speakers what Bourdieu (1991) refers to as "cultural and linguistic capital". In cases where the first language (L1) was used in education during the apartheid era for African-language speakers, it was mostly used specifically to oppress the majority. Racially-segregated education became official policy with the Education Act of 1907 and while education was to be free and compulsory for whites, it would be neither for black South Africans. From 1907 onwards, education for the black majority followed a steady downward trajectory; the children of these communities were not only afforded limited schooling opportunities, but there was also no state-supported programme in which to enrol all young children and provide widespread literacy development. These indifferent practices culminated in the Bantu Education Act of 1953 which declared "education must train people in accordance with their opportunities in life". Since an array of other acts had successfully deprived black people of virtually all opportunities to participate in public life, Bantu Education was seen for what it was by those directly affected, namely as systematic state-directed oppression of the black population.

Most protests against "black education" were ruthlessly put down over a longer period of time, but on 16 June 1976 came the tipping point: Soweto erupted. The spark that lit the proverbial fire was anger at having to use Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools. However, there were other long-standing grievances as well, not least of which was the lack of educational facilities for black people and the lack of trained teachers at schools. The struggle intensified and the 1980s saw a wave of school boycotts across the country.

The apartheid government responded to the disruption of education in black communities by appointing the De Lange Commission to investigate all aspects of the school system. The commission called for equal education and introduced a number of changes, but the system was still seen by many as simply a modernisation of apartheid education. In 1990,

1

government introduced three class models (A, B and C) in terms of which white schools could admit black students, eventually giving rise to so-called "Model C" schools. Further attempts at educational reform were made, but on 11 February 1990, Nelson Mandela was released after serving 27 years in prison.

Since 1994, when the first democratic government was elected, South Africa has had 11 official languages, although the constitutional provisions to implement the official language policy are somewhat lacking. Webb (2002 cited in Mesthrie 2006) describes the government documentation as a mission statement rather than a policy. At one time in the lead-up to democracy, the ANC leadership seemed to favour English as the sole official language. However, Afrikaans was also to be considered and many educators and sociolinguists favoured linguistic pluralism (Mesthrie 2006: 152). In order to empower the majority of South Africans, their languages had to be empowered too, and so, at the eleventh hour, a compromise was agreed upon: all nine African languages and English and Afrikaans, would be South Africa's official languages. According to the 2011 census, black people constitute 79.2% of the South African population (http://www.statssa.gov.za/Census2011/Products/Census_2011_Methodology_and_Highlight s_of_key_results.pdf). Linguistically, isiZulu has the most L1 speakers with just over 11.5 million, while the number of South Africans who speak English as an L1 increased by more than a million, from 3.7 million in 2001, to about 4.9 million in the 2011 census (http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/sa-s-population-at-51-8-million-census-1.1414326).

Although English is clearly not dominant in terms of number of L1 speakers, it is the dominant language in the South African educational context. Due to the legacy of Bantu Education and the negative associations with Afrikaans, English is now the preferred language of education for many African-language L1 speakers.

In 1994, the ANC inherited an economy that was isolated, inefficient and most probably bankrupt (Allais 2007). What it needed was an education policy that would reduce social inequality and play a role in overhauling the economy. The miracle transition needed a miracle education policy and the outcomes-based National Qualifications Framework (NQF) seemed to be that policy (Allais 2007: 528). Education would be relevant to the needs of the economy, and outcomes-based qualifications were seen as a solution to the educational and economic problems left in the wake of apartheid (Allais 2007: 528). In the early years, the NQF had broad political support from both business and trade unions, and was intended to "completely transform the disparate education and training system" (SAQA 2005 cited in

Allais 2007). In spite of the support and the high hopes, it was a dismal failure (Allais 2007: 253). The current situation in South African education could be described as inefficient and unequal. This is the product of three factors: first, apartheid which cultivated inequality in all spheres of society; second, neoliberal economic thinking which equates education with merely acquiring knowledge and skills that will enable students to be economically productive (Kostogriz & Doecke 2008: 268); and finally, inefficiency and corruption in the present government which has undermined education delivery, especially in rural and poor areas. Given the extremely vulnerable state of education, there are a number of academic enrichment programmes, funded by the corporate sector or private donors, which are intended to buttress the work of government. High achievers at state schools are identified, tested and admitted to enrichment programmes that mostly focus on maths, science and English in addition to their normal school work. In other cases, high-achieving black scholars are awarded scholarships to independent schools.

This study focuses on a community of adolescents who are participants in two such donor-funded enrichment programmes in Johannesburg. To gain entry into these programmes, participants are subjected to a rigorous selection process and are chosen on academic merit, specifically in mathematics and science. The medium of instruction is English and all students have to attend English-language classes. First languages among the students include SeTswana, Xitsonga, Sesotho, Tshivenda, isiXhosa, isiZulu, French, Swahili, Amharic, Arabic and Malagasy. Not only are the communities of learners attending these programmes multilingual (in the sense that many different L1s are represented), the majority of individuals are also themselves multilingual.

Some members of the community are from African countries other than South Africa and, as boarders at an educational institute in Johannesburg, are committed to a full-time two-year enrichment programme. This program aims to prepare them to sit the United Kingdom's (UK) Cambridge A-level exams, ultimately with the aim of getting undergraduate scholarships to universities in the United States (US). The other members of the community are Grade 10 day scholars from township and former Model-C schools attending a three-year enrichment programme on Saturday mornings and in school holidays. These participants are being prepared to attain the necessary matriculation grades needed for admission to top South African universities. This thesis is interested in the language choices of this multilingual community of learners and their linguistic identities.

3

1.2   Statement of the problem

In a community of multilingual adolescents who are high performers in mathematics and science, the language of instruction and learning is English. This study is interested in how students' full repertoires of languages feature in their learning and how, if at all, their language repertoires contribute to their identity construction. In seeking answers to specific questions, this study will establish what the full linguistic repertoire of each participant is, and whether or not they identify themselves by means of language.

Originally, the notion of 'linguistic repertoire' referred to "the totality of linguistic resources (i.e. including both invariant forms and variables) available to members of particular communities" (Gumperz 1986: 20-21). While there have been a number of very authoritative studies of language repertoires, many of these have focused on indigenous minorities, migrants or refugees who need to improve their life chances in a context where their L1 is not dominant. Such studies include Norton (1995, 2000) who conducted research on immigrant language learners in Canada; Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck's (2005) study of interactional regimes in global neighbourhoods involving migrant communities in Ghent and Brussels, and Busch's (2011a,b) study of heteroglossia and heterogeneity in a school in Vienna where 87% of the learners have a migrational background.

Although this study does include a number of "educational migrants" from outside of South Africa, the majority of the participants are members of the black majority in South Africa. In addition, the participants in this study represent an intellectual elite within the Johannesburg school community. They are confident, articulate young people with big dreams and ambitions for the future. With this in mind, the present study focuses on how the participants use language to position themselves and how the languages they use are shaping them.

1.3   Research questions

The present study attempts to answer the following research questions:

   a) What is the language profile of multilingual adolescents attending selected
      enrichment programmes in a South African urban area?

4

b) What kinds of language identities are projected by the language biographies of these adolescents?

c) What are the links between users' language profiles and their identities?

d) In what ways do they use the languages that make up their full repertoire?

e) Which of their range of languages do these multilingual students use when learning?

1.4   Theoretical framework

For the purposes of this thesis, a poststructuralist theoretical framework will be adopted, one that is informed by Bakhtin's (1981) view of society as a multivoiced, multidiscursive and heteroglossic construction, and by Bourdieu's (1991) ideas of habitus, capital and power. This research is informed by literature which views identity not only as complex, contradictory, multivoiced and multifaceted, but also as dynamic and subject to constant renegotiation across space and time (Norton 1997: 419). At the same time, identity is inextricably linked to language which is always dialogical as it is both "shaped by the context and at the same time shapes the context" (Van Lier 2002: 158).

Whereas early research equated language with a people, essentializing the link between groups of people and linguistic practice, poststructuralist thinking takes a far more nuanced approach, recognizing the multiplicity of ways in which language is linked to power relations and political arrangements in society (Blackledge & Pavlenko 2001: 249). While socio-psychological theory views identity as stable and immutable, poststructuralist theory interprets identity as multiple, dynamic and subject to change.

The effect of foregrounding identity in language and literacy education has resulted in a far more sophisticated understanding of language users, making it possible to locate them in historical, political and cultural contexts (McKinney and Norton 2008: 192). Many of these new approaches to language learning and second language acquisition are grounded in Bakhtin's theories of dialogism, heteroglossia and multivoicedness. Bakhtin (1981: 271-272) refers to the conflict between standard unified languages and a diversity of languages and styles in the following excerpt:

> The centripetal forces of the life of language, embodied in a "unitary language", operate in the midst of heteroglossia. At any given moment of its evolution, language is stratified not only into linguistic dialects in the strict sense of the word […] but also – and for us this is the essential point – into languages that are socio-ideological: languages of social groups, "professional" and "generic" languages, languages of generations and so forth […]

For Bakhtin, language is not a neutral medium that passes freely and easily into the private property of the speaker's intention; it is populated – overpopulated – with the intentions of others (Bakhtin 1981: 294). "Dialogism" refers to the constant interaction between meanings, all of which have the potential of conditioning others. "The word in language is half someone else's. It becomes one's own only when the speaker populates it with his own intentions, his own accent, when he appropriates the word […]" (Bakhtin 1981: 279). Dialogism is a theory of language that enables connections to be made between the voices of people in their everyday lives and their political, historical and ideological contexts. Identity becomes multivoiced, operating through a variety of voices and discourse and from this multivoicedness emerges knowledge and self (Busch 2010: 2).

Bakhtin and Bourdieu's influence on multilingualism can be seen in both the study of multilingualism and identity, and multilingualism and education. A short discussion on these topics will pre-empt the more detailed discussion in Chapter 2. The concept of 'multiple identities' is relevant in view of current global migration and mobility, and it is particularly significant in multilingual South Africa. Expanding global mobility has resulted in complex social formations and networking practices (Busch 2011(b)); linguistic practices are fluid and flexible, relating to different social spaces and moments in time in which speakers are able to draw on a range of voices, discourses and codes. In spite of all of this, speakers with complex linguistic repertoires are still confronted by schools and education systems that are firmly rooted in the monolingual habitus, or that enforce a unitary language policy aimed at homogenizing a linguistically diverse population (Gogolin 1994 cited in Busch 2011(a), Busch 2011(a): 1). This reliance on monolingual and unitary language policies is still occurring, despite the "communicative practices of transnational groups that interact using different languages and communicative codes simultaneously present in a range of communicative channels, both local and distant" (Jacquement 2005: 264-265), giving rise to "translocal repertoires" or "transidiomatic practices".

6

In Busch's (2011(b)) view, the situation calls for a pedagogy that recognizes diversity and valorises "translanguaging" as a legitimate means of expression. Garcia (2009: 377) describes translanguaging pedagogies as "an approach to bilingualism that is centred, not on the constructed notion of standard languages, but on the practices of bilinguals that are readily observable". In other words, as Busch (2011(a): 1) asserts, what is needed are learning situations where the "polyphony of voices" is treated both as a resource and an asset. Thus, current research in second language studies takes as its starting point the idea that language repertoires are part of a larger bundle of linguistic tools and strategies which can be modified or transformed according to the networks or social relationships in which the participants are currently engaged.

In reviewing the past 50 years of bi- or multilingual education, Busch (2011(b)) identifies two shifts in the way education is conceptualized. The first is linked to the growth of the anticolonial movement of the 1960s and characterized by a critique of linguistic hegemony and a corresponding demand for linguistic rights (Busch 2011(b): 543). The second shift in language research started in the 1990s. In keeping with trends in global mobility and transmigration, linguistic diversity is no longer seen as an irregularity in a monolinguistic pattern; rather, linguistic diversity can be regarded as an intrinsic part of linguistic normality (Busch 2011(b): 544). The "monolingual habitus" (Gogolin 1994 cited in Busch 2011(a)) is being challenged in both the field of linguistics and language education. Multilingualism can no longer be seen as an abstract competency, and "language crossing", the appropriation of elements across boundaries, becomes a competency in its own right and reflects the speaker's linguistic identity (Mossakowski & Busch 2008: 3). In this context, using language biographies is a way to promote metalinguistic reflection and empower linguistic diversity by talking about one's language experiences and their contexts of use (Mossakowski & Busch 2008: 3). This not only raises participants' awareness of their resources but empowers linguistic diversity and multilingualism. It also becomes a way of decoding individual and societal relations between language choice, language change and language identity.

As Kramsch (2006: 98) has noted, SLA research has focused far more on the processes of acquisition rather than the individuals doing the learning and their social behaviours. She points out that language is more than a code - it is a meaning-making system through which we construct ourselves (Kramsch 2006: 99). Furthermore, Rampton (2011) suggests that the

7

question of "style" must be considered because there is no reason to assume "style" and L2 are incompatible. Included in the definition of "style" are style-shifting, register and "stylisation" by which Rampton means distinctive forms of language associated by users with different types of persons, situations, relationships and behaviour (Rampton 2011: 3). If, as Eckert (2008) proposes, "every stylistic move is the result of an interpretation of the social world and of the meanings within it, as well as the positioning of the stylizer with respect to that world" (Eckert 2008: 456), then there is no principled reason for excluding L2 learners from research interested in style. Part of stylization can be located in the need to identify with another reality and others. Kristeva (1980, cited in Oliver 2002) named this need in language "desire" and identified it as the basic drive towards self-fulfilment. But it is not just a case of wanting to be someone else; it is also the search for a horizon larger than the self. Language is not only a means of communicating; it is also a way of finding personal significance through articulation and meaning (Kramsch 2009: 15). This is how, in the Bakhtinian sense, the subject comes into being - through interacting with others.

For many adolescents, learning a foreign language is a new mode of expression which enables them to escape the confines of their own grammar and culture (Kramsch 2006: 101). In the South African context, where this research is taking place, the participants speak between three and six languages apiece, most of which have not been acquired in academic settings but through family use and contact, which would confirm Kramsch's (2006: 101) view of the adolescent desire to find new and different places in the mind. Within the multilingual South African context, the significance of using a speaker-centred approach is two-fold. Firstly, as Busch (2010: 238) points out, it exposes the monolingualization that students are subject to in the learning environment, a process completely at odds with their everyday experience of language. Secondly, it foregrounds the learner perspective as well as highlighting the emotional components of literacy, language learning and aspirations (Busch 2010: 283). The approach makes it possible to explore the ways in which monolingual-orientated language ideologies and prescribed linguistic identities can fuel tension and conflict within a school community.

1.5   Methodology

1.5.1   General design of the study

This study uses a qualitative method of inquiry. Qualitative research focuses on analysing data on what people say and do, and refers to concepts, definitions, symbols and descriptions of things. It also generates non-numerical data and is more subjective than quantitative research which focuses on numerical data or information that is objective and statistically valid and can be converted into numbers. Qualitative research uses an inductive approach as opposed to a deductive approach. An inductive approach is driven by observation and while it does not prove a theory correct, it is able to offer a logical explanation of the data (Copi 1994: 43). A deductive approach, on the other hand, can provide proof of one's conclusions, provided that the premises are correct (Copi 1994: 42). An inductive approach implies that meaning will emerge from an analysis of the research content (Creswell 1994: 201).

In qualitative research, the chief data collection devices are observation, interviews, artefacts (e.g. records, documents etc.), oral histories, and specimen records (i.e. behaviour recorded through time) (Creswell 1994: 202). In line with the qualitative process, researchers do not impose their assumptions, limitations or definitions on the data that is collected through interviews, observations etc. because the researcher's role is to record what he or she observes and collects from the subjects in their environment (Creswell 1994: 201). The data is not independently and empirically countable or measurable. An analysis of qualitative data of the kind used in this study gives insight into the aspects of reality under scrutiny as they are seen by the subjects who are interviewed. Ideally, data from a qualitative study should reflect the "speckled diversity" of the participants (Richards 2005: 78). In order to achieve this, Richards (2005) recommends using several different strategies for collecting data, as relying on one technique is unlikely to provide enough sources of understanding and ways of looking at a situation (Richards 2005: 78). As a result, this study adopts a multimodal methodology involving biographic images, explanatory notes by the participants to accompany the images, and group interviews.

1.5.2   Participants

The participants in this study were recruited from two educational institutions in Johannesburg. The group includes 17-19 year-old students who are in their second year at a pan-African institute, the African Leadership Academy in Honeydew, Johannesburg. The rest of the participants are 15-16 year-olds who are enrolled in the Abaholi Leadership School, an after-school programme at the Sci-Bono Abaholi Leadership School in Johannesburg. They are Grade 10 students who attend a mix of former Model C and township schools in and around Johannesburg. They have all been selected for the programme on academic merit, specifically in maths and science.

1.5.3   Research instruments

The principal data collection devices used in this study include observation, interviews, specially-designed artefacts (namely questionnaires), drawings, recordings and the researcher's notes (Creswell 1995: 202). Participants completed a questionnaire designed to elicit metadata which includes personal information such as their names, age, school grade, home languages, etc. Then they were asked to colour-in a template, the outline of a human body, to visually represent a biographic image of their language repertoire and various linguistic dispositions. This was followed up by informal personal group interviews of 30-minutes to an hour with students from the sample. There was no pressure on participants from the earlier biographic profiling task to take part in the group interviews and, as a result, there were smallish groups of volunteers from this earlier exercise consisting of seven and five participants in the three separate interview sessions.

The aim of the interviews was not to produce an identical series of interviews based on a list of pre-determined questions as this is unlikely to provide sufficient ways of examining the nature of linguistic identity (Richards 2005: 78). The interviews follow Wengraf's (2001) narrative interview design which uses elicitation and provocation of story-telling to elicit narratives from the participants (Wengraf 2001: 111). The interviews started off with general questions about which languages from their repertoires the participants used the most. The questions were all general in nature, for example "Are there any languages you avoid speaking?" The interviews were all conducted in English although there was a certain amount of *sotto voce* comment in various African languages from time to time.

1.5.4   Data analysis

The personal data questionnaire as mentioned above was used to establish the biographic information of the students. Thereafter, the colour-in silhouette was collected. The two kinds of data elicited with these instruments, as well as that from the ensuing interview, were used to establish how the identity and language of the various participants are linked. For the actual analysis of the data produced in applying the three different instruments, a combination of a theme-based multimodal discourse analysis (Pavlenko 2007) and small story analysis (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou 2008) was used.

1.6   Chapter layout

Following this chapter, Chapter 2 focuses on the notion of 'language and identity' and multilingualism and how these have been investigated in different historical periods and in different theoretical frameworks. This study aligns itself with the postmodern approach specifically taking into account the complexity of a diverse multilingual society. The chapter concludes with a review of various speaker-centred approaches to multilingual teaching environments (either SLA classrooms or multilingual classrooms).

Chapter 3 gives an exposé of the chosen instruments for data collection, the participants in this research, the chosen methodology as well as the analytical tools which were used during the data collection.

Chapter 4 contains the data analysis for this study. The analysis will triangulate the different data sets, drawing on thematic analysis and small story analysis in an attempt to capture the complexity of the data and to draw on the multimodality and multivoicedness thereof.

Finally, Chapter 5 presents an overview of the conclusions drawn from the data, and recommendations for future research areas are suggested.

Chapter 2: Language, identity and multilingualism

2.1   Introduction

This chapter will first investigate the concepts of 'language' and 'identity', and then interrogate these concepts in the framework of multilingualism. To position the reflection on 'language', this chapter will start with a brief historical overview of research in linguistics, beginning with the scientific model of linguistics promoted first by Saussure and then Chomsky, and its effect on the very wide domain of linguistics. It will then move on to an area of sociolinguistic reflection, introducing Hymes' theory of linguistic ethnography of the 1970s which, at the time, brought a reconnection between language as a human mental capacity and the social context in which it is used. There will be a brief look at the work of Gumperz (1964, 1968) and Labov (1972) which were done before the influence of the postmodern movement became evident in 20th century linguistics.

By far the most significant part of this historical overview will be a discussion of the profound influence social theorists Bourdieu and Bakhtin have had on the way language and identity are conceptualised. Bourdieu's (1991) writing on the relationship between language and power is significant, while Bakhtin's (1981) theory of dialogism has injected the concepts of the multiplicity of identities, multivoicedness, heteroglossia and hybridity into the postmodern language research framework. The final part of this chapter will examine traditional approaches to multilingualism as well as multilingualism in a South African education context, before moving on to a discussion of a number of speaker-centred approaches to multilingual teaching environments.

2.2   Saussure, Chomsky and the scientific mode of linguistic investigation

In Saussurean theory, language became an autonomous object and, as such, it could be studied according to the same scientific principles applied to other objective domains (Pennycook 2004: 4). Norris (2004) suggests that Saussure's chief aim was to reconfigure the field of linguistics in accordance with well-defined principles that would constitute an adequate, rigorously theorised account of language and signifying systems in general. The first task was to elaborate on the various distinctions that would provide a working methodology, among them the cardinal oppositions between 'langue' and 'parole', synchrony

and diachrony, the paradigmatic and the syntagmatic, and the orders of signifier and signified. This, Chomsky theorised, would open the way to a structuralist account that left no room for pre-scientific ideas, and would rather show how the systematic character of language could only be described by means of a theory that was free of 'commonsense' beliefs and offering instead a range of conceptual resources to articulate its grasp of those same signifying structures.

Chomsky ignored the social and contextual aspects of language, presenting an idealised view of language as a code based on linguistic competence which meant knowledge of grammar of a language as used by an idealised speaker-hearer. Critics charge that by placing huge emphasis on the scientific nature of their linguistic enterprise, Saussure and Chomsky massively narrowed the scope of linguistics by rejecting everything - history, politics, society, economics and culture - that did not belong to its structure as a system (Pennycook 2004: 4). It must, however, be generally agreed that Chomsky revolutionised the understanding of language in the 20th century, relating issues of language and competence to traditional philosophical frameworks, revitalising notions of rationalism and empiricism in the process (Antony & Hornstein 2003: 1).

However, Errington (2001) argues that descriptions of languages were a resource that, like gender, race and class, underpinned the racism of the 19th and 20th centuries. Colonial linguistic work was tied up with enabling ideologies about hierarchies of languages and peoples on colonial territories (Errington 2001: 20). As such, it was grounded in institutions and animated by interests that legitimized simplistic views of complex situations (Errington 2001: 20). By constraining the scope of linguistics as he did, Saussure opened the field for evolutionary biologists like Jespersen, who busied himself measuring the inequality between languages to support a "newly scientized version of the difference between modern Europe and communities of speakers of less evolved languages" (Errington 2001: 34).

2.3   Linguistic ethnography

Hymes' response to the Chomskyan hegemony was to propose an alternative to formal linguistics. His was an early voice advocating a theory of linguistic ethnography which he introduced in a radio broadcast in 1963. At the heart of this theory is the notion of language as an activity, a process and not a mere product, the outcome of a mechanistic underlying

competence (Hymes 2010: 571). Linguistic ethnography was to create an alternative to the structuralist notion of the existence of homogeneous speech communities in a world in which monolingualism was the norm.

As Hymes (1972: 56) later noted, Saussure's 'langue' was the subject of interest in the privileged ground of structure, while 'parole' was the subject of interest in, amongst other things, the residual realm of variation. Chomsky associates his views of linguistic competence and performance with the Saussurean concepts of 'langue' and 'parole'. However, according to Hymes (1972: 56), Chomsky viewed his own conception of linguistics as superior in the sense that it went beyond the idea of language as a systematic inventory, by considering only what was internal to language. Describing linguistic theory, Chomsky (1965: 3) said it was primarily concerned with

> … an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance.

Hymes (1972: 55) observes that restricting competence to notions of perfection is not only a simplifying assumption, but by linking performance to imperfection, it becomes an ideological one as well (Hymes 1972: 55). As Hymes (1972) argues, imperfect grammar may well mask the artful accomplishment of a social act, or evidence of spontaneous problem solving and conceptual thought.

In an address on 'Language Development Among Disadvantaged Children' at Yeshiva University in the US in 1966, Hymes outlined a different view of linguistic theory which would transcend ideas of perfect competence, homogeneous speech communities and the independence of socio-cultural features. Quoting Cazden's (1966 cited in Hymes 1972) study which found that upper socio-economic status children were more advanced on all test measures, than their lower socio-economic status peers, Hymes (1972) suggests lower socio-economic status children may actually excel in aspects of communicative competence that are not included in the tests. Hymes (1972) argues for a theory of linguistics that not only acknowledges that concepts such as 'speaker-listener', 'speech community', 'speech act', and

14

'acceptability' are sociocultural variables, but for comparative studies of languages that allow for cross-cultural variation in linguistic ability and, as a result, language competence that is relative to and interdependent on sociocultural features (Hymes 1972: 59).

2.4 Investigation of language and identity

2.4.1   The contribution of variationist sociolinguistics

Further developments in the study of language and identity came from work by Labov (1972). Speaking out against historical linguists who "have adopted and vigorously defended a thoroughly asocial policy in the past half-century", Labov (1972: 121) suggested that observing particular variables in linguistic behaviour would make it possible to identify linguistic markers and theorise about the structure of class stratification in a given community. Until the 1960s, variability in language had not been a central concern in linguistics which focused on standardized forms of language rather than the variable forms found in natural speech (Coulmas 2005).

Labov's pioneering work on sociolinguistic motivation for language changed attitudes towards language research. Based on the variationist paradigm, Labov's work (1963, 1966, cited in Wardhaugh, 2007) paved the way for further research on the role of social factors in phonological change and formed a model for other sociolinguists. The approach focuses on understanding variation and change in the structural parts of language rather than the behaviour of the speakers or the nature of the interaction. Labov's work in New York City is usually regarded as setting the pattern for quantitative studies of linguistic variation (Wardhaugh 2007).

Labov's (1972) contribution to the study of sociolinguistics has been to develop a quantitative approach that could both identify and account for language change. He also showed that it was possible to observe language change operating in apparent time by simply listening to the speech of three generations living in the same household (Labov 1972). He showed that it was possible to use statistical and comparative studies involving multiple speakers, social contexts, generations and geographical locations to discover coherent patterns of variation and change that characterise contemporary spoken English (Coulmas 2005). Although Labov has been criticised for not going far enough: for not

15

combining his results with broader social theory and for sticking to what Cameron (1997: 56) calls the "variationist" or "quantitative paradigm", he did succeed in challenging the myth of the ideal speaker-hearer in a homogenous speech community, by showing that language was not homogenous, either at the level of the speech community or the grammar (Cameron 1997: 56).

2.4.2   The demise of positivism

It is accepted that the second half of the 20th century heralded a distinct shift away from positivism. Successfully challenging the verifiability principle, Kuhn's (1962) critique of logical positivism and the nature of scientific inquiry toppled the whole positivist structure. In addition, logical positivism was seen as having become detached from science, with scientists more concerned with quibbling over the syntax and semantics of science than with the actual workings thereof.

Structuralism had given the highest priority to the study of 'langue'/competence, and the study of language use was seen as less relevant than the understanding of grammar (Bybee 2006: 711). More recently, however, there has been a shift towards the analysis of natural language use and what effect usage might have on representation (Bybee 2006: 712). This has been driven by increasing interest in discourse research and language variation as previously mentioned. Silverstein (1998) also noted the growing disenchantment with scientific discourse and the emergence of linguistic anthropology in the early 1980s.

Linguistic anthropology reconceptualised phenomena in language structure and, in doing so, refashioned the "structuralisms and functionalisms of earlier approaches" (Silverstein 1998: 402). Linguistic anthropology supports the proposition that through social action, people participate in processes that produce identities, beliefs, and their particular agentive subjectivity (Silverstein 1998: 402). Viewing language as a "cultural fact" opened up new ways of conceptualising and investigating the traditional problems of linguistics and the role of language in characterizing contemporary human experience (Silverstein 1998: 402). However, while anthropological approaches to language and identity are important, particularly in educational fields, it has been the social theories of Bourdieu and the literary theories of Bakhtin that have exercised considerably more influence.

16

2.5   Bourdieu: habitus and capital

In his writing on language, Bourdieu was interested in how linguistic varieties shape identity in social classes and communities, and how these varieties become identity markers in social interaction. Two of Bourdieu's (1991) key concepts are those of habitus and capital which are linked to socialization within the class structure. Bourdieu refers to the habitus as a set of durable dispositions which prompt individuals to act and react to the world in certain ways based on previous experiences (Bourdieu 2000: 138). Dispositions are inculcated through childhood experiences and inevitably reflect the social condition in which they were acquired. While Bourdieu sees the habitus as being durable, he emphasises that it can be changed to suit new contexts but only after "a thorough-going process of counter-training, involving repeated exercises […]" (Bourdieu 2000: 172).

Bourdieu (1991) theorizes identity as being constructed by social interaction and social structures. These structures constrain the identities of individuals because of the unequal power relations between them. The answers to questions such as who decides who can speak, who decides the norms of language use, or who decides what languages, linguistic behaviour and identities are acceptable, can be found in the status of the speakers:

> The authorised speech of status-generated competence is answered by the silence of an equally status-linked incompetence, which inevitably results in the dispossession of the less competent by the more competent, of women by men, of the less educated by the more educated, of those who do not know how to speak by those who speak well (Bourdieu 1984: 415).

The idea of status underpins Bourdieu's theorizing on different forms of capital, namely economic, cultural and symbolic capital. The concept of 'social and cultural capital' provides a theoretical hypothesis from which to explain the unequal educational achievements of children from different social backgrounds (Kelly 2010: 50). As Corson (2001: 39) notes, what educational systems primarily do is prepare middle-class children from the dominant culture to take part in their own culture. For Bourdieu (1991), linguistic competence is a form of cultural capital associated with social class and habitus, to the extent that speakers of prestige speech forms are often misrecognized as having greater intellectual, social and political status. Individuals who are perceived to be less successful tend to have

17

correspondingly less cultural or linguistic capital, because the linguistic capital of society will be found in the official language used by the dominant social group in that society. Bourdieu (1984: 253) states that "[C]ontrary to all naively Darwinian convictions, the (sociologically well-founded) illusion of 'natural distinction' is ultimately based on the power of the dominant to impose".

Bourdieu identifies the educational system as the key mechanism that mediates relations between the status hierarchies on the one hand, and the organization and reproduction of the class structure on the other (Bourdieu 1984). In addition, Bourdieu (1984) argues that if people invest in a second language, they do so in the expectation that they will acquire increased symbolic and material resources which will, in turn, increase their cultural capital.

While Bourdieu's theory could be characterised as hierarchical and linear, underpinned by quite traditional notions of status and power, Bakhtin proposes an open, infinite discourse of diverse and conflicting voices "for no matter how languages are conceived, they all represent particular points of view of the world" (Bakhtin 1981: 293). For Bakhtin, language is "shot through with intentions and accents" forming a "concrete heteroglot conception of the world" (Bakhtin 1981:293).

2.6   Bakhtinian approaches to identity research

Bakhtin's notion of dialogism offers us a theory of language that enables connections to be made between the voices of people in their everyday lives and their political, historical and ideological contexts. For Bakhtin (1981), the reality of language and speech is not to be found in an abstract system of linguistic forms but in the social event of verbal interaction from which knowledge emerges. In dialogism, everything is part of a greater whole and there is constant interaction between meanings, all of which have the potential to condition what is said. This ties in with hybridisation in terms of which two or more linguistic consciousnesses, often separated by time and social space, can mix.

Bakhtin identifies two opposing forces in any language or culture: centralizing and decentralizing (Bakhtin 1981: 425). "The rulers and the high poetic genres of an era" exercise a centripetal or homogenizing influence, while the centrifugal or decentering force of the clown, rogue or mimic create alternative genres (Bakhtin 1981:425). Thus, alongside the

18

centripetal or unifying forces in language, the centrifugal forces of language carry on uninterrupted: alongside verbal-ideological unification we find decentralizing, disunifying centrifugal processes (Bakhtin 1981: 272).

Central to Bakhtin's theorizing is the idea that languages are never unitary but always sites of struggle between different ways of speaking (Menard-Warwick 2005: 268). Where the traditional tendency is "to unify and centralise the verbal-ideological world" (Bakhtin 1981 :270), heteroglossia, can be used as a counter-strategy to challenge the authoritarian word and bring it back to dialogue (Bakhtin 1981:133). Bakhtin defines heteroglossia as the "locus where centripetal and centrifugal forces collide: as such, it is that which a systematic linguistics must always suppress" (Bakhtin 1981:428) and he uses this term to describe the complex stratification of language into genre, register and dialect. It takes two forms: first as social languages within a "single national language" and, secondly, as different national languages within the same culture (Bakhtin 1981: 275). He was fiercely critical of 'monologism', the concept of a common unitary language:

> The victory of one reigning language over others, the supplanting of languages, their enslavement, the process of illuminating them with the True Word, the incorporation of barbarians and lower social strata into a unitary language of culture and truth, the canonisation of ideological systems […] all this determined the content and power of the category of 'unitary language' […] (Bakhtin 1981: 271).

This intense struggle for meaning captured in the concept of dialogism leads to growth and change because it creates an internal discourse that is open rather than finite, revealing "ever newer ways to mean" (Bakhtin 1981: 346). It is this openness to change and fluidity that makes Bakhtin's theory a useful analytical tool when considering multilingualism.

2.7 Postmodernism and performativity

Postmodern approaches to language and identity have elaborated quite extensively on theories proposed by Bourdieu and Bakhtin: along with postmodernism came the emphasis on the multiplicity and hybridity of identities - once again, concepts that are neither new nor exceptional, but ones that increasingly resonate with current issues of globalisation, migration and mobility. Using the concept of 'identity' to investigate the problems of language in

19

society is not a new idea although, as Lemke (2008) notes, it is part of a trend in rethinking how the approaches to language can be formulated. While it can be argued that the concept of 'language' has to some extent been liberated from the Saussurean straightjacket of scientific method and is no longer tied to notions of unity, continuity or fixed locations and cultures, Pennycook (2004) suggests the study of linguistics has yet to be decoupled from the colonial mindset that used language as a resource for naturalising inequality, particularly in the colonial enterprise.

Poststructuralist approaches to identity have made it possible to de-essentialise and deconstruct identity categories such as race and gender (McKinney & Norton 2008). Theorists such as Hall (1996: 4) view identity as strategic and positional: identity is never unified; instead it becomes increasingly fragmented and fractured, multiply constructed across different, often antagonistic, discourses and positions. Moreover, debates about identity are situated in the processes of globalisation, including debates about migration, exclusion, inclusion etc., issues that have become salient in what Hall (1996: 4) describes as the so-called "post-colonial world".

Hall (1996: 4-6) provides an alternative way of theorising race that recognises the experiences of race without homogenising them. Hall emphasises a multi-faceted rootedness that is not limited to ethnic minorities and which can be applied to other forms of difference. Actual identities are about using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not 'who we are' or 'where we come from', so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how this affects how we might represent ourselves. Identities are therefore constituted within, not outside, discourse (Hall 1996: 6). They emerge within the play of power and are the products of marking difference and exclusion.

Once identity is no longer viewed as something one possesses, there can be a shift away from understanding language as primarily a marker of ethnographic identity. What postmodernism added to the sociological framework is the sense of human agency. We construct our identities from the options afforded us by our social positioning, that is, our particular trajectory of experiences, encounters, and options for action (Lemke 2008: 21). Identity now becomes the mediator between positionality, which is a fluid context based on power, resources, expectations, beliefs, values, opportunities and so on, and the habitus of embodied

20

dispositions found in enduring cultural and social systems of belief, values and meaning-making (Lemke 2008: 21).

The elevation of identity as a central issue in sociocultural discourse owes much to the feminist scholarship that gave rise to queer theory. Drawing on French poststructuralism, Butler (1999: 8) comes to the conclusion that gender is not passively scripted on to the body, nor is it determined by nature, language, the symbolic or the history of patriarchy; rather, it is manufactured through a sustained set of acts, based on the gendered stylization of the body. Gender is thus not a role; it is performative, something people do rather than have. It is put on daily and incessantly, with anxiety and pleasure. Performing one's gender wrong can initiate punishment while performing it right offers reassurance that there is an essentialism to gender identity (Butler 1988: 528).

The postmodern formulation of performativity opened up ways of thinking about the relationships between language and identity that emphasize the productive force of language in constituting identity rather than identity being a pre-given construct that is reflected in language (Pennycook 2004: 13). However, postmodernism also highlights the tension between identity as precarious and changing and identity as grounded in Bourdieu's habitus.

2.8 Language, identity and superdiversity

In analysing how identities are shaped, produced and negotiated, Blackledge and Pavlenko (2001) note that in a world of global communication and migration, the formula that language equals identity is no longer adequate. However, they acknowledge that hegemonic ideologies exist and create conditions for symbolic domination in a range of everyday practices, and social injustices do occur in liberal-democratic states. In the face of the symbolic violence of monoglot standardisation, many comply with what Bourdieu calls the "institutionalized circle of recognition" (Blackledge & Pavlenko 2001: 254).

Blommaert and Backus (2011) argue strongly that obsolete modernist models of language knowledge are of no help when it comes to analyzing the complexities of globalisation and migration that exist in today's superdiverse sociolinguistic environments, and have introduced a new element into the search for models of language: the concept of 'superdiversity'. Superdiversity, a term originally conceived by Vertovec (2007: 1025), means more people are

21

migrating from more places and that "significant new conjunctions and interactions of variables have arisen through patterns of immigration". What Blommaert and Backus (2011) propose is a radical rapprochement between linguistics and sociolinguistics, an approach that takes account of both social and cognitive knowledge.

2.9   Language repertoire

In current sociolinguistic theories, language is seen as a sociolinguistic system that exists and operates in conjunction with social rules and relations, a system that needs to be understood by reference to repertoires. To understand repertoires, one must attend to their functions, not to abstract assessments of what they mean or what they are worth (Blommaert 2010(a): 696). Gumperz (1968: 72) introduced the notion of 'repertoire', defining it as the "totality of dialectal and superposed variants employed within a community". As such, repertoires could be used as an analytical concept to establish the relationships between the constituents of a community and its socio-economic complexity. Linguistic repertoires provided the "weapons of everyday communication", as showed in his seminal studies of speech varieties in northern Norway and a village near Delhi in India (Gumperz 1964: 138).

In his study of linguistic and social interaction in communities in Khalapur, India, and Hemnesberget in northern Norway, Gumperz (1964) observed the linguistic forms regularly employed in social interaction, noting that the structure of verbal repertoires differed from ordinary prescriptive grammars in that they included a greater number of alternates, reflecting contextual and social differences (Gumperz 1964: 137). Gumperz described linguistic interaction as a process of decision-making in which speakers select from a range of possible expressions, but although the decision about what to select is made by the individual, their freedom to choose is subject to both grammatical and social constraints (Gumperz 1964: 138). Failure to observe these constraints would result in misunderstanding, and so selection is limited by commonly agreed-upon conventions.

These social constraints are an important component of the relationship between signs and their meaning. Thus, while every utterance must conform to grammatical constraints, it is always interpreted in accordance with social constraints (Gumperz 1964: 138). As a result, when analysing language, the participants are seen not as persons but as the occupants of statuses defined in terms of rights and obligations. In the course of any encounter, mutual

22

relationships are constantly being defined and redefined in accordance with the speaker's ultimate intentions (Gumperz 1964: 139-140).

One of the difficulties facing multilingualism has been the tendency to assume that people and their languages are fixed in spatially-demarcated places. According to this theory, language apparently works very well only when tied to its original place, and both Gumperz (1964) and Hymes (1972) tied language repertoires to particular speech communities. However, as noted earlier, mobility is part of contemporary reality: people move around both in physical, geographical and symbolic space. Language is transported in and out of arenas where conditions and social relations are substantially different (Rampton 1999: 423). Blommaert (2010(a)) suggests that a better way of thinking about language is not to generalise it, but rather to view it as a mobile bank of concrete resources. If we are to understand linguistic identity, we need to analyse the actual linguistic, communicative, semiotic resources that people have, not the abstract and ideological representations of such resources (Blommaert 2010(a): 102). Associating repertoire with a particular community was linked to the notion of the 'Other' as known, fixed and predictable. Yet, once we distance repertoire from the notion of a 'fixed community', it is possible to view the Other in late postmodern terms: highly mobile and unpredictable, about which little can be assumed either culturally or linguistically (Blommaert & Backus 2011: 4).

In the place of fixed repertoires, Blommaert (2010(a)) proposes what he calls "truncated multilingualism" or repertoires which consist of specialized but partially- and unevenly-developed resources. He notes: "We never know all of a language; we always know specific bits and pieces of it" (Blommaert 2010(a): 23), while Hymes says: "[We] do not expect a Bengali using English as a fourth language for the purposes of commerce to be influenced deeply in worldview by its syntax" (Hymes 1964: 20).

In her research on a working-class township in the Western Cape, Dyers (2012) reports that while there is increased dominance of English in social, economic, political and educational domains, there are other domains in which Afrikaans and African languages play an important role in people's sociocultural identities (Dyers 2012: 113). This type of domain specialisation accords with Blommaert's (2010(a)) concept of 'truncated multilingualism' in which linguistic competencies are organized topically and people may not be fully competent in all the languages they use (Dyers 2012: 114).

23

Building on Bakhtinian theory, Busch (2011(b)) dissects the complexities of discourse in language-learning classrooms, noting that languages and varieties are no longer clear-cut bordered units. Instead, they take the form of a bundle of communicative means shaped by specific practices and ideologies (Busch 2011(b): 544). Blackledge and Creese (2009: 249) found that in the classrooms they investigated there was the 'official' genre of teacher discourse and students' 'unofficial' carnivalesque genre of the marketplace, which was used to parody both teachers and classroom practices. In these cases, multilingualism is not so much a collection of languages, but rather a collection of specific resources which includes concrete accents, language varieties, registers, genres and modalities such as writing - all ways of using language in particular communicative settings (Blommaert 2010(a): 102). When viewed this way, the concept of 'repertoire' can bring detail and precision to the analyses of the communication processes in a world of globalized communication, where all kinds of people communicate with bits and pieces of genres and registers. These truncated repertoires are then grounded in people's biographies (Blommaert 2010(a): 102).

In order to examine repertoire in the context of 'superdiversity', Blommaert and Backus (2011: 5) have moved the concept of 'repertoire' forward from the original Hymesian definition of "a means of speaking" to accommodate contemporary settings in which mobile subjects engage in a broad variety of groups, networks and communities. Busch (2012) has called for even more work to be carried out on the notion of 'repertoire' while taking into consideration multimodal representations of language repertoires.

2.10 Multilingualism

Having discussed sociolinguistic approaches to language, identity and repertoires, the third part of this chapter will examine how these approaches are contextualised in a multilingual environment but monolingual education system such as that found in South Africa. At the start, it is necessary to examine traditional approaches to multilingualism.

Academic literature on language throughout the world has, until recently, always had a strong monolingual bias. In the 1960s, Tabouret-Keller notes that some writers identified bilingualism as having a harmful influence on the intellect of children, a fact not confirmed, even in those days, by statistical data of recruits to the military forces which showed that

24

bilingualism had no effect on the intelligence quota (Tabouret-Keller 1960: 64). Almost 30 years later, Tabouret-Keller (1988), cited in Heller (2008), observes that ideas about language socialization still supported the notion that bilingualism was a danger to children's intellectual and moral development.

Grosjean (1989) also notes the strong monolingual bias which results in bilinguals being treated as two monolinguals in one person. A strong version of the monolingual view of bilingualism is that the bilingual has two separate and isolable language competencies; a view of bilingualism which had a number of negative consequences (Grosjean, 1985a), one of which is the notion that a "real" bilingual is someone who is equally and fully fluent in two languages; all the others, who represent the vast majority of people using two languages in their everyday lives, are "not really" bilingual and fall into some indeterminate category. Another significant consequence of the monolingual view is that language skills in bilinguals have almost always been evaluated in terms of monolingual standards. The tests used with bilinguals are often the tests employed with the monolinguals of the two corresponding language groups. These tests rarely take into account the situations and domains the languages are used in, or the skills covered by these languages.

To comprehend the shift that has taken place in perceptions of language use in the past 50 years, one needs to examine the changing nature of language socialization, starting with how language is used as a means to legitimate the nation state. Hobsbawm (1990, cited in Heller 2008: 510), linked the rise of the bourgeoisie to the development of international markets that gave the bourgeois privileged control over the production and circulation of resources (Heller 2008: 510). This control was legitimised by state ideology which also served as a basis for uniformity in terms of language, identity and community (Heller 2008: 510).

However, by the end of the 20th century, the expansion of capitalism led to tensions between all the old alliances between the state, religious institutions and the legitimate sources of authority. These tensions were particularly noticeable in the struggle to control labour immigration and refugee populations (Heller 2008: 512). Nation states still exist but they have to come up with new mechanisms to deal with globalisation which is challenging their role as regulators of labour and as promoters of the economic interests of their citizens (Heller 2008: 513). As a result, it has become increasingly difficult for such states to impose homogeneity within their boundaries (Heller 2008: 513) and one of the pertinent issues here is language

25

use. The globalised world presents serious obstacles to the notion of bounded, uniform language use, and old ideas about language, identity and community have had to be realigned to accommodate the new reality.

However, when discussing language use in Africa, bilingualism quite simply does not suffice. Firstly, one needs to interrogate what is meant by multilingualism in Africa. In this regard, this study will draw on the work of Banda (2009). Some of Banda's (2009) observations resonate with those of Grosjean (1989). Banda (2009) points out that multilingual African communities have traditionally been characterized as distinctive monolingual enclaves by Western and colonial notions of multilingualism (Banda 2009: 2). In the South African context, Banda notes that, as in Europe and elsewhere (Grosjean 1989), multilingualism has been conflated with promoting monolingual streams of distinct languages in equally homogenous speech communities. Referring to the Tower of Babel syndrome, Banda points out that when it comes to Africa, Western linguists appear to believe that languages spoken by one community were entirely incomprehensible to their neighbours (Banda 2009: 3).

Flowing from these perceptions is the mother tongue debate which places African languages, which have existed side by side for a considerable period of time, in competing spaces (Banda 2009: 2). Banda (2009: 4) suggests that rather than mother tongue, we should talk about the mother tongues that constitute speakers' repertoires or total linguistic resources. However, such resources would also include the former colonial languages such as English, Afrikaans, French, Portuguese and German, a fact Banda appears to overlook. Unfortunately, the trend in South Africa is to view languages as autonomous systems belonging to different monolingual speech communities (Banda 2009: 4). The result of this monolingual bias is that African multilingualism has not been investigated from a multilingual perspective (Banda 2009: 4), the same conclusion that Grosjean drew about multilingualism in Europe some 20 years earlier.

2.11   Multilingual education in South Africa

This study will briefly look at multilingual education in South Africa before considering the question of 'agency' and 'voice'. In doing so, it will scrutinise the work of Norton[1] (1995,

---

[1] Note that Norton in earlier writings uses the surname Norton Peirce.

1997, 2000, 2005) and her concept of 'investment' in language learning. Finally, it will examine the work of Busch and her development of language biographies as a tool in multilingual research.

Since 1994, when the first democratic government was elected, South Africa has had 11 official languages. In spite of this new inclusiveness, the notion of 'language and literacy' "is fraught with ambiguity" as competence in a second language (namely English) is "often more necessary for survival than the ability to read and write an African language" (Kerfoot 1993: 432). For many South Africans, competence in English is the key to economic survival and these attitudes are reflected in a recent survey of language preferences by the South African Institute of Race Relations (http://www.sairr.org.za/). The survey found that over 60% of pupils in South African schools choose English for learning and teaching, even though only 7% of the pupils speak English as their home language. IsiZulu may be the most widely-spoken first language, spoken by over 3.1 million learners, but less than a third of them choose to be taught in isiZulu. Much the same is true for the other official languages. De Wet and Wolhuter (2009) attribute this preference to the deep-seated distrust and fear that home-language education will lead to impoverishment and disempowerment, a fact confirmed by Alexander (2005) who says that most black people in the country still equate mother-tongue education with Bantu education. This belief opposes the long-running debate about the importance of mother-tongue education for cognitive development (Heugh 2000: 5).

The hegemony of English in education in South Africa has been explored in a number of studies (Heugh 1999, Banda 2010). These studies not only point to the complex issues involved in implementing official multilingual education in South Africa, but they also show that teachers and students often revert to multilingual strategies such as code-switching to facilitate understanding in the classroom. Banda's (2010) study in particular shows how students often defy official monolingualism in the classroom and how they draw on all the linguistic resources they have. Similarly, Probyn (2009: 133) identifies code-switching as one learning strategy in officially monolingual English classes. Probyn (2009: 129) also notes the ambivalence some learners feel when using English rather than their L1s as language of teaching and learning and that "they recognised its instrumental value but were concerned that their home language and culture was being eroded by English". This sentiment has been echoed consistently in literature on multilingualism in education in South Africa. African languages are valued for their symbolic and emotional capital, they are being maintained as

27

"communalist" languages as identified by Mazrui & Mazrui (1998), used for interaction with family, friends and the community.

The adolescent participants in this study cherish their mother tongue, not for its communicative reach but because they see it as an integral part of their identity and their sense of belonging. Those born in 1994 call themselves the "Born Frees", meaning that they were born in a democratic South Africa. Confident and ambitious, they are impatient with what they see as old-fashioned racist rhetoric adopted by "politicians like Malema and others", a style they find alienating (Personal communication with students, 8 September 2012). In the participants' language portraits, the mother tongue is often situated symbolically next to the heart or in the feet as a grounding symbol. Both Mesthrie (2006) and Dyers (2008) confirm that the mother tongue is strongly maintained at home, with respondents in Dyers' study (2008: 124) using other languages to open up dialogic spaces. However, English remains the gatekeeper for admission to universities which stress academic literacy and where students have to display the appropriate competence to be accepted (Corson 2001:48).

2.12 Agency and voice in education

Foregrounding identity and the issues that it raises is key when considering language diversity and literacy education because any investigation of the learning context needs to be complemented by a study of identity, voice and human agency of the language learners (Norton & Toohey 2001: 312). Hymes ((1996), cited in Blommaert 2006: 10), defines "voice" as the ability "to make oneself understood on one's own terms, to create meaning under conditions of empowerment". Earlier research saw good language learners as gradually developing interaction strategies in their respective linguistic communities. However, more recent studies on identity and language learning indicate a far more complex acquisition process. Language research can, in fact, contribute to an understanding of the nature of the social process and social theory as there is an observable relationship between agency and structure, between our experience of life in the here-and-now and the social constraints that shape and are shaped by that experience (Heller 2008: 519).

However, as Norton (1995: 12) notes, SLA theorists have yet to develop a comprehensive theory of social identity that integrates the language learner and the language-learning context. In addition, they have also not questioned how power relations in the social world

28

affect social interaction between second language learners and target language speakers. What SLA theory needs to do is conceive of the language learner as having a complex social identity that must be understood in relation to larger, frequently inequitable social structures which are reproduced on a daily basis (Norton 1995: 13). Of significance is the fact that the unequal relations of power between language learners and the target language speakers are highly challenging, all of which suggests that Bourdieu's (1984) notion of 'status-generated competence' is embedded in the habitus and can result in the 'dispossession of the less competent' (Bourdieu 1984: 415).

In theorizing language and identity, Norton (1997) is interested in developing a framework that will allow for greater human agency than what is found in the writings of Bourdieu. Norton (1992) takes the position that identity relates to desire - desire for recognition, affiliation, safety and security. In this, Norton follows West (1992) who sees desire as inseparable from the distribution of material resources. Those who have access to resources will also have access to power and privilege, and this will influence their chances and choices in the future. However, Norton is interested in integrating language, individual experience and social power in a framework that allows for greater human agency than allowed for in Bourdieu's notion of the durable habitus, and she draws on feminist scholar Weedon's (1987) concept of 'subjectivity'. Weedon (1987) connects subjectivity to discourse, arguing that subjectivity is produced in a range of discursive practices which are in a constant struggle over power and, as such, is precarious, contradictory and is thus constantly being reconstituted. However, Menard-Warwick (2005: 260) suggests that the contradictions between Bourdieu's notion of continuity and Weedon's concept of fluidity have not been resolved in Norton's work. Menard-Warwick (2005: 253) questions whether Bakhtin's theories of language, particularly the notion that languages are never unitary but represent "specific points of view on the world, for conceptualizing the world in words […]" (Bakhtin 1981: 292), might not be a more productive way forward for Norton.

However, the learning situation is complex and conflicting needs and desires are not uncommon, as Norton's (2001) analysis of non-participation in an EFL classroom shows. In Norton's (2001) case study, two female students wanted more social contact with English-speaking Canadians. However, the students felt uncomfortable speaking to Canadians, even though these were the very people in whom the students had a symbolic or material investment, and were also the gatekeepers of the learners' imagined communities (Norton

29

2001: 166). With regard to the concept of 'imagined communities', Norton (2001) cites Wenger's (1998) concept of 'imagination' as a mode of belonging which refers to the process of expanding the self by "transcending our time and space and creating new images of the world and ourselves. Imagination in this sense is looking at an apple seed and seeing a tree" (Wenger 1998: 176). This mode of belonging creates new ways of understanding one's relation to the world, but does not necessarily result in engagement. For engagement, there needs to be alignment through which learners do what is necessary in order to take part in the new community (Norton 2001: 164).

When Norton's subjects, Katarina and Felicia, started classes, they had envisioned a community that transcended time and space. Katarina, a teacher from Poland, wanted recognition from fellow professionals and her imagined community was a reconstruction of her past as much as it was an imaginative construction of the future. Peru was central to Felicia's imagined community. She had been reluctant to leave her country where she had led a privileged life and resisted the immigrant label, positioning herself as a wealthy Peruvian. Both Katarina and Felicia had heavily invested in the target language and their imagined communities, and expected a return on their investment which was, in the end, not forthcoming as there was ultimately neither alignment nor engagement on their parts. Their withdrawal from classes was a form of resistance to their perceived marginalisation by their teacher.

This situation highlights the intricacy of issues of language, investment and identity because the risk of non-participation rises once learners realise that their access to Anglophone Canadians is compromised by their position as immigrants in Canadian society (Norton 2001: 169).

Kristeva (1980, cited in Oliver 2002) gives an insightful description of the core issues facing foreigners. What foreigners and immigrants seek is the interest of those they are speaking to, but in the age of possessive individualism (Macpherson 1964) "interest is self-seeking, it wants to be able to use your words, counting on your influence, which like all influence is anchored in social connections. Now, to be precise, you have none" (Kristeva 1980, cited in Oliver 2002: 279). Without influence, the foreigners' speech will have no consequence. The foreign-language learner can only bank on the inherent desires they have invested in it as support may not be forthcoming (Kristeva 1980, cited in Oliver 2002: 279).

Norton (2001) suggests that teachers would do well to interrogate learners' investments in their imagined communities, while Simon (1992) goes further by suggesting that learners should interrogate what they desire and whether these desires are consistent with future possibilities. Recently, new approaches to multilingual research have also been suggested, such a multi-semiotic approach.

2.13   Heteroglossic approaches to multilingualism in education research

Using Bakhtin's notion of 'heteroglossia' as a point of departure, Busch (2011(b): 3) explores educational practices in which speakers with diverse translocal linguistic repertoires learn together in an environment where heteroglossic practices are consciously treated as resources rather than impediments, and where heterogeneity and heteroglossia are recognised as pedagogical principles. However, as Busch (2011(b): 3) points out, using heteroglossia as pedagogy calls for a high degree of linguistic awareness on the part of all participants involved (Busch 2011(b): 3).

Drawing on empirical research carried out in a multigrade (M2) classroom in a school in Vienna, Busch (2011 (b)) documents an approach that builds on heteroglossia in a multilingual classroom. The ordinary state school system in Austria, with its monolingual tradition, struggles with the linguistic needs resulting from superdiversity, hence the multigrade movement, which is based on pedagogically-progressive models developed by Freinet and others, is employed. M2 focuses on the needs of leaners with migrational or refugee backgrounds (Busch 2011(b): 5). One of the activities Busch focused on was the Little Books Library, a collection of small books written and illustrated by learners. Learners choose their own topics as well as the design and composition to create a small (A6) booklet. In a story entitled "The elephant and the mouse" an eight year-old Serbian student produced a book consisting of both drawings and text. Importantly, the drawings did not illustrate the text but added meaning, creating an interplay between the two modes. In analysing the visuals, Busch (2011(b)) states she used Breckner's (2007, 2010) segment analysis which focuses on the perceptual process involved in constructing pictorial phenomena. It examines the relationship between the visuals and the text as well as the relationship between the picture and reality, making it a truly dialogic process (Busch 2011(b): 6).

31

By acknowledging the multiplicity of codes as a resource and the value of multidirectional teaching and learning processes, learners are able to create dialogically constructed texts in which they are able to experiment with different voices and develop particular styles and voices of their own (Busch 2011(b): 14). The multiplicity of codes means monolingual, standardized perspectives which label deviant language practices as "deficiencies" can be rejected. In their place, we can accept multimodal language practices as legitimate ways of making meaning (Busch 2011(b): 14).

Busch (2010) also points out that school language profiles can be used to highlight existing linguistic hierarchies and suggest ways forward. A learner-centred school language policy acknowledges and valorises the resources and aspirations of all members of the school community, including teachers, students and parents, and does not reduce the heteroglossia of the speakers to either monolingualism or a choice between the mother tongue and target language (Busch 2010: 283). In the South African context, Heugh (2009: 111) proposes that the educational system requires "ongoing revision and localised contextualisation in order to accommodate changing linguistic repertoires, registers and varieties".

Within the multilingual South African context, the significance of using a speaker-centred approach is two-fold. Firstly, it exposes the monolingualization to which students are subjected in the learning environment, a process completely at odds with their everyday experience of language. Secondly, this approach foregrounds the learner perspective as well as highlighting the emotional component of literacy and language learning and aspirations (Busch 2010: 283). It then becomes possible to explore the ways in which monolingual language ideologies and prescribed linguistic identities can fuel tension and conflict within a school community.

2.14   Language portraits as research method

Using Busch's biographical approach to language profiles, we can explore how individual speakers experience the broader social context of their languages practices, their ambitions and desires (Busch 2010: 284). It is important to note that although the approach relies on individual narratives, it is not primarily focused on unique life stories, but rather on the social dimensions of the language practices and ideologies that it exposes (Busch 2010: 284).

The members of the Spracherleben Research Group based at the University of Vienna have devised and adapted a number of tasks for use when working with students on language biographies. The framework for language biographies includes language portrayals which consist of a visual account of one's linguistic repertoire created by colouring-in a blank human silhouette. The idea of language portraits was originally devised by Gogolin and Neumann (1991 as cited in Busch 2010).

Arts-based research methods have only recently been included as a research genre, a development due to the emergence of alternatives to quantitative research paradigms (Leavy 2009: 4). The social justice movements of the 1960s and 1970s, such as the US civil rights movement, feminism and the gay rights movement, challenged traditional approaches to research. The result was a significant re-negotiation and elaboration of the qualitative paradigm which has expanded and where previously populations such as women or gay people had either been invisible in social research or included as stereotypes, they are now meaningfully included (Leavy 2009: 7).

An important initiative in the development of appropriate tools for research on multilingualism and identity was a project conducted by Busch during the Training of Teachers in Southern Africa (ToTSA) programme offered annually by The Project for the Study of Alternative Education (PRAESA) at the University of Cape Town between 2002 and 2005 (Busch, Jardine & Tjoutuku 2006). Based on the Spracherleben group's research, Busch introduced a speaker-centred approach to school language policy using multimodal biographic accounts to investigate learners' language dispositions (Busch 2010: 284). Although the task seems suitable for children, it works well with adolescents and adults as well and was used by Busch in a workshop in Cape Town where more than 50 languages were represented by a group of 20 participants. While in many cases these languages were largely unrecognized and not standard varieties, they were emotionally significant modes of expressing identity. In this study, Busch got participants to create language portraits of themselves by colouring-in a human body silhouette using different colours to represent different elements of their linguistic dispositions.

These drawings elicit little narratives on biographical backgrounds and social networks. Bamberg (2006: 1) defines "small stories" or "little narratives" as obviously short, but the qualifying term "small" is used to differentiate them from the literary genre's short stories.

33

More importantly, they are stories told in interaction which do not necessarily thematize the speaker but rather reflect on events in the speaker's life which may be about mundane and ordinary everyday events (Bamberg 2006: 1). They are not necessarily interesting, may not even be recognized as stories and are seemingly quickly forgotten (Bamberg 2006: 1). When small stories are combined with a personal questionnaire, they help to establish a language profile for each participant that not only focuses on current language use but also on plans and aspirations for the future (Busch 2010). As Busch (2010) points out the data generated from the language biographies can be further supplemented by group discussions.

The change in representation from written or spoken to visual helps shift attention to the ways in which the different components of the image relate to one another, and makes it possible to deconstruct internalized categories and reflect on language practice (Busch 2010: 284). As a result, the roles of different languages, dialects and registers as well as aspirations in language learning can become apparent and easier to understand.

In their summary on biographical methods in research, Mossakowski and Busch (2008: 2) conclude that language biographies not only tell us how language repertoires and identities change over time, but also how speakers take certain subject positions according to particular linguistic settings and constantly negotiate the basic conditions of language diversity. Through the deconstruction of their own and other language biographies, language learners gain important insights into how language regimes function, how language choices are made, how language use changes and how language identities are negotiated (Mossakowski & Busch 2008: 7). Consequently, language learners are able to see how language diversity is an innate but intrinsically changing part of their lives, which gives them various strategies with which to act out their linguistic individuality (Mossakowski & Busch 2008: 8).

Chapter 3: Research methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will provide a detailed discussion of the research methods used to collect the data for this study, as well as the methods of analysis employed. The study uses a qualitative method of inquiry, an inductive approach that implies data and meaning will emerge from the research context (Creswell 1995: 201). This method allows for a thick description of the data, and requires that the research context is described in detail as well. The chapter will proceed in the following way: the participants and the research context will be discussed first, followed by a discussion of the data collection instruments, the methods of analysis and, lastly, the ethical considerations.

3.2 Participants and research context

There are 30 participants in this study. They were recruited as volunteers from two educational institutions in Johannesburg. Eight of the participants (aged between 17 and 19 years) are students at the African Leadership Academy in Honeydew, Johannesburg. The academy offers a two-year course which focuses on maths, science and African studies, but also has a strong leadership and entrepreneurship component. The mission of the institute, says one of its founders, Fred Swaniker, is to find and groom the future leaders of Africa. Students are admitted into the program from all over Africa, including the islands of Madagascar and Mauritius. There are 200 registered students who also board at the academy. Of the eight participants who agreed to take part in the project, four are male and four are female. Two of the students are Rwandan, and one each from Senegal, Cote d'Ivoire, Malawi, Morocco, Ethiopia and Malagasy. Their first languages include French, Arabic, Swahili, Amharic and Malagasy. At the time of data collection, all of the participants from this sample were just starting their second year at the African Leadership Academy.

The other 22 participants are 15 to 16 year-olds who are all students in grade 10 at a number of different schools in Gauteng. They attend a mix of former Model C and township schools and have been selected for an enrichment programme on academic merit in maths, science and technology. The Abaholi Leadership School is funded by Sasol and is a supplementary

tuition programme that operates on Saturdays from 8am to 1pm and over the school holidays. There are about 30 students in a class and the programme covers grades 10, 11 and 12. A total of 22 grade 10 students volunteered for this research project and were given permission by their parents to participate. Thirteen of these volunteers are female and nine are male. Their first languages include English, Setswana, Sesotho, Sepedi, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, isiZulu and isiXhosa.

3.3   Research instruments

This study takes a qualitative approach. According to Peshkin (1993: 23), research in the past that was not theory-driven, hypothesis-testing or generalization-producing ran the risk of being dismissed as deficient. Fortunately the days of intellectual insularity are gone, and no research paradigm can claim to have a monopoly. In most qualitative research today, interviews are standard methods of data collection and, more recently, non-linguistic dimensions have been included in research (Bagnoli 2009: 547). Bagnoli (2009: 548) has argued that the use of drawing methods can widen participants' interpretations of questions and allow them to make their own meanings and access experiences that cannot easily be put into words. The use of self-portraits is one way of using drawing to collect data on identities and people's biographies. Bagnoli (2009: 566) describes these self-portraits as an arts-based graphic technique that enables people to think about their identities and lives holistically.

This study relies on two main sources of data collection instruments, namely language portraits and their accompanying explanatory notes, and semi-structured interviews. Additionally, background questionnaires (see Appendix B) and the researcher's notes and observations were used. Each of the data sets adds complementary information on the participants and their linguistic identities. The background questionnaire establishes personal data, languages used and schools attended, while the language portraits, explanatory notes and interviews were used to carry out an in-depth investigation of the linguistic repertoires of the participants, as well as how they use these repertoires.

3.3.1   Language portraits

Superdiversity (Vertovec 2007) has presented a challenge to the traditional understanding of 'repertoire'. We currently live in an age where expanding global mobility is characterised by

36

new social formations and networking practices and we can no longer assume the existence of stable communities of practice (Busch 2011(a): 505). As a result of new networking practices, Busch (2011(a)) suggests that it is necessary to re-examine the notion of 'linguistic repertoire', and argues for a poststructuralist approach. As she points out, the concept of verbal repertoire, as defined by Gumperz (1964), was linked to a particular speech community and provides the weapons of everyday communication (Busch 2011(a): 504). However, Gumperz notes that "it is the individual who makes the decision" about linguistic choices and these choices are not always predictable (Gumperz 1964, cited in Busch 2011(a): 504). The fact that the connection between style and language is not absolute becomes significant in current debates about language crossing and translanguaging, that is code-switching across social and ethnic boundaries (Busch 2011(a): 504). This kind of code-switching needs to be negotiated and what is of interest to researchers is not the codes people use, but how different communicative resources are used to create meaning (Rampton 2011).

These new approaches mark a shift away from structure, system and regularity, to those that acknowledge fluidity and creativity in linguistic practices (Busch 2011(a): 506). Some researchers like Otsuji and Pennycook (2009) explicitly use the concept of 'repertoire'. When discussing metrolingualism, (i.e. creative practices across borders of culture, history and politics), Otsuji and Pennycook see it as concerned with language ideologies, practices, resources and repertoires (Otsuji & Pennycook 2009: 257). Language is viewed not as an abstract system but as a collection of communicative repertoires which draws on semiotic resources and is shaped by social practice (Otsuji & Pennycook 2009: 248). Wei (2011), on the other hand, refers to repertoire implicitly. He argues that to investigate translanguaging empirically, and to analyse the creativity and criticality of multilingual practices requires a paradigm shift (Wei 2011: 1224). We need to move on from pattern-seeking approaches and focus on spontaneous, impromptu and momentary actions and performances of the individual (Wei 2011: 1224). Wei calls this "Moment Analysis" and it requires data from a number of sources, particularly from observation and recording naturally-occurring interactions (Wei 2011: 1224).

As noted earlier, these approaches outlined above mark a paradigm shift which acknowledges fluidity and creativity in linguistic practices (Busch 2011(a): 506). Busch notes that there appears to be some consensus amongst authors who investigate translanguaging that the focus of interest lies in speech and repertoire rather than treating individual languages as a set of

37

categories (Busch 2011(a): 506). Given this new orientation, Busch suggests a multimodal biographic method as a way of researching linguistic diversity (Busch 2011(a): 510). This is the approach in which a picture is also considered a mode of meaning-making in its own right, and is followed in this study. However, Busch notes that biographic portraits may not be considered an image of the linguistic repertoire as it really is, nor is it an objective reconstruction of the history of language acquisition (Busch 2011(a): 511). Selection, interpretation and evaluation take place in the visual mode as much as in the verbal mode, and representation and reconstruction do occur independently of social discourse (Busch 2011(a): 511).

Bagnoli (2009) notes that while creative tasks such as language portraits may in some cases encourage non-standard thinking which avoids clichés and ready-made answers, even visual data may be clichéd and produced in a standardized manner in the same way that words can be (Bagnoli 2009: 566). This is especially the case when the participants know each other (Bagnoli 2009: 566), as is the case with the adolescents in this study. Occasionally, it is clear that the participants have discussed their responses with their friends, but Bagnoli (2009) suggests that this could be treated as part of the data. In this study, the reading of both images and explanatory notes together provided important information on the languages which the participants spoke, how they used these languages to form their different identities and how these languages might provide meaning in their lives in future.

The participants began by completing the background questionnaire. They were then invited to select a body template for their language portraits. The images used for the language portraits was designed by Elmarie Costandius[2] of Stellenbosch University's Visual Arts Department. Costandius presented a number of different designs, a series of figures outlined in black and a series of figures outlined in grey. Each design set had three figures, the difference being in the positioning of the arms. The grey-outline figure was selected because it presented more fluid possibilities. Having made their selection, the participants were provided with crayons and felt-tipped pens for colouring-in. Their instructions were to place the different languages they spoke in different areas of the body and to colour each language a

---

[2] Costandius is one of the collaborating researchers on a current project entitled *Language biographies of African migrants* at Stellenbosch University. This thesis also forms part of this project. The images were adapted from those used by Busch (2010).

different colour. A preliminary discussion was held about the use of language and participants were invited to think about what language they dreamed in, danced in and so on. Once they had completed the drawing, participants were then asked to write explanatory notes in which they explained the choices in their drawings.

3.3.2   Interviews

The language portrait activity was followed by a 45-minute informal group interview with students from the sample. The aim of the interviews was not to produce homogeneous data, as this is unlikely to provide sufficient ways of examining the nature of linguistic identity. Instead, the data reflects the "speckled diversity" of the participants (Richards 2005: 78).

Biographical methods are increasingly being used in academic research. This is because these methods are a means to explore life in a postmodern culture, which is characterised by a high degree of diversity in which intergenerational links have weakened as a new politics of identity and representation have emerged (Merrill & West 2009). As Merrill and West point out, the biographical approach makes it possible to make meaning in a fragmented, individualised and unpredictable environment. In line with this increasing interest, a range of methodologies has been developed which enable participants to talk about their experiences, thoughts and views. They range from tightly-structured interviews to ones that are launched with an initial prompt in the form of a question and are then allowed to develop into a free-flowing conversation between the interviewer and subject (Gillham 2005). Georgakopoulou (2006: 235) refers to narratives-in-interaction that take place on the fringes of narrative research but, as such, do not fit into the narrative canon, such as adolescents' conversations. Such narratives-in-interaction are fragmented small stories, unfinished and in the making and by naming them "narratives-in-interaction", Georgakopoulou (2006: 239-40) deliberately emphasises their dialogic qualities.

In writing about qualitative research, Wengraf (2001: 64) proposes a highly-structured model called the Biographic Narrative Interpretative Method (BNIM). This model constitutes an interview procedure which focuses on eliciting narratives and is built around a single initial prompt question. Thereafter, interventions are reduced to a minimum and are facilitative but non-directional, while listening must be active (Wengraf 2001: 125). This approach differs to other interview methods such as attitude surveys and interviews which elucidate through

39

dominant and explicit perspectives. However, when reviewing interview methodologies currently in play in the US, Wengraf (2004) notes that while postmodernist and constructivist practice can be useful in the search for a more reflexive and subtle understanding of qualitative analysis, it is counter-productive when it denies the existence of internal or external realities, an ideology he finds contradictory and unhelpful (Wengraf 2004).

One of the difficulties with small stories and adolescent talk is with the very fleetingness and negotiability of the interactive situation, and what can be lost in translation as a result (Bamberg 2004: 366). Bamberg (2004) suggests that analysing visual material rather than transcripts would be helpful as it would make it possible to keep a close eye on the strategies employed by all the participants, including the interviewer or moderator, in sustaining their interaction (Bamberg 2004: 367). However, it is also important to remember that biographies are not playbacks of life events; rather, they require a point of view on past events that can be made relevant in the present (Bamberg 2006: 64). In addition, the telling of the story is an interaction with the audience in which the narrator has an obligation to respond to the moment, to new situations and friends (Bamberg 2006: 65).

Bamberg (2006) also focuses on the position of the interviewer and interviewee in the elicitation process. This is a perceived weakness in this study because the researcher has in the past 15 months taught all of the participants and, in the case of interviews 1 and 2, was still teaching them at the time of the data collection. It is difficult to quantify the impact of this relationship on the students, but clearly it must be considered as a factor which could influence the way they present themselves.

Bamberg (2006) lists four guidelines for the elicitation procedure. Firstly, a narrative interview in which the narrator presents a story requires a relationship of trust between the interviewee and interviewer so that participants can narrate and not feel that they have to engage in face-saving strategies (Bamberg 2006: 69). Secondly, the interviewer needs to start with a generative question to prompt a spontaneous telling, without previous strategizing by the interviewee. Thirdly, it is important that the narrative proceeds without interruptions from the interviewer who essentially supports the narrative flow (Bamberg 2006: 69). Finally, after the main narrative, the interviewer and interviewee should have an extended phase of questions and answers to gather further details, and then move on to reflections and evaluations with the interviewee (Bamberg 2006: 69). This research followed the first, second

40

and third guidelines rigorously. The third guideline was especially interesting because once a participant signalled that they had a story to tell, the other members of the group stopped talking and gave the narrator the space to tell their small story. It was not possible to meet the fourth guideline because all of the interviews were group interviews, and once a participant indicated that he/she had finished his/her story, the other participants took over with their own comments and observations, or took the opportunity to claim the story-telling space and introduce new topics that were important to them.

3.4   Data analysis procedure

It is clear then that the data for this study are multimodal in nature and, subsequently, a multimodal approach to the analysis of identity construction has been adopted. The term "multimodality" was introduced in this thesis to emphasise the importance of taking into account semiotic devices other than language-in-use, such as image, gesture, music, body language and so on (Iedema 2003: 33). The increased use of electronic communication available on cellphones and the internet has undoubtedly driven scholarly attention to the multi-semiotic complexity of representation in our daily lives. What we are also finding is that sound and image are taking over tasks previously performed with language, so that alternative modes of communication are, to some extent, displacing language (Iedema 2003: 33). As a result, we find ourselves living in an age where meaning is increasingly being made with a range of semiotic modes (Iedema 2003: 33).

Kress (2005: 1) suggests that writing is now being displaced by images in many instances of communication, a fact that, inevitably, prompts a predictably negative chorus of despair, anger and nostalgia. Kress (2005) argues that a concept such as 'language' may be beginning to lose its plausibility for two reasons: firstly, the material differences between speech and writing are now so significant that they lead to real differences in the potential of each for representation; secondly, speech and writing are composed of such diverse phenomena that it is difficult to regard each as a unified, homogenous resource (Kress 2005: 12). The result is a blurring of traditional boundaries between the roles allocated to language, image, layout and design, to which analysts have responded accordingly. As a result, our semiotic environment has become increasingly populated with complex social and cultural discourse practices (Iedema 2003: 33). However, multimodality should serve as a point of departure rather than as a simple blueprint for action (Iedema 2003: 38). According to Kress, if one links

41

multimodality to a social semiotic theory that accounts for meaning-making, it presents the theoretical and descriptive possibility of examining the issue of changes in representation without the indulgence of despair or utopianism (Kress 2005: 6). Multimodality offers the means to describe a practice in all its semiotic complexity without favouring one semiotic over another (Iedema 2003: 38).

Taking note of the possibilities of multimodal analysis, data analysis in this thesis will proceed on two fronts, namely thematic analysis and small story analysis based on biographic images and which includes explanatory notes associated with these images, and transcriptions of group interviews. A combination of images, text and audio data will be used and the various kinds of data will be triangulated to obtain insightful answers to the research questions.

Generally, using biographies to explore multilingualism makes it possible to study how linguistic identity is constructed. Autobiographical narratives give a valid perspective on local practices in particular places and at particular times. Placing narratives in a biographical framework also illuminates both big and small stories, no matter how untidy and messy those stories may be. Finally, it foregrounds the context, be it personal or symbolic, in which the narratives are produced (Phoenix 2011: 65). By adding a multimodal approach, another semiotic mode contributes to the unravelling of narratives of identity and language.

The main advantage of thematic research is its sensitivity to recurrent motifs that are salient in participants' stories and thus to themes that are important to them (Pavlenko 2007: 166). The weakness of a thematic approach is that it lacks a theoretical premise which illuminates the conceptual categories and where these originate from. A thematic approach also lacks an established procedure for matching categories. This approach may rely too heavily on repeated instances which could lead to important themes being overlooked (Pavlenko 2007: 166). In this study, the criticisms of thematic analysis are acknowledged and addressed by using thematic analysis only as a way to organise and highlight important themes, while additionally following small story analysis as an analytical tool. Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) define "small stories" as the telling of ongoing, past and future or hypothetical events that do not always follow the typical narrative structure in regard to chronology, and can even be about nothing from the interviewer's perspective. Ryan (2008:

42

5) suggests that, in this way, small stories provide a way to locate sections of data that offer rich insights into the subjectivities and positionings of those involved in the interaction.

While the links between life and story and the exploration of narratives have a long tradition that goes as far back as Freud, the supposed close connection between life and narrative has been questioned (Bamberg 2011: 14). There are a number of objections to narrative theory and big story research in particular, although the concerns apply equally to small story analysis. Firstly, the question has been asked as to whether life has the purpose and meaningfulness attributed to it by narrative theorists, for if one accepts that a "lived" moment only gains its life-worthy quality when seen in the light of surrounding moments, then does narrative analysis not become a deadly normalising machine (Bamberg 2011: 14)? The second difficulty is the tendency in autobiography to camouflage identity by blurring boundaries by moving between first-person and third-person (Bamberg 2011: 14). However, emphasizing small stories as opposed to big story narrative research makes it possible to examine how people as agentive actors both position themselves and become positioned (Bamberg 2011: 15). In this way, identity construction can be viewed as a two-fold process. Firstly, we can analyse the way in which the referential world is constructed with protagonists and antagonists that emerge in space and time (Bamberg 2011: 15). Secondly, it is possible to simultaneously show how the referential world is constructed by investigating how tellers want to be understood (Bamberg 2011: 16).

Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) have put forward a five-step analytical framework for tapping into small stories as sites of identity work. These steps have developed out of a model of positioning proposed by Bamberg in 1997, and was then further elaborated upon by Georgakopoulou (2000) and Bamberg again (2004). The five-step procedure deals with: how characters are positioned in relation to each other and in space and time; the interactional accomplishment of narrating as the activity under construction; an analysis of the setting in which the moderator has asked a question, how this question is answered in the form of telling a story, and the conclusions which can be drawn from there; an examination of the joint interactional engagement of all participants, and how much of the construction of a sense of self or identity in a particular segment is due to 'acts of identity' which can be traced back to individual conversational moves or discourses that seemingly impose themselves on participant structures and individual sense-making strategies (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou

43

2008: 8). This five-step analytical framework was also employed in this study to analyse the small stories that emerged from the data.

3.5 Ethical considerations

As the participants in this study are mostly minors, obtaining parental consent was necessary and all information obtained in connection with the study which can be identified with a participant remains confidential and will be disclosed only with the parents' permission or as required by law. Confidentiality will be maintained by storing data in hard copy form as well as electronically, with only the researcher and her supervisors having access thereto.

Participants who want to view test results will be allowed to see only their own results. No names of any participants will be mentioned in this thesis. In the event of there being reference to individual results, participant numbers will be used, which will not allow anyone except the researcher and her supervisors to determine the identity of the participant.

Parental consent was obtained or, where the participants were boarders, agreement from a school official with authority to sign *in loco parentis.* At no stage was any pressure brought to bear on any of the students to take part in the survey, either by way of overt encouragement or by questioning any students who did not take part. Participation in the research was always presented as optional.

Chapter 4: Data analysis

4.1   Introduction

This chapter will focus on the analysis of the data of the linguistic profiles of the 30 multilingual adolescents in Johannesburg who took part in the data collection. The data have been collected in the form of a questionnaire, language biographies in the form of language portraits, a number of group interviews and classroom observations.

At the outset, this study posed a series of questions to be answered through a review and analysis of the data. The analysis will follow on the theoretical concepts and framework discussed in the preceding chapters. Recall the research questions that were posed:

a) What is the language profile of multilingual adolescents attending selected enrichment programmes in a South African urban area?
b) What kinds of language identities are projected by the language biographies of these adolescents?
c) What are the links between users' language profiles and their identities?
d) In what ways do they use the languages that make up their full repertoire?
e) Which of their range of languages do these multilingual students use when learning?

4.2   Participants' language profiles

Thirteen of the participants in this study are male and seventeen are female. The 30 participants are aged between 16 and 19, and are all multilingual in that they generally speak three to eight languages apiece, with the South African-born participants using nearly all of the languages they speak on a daily basis. Between them, they speak 35 languages including: Afrikaans, Amharic, Arabic, Berber, Chaga, Chewa, Chichewa, Chiyao, Chinese, English, French, Ge'ez, German, Hindi, isiNdebele, isiXhosa, isiZulu, Kinyarwanda, Malagasy, Mauritian Creole, Oromiffa, Portuguese, Sepedi, Setswana, Shona, siSwati, Spanish, Swahili, Tigregna, Tsotsitaal, Tumbuka, Tshivenda, Wolof and Xitsonga.

The lingua franca of the group is English. IsiZulu is either spoken at home or specifically mentioned as a language used in school by 13 of the participants, more than half of the South African component in this study. This is perhaps not surprising considering the 2011 census statistics which identifies isiZulu as the language with the highest percentage of L1 speakers in South Africa, and the single most widely-used L1 in Gauteng province. The status of isiZulu as an informal lingua franca in former township areas around Gauteng, as suggested by Mesthrie (2006), is also borne out by these numbers[3].

The languages represented are not only local South African languages but include those spoken more regularly in other African countries. This includes Chewa, the national language of Malawi but also spoken in Zambia, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, and Chaga, Chichewa, Chiyao and Tumbuka which are also Malawian languages. Participants in the study also mention that they have some proficiency in Ge'ez, an ancient south Semitic language that was once the language of the kingdom of Aksum (Ethiopia) and which now survives as the language of the liturgy used in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Other Ethiopian languages mentioned are Amharic, the official national language of Ethiopia, and Oromiffa and Tigregna, languages spoken in northern Ethiopia.

Specific linguistic styles are also mentioned as part of the repertoires of these participants, of which Tsotsitaal seems most prominent. Tsotitaal was listed by some of the participants in their language portraits. In addition, it was also discussed in the group interviews where students who had not mentioned it previously said that they spoke it. Tsotsitaal originated in Johannesburg's Sophiatown in the 1950s. Inspired by the world of film featuring American gangsters, it is a mix of languages characterised by its quick, smart, changing vocabulary, with the ability to constantly reinvent itself. In 1976, during the Soweto uprisings, Tsotsitaal became a symbol of linguistic resistance, representing a radical counter-discourse that was aligned with Black Consciousness. Since 1994, Tsotsitaal has come to attract the attention of educated, young, black female speakers and so, it continues to evolve as a sharp and clever subversive dialect (Milani, Jonsson & Mhlambi, forthcoming).

Only seven of the 30 participants use only one language at home while the remaining 23 speak two or more, depending on the linguistic repertoire within the family. In line with

---

[3] However, Mesthrie's (2006) study is qualitative and cannot be taken as providing conclusive evidence.

Blommaert's (2010(a)) thinking about languages as mobile banks of concrete resources, this study explores how the participants use the languages they speak to construct meaning and identity. Even though many of the participants readily admit to not speaking all of the languages in their repertoires either fluently or well, they nevertheless use them as resources.

4.3   Thematic and small story analysis

Procedurally, the thematic analysis uses Pavlenko's (2007: 165) guidelines, namely to follow the participants' thoughts and feelings about language, their own language use, and the language learning process. The themes in the data were identified by manually checking in the language portraits, explanatory notes and interviews for recurrent words, phrases and images like, for example, *English* and *international language*, or images which all represent language in a particular way. The next step was to review the word/phrase list and images and organise these ideas according to smaller topics, such as positive and negative feelings of languages, which could then be further collated into broader themes, such as attitudes towards language learning and language use in general. Lastly, specific small stories representative of or contradicting certain themes were selected in order to analyse language and identity in more detail.

The themes that were most prominent and which are explored in the data include: L1 language maintenance, accessing the Other, attitudes to English, stylisation in identity construction, tolerance of ambiguity and attitudes to Afrikaans. All of the data sources will be used to discuss the identified themes and provide illustrative material whilst bearing in mind the multimodal nature of the data.

4.3.1   L1 maintenance in a multilingual community

A number of themes emerge when it comes to the motivation for language choices, and one that emerges consistently is the desire to maintain one's own language. This emerges strongly in both the drawings and accompanying explanatory paragraphs. In the drawings, the emotional attachment to the mother tongue is often depicted as a symbolic or grounding device. The participants often placed the mother tongue in their hearts symbolising their strong emotional attachment to it, or in the feet using it symbolically as a grounding device.

47

The following excerpts are taken from some of the participants' explanatory notes. These excerpts together with the biographic drawings and interviews illustrate this positive and emotional attachment to the L1.

BgM: Swazi and Ndebele are situated in my feet, the reason for that is that my dad is a Swati and my mom is Ndebele and I am following in their footsteps.

NM: I coloured Zulu where my heart is because it is my home language and I grew up speaking it …

TM: Brown colour represents my home language which is Sepedi … This symbolises who I am. It shows that I will never let my culture die and I will always remain Pedi …

BM: I used pink for the heart and to represent the Tsonga language because it is close to my heart and I am a Tsonga girl. The pink represents me as a being and my life. My heart beats in Tsonga.

SG: Chichewa is my mother tongue and I can't speak it very well because I am very exposed to English. So it is in my throat because though it's very easy for me to speak Chichewa, it's very hard sometimes to remember words and meanings … This means even if I forget it, it will always be a part of me, as the first language I could speak.

MF: I put Wolof on my feet because I feel like it is a basement for me; it's the initial language that enabled me to learn the other ones and supports them.

48

SG   **MF**

SG has used red for her mother tongue of Chichewa, which she places at the throat, beneath the head which is coloured brown for English. MF, from Francophone Africa, uses patterns for newly-acquired languages or languages of the future, and blocks of colour for languages he knows well. He places his first language of Wolof (in pink) not only in his feet but also at his heart and on the lips which he divides equally between English (in green) and Wolof. However, French (in blue) he places on the head because this is the language in which he has completed most of his schooling, and in the abdomen as a linking device between Wolof and English. Below are another two extracts which express this deep connection to a mother tongue:

DU: My heart has two sides. The left side is represented by Kiswahili and the right side by Kinyarwanda. Both these languages tell of my lifelong journey; where I've been, where I am and where I'll end up. Swahili was the language I grew up in – listening and speaking it as though I was made for it. And Kinyarwanda is my mother tongue; a language I only recently had the chance to learn. I am proud of both these because together they shape my personal identity.

49

JR: My favourite language (or instead the closest to my heart) is my home language Malagasy. I just feel I can find more adequate words to express my deep feelings; I am able to find the exact word because there are so many words which seem to mean the same thing whereas they actually express different ideas, different emotions. Whenever I speak Malagasy, things make more sense to me. Actually they don't only make sense; they also create a different/special atmosphere around me. That is the reason why I coloured my breast (including my heart) pink.

One of the issues that is debated constantly in education and political circles in South Africa is the devaluing and potential loss of African languages, the domination of English both in the classroom and the workplace, as well as the lack of writing and publishing in African languages and dearth of African-language TV programmes on the national broadcaster's (the SABC's) channels. However, the responses from the participants of this study do not support this view, as they clearly value their mother tongues. SG does not speak her Malawian mother tongue of Chichewa well because her family now lives in Johannesburg, yet she nevertheless attaches symbolic and emotional significance to it in spite of forgetting the vocabulary. The attachment to mother tongue is also evident in BM's statement. BM is an L1 Xitsonga speaker, and her unequivocal statement "[…] I am a Tsonga girl" takes on a special resonance when read with the discussion in Interview 1 about the stereotyping of Tsonga people as the 'Other' in the former townships around Johannesburg.

5.3.2 Creating dialogic spaces with the 'Other'

The participants speak between three and eight languages apiece. Members of the South African component are immensely flexible with the languages they speak, moving easily from one language to another to reconstruct or reposition themselves in relation to others, as the following excerpt from PN's explanatory notes shows:

PN: I've also placed Sotho on my hand because it also helps me to communicate with my friends because most of them are Sotho and they don't know Zulu that well so I try to speak their language to avoid difficulties in communication

50

PN

PN is an isiZulu L1 speaker and wants to be accepted by a group of girls who are L1 Sesotho speakers, so she uses language to reposition herself and gain access to a circle of friends. In her drawing, PN has taken enormous care over small details that are not in fact representative of language but render her very attractive. She presents herself in an attractive outfit with yellow accessories, a yellow flower pinned in her hair and a wide yellow belt. The flower detail is echoed on her skirt which has a fashionable irregular hem.

TN also sees the importance of using different repertoires as an inclusive device:

> **TN**: The reason why Setswana also took a big part of my body like Sesotho is because most of my friends are Tswana speakers so whenever I am with them I speak Setswana and I still feel good because it is very similar to Sesotho.

TN

TN also uses language to reposition himself in relation to his peer group. In his own words, he feels good speaking Setswana even if it is not his first language.

However, the most significant discussion on attitudes towards the Other was about Xitsonga, and the exchange that took place in Interview 1 at Sci-Bono over the group's inability or refusal to speak this language. The group had been discussing languages they try to avoid speaking. A few mentioned Afrikaans but then TM came up with Shangani (the correct name is "Xitsonga" and "Shangani" is regarded as derogatory). MS intervenes and is very critical of TM's attitude because she finds his comments prejudiced and discriminatory, a view that receives support from the other students. This exchange is presented in Extract 1 from Interview 1.

Xitsonga people represent one of the minority language groups in South Africa. With less than 2 million speakers (SA Census 2001), they are often scornfully referred to as "Shangaans" and treated with suspicion. In Extract, 1 the group discusses *Jesus is a Shangaan*[4], a short animated film by Mdu Ntuli which parodies the prejudice about Tsonga

---

[4] *Jesus is a Shangaan* is a very short yet highly controversial animated video by Mdu Ntuli of Mdu Comics. The central character is Jesus who, having had a DNA test, discovers he is Shangaan. He is advised to scrub himself with oranges to get rid of his "Shangaan-ness". This does not work so, in despair, Jesus decides to commit suicide. He sits down to compose a lengthy suicide note in which very detailed instructions about the care of his pet lamb, Mbuzi, are included. The video ends at this point and it went viral after it was uploaded

people and which created a furore in Gauteng, and other provinces, for both belittling the Tsonga people and for being blasphemous.

Extract 1 from Interview1:

AB[5]: Have you seen the Mdu comics? He did a cartoon called 'Jesus is a Shangaan' Oooooh [chorus of agreement and laughter]

MS: That's another example of how they discriminate the Tsonga people.

TM: But … but if you watch the video, he's [Jesus] actually been told he's Tsonga and he feels he is disappointed.

AB: Yes and he goes and buys two pockets of oranges to wash away his Shangaan-ness Ahhhhhhh [Sympathetic group sigh]

TM: He doesn't want to be Tsonga. That's another thing in his mind because in the cartoon he's Jesus. If the doctor has told him he's a Zulu … Maybe he would have said I don't have a problem being Zulu or Tswana or Pedi or Sotho but because its Tsonga he's discriminated … he doesn't want to be Tsonga because he knows most of the Tsonga people are discriminated … so he feels like he's weak, people won't take him seriously because he's Tsonga.

AB: Is that true?

HN: Yes

AB: Anyone here Tsonga-speaking or got Tsonga relatives?

HN: I've got Tsonga relatives

NM: My stepmother is Tsonga

AB: And are they marginalised and discriminated against?

MS: You know, they think witchcraft is more common among Tsonga and Venda people. That's mostly taken for granted … I don't know … it's like there is still apartheid. Take guys for instance … They will see a beautiful girl and call her and want to talk to her but … when they find out she is Tsonga … they will just walk away.

---

onto YouTube in May 2012, drawing obvious protests from church groups and, most notably, from one individual. Memories of the pain of being ridiculed as a Shangaan schoolgirl prompted a 32 year-old Pretoria woman to lay a complaint with the SA Human Rights Commission. Caroline Sithole said that the video reminded her of the discrimination she suffered growing up as a Shangaan. Sithole said: "I grew up being ridiculed by schoolmates for being Shangaan and I was not sure where this hatred was coming from. This has caused a lot of pain for me … I hated going to school because 'I was Shangaan'. I will not be ridiculed again in a democratic South Africa […]" (Chauke 2012).

[5] AB is the interviewer.

53

It is interesting to observe that this kind of stereotyping and othering is expressed in relation to a local South African language, perhaps indicative of the minority status (both in terms of numbers and power) of Xitsonga. The topic of Xitsonga also led to the emergence of a small story in which identities are constructed and reconstructed.

Small story: A Tsonga friend

This story from interview 1 involves three participants, MS and TM, with QN joining in towards the end. The point of departure is a debate about Xitsonga which has been referred to earlier in this section. It appears from the earlier exchange that there is considerable resistance to Xitsonga and Xitsonga speakers, and MS, who is not a Xitsonga speaker, has taken up the issue of linguistic discrimination with TM who earlier referred to Xitsonga derogatively as Shangani. In his defence, and to reposition himself as open rather than racist, TM tells a small story about a Tsonga friend he once had.

Extract 2 from Interview 1 with Sci-Bono students

TM: I used to have a friend who was Tsonga in primary … and most of the time, most of my other friends, when I am with him, they didn't want to be around us. Just because he was Tsonga. But then they grew with him and they grew a relationship all together … but the first three months or six months, they were not like that … they were actually like 'He's Tsonga'. 'How can you do that with a Tsonga person?' They used to discriminate him even though when he was with me he never spoke Tsonga around me … we used to speak Sotho because that's what I had in common with him. So I don't know why he never actually wanted to teach me the Tsonga language. Maybe it was fear …

MS: Was there ever a time that you asked him to teach you?

TM: No

MS: See … you knew that he was Tsonga but you didn't even bother. But then you wanted him to learn your language.

TM: I'm not Sotho, I'm Pedi. He was common with the Sotho language. So I had to compromise and speak with him.

MS: OK. Did you teach him your language?

TM: Ja.

MS: Why didn't you want to learn his?

TM: He didn't teach me?

MS: You should have asked.

TM: People are teaching … [interrupted]

QN: You don't go around asking people to teach you their language … [inaudible] [Confused murmurings]

AB: So if Tsonga is the least spoken language … [interruption]

QN: They are so close. You see one person from here and one from wherever and when they talk it seems as if they have known each other for so long. They've got that connection. They're like the Jews spread all over the world but when they come together they are so close.

When analysing this small story, the characters that emerge are TM, his Tsonga friend and his other friends who do not want TM to hang out with his Tsonga friend. TM and his Tsonga friend are grouped together and, at first, they seem to stand in opposition to the other friends. Later these other friends relent and the relationships become more inclusive and they all appear to become friends.

The story is narrated by TM in response to an accusation of discriminating against Xitsonga-speaking people. TM makes a story announcement, using a generic framing device: "I used to have a friend who was Tsonga in primary …". The group quietens down and gives him the floor. TM's small story is about a Tsonga friend he had at primary school, a friendship which he maintained in spite of opposition from other friends who were contemptuous of Tsonga people and TM's relationship with a Tsonga boy. The telling helps TM to construct his identity as someone who does not blindly follow others.

It is evident that the interviewer/researcher assisted in the co-constructing of this small story. Before the interview commences, the interviewer explains that its purpose was to discuss how students use all of the languages they speak and how they feel about them. The question posed by the interviewer which prompts the discussion in Extract 4 is: Are there any languages you avoid speaking? The immediate response from NN is Afrikaans, and the other participants respond with laughter, sighs and some support, although in the explanatory notes there is a lot of support for Afrikaans. However, TM responds to the initial question about avoiding languages by saying "Shangani", and is challenged on this by MS. TM starts by

55

saying Xitsonga is a difficult language, "too deep", and derives some support for this from QN who says that most people never try to learn the language. The question the interviewer asks at this stage is "Why?". NM, a Xitsonga speaker, responds with a one-word explanation, "Stereotyping". The group then focuses on the issue of stereotyping and the interviewer introduces the subject of the animated film, *Jesus is a Shangaan*, which creates much controversy. The short film parodies linguistic and ethnic stereotyping of the Tsonga people and, as all of the students appear to have seen it, it extends the debate between MA and TM, drawing a small story out of TM.

In the face of relentless challenges from MS, TM opts for a storied response as a way of mobilizing the Self and resisting MS's suggestions that he is a linguistic bigot. TM is aware that the discussion, triggered by a single throw-away remark, has been a tricky one for him personally, and he uses the small story to navigate away from the unpleasant implications of his comment and to present a more positive side of his social interaction.

The two Xitsonga L2 speakers in the interview remain in the background throughout this exchange, observing closely and taking very little part in the exchange between MS and TM. The discussion becomes a dialogue between the two, with comments from QN at the end. The entry point into the debate is TM's characterisation of Xitsonga as Shangani, a derogatory and discriminatory term. Neither MS nor TM speak Xitsonga. MS does not at any stage solicit support for her views, either directly or through body language, from either of the Tsonga speakers present at the interview session. She sits almost opposite TM in the circle and confronts him squarely, with her body facing him directly.

In the telling of his story, TM repositions himself as tolerant and unmoved by ethnic prejudice, someone capable of withstanding popular prejudice at a young age because the incident on which the story is based took place in primary school, and he emerges as the hero of the story. He concludes by saying that they compromised on language and spoke Sesotho. But MS pounces on this and demands to know why TM did not try to learn Xitsonga and, once again, the argument moves to and fro with MS saying TM simply did not want to learn Xitsonga. The argument is finally wrapped up by QN who makes the comment: "You don't go around asking people to teach you their language …". QN's tone of voice is disapproving and suggests that this is not socially acceptable. At this stage, the discussion splinters completely into a number of small, inaudible discussions. QN then makes an additional

56

comment which is put forward as a possible explanation as to why Tsonga people are side-lined, as well as offering some lateral support for TM:

> They [Tsonga people - AB] are so close. You see one person from here and one from wherever and when they talk it seems as if they have known each other for so long. They've got that connection. They're like the Jews, spread all over the world but when they come together they are so close.

This would suggest the response by Tsonga people to being 'otherized' has been to build very close bonds between one another.

The portraits below and the notes that accompanied them also all address some aspect of the other, either in a positive sense (embracing the other), in a more neutral sense (using the other to fit in without positive or negative connotations), or in a negative sense (rejecting the other). The portraits below are the biographic drawings of BM, the only Xitsonga L1 speaker among the research participants, and those of DU and SM, two Rwandan participants in this study.
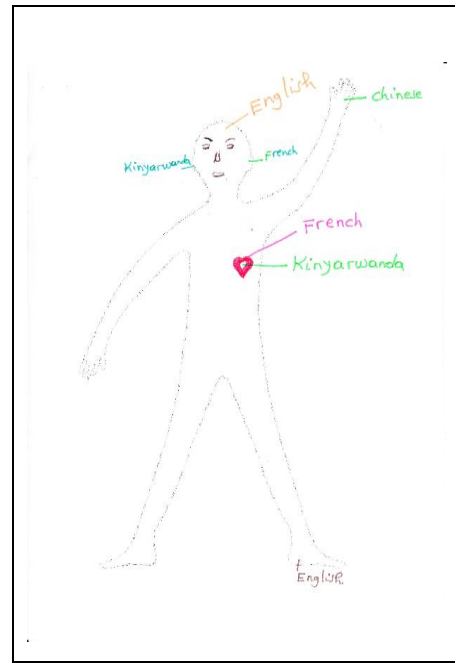
BM
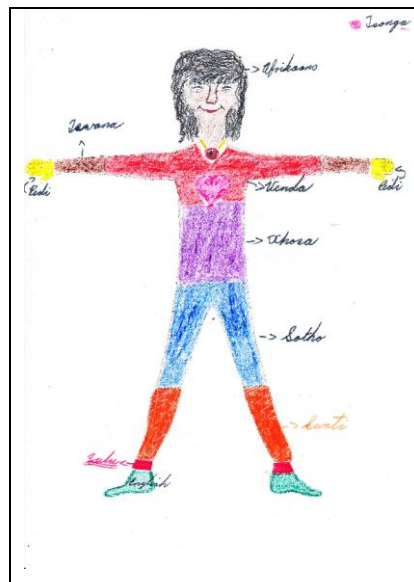
DU
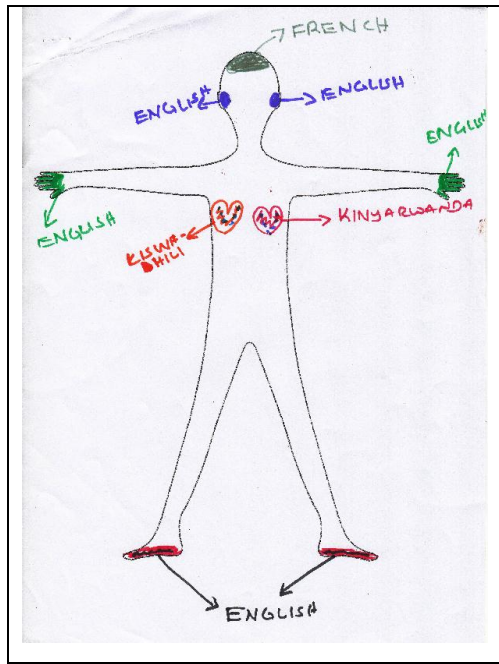
SM

BM's portrait will be analysed first. The drawing of the face is detailed and the body is composed of bold blocks of colour. BM has added adornments like a necklace, delicate facial features and beautifully-styled hair. Her fully-realised portrait of her Self appears as a spirited response to the "inferior" status of Other conferred on her by some of her peers. In her drawing, she positions herself as beautiful, colourful and, in choosing the body template with outstretched arms, she presents herself as defiant and fearless, in line with her declaration in her explanatory notes: "I am a Tsonga girl". In Interview 1, at which BM was not present, the group was not able resolve their issues with Xitsonga. There were undoubtedly some positive feelings about Xitsonga with one participant having a Tsonga stepmother and another with Tsonga relatives, but significantly these participants stayed in the background when MS took a strong stand over what she regarded as linguistic racism. The two L2 Xitsonga speakers in the group made little or no contribution although they were leaning forward in their chairs, listening intently.

When considering the Self, it is interesting to note the dramatic contrasts between BM's drawing and the portraits by DU and SM. In terms of background, both participants are from Rwanda and would have been born around the time of the Rwandan genocide. Their self-portraits are completely linear and almost devoid of colour and any distinguishing features, even though the participants were all presented with the same art materials, instructions and examples. There are a number of reasons they might have chosen to do so: firstly, they may

58

have found the research exercise personally invasive; as scientists they may have found the project and colouring-in childish, or, perhaps in terms of Rwandan culture, focusing on the Self could be judged as too pushy and individualistic. Whatever the reasons, DU's portrait is featureless, the only colour in her drawing being the twin hearts representing Kiswahili and Kinyarwanda, pulsating in red, orange and blue, the languages she says will accompany her on her lifelong journey. SM's profile drawing is equally pallid although she adds some very basic facial features. What is clear too from Extract 2 Interview 3 with students from the ALA that follows is that Rwandans appear to go to enormous effort not to do or say anything that could possibly offend or upset.

In Extract 2, DU talks about what it was like coming to a multinational school in South Africa, the things she found alien and difficult at first, and how she is resolving the cultural difficulties and issues around belonging through compromise:

Extract 3 from Interview 3

DU: ALA was different … Because I was so used to school and church and … just basically these three things … and here I come … and I was just bombarded with people … so many ideas and such diverse thoughts about the world … About so many things … and … er … I really didn't know how to take it all in.

AB: Ummm

DU: When I used to hold conversations with people … I didn't know if I should …. hold back … or listen … or argue … because they were all out there … they were … they (hesitation)…

AB: In your face?

DU: (Laughing) Ja … (laughs again) OK

AB: Loud?

DU: Very, very loud (laughs) … so I also had to adapt … Now … to sort of blend in … grow more.

AB: A different personality?

DU: So in classes I used to face this one problem with the teachers … They were like 'D, why don't you say something?' I mean speak your mind and … you know… tell us what you're thinking, what you're feeling. And that was the first time anyone had ever asked me what I was feeling … (laughs) … well … how … er …

(Pause)

59

DU: (continuing) … I had to be more open … and regardless of the fact I was so worried about how other people would feel if I say something they don't like it.

AB: Umm

DU: Should I hold back … should I be more careful … should I mind a lot more about people's feelings. That's one of my biggest problems … it was too diverse and you never know if somebody else … what kind of mood they're in …

AB: Yes?

DU: And because they come from different cultures there were so many things that I took personally when I first … for example, the very first question they asked me about where I came from … was … do you guys … you know … still fight?

AB: Heavens … they're referring to the genocide

DU: Ja … and that's the one thing back home no-one ever dares to utter … because it's a very personal thing … So I do not really know how to take it. I don't know if I should get angry with them … you know? Because they looked innocent … They do not say things because they mean to hurt you … but they also did not know … exactly how it would make me feel … (inaudible) … a topic or a subject it really is for us back home. So yeah … it was hard to blend in here.

AB: And now?

DU: Huh … (sigh) … I'm OK now … I'm OK … I've learnt to accept that not everyone's the same … we all come from different places … and we've experienced different things ... So when holding a conversation with someone or being friends with someone you need to put aside your differences and focus on things you can actually work on improving such as similarities … That's how you make friends here … otherwise if you only focus on 'Oh my gosh, she just said things about my place, where I come from, who I am', you'll end up blowing your entire experience here. And so I'm trying to embrace … that side of both differences, trying to make it a similarity …

DU looks carefully for the right words to describe her peers at ALA. She hesitates, not wanting to be rude or insensitive but also wanting to talk about her feelings. In the end, she accepts the suggestion offered by the interlocutor, who is aware of DU's views from previous conversations. Once over the hurdle of speaking out about her feelings, she continues fluently but thoughtfully to build a picture of her experience at ALA. She details her own critical responses and eventually presents her solution on how to construct her identity at an ambitious educational institution that places a high value on networking and forming strategic alliances. Her solution is one of seeking belonging through compromise by literally placing

60

on hold the standards of behaviour with which she was raised. This enables her to open up dialogic spaces in the school community because, as she says, if she takes offence to every possibly insensitive remark, she will "end up blowing [her] entire experience here". And clearly that is not something she intends to do.

SM is the other Rwandan student who took part in the study. She found her initial experience of school in South Africa deeply distressing, but on account of language difficulties as well as the cultural difficulties associated with living in a new community, a new place and adjusting to a new school.

For DU and SM, adjusting to the Other in South Africa has been immensely difficult, particularly coming from a community, possibly an entire society, that appears to repress public discussion of its recent traumatic history. This repression, however, is not an unknown response to colossal tragedy. In the immediate post-war period, the German response to the Holocaust was to repress and forget it rather than confront what had happened (Wyman & Rosenzveig 1996: xvii). In Rwanda, a ritual of exquisitely good manners and sensitivity to the feelings of others appears to have taken the place of any discussion, examination or even acknowledgement of the events of the past, quite unlike the brutal rawness and immediacy of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission which exposed some, though not all, of the wounds and hatefulness of apartheid. While DU has created a strategy for dealing with the Other by seeking out similarities as a way of opening up dialogic spaces, SM does not appear to have a particular strategy for dealing with conflicts between Self and Other, apart from retreat or withdrawal. She arrived late for the interview and did not sit in the circle that had already formed, placing her Self at the outer edge. In her drawing, the image is faint, almost bloodless, as if she had made no attempt to impose her Self on the paper. This is of course just speculation and her reasons for colouring in the drawing as she did could be quite different.

On the basis of the aforementioned analyses, participants' responses to the Other appear to vary considerably depending on their personalities, socio-cultural ethos, personal histories and the languages to which they have access. It is not possible to make generalizations about these adolescents' treatment of the Other in this thesis, as various strategies are employed to create both exclusion and inclusion to various groups.

4.3.3   Attitudes to English

Even though South Africa is a multilingual country, English is without doubt the lingua franca of both the business world, academia and, to a large extent, education. It is the *de facto* gatekeeper (Otsuji & Pennycook 2011: 424) to good jobs and most tertiary educational institutions in South Africa. Fears have been expressed about the dominance of English and the possible threat it poses to the survival of African languages in the country, and the damaging effects of a monolingual education environment on multilingual learners. The participants in this research, almost without exception, take a thoroughly pragmatic view of the need to communicate effectively in English and they all aim to do so. However, as discussed earlier, they literally and symbolically place their mother tongues at the heart in their drawings and for them it is a key identity marker as well as a cultural grounding device. English, on the other hand, is seen as the key to future career success and is often placed in the head or in the hands, symbolising the desire to be smart and fluent in English or adept at handling the language.

At this juncture, a background sketch is relevant of the academic situation in which the students participate. As previously stated, the participants represent an academic elite, having been selected for inclusion into their various programmes only after having demonstrated the necessary academic merit and passing stringent entrance exams. They hail from a number of schools in the townships and suburbs in and around Johannesburg and, in the case of the African Leadership Academy, from all over Africa, and they arrive at their respective institutions with a record of academic success. This success goes hand-in-hand with a highly competitive spirit (personal observation, August 2011 to November 2012). As both institutions are donor-funded, the pressure on students to perform well, from donors as well as teachers, is immense.

The curriculum in both institutions focuses on maths, science, and English reading and writing skills. For students from other African countries, boarding at the ALA is often their first experience of being away from home and is, initially, a stressful experience. Given its international nature, English is the language of instruction as well as the lingua franca at the ALA, although a significant number of the students are from Francophone countries. For the Abaholi students, their lessons add a sixth day to their school week. The language of

instruction at Sci-Bono's Abaholi Leadership School, and in most Johannesburg schools, is English, although these students speak a variety of languages in and outside the classroom.

First, the participants' explanatory notes on English will be examined. In general, their attitudes towards English are extremely positive, if perhaps a little idealistic. They perceive it as an international language that will ensure success in their future careers, a "key to freedom and the wealth of the world", as well as opening gateways to study opportunities abroad, and to help them to network. All of this, however, does not come at the expense of allegiance and emotional attachment to their mother tongue. The participants use the other African languages in their repertoires to position themselves in relation to their peers, friends and family members. Below are extracts from participants' explanatory notes:

TM: Green is English and I coloured my hands and belt green. Reason for this is because English holds my future and disciplines me. Without English I will not succeed. It's an international language and holds my future, shows me the way to go, also disciplines me, so that I don't fall and fail.

SM: When I think of English, I see it as the passport to my future. It was hard the first time I started to learn English but I came to like it and I think it's an important language because it's spoken all over the world […]

YA: In school and in South Africa I use English and I painted it in green because it is making me grow in many ways. Whenever I want to make a connection with new people I use English which makes it unusual and special.

TN: English took the third big part because that's the language I use at school. I love English even though I am not perfect but I think it is a good language because it is the universal language. It gets people of different races together. It is the bridge of communication in the world.

SMat: English is a universal language of communication in the world, which is why I decided to put English just under my heart […] where you can find the vital organs, which means I value English and think that it is vital in my life.

63

TMo: I put English in my head and arms because I am taught in English at school and I write poetry, letters and music in English. I don't use my home language because I speak English most of the time (at school) and that's where I'm always at … school!

QN: English is yellow because yellow represents the light, brightness, freedom and wealth. English is a universal language and powerhouse cultures use a lot of English.

Therefore English is a somewhat key to freedom and the wealth of the world. A lot of English is used when having to use one's intellect, so I made my hands (yellow) to convert the knowledge I gain to change the world in my own little ways.

The biographic portraits confirm the participants' explanatory notes, although they have used different semiotic devices and, at times, symbolic uses of colour to signal the importance of English. A number of students use green for English, actively associating it with growth (as explained in their notes).

In QN's drawing (on page 66) the body is designed in a series of meticulously-sculpted lines, which include the body's vascular system. In the image, reminiscent of a futuristic space warrior, English is yellow which depicts freedom and light. QN has located the language at the brain, because it is the language he uses for intellectual work, and the hands so he can convert gained knowledge and use it to change the world in small ways, a detail which might echo the notion of a heroic crusader. In contrast, the languages that course through his veins, arteries and heart are Sepedi and Setswana, coloured in red, even though he is by birth a Zulu. To acknowledge this, he has outlined the body in blue which represents what he calls his "Zulu shell".

QN: isiZulu (dark blue) represents me and forms a huge part of my image as I am perceived by society as this deep, cultured, true Zulu character, whereas it only forms my chest (pride), throat (authority) and feet which represent my culture and belonging. To society I am a true Zulu man, but in reality I'm just covered in a thick layer of blue (Zulu), and my heart, veins and arteries are all actually Pedi and Tswana.

64

QN
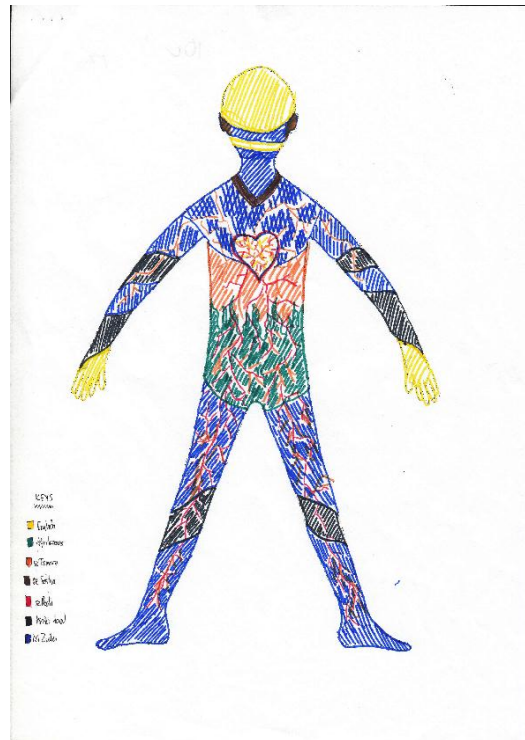
In her drawing below, TMat used black and pink for English, placing it in her hair, which she has drawn in a trendy bob cut, and on her cardigan. In her drawing and explanatory notes, English is treated as a resource through which she can perform a certain identity. She states:

> The hair and the long-sleeve cardigan symbolise English because I always express myself in English. I dress in English and make my hair in the modern/English way. I feel more comfortable and expressive in English.

The earrings and rings in the portrait symbolise Afrikaans which she finds beautiful, while the necklace signifies isiZulu. The drawing "defines me as a whole, who I am, where I come from and where I am going".

65

TMat
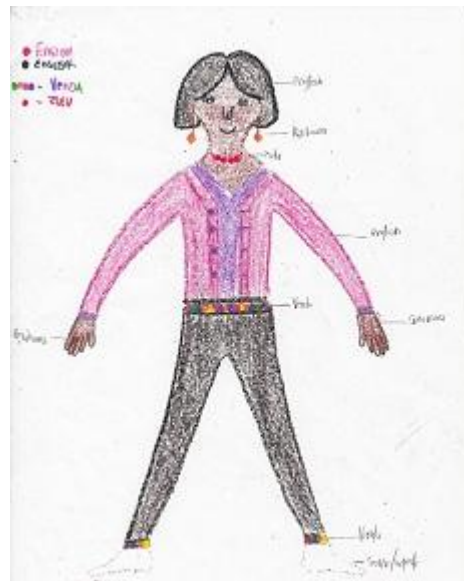
In her biographic portrait below, MS has outlined the figure and heart in red which represents English. The heart is divided between Sepedi and isiXhosa, while isiZulu is depicted as a purple skirt which she can put on or take off as she feels.

MS

In her drawing below, TMo placed English in the head and the arms. Even though her education is taking place in a monolingual environment, she has depicted Sesotho as

66

occupying a huge heart-shaped space at the heart because it is the language in which she can fully express her feelings and what she wants to say.

TMo
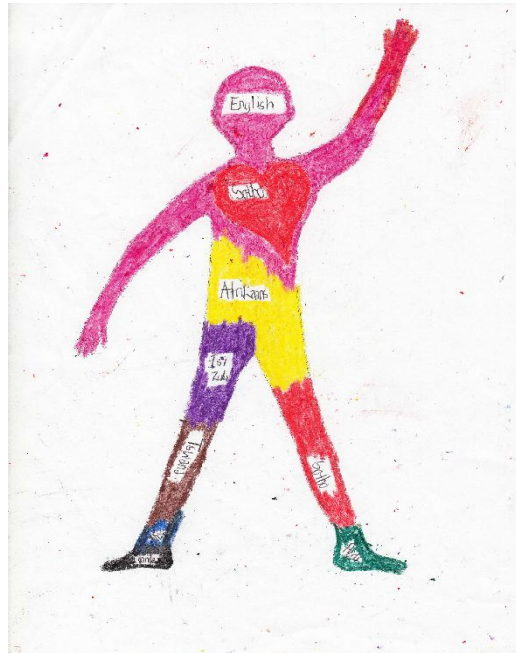
HN, in her picture on the following page, places English in red at the top of the head, in the hands and in her belt, although she proudly describes herself as an "Ndebele original".

HN

67

English seems to be associated with progress, growth and modern life, and is the language of education and innovation. However, other languages and styles are also discussed in terms of their innovative qualities.

4.3.4   Use of stylisation in the construction of identity

Rampton (2011) suggests that research on second language speakers has tended to focus on issues of proficiency. As a result, there have been few studies which have examined the repertoires of L2 speech styles, especially those of students for whom second-language learning is a long-term process (Rampton 2011: 3). He believes that, as they progress in their learning, second language speakers are indeed able to explore the indexical possibilities of the languages they use (Rampton 2011: 2). He gives a triadic definition of "style": firstly, as style-shifting or patterns of variation used in different situations; then, as a register which refers to distinctive forms of language, speech and non-linguistic semiosis associated with different people, situations or relationships; and lastly as a reflexive communicative action marked by exaggerated representations of languages, accents and registers (Rampton 2011: 3).

In their portraits, explanatory notes and group discussions, the participants in this study demonstrated a keen ability to use style to position themselves in relation to others, respond to different situations, and comment on behaviour. This section will examine the role of Tsotsitaal in new peer encounters, and the use of style when presented with a traditional view of the Self by Others. Finally, the use of graphic style to create a persona aligned with Skhothane culture will be examined.

4.3.4.1 Tsotsitaal, the township original

Tsotsitaal is a style adopted by many young people living in urban townships in Johannesburg (Hurst 2009: 244). Performative in essence, Tsotsitaal is primarily signalled by its innovative lexicon. However, clothing and other identity markers such as brand names and cultural artefacts such as music and sport are also indicative of the Tsotsitaal culture (Hurst 2009: 244). Although influenced by global consumer culture, these elements are recontextualised in South African township spaces to open up dialogic spaces between individuals (Hurst 2009: 244).

68

As noted earlier, Tsotsitaal arrived in South Africa via the world of American film. Dixon (1995: 2) suggests that American gangster films struck a chord with young, disempowered black men as they offered a view of an alternative way of life free of the control of the white "baas". American slang was taken up and mixed with African languages, English and Afrikaans in a specific style that was quick, reflecting the pace of the city, and had a raised pitch and tone significantly different from the root language (Hurst 2009: 252). The style is not neutral; it is linked, but not limited to, street gangs; it is the language of the street-smart "clevers", and is used as a site of identity construction in particular township spaces (Hurst 2009: 250). Speaking English is often an obstacle to social acceptance as it is seen as a tool for showing off one's education (Hurst 2009: 249). On the other hand, learning Tsotsitaal calls for careful observation because to ask for lexical or phrasal clarification is tantamount to admitting failure as an adolescent (De Klerk 1991: 81). Tsotsitaal is also, as Bembe and Beukes (2007) point out, evidence of the multifaceted identities of trendy young South Africans who move from one identity to another with the greatest of ease (Bembe & Beukes 2007: 471). QN's observation seems to encompass this definition of Tsotitaal as a street-smart style that allows another repertoire to construct one's identity. In his explanatory notes accompanying his biographic image, he says:

> Tsotsitaal forms my joints and wrists as this language is what keeps me standing and in balance when lost in a haze of unfamiliar Black people. It also represents agility and efficiency as Tsotsis are quite quick, clever and sneaky. Please note that I do not admire Tsotsis, but simply their attributes and survival skills.

Of all the students in the two Saturday classes involved in this project, QN is by nature the most scholarly. Thoughtful, extremely observant and softly spoken, he is the epitome of the scholarship student. However, there is another side to him - a performative side, as evidenced by the apparent delight he takes in calibrating his performance to different groups in his environment in order to create dialogic spaces with the Other. In doing so, he demonstrates an excellent grasp of the social meaning of performance (Rampton 2011: 4). QN's use of Tsotsitaal is evidence of this. In his portrait, he places this language at the wrists, signifying the linguistic flexibility and dexterity needed to successfully communicate in it because, as he says, it is quick and clever with an innovative ever-changing vocabulary. QN uses Tsotsitaal to flag solidarity in situations where social and cultural affiliation and status are not marked,

69

as indicated by his description of using Tsotsitaal "when lost amongst a haze of unfamiliar Black people". Here, using his first language of Sepedi might not be appropriate and using English would not only be totally inappropriate but would most likely be interpreted as showing off. His choice of Tsotsitaal is a way of calibrating his language with that of strangers, seeking common ground and aligning himself with his peers.

Among the girls who speak Tsotsitaal are MS, KS and BM. KS speaks it with her mother and as she has a lot of male friends with whom she speaks the language, as the following exchange shows:

KS: Mam … I do [speak Tsotsitaal - AB] with my mom … but it's not very … (laughter) …

AB: When do you speak it with your mum?

KS: Sometimes … when you don't want other people to hear what I'm saying … ja … 'cause my mom's like … can I say "ghetto"? … (laughter) … the coolie-colour Mom.

AB: She grew up in the struggle so she learned to speak Tsotsitaal in the struggle?

KS: And … she had a lot of brothers … she used to hang out with them most and she used to speak it with them and learned it there … and I have a lot of guy friends … when I also use it.

BM says that although she knows bit and pieces of Tsotsitaal, she does not have anyone to speak it to, so she speaks it to herself.

4.3.4.2 Living with ambiguity

A second example of stylisation is the ability of some of the participants to live comfortably with the inevitable ambiguity of a multilingual environment. QN's explanatory notes flesh out his language portrait (see page 66) where he outlined the body form in dark blue and explained that:

isiZulu (dark blue) represents me and forms a huge part of my image as I am perceived by society as this deep, cultured, true Zulu character, whereas it only forms my chest (pride), throat (authority) and feet which represent my culture and belonging. To society

70

I am a true Zulu man, but in reality I'm just covered in a thick layer of blue (Zulu), and my heart, veins and arteries are all actually Pedi and Tswana.

From a distance, he observes this "deep, cultured, true Zulu character" that Others identify him as, while simultaneously confessing that he does not actually speak isiZulu fluently even though both his first name and surname are typically Zulu. He regards his first language as Sepedi and considers it "part of [his – AB] grounding". Beneath QN's true blue Zulu exterior beats a subversive Pedi heart. QN constructs his multiple identities meticulously and relishes the ambiguity that they present.

Two further examples of the use of language and stylisation are associated with dance and singing. MS is a dancer and sings in Setswana. In her portrait, she places Setswana in golden yellow at her throat. TM, resplendent in purple trousers, also dances to Setswana songs. In both examples, the participants associate dance and singing with performance and, more importantly for this study, specific languages from their repertoires.

MS: IsiXhosa and Setswana are the languages I only speak when I am singing. I am a traditional dancer (contemporary too!) and when we are dancing, we usually sing the songs that go hand in hand with the dance routine we are performing.

TM: Purple is my pants and represents Setswana. I know how to dance, speak and understand Setswana …

The use of different styles and the ambiguity that follows is also further expressed by the following small story from BM. Here, using a specific style and communicative mode to communicate (Mxit) is used to introduce a small story of a young girl's journey into adulthood and the ambiguity with which she is living.

Small story: Mxit

The Mxit small story starts with a preliminary discussion which serves as an introduction to the topic where the group discusses the impact of Mxit, a free instant-messaging application that runs on mobile phones and computing platforms, on their lives. This is followed by Extract 6, where BM tells a small story about her relationship with Mxit and her father. According to a 2011 study by consultancy World Wide Worx, Mxit currently has about 10 million active subscribers, making it the largest mobile social network in Africa.

71

There has been a certain amount of media criticism towards Mxit, with some newspapers reporting that parents believe it is affecting their children's school work. However, in 2011, the Mail and Guardian newspaper published an article which reported that organisations like Yoza and FunDaz Literacy Trust were addressing distribution deficits by serializing original short fiction for young people on Mxit (Mail and Guardian, 19 October 2012), although none of the participants ever mentioned reading short novels on Mxit.

    Extract 5 Interview 2:

BM: Previously (pause) I used to be this little girl that hangs with her dad and we watched movies together. We were so close, and then here Mxit comes and I'm like … Yeah [when they are watching TV together - AB] and he is, like, so irritated. I look and then he says "Look at that", "Do you know this one?" No, I don't know him, I don't know him … just an old actor". I look up and then I go back to chatting [BM mimics SMSing with her fingers]. He gets so irritated especially with my sister because he used to come with my sister to town when she lived   at our house and she'd be on Facebook   the whole way to town and even after work when they would have to go back home.   He actually got irritated but now, he's gotten used to it and he ignores me now. Well, he doesn't ignore me totally. We still talk but then he has got used to the routine of me just looking up at the TV … and then … OK daddy … OK [spoken very gently]. That's how it is for me because without like … my sisters aren't at home anymore so talking to people on Mxit is way more fun for me than having to do stuff and chores and all that.

At this stage, NM responds to BM's story with an insightful remark but further discussion is prevented by the determined intervention of KS.

NM: It becomes a habit … even when you are bored. It's just like as long as you are chatting to someone … even if that person is boring you … you just want to tell … (Lots of warm, recognizing laughter)

KS: I don't have friends.
(BM, NM and SM all talking amongst themselves.)

KS: I don't have friends … (speaking quite loudly over the others)

72

AB: You don't have friends?

In this extract, BM tells a small story about the development of her intense relationship with Mxit and the somewhat deteriorating relationship with her father. BM introduces the topic of social networking in Interview 2, although she admits to using it as a means to mobilise the Self to demonstrate to the group that, even though she is Tsonga, she has made a host of friends through social networking, in contrast to the negative township attitudes towards Tsonga girls mentioned by MS earlier in Interview 1. If this is the case, then she is using social networking to reposition herself as a Tsonga in a more favourable light as someone who is extremely popular.

The characters in BM's story are her younger and her adolescent Self, her father, her sister and unspecified and numerous friends she has made through social networking. The younger BM used to love chatty TV-viewing sessions with her father; in fact, these sessions appear to have been a regular part of their evening routine. The adolescent BM, however, discovers the joys of social networking and this comfortable routine is disrupted, much to her father's annoyance. Facebook has already usurped his place in the life of his elder daughter, and he is not pleased that the same thing seems to be happening with his younger daughter, BM. BM tries to humour him, but ends up treating him somewhat like a demanding child, as indicated by her gentle comments "OK daddy … OK". BM claims her father is now used to the new routine and just ignores her, although she retracts this somewhat saying "He doesn't ignore me totally". At this moment, BM reveals an identity dilemma: she both regrets the loss of the evening routine and the closeness she had with her father, yet she values her Mxit relationships which, at the moment, are more important to her.

BM raises the topic of Mxit first and it clearly resonates with the group. The conversation moves on but she returns to the topic later on. This time, her topic introduction is quite mundane as she notes that her constant SMSing irritates her father. The interviewer asks why, a question that draws a shout of laughter because the group, evidently, considers it quite a stupid one. A story on Mxit is likely to have high tellability, and BM introduces it with a story announcement that relies on a generic framing device: "Previously (pause) I used to be this little girl that hangs with her dad …". This introduction anticipates a change in behaviour and the group settles down comfortably to be entertained.

73

Once again, the interviewer, as with all the data, played an important role in the construction of this small story. Initially, the interviewer asks "What was it like before Mxit?" a question which engaged the entire group as they responded enthusiastically and simultaneously. This establishes the tellability of the topic and later on when BM raises the issue of Mxit by noting that the constant messaging on her cellphone irritates her father, the interviewer asks "Why does it irritate your dad?" which gives her the opportunity to tell her story. The narrative is abruptly cut short by KS who, in response to BM's story about the Self and Mxit, announces flatly, "I don't have friends". The group ignores her and continues discussing Mxit amongst themselves. In response, KS repeats her statement a bit louder and more insistently, a move that successfully ends any further interaction over Mxit as the interviewer picks it up and asks "You don't have friends?".

All of the participants endorse and encourage the telling of BM's story because parental reaction to social media is not especially positive and this theme resonates with the group. BM starts tentatively with "Previously (pause)" indicating her willingness to tell the story. As a result, the participants quieten down, giving her permission and the space to talk. Once again, as with TM, the telling is a way of BM mobilising her Self, but in an amusing though occasionally ironic way. In the act of narrating, she reconstructs her identity on two fronts: firstly, she distances herself from the derogatory "Shangaan" label of the townships, and presents herself as a really "cool", techno-savvy teenager with a wide network of friends. Secondly, she points out that she is no longer the little girl who adored her father's attention and accepts that being more or less ignored by her father is the price she has to pay both for growing up and for her newfound popularity. Like DU earlier, BM's story is one of becoming and here it exemplifies the transitional stage between childhood and adulthood.

The positioning in the group in Interview 2 is complex. All the participants, with the exception of SM, are in the same class, while SM is also in grade 10 but from a different class. KS is dominant and quite controlling. During the interview, many of the whispered counter-conversations which drown out the narrators are initiated by KS and seem to be an indication that she is either not interested or does not agree with what is being said. BgM strategically takes advantage of such moments of confusion to claim the telling role and to position himself as "super-cool" by recounting elements of his extensive knowledge of township group cultures and boasting about an extraordinary number of friends. KS co-opts NM during the interview session and the two collude. BM, the "Tsonga girl" who sits

74

opposite them, is excluded, although she is able to take control of the story-telling process when she wishes to. SM also finds himself in the position of Other, because he is in a different class at Abaholi and is regularly drowned out by determined whispering from KS and NM. At one stage, there is a terse exchange between SM and KS who are sitting next to one another. It is not clear what KS has said, but BM answers her in English: "No it's fine … it's not like I am angry or something … it's just fine, you know?" After this exchange, SM says very little.

BM uses her Mxit story to position herself as an outgoing, sociable adolescent with a wide circle of friends to which she connects, and as a person who is technologically-savvy and uses the Mxit application and register very effectively. However, at the same time, she is caught between two conflicting master narratives: the desire to be popular amongst her friends, and the desire to maintain her relationship with her father. She claims her father has "gotten used to it and he ignores me now". She retracts slightly from this position, correcting and recasting her comment to "Well, he doesn't ignore me totally. We still talk".

While the significant relationships in BM's life are part of the virtual world, other participants like BgM have more traditional relationships. Like BM, BgM also talks about friends and also positions himself as "cool" and savvy but within the bounds of his township school, and in relation to the different groups at school. However, where BM's social world is virtual, BgM's is performative.

4.3.4.3 Izikhothane

The first reference to Skhothane[6] in this research is in graphic form in BgM's self-portrait. BgM then raises the topic of the Skhothane groups in Interview 2 with students from Sci-Bono. The participants are familiar with Skhothane or Izikhothane, a controversial township trend which started on Johannesburg's East Rand and involves young people dressing up and parading themselves in the latest fashion in a ritual bragging fest where they celebrate their extravagance.

---

[6] The information on Skhothane was primarily gathered from popular media sources, as there is currently no published academic work on the phenomenon.

Described by Debora Patta (2012) as "bling gone obscenely mad", competing Skhothane groups, who give themselves names like "Over Spenders" and "Born Agains", meet for regular face-offs in parks where they insults and "diss" each other, accusing one another of wearing "fong kong" gear (cheap copies of expensive designer outfits that are made in China). To further impress, some Skhothane take off their expensive clothes and trample on them to show just how wealthy they are. As Mathebula (23 May 2012) points out, while Skhothane teens model themselves on extravagant local celebrities and politicians, they come from financially struggling homes, but they could not care less. The Izikhothane have been widely condemned, but in an article entitled *Izikhothane – Two Sides to the Story*, Nxedlana (2012) points out that Skhothane share interests with other young Gauteng people and that they have the same dreams of recognition. Nxedlana suggests that material possessions are not as important to the Skhothane as they appear. For them, fame is the reward which is viewed as the "true currency, the ultimate aspiration of Skhothane culture" (Nxedlana 2012). From another perspective, Nxedlana believes that Skhothane culture could be labelled as art, or a "participatory practice which requires collaboration from both participants and audience". Skhothane battles are performative, involving wordplay and "innovative dance moves".

On the following page is BgM's language portrait in which the first reference to Skhothane appears

BgM

In his portrait, BgM styles himself as a Skhothane - a fabulous, moustachioed township dandy wearing a printed designer t-shirt, tight trousers and the candy-coloured Italian Carvela shoes much loved by the Born Agains. BgM's explanatory notes are extremely brief, but in the personal data questionnaire, he gives his career choice as working for the military in "Special Ops", a career which would involve a uniform and carrying out dramatic, stunt-like activities such as jumping out of planes, tracking down terrorists and so on. From Interview 2, it emerges that his focus in his search for inclusion and a site for identity construction is the groups or "crews" he encounters at school.

The second reference to Skhothane is in Extract 4 Interview 2, where BgM talks about the differences between township and suburban schools. He uses this topic as a springboard to introduce the topic of Skhothane. In addition, he uses the topic to position himself as generally very informed and aware of township youth culture, something that the other participants may be missing out on.

77

Extract 3 Interview 2:

BgM: With township schools you're not expected … like … expected to be … to excel and so that means there's no pressure on you … Because I can do it at my own pace. There are different people … we got guys like Skhothane … everything.

AB: What is Skhothane?

BgM: Like those kids who dress up …

BM: Who brag … in the money …

BgM: Inside school it's like a community, and you've got different communities in school and you've got this and this and that … and there some there that are Abazala … ePostela … Abantwane … Uyashiza … all that stuff … you can do anything in township schools … like Skhothane.

AB: And non-township schools?

KS: Mam … it's depressing

KSs's final comment here can be understood by referring to earlier remarks in Interview 2 in which she says that township schools are "like a family environment", whereas suburban schools are unfriendly places where racial barriers appear to be largely intact. However, NM points out that the downside to township schools is sometimes poor teaching, while BM believes that township schools are fun "from a distance". This discussion leads to a small story from BgM.

Small story: Half-Threes and Aba-Fours

The small story in Extract 6 is prefaced by BgM talking about the "crews" at his school in Tembisa, and one particular group, modelled on a prison gang, that uses numbers as a secret code. The other participants seem to have heard of the gang. BgM wants to learn this numerical language on the grounds that it could be useful if the members of this gang relocated to his school. BgM styles himself as someone who is familiar with and connected to a number of different groups. In his portrait, he constructs himself as a member of Skhothane. In the group interview, he announces his story, framing it as a new language which he has heard of. Having captured the interest of the group, BgM then proceeds to talk about other gangs in township schools like the Aba-Fours and Half-Threes. He constructs himself as audacious and nonchalant ("You can do anything at township schools"). He goes to a rather dangerous school where there is no pressure to work hard. BgM styles his township school as

78

vibrant, lively and exciting, and KS colludes with this. NM and BM, however, are firmly opposed to it. However, in Extract 6, BgM repositions his school when faced with negative comments from KS, NM and BM about academic standards at township schools. In doing so, he underlines his identity as a successful township-school learner.

      <u>Extract 6 Interview 2:</u>

(Whispered conversations going on between NM, KS and BM, so BgM claims the telling space and the rest of the group listens).

> **BgM**:   Like there are places in the township like anywhere there … there are places where you don't go because they are dangerous. So these kids have a mentality when they come in there … so if you ask any parent if you want to take your child to [my school] they say "Ugh … that school doesn't teach" but to be honest they don't know what is happening inside. The thing about that school is that you who want to learn, you learn. They don't chase you out, they don't chase you in, if you want to learn, you learn. They'll give you the best quality education if you want to learn. If you don't want to learn then you exclude yourself from that thing but you're going to fail at the end of the year … that's it. It's a school for people who want to learn actually.
>
> **KS**:   Yes … but you've got to be like … stable.

The participants in this narrative are BgM, various gangs or groups that include both the criminal variety as well as performative groups like Skhothane, parents, and the school administration. In his language portrait and personal data form, BgM establishes himself as someone who relishes performance. In his imagined world, he is a Skhothane, the fashionably dressed dandy, as well as a member of the security forces, learning to speak Russian, wearing a uniform, and involved in physical acts of daring. Of all the participants, BgM's imagined worlds are the most strongly projected. Another imagined world is projected briefly in Interview 2 when he says that he would like to be the president of South Africa, a remark that is met with bemused indifference by the group, so he does not elaborate further. Once again, he chooses to construct himself performatively, acting out the role of head of state. On display is BgM's ability to connect with numerous township groupings and his extremely extensive friendship network. The gangs are styled as intriguing, while parents, who do not want to send their children to his school because of its dangerous reputation and poor academic record, are

79

seen as badly informed. The school authorities, on the other hand, are credited with implementing a policy of successfully teaching those who want to learn and failing those who do not. Being able to negotiate this dangerous environment with confidence is a significant part of BgM's identity, and is an image he projects into his imagined worlds. Later on in the discussion, BgM adds to the mix his ability to perform well academically in a challenging learning environment. However, this is in response to pressure from the girls in the group.

BgM constructs himself as daring, a man completely *au fait* with the Izikhothane and other groups in the townships. The conversation is preceded by a discussion about township gangs such as the Half-Threes, also known as the Untouchables, a fairly violent gang that already operates in his school and is generally known to the participants. BM, in particular, is negative about BgM's gang narrative saying "I'm used to my boring, slow, nice school with all the homework". At this stage, BgM moves to reposition his school from one with slack discipline to one with good academic standards where it is possible to receive a quality education. BgM ratchets up his school's performance, repositioning it as a place where there is no pressure to work but where one can get a good education "if you want it".

The way in which the interviewer co-constructed this story is quite interesting. The original question was: Are there any languages you try to avoid speaking? However, this particular discussion digressed, yet the theme has meandered through the discussion since the question was first posed. Perhaps it is one that offers a rich site for identity construction and a means for the participants to style themselves. Immediately prior to Extract 6, KS, SM and NM are discussing Setswana amongst themselves; we learn that KS and SM find it difficult and avoid speaking it but, if forced, they resolve their lack of proficiency by code-switching. In the break in the discussion, BgM claims the telling role, using the space to talk about a new language he had recently encountered.

While BgM attempts to develop a particular narrative of inbetweenness, built on township culture and diversity on the one hand, and effective schooling on the other, the girls in the group undermine it, using academic standards as their weapon of choice. BM is particularly critical and BgM starts to vacillate. He gives in to peer pressure and repositions his school as a place of learning despite the omnipresent gangs ("They'll give you the best quality education if you want to learn. If you don't want to learn then you exclude yourself from that thing … but you're going to fail at the end of the year … that's it"). In doing so, however, he

80

fails to animate an image of Self, where he has constructed himself as in control, a survivor in a tough environment. It is difficult to analyse KS's final remark at the end of BgM's small narrative when she says "Yes … but you've got to be like … stable". Up until this point, KS has supported the narrative of township schools as diverse, exciting places and, in doing so, resists criticism from NM and BM. She clearly values the hybridity and energy of township life and schools, but she is aware of the positions of the other girls in the group as she too attends a former Model C school. Thus, her remark would seem to suggest that, at this particular moment, she is seeking inclusion with the girls in the group rather than rejecting BgM's particular brand of hybridity.

BgM finds himself caught between the competing pulls of hybridity and diversity, on the one hand, and the rewards of academic conscientiousness on the other, the two main narratives in this small story. He is nonchalant about his edgy township school ("the baddest school in the olden days") with its competing gangs but poor academic standards, which stands in stark contrast to BM's "school for nerds" with heaps of homework, typifying the sedate, boring but academically-ambitious schools of Johannesburg's leafy suburbs. He then reframes his narrative about his school, this time constructing it as a place where, if you want to work hard, you can receive a quality education.

By making reference to Tsotitaal, Skhothane and other forms of styling, these students put township life in focus as part of their identity. In their discussions they emphasize the positive aspects of township life, in particular, the flexibility, creativity, hybridity and diversity. The discussion now turns to Afrikaans which many would believe would not receive such positive evaluations from township youth, considering the language's history in South Africa.

4.3.5   Attitudes to Afrikaans

Many of the South African participants learn Afrikaans at school but, as they do not have an opportunity to use it in natural settings, some find it a bit difficult, although this has not resulted in a negative attitude towards the language. In spite of the oppressive history associated with Afrikaans, the participants who learn Afrikaans are surprisingly positive about the language.

81

Post-1994, Afrikaans found itself marginalised as a public language in the face of the dominance of English, and Afrikaners have once again become the Other, involved in a struggle against minoritisation and marginalisation (Webb 2010: 107).

The participants in this study, whose explanatory notes are quoted below, never mention Afrikaans as the language of the oppressor. For them, it is a language in their repertoires which some of them would like to speak and, being born after 1994, they appear removed from the historical issues and disregard the ideological baggage associated with the language, as their notes below show.

QN: Afrikaans is green (dark). Greener pastures should be the picture, but it is dark (green) because it has been suppressed in me for so long that it's like milk that is turning sour. It's a flame seeking freedom, but has been compressed and suppressed by my location (area of upbringing).[7]

KS: Afrikaans: 'n Taal wat ek baie lief vir is (a language I really love).

BM: Afrikaans is black and by the head because it is a language I use my brain for and I have to think harder about it because I learn it by reading and the texts are always written or typed in black.

TMat: The earrings and the ring symbolise Afrikaans for I find beauty in the Afrikaans language. I find it intriguing and see it as a diamond language because my great-grandparents have been raised in it so I find it's natural and beautiful.

NM: I put Afrikaans in my fingers because it is a subject I do and write at school though I consider my skills survival Afrikaans.

PN: I've positioned Afrikaans on my leg because it helps me stand out from all my friends because they can't speak Afrikaans.

Small story: Learning Afrikaans

---

[7] QN explained that he simply never got a chance to speak Afrikaans in a natural situation (personal communication, September 2012).

Contrary to my expectations, Afrikaans is referred to as "beautiful", "a language I really love", and as "intriguing". In Extract 7 Interview 2, BM recounts a small story to the other Sci-Bono students about her first experience of learning Afrikaans. The prompting question from the interviewer was "What was your worst or best language learning experience?" BM says Afrikaans was her worst experience and the group responds with recognizing laughter. She uses this to claim the telling space. She signals her story using a traditional opening "When I started Afrikaans in Grade 4 …" The group gives her the floor and quietens down to listen.

<u>Extract 7 Interview 2 with Sci-Bono students</u>

BM: When I started Afrikaans in grade 4 (pause) that's when I started … I used to fight with my Afrikaans teacher because I have a sister at home. She'd just passed matric … so she got a distinction in Afrikaans … so she was teaching me you know … how to pronounce the 'j' and everything. And I was so excited. I thought I knew Afrikaans, and when I used to take my book to my Afrikaans teacher … she would be like "This is wrong" and I would say "No, my sister said this is right and my sister knows Afrikaans"… yarra yarra yarra. And I had an Afrikaans dictionary so we used to fight a lot, but I love Afrikaans in a way. My best learning experience was Tsonga … OK … I spoke … I spoke Tsonga at home but I couldn't write it. So … ja … I visited my grandmother in Limpopo, it's a village there. I got people to contact and started speaking Tsonga on Mxit and I used to write and every sentence would make sense to me. They never corrected me. Actually … they just put it all together and replied when they had to. So I enjoyed learning how to … on Mxit …

The participants in this narrative are BM, her grade 4 Afrikaans teacher, BM's grandmother in Limpopo, BM's sister, and the people she messages on Mxit in Xitsonga. BM constructs herself as a fearless and dedicated learner from an academically successful family, a person who is prepared to challenge her teacher, albeit unsuccessfully. What is interesting about this small story is that even though BM characterises her Afrikaans learning experience as negative, this judgment is actually reserved for the teacher, not the language which she admits to loving "in a way". She goes on to compare this with the positive experience she had when learning to write in Xitsonga. In order to learn to write Xitsonga, BM chose to immerse herself in her grandmother's Tsonga-speaking village community in Limpopo and learned to write the language by messaging contacts on Mxit. Thus, learning to write in Xitsonga

83

became an interactive multimodal experience in contrast to her Afrikaans class, which sounds very traditional with its dictionaries, class exercises, homework and a teacher constantly pointing out what is wrong. In her Xitsonga writing experience her respondents "never corrected" her but "just put it all together and replied".

BM's small story offers some potentially significant pedagogical insights which could be useful when considering multimodal educational methodology and the general value of interactive learning in general, as opposed to a traditional textbook-based approach. The participants seem to regard Afrikaans as another potential language in their repertoires, although many of them complain about the fact that they do not get the opportunity to practice the language regularly.

4.4   Summary and discussion of main findings

At this point, I will return to the original research questions posed in section 1.3 and consider to what extent these questions have been answered. I will arrange this discussion in terms of the research questions posed.

4.4.1   The language profile of the participating adolescents

The participants in this research are multilingual, speaking three or more languages apiece. They freely admit that they are not proficient in all of the languages in their respective repertoires. For example, MS (talking about isiXhosa) states that "There are three clicks /c/, /q/ and /x/ … they are difficult and if you pronounce them in the wrong way people think you are dissing them …". Generally, the participants are sensitive to the language use of others and extremely open to new language experiences, as can be seen by the following comments:

> **NMu**:   Portuguese – I am learning this slowly because I have Portuguese family
>   friends and they prefer to be spoken to in their language.

> **NM**:   Chinese – My aunt went to China and when she came back she started teaching
>   us the language.

However, this inclusiveness and openness does not extend to a language such as Xitsonga. There are few dialogic spaces for Xitsonga L1 speakers in the townships where they are routinely cast as the Other (MS notes that "There are remarks about the Tsonga people … like um … they're too black, they're ugly, they discriminate them"). MS goes on to defend Tsonga and Xitsonga speakers, even though she does not speak the language, launching what could be described as a blistering attack on the perceived linguistic racism of one of her peers.

A number of other themes emerged very strongly from participants' drawings and their explanatory notes, the most notable being pride in their mother tongues and conscious L1 maintenance, carried out by parents and grandparents who routinely teach their language/s to their children. Mother tongue is an identity marker of enormous symbolic and cultural value, even though the 2011 census noted a decline in the use of six of the 11 official languages, including isiZulu, isiXhosa, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana and Siswati.

The economic and academic importance of English was also very high on the participants' lists of linguistic priorities. They all regard English as essential in their quest for intellectual and professional advancement. In terms of Bourdieu's (1991) definition of symbolic and cultural capital, the participants' L1s represent symbolic capital drawing on identity and heritage, while English represents cultural capital that deals with knowledge and skills manifested in educational qualifications (Bourdieu 1991: 14).

Another unexpected finding was the participants' positive attitudes towards Afrikaans, even when they openly admitted that they did not speak it very well, and often described their level as "survival" Afrikaans[8]. They appear unaffected by the controversial history of Afrikaans, but most complain that the biggest problem they face is they do not get a chance to use the language in a natural setting.

In this study, all of the participants are multilingual, as are their parents, grandparents and the communities in which they live. They have very positive associations with their mother tongues, but are not afraid to embrace the possibility of learning more languages, reflecting

---

[8] The participants picked up this term from the interviewer who earlier gave them an example of language learning from her own experience when she learnt "survival" Russian while working for the British Council in Ukraine.

Kristeva's (1980, cited in Oliver 2002) notion of 'desire' for emotional, social and cognitive fulfilment rather than the need to liberate themselves from monolingual constraints as suggested by Kramsch (2009: 206).

4.4.2   The link between users' languages and identities

While L1 has symbolic significance for all of the participants in terms of their identity, there is space nevertheless for other identities as well. Here, Bakhtin's (1981) view of society as a multivoiced, multidiscursive and heteroglossic construction is significant. In spite of this, there were a number of unanticipated findings in this section.

The first unexpected finding was the culture shock experienced by a Rwandan participant (DU) in this research. The participant came to Johannesburg as a student to attend a donor-funded pan-African school and is very proficient in English so did not anticipate any significant problems. However, she was completely unprepared for the South African environment's extreme loudness and directness. According to her characterisation, Rwandans are quiet, reserved and very aware of the sensibilities of those around them; for them, it is not acceptable socially to express your feelings loudly and openly. The participant decided that if she was to benefit from the programme, she would have to find a way in which to create dialogic spaces in which she could network successfully. She has done this through compromise, though at considerable cost to her own identity as a proud Rwandan. By "recognizing the impossibility of reconciling irreconcilable differences" (Pavlenko 2001: 336), DU does as other women before her have done, and repositions herself. Pavlenko (2001) points out that "several female authors, including Alvarez (1998) Mori (1997, 2000) and Hoffman (1989) have explicitly positioned themselves as particular kinds of women who fit very well within the new community of practice" (Pavlenko 2001:336). Identity is not only found in language but also in semiotic modes such as silence.

Another strongly emerging theme was the way in which the South African participants freely use language as the basis for Self-making, a site for identity construction and positioning. Their linguistic multiplicity lends itself to all kinds of both subtle and occasionally subversive positioning as well as the creation of multiple identities that they call into play when the need arises, such as the use of Tsotsitaal. Tsotsitaal is treated as a case of stylisation in this study, a way of calibrating language with performance which is a skill that some of the participants

86

draw on regularly. In the case of Tsotsitaal, a speaker needs to be fast, flexible, linguistically adroit and, above all, cool. If you have to ask for clarity, you are not one of them. Thus, Tsotsitaal is as much a test of linguistic agility as it is of in-group savvy. Ultimately, the language is performative and supports Rampton's (2009) notion of stylisation as a spontaneous interaction among adolescents.

Tsotsitaal is to linguistic performance what the Skhothane are to visual and aesthetic performance. Another unanticipated finding was the Skhothane phenomenon as a form of extreme stylisation and is also discussed under stylisation. While there are, as yet, no published academic studies on the trend, most media commentators routinely deplore the extreme consumerism and point out that the Skhothane come from financially struggling families. However, Nxedlana (2012) takes a different perspective when he notes that Skhothanes have similar interests to other young Gauteng people in that they dream of recognition ("… more than anything else, they want to matter"). Nxedlana suggests that material possessions are not as important to the Skhothane as they appear. For them, fame is the reward; it is the "true currency, the ultimate aspiration of Skhothane culture" (Nxedlana 2012). From another perspective, Nxedlana suggests that Skhothane culture could be labelled as art ("a participatory practice that requires collaboration from both participants and audience"). As Nxedlana notes, the Skhothane battles are performative, involving wordplay and "innovative dance moves". Investigating Skhothane culture is not the remit of this thesis but it is an under-researched phenomenon that calls for academic analysis. The concept of Skhothane was introduced via the biographic drawing of BgM, one of the participants, a small visual flag signalling a particular social construct which was not mentioned in the accompanying explanatory notes, but was later elaborated upon in the interview. The multi-faceted approach inherent in multimodality makes it possible to catch precisely such fleeting moments of identity construction, and is evidence of its value as a research technique. However, the data would also appear to support a move to broaden Rampton's (2011) definition of stylisation which focuses on talk and interaction in meaning-making and identity to include semiotics other than language-in-use.

4.4.3   Languages used for learning

Depending on whether they go to township or former Model C schools, the ratio of English to African languages varies. In former Model C schools and some township schools, the medium

87

of instruction is monolingual English. In other township schools, it is a mixture of English and some African languages. In the classroom, however, a variety of languages are used between students, and when speaking to school friends, the issues of inclusion and positioning oneself are central to social and identity construction. Educationists, linguists and academics in South Africa ritually warn about the marginalisation of African languages in schools, and the critical role of mother tongue instruction. However, given the importance attributed to proficiency in English, not just by black parents in South Africa but by the international academic, business and financial community, this situation is unlikely to change.

An unanticipated finding was just how pragmatic the participants are in their attitudes towards English proficiency and how emotionally attached they are to their mother tongues. As black parents appear to be playing their part in L1 language maintenance, according to the participants' explanatory notes, perhaps it is time to find a more appropriate solution to the mother-tongue debate, other than constantly telling multilingual learners that they risk stunting their intellectual development by studying in English. As Busch (2011(a)) suggests, what is needed is a pedagogic concept that recognizes and accredits translocal communicative repertoires by valuing translanguaging as a legitimate means of expression and meaning-making (Busch 2011(a): 1). She proposes a reconceptualization of school as an open space, where different voices, discourses and ways of speaking are a resource and an asset (Busch 2011(a): 1).

4.4.4   The use of languages in linguistic repertoires

The participants use the languages in their very extensive repertoires to create dialogic spaces, to negotiate with the Other, to construct a multiplicity of identities, to position themselves in relation to groups and communities that they wish to be a part of, to communicate at school where the medium of instruction is most likely English, and to negotiate in and around Johannesburg where, according to one participant, "one in every three people you meet speaks Zulu". This phenomenon fits in with Blommaert's definition of "truncated multilingualism" as repertoires that consist of specialized but partially and unevenly developed resources, on the grounds that "we never know all of a language; we always know specific bits and pieces of it" (Blommaert 2010(a): 23). However, this definition raises questions when placed in a multilingual African context. The data suggests that the participants in this study are proficient in the languages they speak for the purposes for which they need them. This then

would go beyond the concept of Blommaert's "bits and pieces", and suggests instead that these bits and pieces are indeed complete for the purposes for which they are used.

Chapter 5: Conclusions and recommendations

5.1 Introduction

This study set out to investigate the linguistic identities of multilingual adolescents in Johannesburg. Following Hall (1996: 4), identity is viewed as strategic and positional. It is not regarded as unified; rather, it is seen as fragmented and fractured, multiply constructed across different, often antagonistic, discourses and positions. The participants attend a variety of township and former Model C schools in and around Johannesburg and all participate in educational enrichment programmes where the exclusive medium of instruction is English.

This concluding chapter will start by reviewing the strengths and weaknesses of the study, initially by revisiting the research design, and then starting with the identities of the participants in the sample and their relationships with the researcher. This review will then move on to evaluate the effectiveness of multimodal research methodology, and then consider the participants' attitudes to language use as well as considering the findings, some of which were not anticipated. Lastly, some recommendations for future studies will be made.

5.2 The research sample and the researcher

The composition of the research group is both a strength and a weakness of this study. The participants in this study represent an academic elite; successful, ambitious young people who are being actively encouraged to think critically about themselves and their environments. While there have been a number of very authoritative studies of language repertoires, many have focused on migrants or refugees, such as Norton (1991, 2000), Busch (2011(a)) and Blommaert et al. (2005). The participants in this study are not a minority group in South Africa; in fact, they are mostly representative of the majority. Additionally, participants who might be classified as educational migrants are included.

Using an academically-successful population as a research sample has been identified as a problem by DeKeyser, Alfi-Shabtay and Dravid (2010), who are critical of research that relies on samples that reflect "a much higher percentage of highly educated participants than the population at large" (DeKeyser et al. 2010: 416). While settling for easy linguistic targets will

90

inevitably limit the generalizability of results (Magnusson & Stroud 2012: 323), conceiving of studies of multilingualism or SLA solely in terms of poorly-educated or vulnerable migrants living in contested communities could also be seen as limiting.

The participants are proficient in a number of different languages and the strength of this profile is that they are able to articulate their opinions thoughtfully and selectively and, as a result, can explore and challenge meaning-making. The participants use the languages in their repertoires confidently and flexibly to mobilise the Self and style themselves, choosing from the multiple identities afforded by their multifaceted lives to live with ambiguity and to position themselves in response to the actors in a particular environment. At the same time, this intellectual flexibility probably represents an atypical sample of adolescents that would set the participants apart from their peers (although this will have to be empirically tested with a wider range of adolescents). The question then is to what extent does this fact invalidate the results of this survey.

Another perceived weakness is the fact the researcher has in the past 15 months taught all of the participants and, in the case of interviews 1 and 2, was still teaching them at the time of data collection. It is difficult to quantify the impact of this relationship with the students on the results of this study, but clearly it must be considered as a factor which could influence the ways in which they present themselves. Bamberg (2006) points out that while a relationship of trust between interviewer and interviewee is essential, it is equally important that the participants actually narrate rather than engage in face-saving strategies (Bamberg 2006: 69), a situation which may happen when the researcher is a well-known teacher rather than a stranger.

On the one hand, knowledge of the participants' performance and stylisation in class adds richness and depth to research insights but it undoubtedly adds perceptual baggage to the researcher's analysis. The results presented in this thesis should therefore be understood within this specific context, taking into account the role and relationship of the researcher in relation to the participants in the study.

5.3   Effectiveness of multimodal analysis

Multimodality makes it possible to examine change in representation in all its semiotic complexity, and using biography as a tool to explore multilingualism makes it possible to study how linguistic identity is constructed, by focusing on local practices in particular places at specific times. Placing narrative in a biographical framework also illuminates small stories and foregrounds the context in which the narratives are produced (Phoenix 2011: 65).

Multimodal analysis has generated a number of different perspectives on each student, resulting in subtle and complex profiles. The result is that small aspects of identity construction that the students themselves do not consider significant are illuminated, such as evidence of ambiguity and performativity. In addition, thematic analysis is used because of its sensitivity to recurrent motifs that are salient in participants' stories and to themes that are important to them (Pavlenko 2007: 166), although the limitations of the approach are acknowledged. However, by combining thematic analysis with Bamberg's (2004, 2006) and Bamberg & Georgakopoulou's (2008) small story research methodology, it has been possible to identify major themes in the biographic drawings and explanatory notes, and then to use detailed small story analysis to illuminate these. In this way, the research has been able to focus on fleeting aspects of experience (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou 2008: 378) as lived by a group of multilingual adolescents in Johannesburg. As such, the research presents a series of snapshots of moments in their lives as well as insights into how they construct themselves at a particular moment. An example of this is the earliest reference to Skhothane in the biographic drawing by BgM, one of the participants, an unheralded[9] act of identity which was only expanded on obliquely later on in a group interview.

5.4   Participants' attitudes to and use of language in the construction of identity

The question asked at the beginning of this thesis was how do multilingual adolescents use language to construct their identities. A number of themes emerge when it comes to the motivation for language choice, and one that emerges consistently is the desire to maintain one's own language. This emerges strongly in both the drawings and accompanying

---

[9] "Unheralded" is used here as a description because there was nothing in the participant's outward appearance at weekly classes that suggested any affinity with the Izikhothane.

explanatory notes. In the drawings, the emotional attachment to mother tongue is often depicted as a symbolic or grounding device. There is also ample evidence to show that the participants are immensely flexible with the languages they speak, moving easily from one to another to reconstruct or reposition themselves in relation to others.

While attitudes to the Other were generally open and positive, there was one unanticipated finding here, namely the refusal to accept the Other when it came to Xitsonga. This is apparently not uncommon in the townships. A challenging exchange took place in this regard over one member of the group's inability or refusal to learn to speak Xitsonga. In addition, in this particular segment, a contemporary animated film by Mdu Ntuli entitled *Jesus is a Shangaan* was referenced. The film not only foregrounds established prejudice directed at Tsonga people but also parodies it.

Participants' attitudes to English are extremely positive if somewhat idealistic, and the language is perceived as a "key to freedom and the wealth of the world", as well as to opportunities to study abroad, and to aid networking. However, this does not come at the expense of allegiance and emotional attachment to the mother tongue. The participants use the other African languages in their repertoires to position themselves in relation to their peers, friends and family members. An unexpected finding was the participants' surprisingly positive attitudes towards Afrikaans, when one might have expected the language's oppressive history to weigh heavily in this regard.

Finally, the group's use of stylisation supports Rampton's (2011: 2) notion that second language speakers are able to explore the indexical possibilities of the languages they use. In their portraits, explanatory notes and group discussions, the participants demonstrated a keen ability to use style to position themselves in relation to others, respond to different situations, and comment on behaviour. In this regard, the role of Tsotsitaal in new peer encounters, and the use of graphic style to create a persona aligned with Skhothane culture, was noted.

5.5   Recommendations for future studies

In general, South Africa's multilingual nature offers extraordinarily rich opportunities for second language studies and studies on language in education. This is because it is a society in which multilingualism is genuinely the norm and monolingualism is exceptional.

93

There are also two specific areas where unanticipated issues were raised and which would be worth researching further. The first of these is the Skhothane phenomenon – is it "bling gone obscenely crazy" as Patta (2012) suggests, or is it less about consumerism and more about fame and recognition as Nxedlana would have us believe? In order to ground this phenomenon within the framework of heteroglossic practices, studies focusing on the multimodal and performative aspects of multilingualism need to be designed and undertaken. Research methodologies such as the language portraits employed in the current study constitute a good starting point to investigate the multimodal and performative aspects of multilingualism, but this is not sufficiently adequate. Future studies will need to employ multimodal ethnography if the true meaning-making potential and significance of this practice is to be captured. Linked to this phenomenon is the resurgence of Tsotsitaal, which has crossed the gender barrier and is now an identity marker for trendy young people of both sexes. Similarly, studies focussing on the performative aspects of Tsotsitaal need to be conducted.

This study also showed how underutilised the meaning-making resources of learners are in schooling. At the moment, only a small set of mostly monolingual practices are used in education in South Africa, even in non-typical settings such as educational enrichment programmes. It is evident that the students in the study have access to so much more than the schooling system is currently using. More studies are needed which explore how students utilise these resources, how these resources can be utilised more effectively and, ultimately, what kind of pedagogy could be designed that draws on heteroglossia.

References

Alexander, N. 2005. Language, class and power in post-apartheid South Africa. http://www.wolpetrust.org.za/dialogue2005/CT102005alexander_transcript.pdf [Accessed 12 December 2012]

Allais, S. 2007. Why the South African NQF failed: lessons for countries wanting to introduce national qualifications frameworks. *European Journal of Education Policy*. 42:4, 524-547.

Antony, L.M & Hornstein, N. 2003. *Chomsky and his critics*. Malden, Oxford and Victoria: Blackwell Publishing.

Bagnoli, A. 2009. Beyond the standard interview: the use of graphic elicitation and arts-based methods. *Qualitative Research*. 9, 547-570.

Bakhtin, M. 1981. *The dialogic imagination.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Bamberg, M. 1997. Oral versions of personal experience: Three decades of narrative analysis. *Journal of Narrative and Life History*. 7, 1-4

Bamberg, M. 2004. Talk, small stories and adolescent identities. *Human Development.* 47, 366-369.

Bamberg, M. 2006. Biographic-Narrative Research, Quo Vadis? A critical review of 'Big Stories' from the Perspective of 'Small Stories'. In: *Narrative, Memory & Knowledge: Representations, Aesthetics, Contexts*. University of Huddersfield: Huddersfield. 66-79

Bamberg, M. 2011. Who am I? Narration and its contribution to self and identity. *Theory Psychology.* 21, 3-21.

Bamberg, M & Georgakopoulou, A. 2008. Small stories as a new perspective in narrative and identity analysis. *Text & Talk* . 28 , 377-396.

Banda, F. 2009. Critical perspectives on language planning and policy in Africa: Accounting for the notion of multilingualism. *Stellenbosch papers in Linguistics, PLUS*. 38 1-11

Banda, F. 2010. Defying monolingual education: alternative bilingual discourse practices in selected coloured schools in Cape Town. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*. 3: 3, 221- 235.

Baron, N.S. 2005 Instant Messaging and the Future of Language. *Communications of the ACM.* July 48, 29-31

Bembe, M.P. & Beukes, A.M. 2009. The use of slang by black youth in Gauteng. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies.* 25:4, 463-472.

Blackledge, A. & Creese, A. 2009. Meaning-making as dialogic process: official and carnival lives in the language classroom. *Journal of language, Identity & Education.* 8, 236-253.

Blackledge, A. & Pavlenko, A. 2001. Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts. *International Journal of Bilingualism.* 5:3, 243-257.

Blommaert, J. 2003. Commentary: A sociolinguistics of globalization. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7:4, 607-623.

Blommaert, J. 2006. Ethnopoetics as functional reconstruction: Dell Hymes' narrative view of the world. *Working Papers in Urban Language and Literacies.* Paper 32. 1-17.

Blommaert, J. 2007. On scope and depth in linguistic ethnography. *Journal of Sociolinguistics.* 11:5, 682-688.

Blommaert, J. 2010(a). *The sociolinguistics of globalization.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Blommaert, J. 2010(b). OBITUARY: Dell H.Hymes (1927-2009). *Journal of Sociolinguistics.* 15:5, 693-697

Blommaert, J. & Backus, A.D 2011. Repertoires revisited: 'Knowing language' in superdiversity. *Working Papers in Urban Language & Literacies.* Paper 67. 1-25

Blommaert, J., Collins,J., & Slembrouck, S. 2005. Polycentricity and interactional regimes in 'global neighbourhoods'. *Ethnography* 6:2, 205-235.

Bourdieu, P. 1977. The economics of linguistic exchanges. *Social Science Information.*16:6, 645-668.

Bourdieu, P. 1984. *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. 1991. *Language and symbolic power.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Busch, B. 2006. Changing Media Spaces: The transformative power of heteroglossic practices. In Mar-Molinero, C. & Stevenson, P (eds). *Language ideologies, policies and practices*. Basingstoke, Hampshire & New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Busch, B. 2010. School language profiles: valorizing linguistic resources in heteroglossic situations in heteroglossic situations in South Africa. *Language & Education.* 24:4, 283-294.

Busch, B. 2011(a). Building on heteroglossia and heterogeneity: The experience of a multilingual classroom. Presentation at the 3rd International Conference on Language Education and Diversity (LED) 22-25 November 2011, *Colloquium: Language, Education and Superdiversity.* University of Auckland, New Zealand.

Busch, B. 2011(b). Trends and innovative practices in multilingual education in Europe: An overview. *International Review of Education.* 57, 541-549.

Busch, B. 2012. The Linguistic Repertoire Revisited. *Applied Linguistics*. 33:5, 503-523.

Busch, B., Jardine, A., & Tjoutuku, A. 2006. Language biographies for multilingual learning. *PRAESA Occasional paper. 24* Cape Town: PRAESA

Butler, J. 1988. Performative acts and gender constitution: An essay in phenomenology and feminist theory. *Theatre Journal.* 40:4, 519-531.

Butler, J. 1999. *Gender trouble.* New York: Routledge Press.

Bybee, J. 2006. From usage to grammar: The mind's response to repetition. *Language.* 82:4, 711-733

Cameron, D. 1997. Demythologizing Sociolinguistics. In Coupland, N. & Jaworski, A. (Eds) *Sociolinguistics. A reader and coursebook.* Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave MacMillan

Chauke, A. 8 June 2012. *Shangaan Jesus not funny*. Available online: http://www.timeslive.co.za/thetimes/2012/06/08/shangaan-jesus-not-funny [Accessed 14 December 2012].

Creswell, J.W. 1994. *Research design: Qualitative and quantitative approaches.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Copi, I, 1994. *Introduction to Logic*. New York: Macmillan

Corson, D. 2001. *Language diversity and education*. New Jersey, London: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Coulmas, F. 2005. *Sociolinguistics. The study of speakers' choices.* Cambridge, New York: University of Cambridge Press

Coupland, N. & Jaworski, A. 1997. *Sociolinguistics. A reader and coursebook.* Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave MacMillan

De Klerk, V. 1991. What's the Current Slang? *English Usage in South Africa.* 22, 68-82

DeKeyser, R., Alfi-Shabtay, I, & Dravid, R. 2010. Cross-linguistic evidence for the nature of age effects in second language acquisition. *Applied Psycholinguistics.* 31, 413-438.

Desai, Z. 2001. Multilingualism in South Africa with particular reference to the role of African languages in education. *International Review of Education*. 47:3/4, 323-339.

De Wet, C. & Wolhuter, C. 2009. A transitiological study of some South African educational issues. *South African Journal of Education* http://www.scielo.org.za/scielo.php?pid=S0256-01002009000300005&script=sci_arttext&tlng=en [Accessed 15 December 2012]

Dixon, N. 1995 Film and racism in South Africa [online].New South Wales: Green Left. Available from http://www.greenleft.org.au/node/8758. [Accessed 5 July 2012]

Doecke, B. & Kostogris A. 2008. English and its Others: Towards an Ethics of Transculturation. *Changing English: studies in Culture and Education.* 15:3, 259-274

Dyers, C. 2008. Language shift or language maintenance? Factors determining the use of the Afrikans language among some township youth in South Africa. *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics (SPIL)* 38, 49-72.

Dyers, C. 2012. Truncated multilingualism or language shift? An examination of language use in intimate domains in a new non-racial working class township in South Africa. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*. 29:2 110-126.

Eckert, P. 2008. Variation and the indexical field. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*. 12:4, 453-76

Ellis, E., Gogolin, I. & Clyne, M. 2010. The Janus face of monolingualism: a comparison of German and Australian language education policies. *Current Issues in Language Planning*. 11:4, 439-460.

Errington, J. 2001. Colonial linguistics. *Annual Review of Anthropology.* 30:19, 19-39.

Garcia, O. 2009. En/countering indigenous bilingualism. *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*. 8:5, 376-380.

Gee, J.P. 1991. What is literacy? In C. Mitchell & K.Weiler (eds). *Rewriting literacy: Culture and the Discourse of the Other*. New York: Bergin & Garvey. 402-410.

Georgakopoulou, A. 2000. Analytical positioning vis-à-vis narrative positioning. *Narrative Inquiry*. 10, 185-190

Georgakopoulou, A. 2006. The other side of the story: towards a narrative analysis of narratives-in-interaction. *Discourse Studies*. 8, 235-257.

Gillham, R. 2005. Diary Studies as a Tool for Efficient Cross-Cultural Design. *7ᵗʰ International Workshop on Internationalisation of Products and Systems*

Grosjean, F. 1989. Neurologists, Beware! The Bilingual is Not Two Monolinguals in One Person. *Brain and Language* 36, 3-15

Gumperz, J.J. 1964. Linguistic and social interaction in two communities. *American Anthropologist, New Series*. 66:6. Part 2: The Ethnography of Communication. 137-153

Gumperz, J.J. 1968. The Speech Community. Reprinted in Duranti, A. 1994 (ed.) *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*. New York: Macmillan. 66-73

Gumperz, J. 1986. Introduction. In J Gumperz & Hymes, D. (eds). *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*: 1-25. London: Blackwell

Hall, S. 1996. Who needs identity? Hall, S & De Guy, P. (eds). *Questions of Cultural Identity.* London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Hall, S. 2002. Political belonging in a world of multiple identities. In (Vertovec, S. & Cohen, R. (eds). *Conceiving cosmopolitanism. Theory, context and practice*. New York: Oxford University Press. 25-31.

Heller, M. 2008. Language and the nation-state: Challenges to sociolinguistic theory and practice. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*. 12:4, 504-524.

Heugh, K. 1999. Languages, development and reconstructing education in South Africa. *International Journal for Academic Development*. 19:4, 301-313.

Heugh, K. 2000. The case against bilingual and multilingual education. *PRAESA Occasional Papers 6*.

Heugh, K. 2009. Contesting the monolingual practices of a bilingual to multilingual policy. *English Teaching: Practice and Critique* 8(2): 96-113.

Hudson, R.A. 1980. *Sociolinguistics*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hurst, E. 2009. Tsotsitaal, global culture and local style: identity and recontextualisation in twenty-first century South African townships. *Social Dynamics*. 35:2, 244-257.

Hymes, D. 1964. Introduction: Towards ethnographies of communication. *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 66:6. Part 2: The Ethnography of Communication, 1-28

Hymes, D. 1972. On communicative competence. *Sociolinguistics*, *269293*, 54-73

Hymes, D. 2010. A perspective for linguistic anthropology. *Journal of Sociolinguistics.* 14:5, 569-580.

Jacquemet, M. 2005. Transidiomatic practices: Language and power in the age of globalization. *Language and Communication*. 25:3, 257-277.

Kelly, N. 2010. A Bourdieusian perspective on identity and its role in second language acquisition. *Cultus. The Journal of Intercultural Mediation and Communication.* 3, 45-64.

Kerfoot, C. 1993. Participatory education in a South African Context: Contradictions and challenges. *TESOL Quarterly*. 27:3, 431-448.

Kramsch, C 1993. *Context and culture in language teaching.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kramsch, C. 2006. The multilingual subject. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*. 16:1, 97-110.

Kramsch, C. 2009. *The multilingual subject*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.

Kress, G. 2005. Gains and losses: New forms of texts, knowledge and learning. *Computers and Composition.* 22, 5-22.

Kristeva, J. 2002. *The portable Kristeva*. In Oliver, K (ed). New York, Chichester West Sussex: Columbia University Press.

Kostogriz, A. & Doecke, B. 2008. English and its others: Towards an ethics of transculturation. *Changing English: Studies in Culture and Education.* 15:3, 259-274.

Kuhn,T. 1962. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* In: http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/thomas-kuhn/ [Accessed 14 December 2012]

Labov, W. 1972. *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Leavy, P. 2009. *Methods meets art. Art-based research practice.* New York: The Guildford Press.

Li Wei. Moment Analysis and translanguaging space: Discursive construction of identities of multilingual Chinese youth in Britain. *Journal of Pragmatics.* 43, 1222-1235.

Lemke, J.L. 2008. Identity, deveopment and desire: Critical questions. In Caldas,C.R. & Iedema, R.(eds). *Identity trouble*. Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 17-42.

Iedema, R, 2003. Multimodality, resemiotization: extending the analysis of discourse as a multi-semiotic practice. *Visual Communications* 2, 29-53.

Macpherson, C.B. 1964. *The political theory of possessive individualism. Hobbes to Locke*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.

Magnusson, J.E. & Stroud, C. 2012. High proficiency in markets of performance. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*. 34, 321-345.

Mazrui, A & Mazrui, A. 1998. *The Power of Babel: Language and Governance in the African Experience.* Oxford: James Curry.

Mathebula, P. 23 May 2012. *Jaw dropped by Izikhotane – Reloaded*. Available online: www.tvsa.co.za/default.asp?blogname=luvtochat&ArticleID=18117 [Accessed 15 December 2012].

McKinney, C. & Norton, B. 2008. Identity in language and literacy education. In Spolsky, B & Hult, F (eds). *The Handbook of Educational Linguistics*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Menard-Warwick, J. 2005. Both a fiction and an existential fact: Theorizing identity in second language, acquisition and literacy studies. *Linguistics and Education*. 16 253-274

Mesthrie, R. 2006. Language, transformation and development: a sociolinguistic appraisal of post-apartheid South African Language policy and practice. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Linguistics Studies*. 24:2, 151-163.

Milani, T.M., R. Jonsson & I.J. Mhlambi. (submitted). *Shooting the subversive: When "Rinkebysvenska" and "Tsotsitaal" go mainstream in the media.* Available online:

http://www.academia.edu/1786354/Shooting_the_subversive_When_rinkebysvenska_and_tsotsitaal_go_mainstream_in_the_media [Accessed 14 December 2012].

Milroy, L, & Milroy, J. 1985. Linguistic change, social network and speaker innovation. *Journal of Linguistics*. 21:2, 339-384.

Milroy, L, & Milroy, J. 1992. Social network and social class: Toward an integrated sociolinguistic model. *Language In Society*. 21:1, 1-26.

Morris, P. (1997) *The Bakhtin reader: Selected writings of Bakhtin, Medvedev and Voloshinov*. London, New York: Edward Arnold.

Mossakowski, J. & Busch, B. On language biographical methods in research and education. Austria. Example of current practice #3. En del av digital artikelsameling I projektet for Europrates. Policies and practices for teaching sociocultural diversity. Tillganglig Language_biographical_methods.pdf.1-9
http://www.cis.or.at/spracherleben/download/ECP-AT-3-Language_biographical_methods_.pdf [Accessed 14 December 2012].

Mulgrew, N. 19 October 2012. *Literacy: Once upon a time, parents taught their children to read.* Available online: http://mg.co.za/article/2012-10-19-00-once-upon-a-time-parents-taught [Accessed 15 December 2012].

Nxedlana, J. 22 May 2012. *Izikhothane – Two sides to the story*. Available online: www.cuss.co.za/2012/05/22/izikhothane-two-sides-to-the-story/ [Accessed 15 December 2012].

Norris, M. 2004. Finnegans Wake. The Cambridge Companion to James Joyce. In Attridge, D (ed). *Cambridge Collections Online*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Norton, B. & Toohey, K. 2001. Changing perspectives on good language learners. *TESOL Quarterly*. 35:2, 307-322.

Norton Peirce, B. 1995. Social identity, investment and language learning. *TESOL Quarterly*. 29:1 9-31.

Norton Peirce, B 1997. Language, identity and the ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly*. 31:3

Norton, B. 2000. *Identity and language learning: Gender Ethnicity and Educational Change.* Harlow, UK: Pearson Education

Norton, B. 2001. Non-participation, imagined communities, and the language classroom. In M. Breen (ed). *Learner contributions to language learning: New directions in Research.* Harlow, England: Pearson Education, 159-71.

Ntuli, M. 2012. *Izikhokho show: Jesus is a Shangaan*. Available online: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bekg59wQVgE [Accessed 14 December 2012].

Olssen, M. & Peters, M.A. Neoliberalism, higher education and the knowledge economy: free the free market to knowledge capitalism. *Journal of Education Policy*. 20:3 , 313-345.

Otsuji, E & Pennycook, A. 2009. Metrolingualism: fixity, fluidity and language in flux. *International Journal of Multilingualism*. 7:3, 240-254

Otsuji, E. & Pennycook, A. 2011. Social Inclusion and metrolingual practices. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. 14:4, 413-426.

Patta, D. 2012. Izikhothane. 3rd Degree on ETV. (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L4Pb2ve0bVQandfeature=fvwpandNR=1) (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6m__b1do71kandfeature=fvwrel) [Accessed 15 December 2012]

Pavlenko, A. 2001. "In the world of the tradition, I was unimagined": Negotiation of identities in cross-cultural autobiographies. *International Journal of Bilingualism.* 5, 317- 344

Pavlenko, A. 2007. Autobiographical narratives as data in applied linguistics. *Applied Linguistics.* 28:2, 163-188.

Pennycook, A. 2004. Performativity and language studies. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies: An International Journal*. 1:1, 1-19.

Pennycook, A. 2010. *Language as local practice.* Routledge: Oxford, New York.

Peshkin, A. 1993. The Goodness of Qualitative Research. *Educational Researcher*. 22:2, 23-29.

Phoenix, A. 2011. *Analyzing Narrative Contexts.* In (eds.) Andrews, A., Squire, C., & Tamboukou, M. *Doing Narrative Research*. London & Thousand Oaks: Sage. 64-77

Pietikainen, S. & Dufva H. 2006. Voices in discourses: Dialogism, critical discourse analysis and ethnic identity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics.* 10:2, 205-224.

Rampton, B. 1999. Styling the other. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*. 3, 421-427.

103

Rampton, B. 2007. Neo-Hymesian linguistic ethnography in the United Kingdom. *Journal of Sociolinguistics.* 11:5, 594-607.

Rampton, B. 2009. Interaction ritual and not just artful performance in crossing and stylization. *Language in Society*. 38, 149-176

Rampton, B. 2011. Style in a second language. *Working Papers in Urban Language and Literacies*. Paper 65. 1-40.

Rawolle, S & Lingaard,B. 2008. The sociology of Pierre Bourdieu and researching education policy. *Journal of Education Policy.* 23:6, 729-741.

Richards, L. 2005. *Handling qualitative data: A practical guide: Part 1*. London: Sage.

Ryan, M. 2008. Small stories, big issues: tracing complex subjectivities of high school students in interactional talk. *Critical Discourse Studies*. 5:3, 217-229.

Silverstein, M. 1998. Contemporary transformations of local linguistic communities. *Annual Review of Anthropology.* 7, 401-426.

Simon, R. 1992. *Teaching against the grain: Texts for a pedagogy of possibility*. New York: Bergin & Garvey

South African Census 2011 http://www.statssa.gov.za/Census2011/Products/Census_2011_Methodology_and_Highlights_of_key_results.pdf).

(http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/sa-s-population-at-51-8-million-census-1.1414326).

[Accessed 15 December 2012]

South African Institute of Race Relations. http://www.sairr.org.za/ [Accessed 15 December 2012]

Tabouret-Keller, A. 1960. Problems of Educational Psychology involved in Bilingualism. *International Review of Education.* 6:1, 52-66.

Thesen, L. 1997. Voices, discourses and transition: In search of new categories in EAP. *TESOL Quarterly.* 31:3, 487.

Van Lier, L. 2002. An ecological-semiotic perspective on language and linguistics. In C Kramsch (ed) *Language acquisition and language socialisation*. London: Continuum

Van Zanten, A. 2006. Bourdieu as education policy analyst and expert: a rich and ambiguous legacy. *Journal of Education Policy.* l20:6, 671-686.

Vertovec, S. 2007. Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies.* 30:6, 1024-1054.

Vertovec, S & Cohen, R. 2008. *Conceiving cosmopolitanism.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Vice, S. 1997. *Introducing Bakhtin*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Waldron, J. 1992. Minority cultures and the cosmopolitan alternative. *University of Michigan Journal of Law Reform*. 25, 751-92.

Waldron, J. 2000. What is cosmopolitan? *The Journal of Political Philosophy.* 8:2, 227-253.

Wardhaugh, R. 2007. *An introduction to sociolinguistics*. Blackwell Publishing.

Webb, V. 2010. Constructing an inclusive speech community from two mutually exclusive ones: The third Afrikaans language movement. *Tydskrif vir Letterkunde.* 47:1,106-120.

Weedon, C. 1987. *Feminist Practice and poststructuralist theory.* London: Blackwell

Wenger, E. 1998.*Communities of practice: Learning, meaning and identity.* Cambridge MA: Cambridge University Press

Wengraf, T. 2001. *Qualitative research interviewing.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Wengraf, T. 2004. Paradigm wars around interview methodologies: Constructionism and postmodernism "on tap" or "on top"? (Review Essay). *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 5(1), Art. 30. Available online: http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/viewArticle/636 [Accessed 14 December 2012].

West, C. 1992. A matter of life and death. *October.* 61, 2-23

Wodak, R. 2012. Language, power and identity. *Language Teaching*. 45:2, 215-233.

Wyman, D.S & Rosenzveig, C.H. 1996. *The World Reacts to the Holocaust*. Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Appendix A: Ethical clearance

UNIVERSITEIT·STELLENBOSCH·UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot · your knowledge partner

10 September 2012

Tel.: 021 - 808-9003
Enquiries: Mr. Winston A Beukes
Email: wabeukes@sun.ac.za

Reference No. DESC55/2012

Ms A Bristow
General Linguistics
Stellenbosch University

Ms Bristow

Final Approval

With regard to your application, I would like to inform you that the project, *The linguistic identities of multi lingual adolescents participating in educational enrichment programmes in Johannesburg*, was approved on the following proviso's:

1. The researcher will remain within the procedures and protocols indicated in the proposal, particularly in terms of any undertakings made in terms of the confidentiality of the information gathered.

2. The research will again be submitted for ethical clearance if there is any substantial departure from the existing proposal.

3. The researcher will remain within the parameters of any applicable national legislation, institutional guidelines and scientific standards relevant to the specific field of research

4. The researcher will consider and implement the foregoing suggestions to lower the ethical risk associated with the research.

5. This ethics clearance is valid for one year from 10 September 2012 to 09 September 2013.

Best regards

MR WA Beukes
REC Coordinator, Research Ethics Committee: Human Research (Humaniora)
Registered with the National Health Research Ethics Council (NHREC): REC-050411-032

Afdeling Navorsingsontwikkeling · Division for Research Development

Privaatsak/Private Bag X1 · Matieland 7602 · Suid Afrika/South Africa
Tel: +27 21 808 9183 · Faks/Fax: +27 21 808 4537
www.sun.ac.za/research

106

Appendix B: Background questionnaire

1. PERSONAL DETAILS

This information is for the record only. For research purposes all names will be kept totally confidential and pseudonyms will be used.

Family Name	
First Name	
Date of Birth	
Country of Birth	
Nationality	
Where do you live?	

2. LANGUAGES

Please list all the languages you speak. It does not matter if you don't speak them very often, nor even very well.

What language/s do you speak?	
When do you speak these language/s?	
What language/s do you speak most at home?	
What language/s do you regularly speak in the classroom?	

What language/s do you use when chatting to your friends	
What is your first or best language?	

3. EDUCATION

Level/Grade of education	
What school/s do you attend?	

4. YOUR PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

What do you want to do/be when you finish school?	
If you are going to study further, what are you going to study?	
Where do you want to study and why?	