



**'HETEROGLOSSIA IN ISIXHOSA/ENGLISH BILINGUAL CHILDREN'S WRITING:  
A CASE STUDY OF GRADE 6 ISIXHOSA HOME LANGUAGE IN A TOWNSHIP  
SCHOOL'**

by

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## DECLARATION

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Samkelo Matutu (MTTSAM007)

10 FEBRUARY 2020

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## ABSTRACT

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The South African constitution recognises 11 official languages, of which isiXhosa is one. IsiXhosa belongs to the Nguni language family which also comprises of isiZulu, isiNdebele, and siSwati. IsiXhosa is mostly spoken in the Eastern and Western Cape Provinces. Those that regard isiXhosa as their home language (HL) are referred to as amaXhosa. However, as a teacher of isiXhosa HL, I have observed that there is often a mismatch between the isiXhosa used by the students and the one used in the schooling context. Thus, this study explores and investigates the written language varieties Grade 6 isiXhosa HL students use in their formally assessed and informal writing.

The theoretical framework used in this study reviews literature on discourse/language and literacy as social practice, language ideologies and identity, heteroglossic and translanguaging practices, as well as primary school children's writing in South Africa to understand the complexities of students' language varieties. Moreover, this study explores the way in which the isiXhosa HL students represent their varied language resources through use of a language body portrait. Further, issues of language standardisation in relation to children's literacy are also reviewed.

This study takes the form of qualitative case study in design. Students' Formal Assessment Task (FATs), language body portrait and informal paragraph writing about their linguistic repertoire were collected and analysed. Data analysis revealed the following themes: language ideologies, linguistic repertoires, use of urban and everyday language varieties, Standard Written isiXhosa (orthography), language borrowings, as well as unconventional spellings. Themes and categories are intensively analysed in Chapters four and five of this study.

This study displays evidence of hybridity and fluidity of named languages, as well as heteroglossic practices that the students employ. Analysing the students' writing was effective in helping understand how bi/multilinguals engage in writing and that, while the adopted curriculum approach to language and FAT is monoglossic, children's writing is heteroglossic (see also Bakhtin, 1981; Krause and Prinsloo, 2016). The implications of teaching languages as bounded, fixed and separate entities are explored and problematized. Chapter six of this study concludes the study and offers recommendations that are important for deliberation when teaching writing in isiXhosa/African language contexts.

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## LIST OF ACRONYMS USED IN THE STUDY

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|       |  |
|-------|--|
| ANA   | ANNUAL NATIONAL ASSESSMENT                       |
| DoE   | DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION                          |
| FAL   | FIRST ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE                        |
| FAT   | FORMAL ASSESSMENT TASK                           |
| FP    | FOUNDATION PHASE                                 |
| HL    | HOME LANGUAGE                                    |
| IP    | INTERMEDIATE PHASE                               |
| LiEP  | LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION POLICY                     |
| LoLT  | LANGUAGE OF LEARNING AND TEACHING                |
| LTSM  | LEARNING AND TEACHING SUPPORT MATERIAL           |
| PIRLS | PROGRESS IN INTERNATIONAL READING LITERACY STUDY |
| SWX   | STANDARD WRITTEN ISIXHOSA                        |
| WCED  | WESTERN CAPE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT                |

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## CHAPTER ONE

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### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Introduction

This study provides a sociolinguistic investigation of Grade 6 isiXhosa home language (HL) students' writing. It investigates the written language varieties evident in *Umsetyenzana wesi 4 no wesi – 5<sup>1</sup>* of their Formal Assessment Task (FATs) and their informal written paragraphs explaining body portraits drawn to represent their language repertoires. The study also draws on Busch's (2010) biographical tool of language body portraits to provide an analysis of the different language resources and varieties the students have in their linguistic repertoires. This chapter provides a brief background and rationale for the study. The aims of this study will be outlined, as well as the research questions.

#### 1.2 Background to the study

South Africa is a multilingual and transforming country with 11 official languages recognised by its constitution, displaying an immensely rich and complex linguistic diversity. Gugulethu a township located in Cape Town uses isiXhosa which is spoken approximately by 88.6 % of the townships' population (Census, 2011). Schools in a context like Gugulethu adopt the early transition language policy of the post-apartheid government. In the foundation phase (FP) (Grades 1-3) the Language of learning and teaching (LoLT) is isiXhosa, having English taught as First Additional Language (FAL). Whereas, in the intermediate phase (IP) (Grade 4- 6) isiXhosa is taught as a subject and then the school begins to follow an English-only curriculum using monolingual English textbooks and assessments. However, the school in which I research is unique to this normalised monolingual policy which propels an early exit from HL to English only as the LoLT in Grade 4. Even though Learning and Teaching Support Material (LTSM) is limited to English, the school's language policy states that LoLT should be English and isiXhosa from Grade 4 upwards. That being so, from my teaching experience I have observed that the isiXhosa that is spoken in this community is not homogenous to the one taught in the schooling context.

Moving to different – larger cities in search of greener pastures influences the way in which people use their language. In the context I research, people have moved from the Eastern Cape to the Western Cape province. People then, because of the language contact, and moving across

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<sup>1</sup> Task 4 and 5 of the FAT

spaces; as well as the advances in digital technologies, draw on an array of linguistic resources to communicate and perform literacies (Creese and Blackledge, 2015). In an isiXhosa context like Gugulethu, people tend to adopt and draw on varied language resources from their linguistic repertoires and use them as part of their lived experiences. One place in which these language varieties can be evident, is in students' writing. Student writing "demonstrates and reveals a learner's epistemic orientation and identity" (Coady, Makalela and Lopez; 2019: 1). Here, it is understood that when students write they make evident who they are, they display their belonging, association and position in the wider society (Gee, 1990: 143). Students' writing, therefore, serves as an indicator of success and/or failure in the schooling context, as well as an important vehicle through which students' complex identities are constructed and re – negotiated as they seek to negotiate meaning across texts and contexts through use of language (Bristowe, Oostendorp and Anthonissen, 2014).

Research shows that classrooms in SA are filled with students having the ability to employ varied strategies while simultaneously using more than one named language to communicate and perform literacy practices (Guzula, McKinney & Tyler, 2016; Makalela, 2014; Paxton & Tyam 2010; and Probyn, 2005). Nevertheless, the school curriculum continues to construct students as coming to school knowing a single – standard language. This is evident in the adoption of the LoLT of isiXhosa HL in Grades 1 – 3 and early switch to the English medium in Grade 4 upwards which is pervasive in SA schools. This approach of additive multilingualism evident in the curriculum perpetuates monoglossic ideologies, while many studies done in South Africa and elsewhere show that children's writing is heteroglossic (Bakhtin, 1981; Blommaert, 2010 and McKinney, 2015). Bua – lit collective criticised the way in which literacy is conceptualised in the National Framework for Teaching Reading in African Languages (2019). The national framework assumes that the ideal student is monolingual – the ability to speak only one language and disregarding the bi/multilingual student and context. The conceptualisation of literacy in the framework is that of an autonomous model of literacy (Gee, 1993).

In the South African context, the focus on literacy is often limited to reading, while writing is ignored. This is especially evident in standardised tests. There are Progress in International Reading Study (PIRLS), Western Cape Education Department (WCED) systemic tests (Grade 3, 6 & 9), and Annual National Assessments (ANAs) and results show that students perform poorly in these standardised assessments. These standardised tests solely focus on the aspects of reading. Even so, the prescribed reading texts evident in the tests have very little relation (if

any) to texts that make use of the student's varieties. Assuming that students read and write in the same way across contexts and providing them with a single standard test perpetuates the poor performance of the country. In the context of isiXhosa, it is impossible for students in Western Cape and Eastern Cape, even if they study isiXhosa at HL, to sit for the same standardised test and achieve the same results as their varieties of isiXhosa differ from the standard. Below I give a brief rationale for the study.

### **1.3 Rationale for the study**

Many South African teachers teaching in multilingual settings face challenges around how to teach children from different socio – cultural and linguistic backgrounds and draw on their multilingual resources for teaching writing. Instead of equipping teachers with strategies for drawing on these resources, the schooling context forces students to produce Standard Written isiXhosa (SWX) which differs from the varieties that the children speak. Students in the context I research, draw on an array of resources for writing. The student's writing, as my data analysis will show, displays fluidity and hybridity of named languages. Students in such contexts make use of strategies such as *translanguaging*<sup>2</sup> for meaning making purposes. Despite this, literacy learning for these children is conceptualised from an autonomous model (Street, 1993). From my teaching experience, there seems to be minimal (or no) connection between the teaching of reading and writing in the schooling context, similarly to languages which are continued to be taught in separate silos. Multilingual children in South Africa write assessments that assume the ideal student to be monolingual, even though sociolinguistic studies (Gough and Bock, 2001; Guzula et al, 2016, Paxton and Tyam, 2010) show that students' written texts are heteroglossic. Consequently, students struggle to follow and comprehend instructions. Thereby, their language and assessed written texts are often defined and described in deficit terms.

Despite research that continues to examine the relationship between two or more languages (Bristowe et, al. 2014; Garcia and Wei, 2014; Guzula et, al. 2016, Makalela 2015a), there remains a paucity of research on children's writing in South African schools and none on writing in isiXhosa HL. Hitherto, many South African studies have focused on various language issues. For example, Kapp (2001) focuses on discourse practices in senior English FAL classrooms, Setati et, al. (2002) reports on language practices in language, mathematics

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<sup>2</sup> Translanguaging refers to the "conscious switching in conversation or writing between two or more discrete languages" (Krause and Prinsloo, 2016:348).

and science classrooms in primary and secondary classes, Guzula et. al. (2016) on languaging for learning in a literacy club (Grades 3 – 6) and Mathematics programme of Grade 11, Hendricks (2008) discusses the writing of a Grade 7 learner across Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa as first additional languages, and Nomlomo (2004) investigates the impact isiXhosa varieties has on Grade 12 learners' academic performance studying isiXhosa as home language in different parts of the Eastern Cape. Other studies have focused on what students cannot do – identifying student's errors through linguistic/semantic lenses and separating language from the context in which it is used (Bock and Dadlana, 2002).

Thus far, research in teaching of writing in isiXhosa HL remains a vastly under resourced area. There is no research on varieties of language in use in schools, particularly the way in which students use language varieties in their formally assessed writing. It is towards filling this gap that my study seeks to contribute. This study understands that the use of more than one language should not only be viewed as a controversial phenomenon but that, the centrality of language together with students' language varieties should be conceptualised in the social context in which they are used.

With this study I aim to show how Grade 6 students shuttle between different resources for meaning – making purposes. It considers students' home discourses/ everyday language/ varieties and how teachers and students could build upon these to cater for students needs and multilingual context.

#### **1.4 Research questions of the study**

My research questions are:

- What are the language varieties employed by Grade 6 isiXhosa home language students as evident in their writing?
- How do students represent the language resources available in their linguistic repertoires?

#### **1.5 Research Aims**

IsiXhosa comprises of different varieties (standard and non – standard). However, in the schooling context students are expected to produce SWX– which is not familiar to every student. Gugulethu, because of mobility, globalisation and language standardisation is influenced by varieties both from the Eastern Cape and Western Cape which makes Gugulethu distinct to the language taught in schools. With this research

- I seek to investigate the language varieties Grade 6 isiXhosa students (in Gugulethu, Cape Town) employ in their assessed writing and informal writing,
- I endeavour to explore how students represent the language resources available in their linguistic repertoire.

I will provide a sociolinguistic account of students' language varieties in relation to the context in which they are used and aim to demonstrate how the student's varieties reflect multilingualism. I will also demonstrate how the idea of repertoire, rather than solely focusing on single named languages can be used to understand urban multilingualism in a schooling context like Gugulethu and the way in which identity is entangled with multilingual repertoires.

## **1.6 Overview of the study**

**Chapter Two:** Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

**Chapter Three:** Research Design and Methodology

**Chapter Four:** Data Analysis: Analysis of Linguistic ideologies

**Chapter Five:** Data Analysis: Students language varieties in the FATs

**Chapter Six:** Conclusions and Recommendations

Chapter Two of this study focuses on the theoretical framework used in this research study and provides a review of literature that has informed it. Chapter Three discusses the methodological frame, and the methods of data collection and analysis used in the study. Chapter Four of this study focuses on students' language repertoires and analyses data collected from my students' body portraits; as well as their written paragraphs (informal tasks) explaining their portraits. Chapter Five presents data collected from my students' formal written texts, analysing the language varieties that are evident in such tasks and what informs these. Chapter Six concludes the findings connecting them to the main research questions and discussed implications as well as recommendations for practice.

## CHAPTER TWO

---

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1 Introduction

This study seeks to investigate the language varieties Grade 6 isiXhosa home language (HL) students employ in their formally assessed and informal writing; it also looks at how these language varieties and resources are presented in the student's linguistic repertoire. This chapter provides a theoretical framework and reviews literature in relation to students' writing, as well as their varieties.

#### 2.2 Theoretical framework and literature review

The theoretical framework that I have used draws on the concepts of language and literacy as social practice, language ideologies, linguistic repertoire and language standardisation. In relation to standardisation I draw on concepts of orthography and bilingual borrowings.

##### 2.2.1 Language and Literacy as Social practice

My theoretical framework draws on post – structuralist theories of language and literacy, or discourse. As Gee argues

“There is no such thing as ‘reading’ or ‘writing’, only reading or writing *something* (a text of a certain type) in a certain way with certain values, while at least appearing to think and feel in certain ways” (Gee, 1990, xviii).

Street (1993) posits that viewing literacy as social practice allows one to look at the rich cultural variations of practices in different contexts. Viewing literacy as social practice enables us to be “wary of assuming a single literacy” (1993: 1). It is with this reason that Gee uses the above quote. Reading or writing *something* foregrounds the view of multiple literacies as opposed to the ideology of a single literacy. Gee (1990: xviii) also emphasises that when people, read or write, they do so taking into consideration the resources available to them in their context. Foregrounded herein, is the ability to read and write something in many different ways. Literacy according to Gee (1990) does not solely focus on the entities of language, but there is an interconnectedness between language, literacy and identity in reference to its social context, guided by time and space. In saying or writing the ‘right’ thing, children are guided by the social context in which they use language. As a result, in teaching of writing for example, Ivanic argues that “the self, should not be conceived as something to be studied in isolation but

as something which manifests itself in discourse” (Ivanic, 1998: 18). To put it differently, as children manifest themselves in writing or discourse they continuously emerge as actors and agents of their own writings (Bourne, 2002: 242).

An example of students manifesting themselves in discourse would be, when students write, they do so continuously attaching certain values using varieties that arise from their context to their writing, bringing in their lived experiences – home discourses, and playground literacies that they have acquired. In this case, they are bringing in their “socially accepted ways of using language” (Ivanic, 2004, 224). Children in the process of writing display a variety of discursive practices which according to Bourne are “constructed, maintained and reproduced” (2002:243). In assisting them with the writing process and in challenging the fixed, unitary and bounded concept of literacy – heteroglossia is said to ease children’s writing process. Heteroglossia is defined as the production of diverse voices in language, including through language varieties, other codes and registers - readily available in a language – which are used as a resource for writing (formally and informally) in multilingual contexts (Bakhtin, 1981). However, whether these hybrid and heteroglossic resources are valued or not depends upon the schooling context and the environment in which they are used. Thus, children in the process of reading and/or writing will oscillate between certain discourses, values and identities providing different variations that they have learned and acquired in different social contexts and practices.

### *2.2.1.1 Autonomous and ideological model of literacy*

Street (1993) distinguishes between autonomous and ideological models of literacy. The autonomous model, according to Street (1993), focuses on the cognitive aspects of reading and writing, and treats literacy as being neutral and universal. In the South African context, there is a mismatch between the language and literacy as expected by schools and as practiced by the students. Moreover, there is an assumption that students take hold of literacies in the same way across contexts (Heath, 1983). Janks postulates that if schools view and favour the autonomous model of literacy they continuously conceptualise literacy as “a neutral technology and a decontextualized set of skills” (2009: 3). The kind of literacy that is favoured bears little (if any) relation to the literacies experienced by the children. Children’s social practices are viewed as deviant and non-standard (Gee, 1990). Street, as opposed to the autonomous model, argues that literacy is “inextricably linked to cultural and power structures in society”, asking us “to recognise the variety of cultural practices associated with reading and writing in different contexts” through the ideological model of literacy (1993: 7).

### *2.2.1.2 Writing Discourses as identity kits/Discourses of writing*

Using Bourne's words, within post-structuralism, "the subject is no longer seen as fixed and unitary, but as multiply positioned within a number of differential societal discursive practices; indeed, as sometimes contradictorily positioned within shifts in discourse" (2002: 242). Post – structuralist theories view language not as a neutral medium of communication, but as a "form of self – representation" (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004: 291). Here, self-representation refers to the implications of social identities, the values attached to particular written and spoken texts, and, therefore the links between discourse and power in any social context. Embedded here is the notion that language is socially constituted. Therefore, if students want to participate in social and schooling contexts, they need to renegotiate their identities in those new contexts in order for them to be successfully integrated into school and the wider society. This conception of language is what post – structuralists refer to as 'Discourse' (see Gee, 2008; Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004).

### **2.2.2 Discourse**

Gee (2008: 28) outlines discourses as "...ways of using language, of thinking, valuing, acting, and interacting ... (Associations that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a 'social network')". Discourses not only refer to language but what is embedded in a language, like norms, beliefs and attitudes. Gee (2008) views 'Discourses' as a form of identity kit where if people engage in social contexts, they do so trying to make visible to others (and to themselves) who they really are and what they are doing. Central here, is how people position themselves and others while participating in a social context. As Gee puts it, "Discourses create 'social positions'" (1996: 128). Gee (2008) asserts that discourses involve multiple identities – one takes on different roles/identity kits in different contexts. Thus, Gee's concept of discourses enables me to understand and investigate not only the utterances of the students in my Grade 6 isiXhosa HL classroom but, to also pay close attention to the values embodied by what they say and values attached to their language varieties, in relation to their identities. Gee (2008) postulates that it is never enough, contextually to say the right thing, but the way it is being said, and how that person is disposed to act in the process of saying it is paramount

### 2.2.2.1 Primary and Secondary Discourses

Gee uses the terms ‘primary and secondary’ Discourses and defines primary discourses as those that have been acquired unconsciously without any formal teaching but acquired through exposure and practice within the immediate environment, for example at home. Whereas, secondary discourses refer to those that have been learned through overt instruction/teaching – for example, in school – like playing an instrument. Herein, explicit explanation and analysis is paramount in order to gain insight about the matter being taught (meta – knowledge). In this sense, it can be understood that Discourse acts as sub-culture within a larger culture or society. Thus, Gee’s theory of Discourse holds that language is situated and is a social practice thus tying meaning to people’s experiences and perceptions relative to the *Discourse* they are presently using language within. It is with this understanding of Discourse as a social practice that I wish to work. Gough and Bock’s (2001: 96) research on orality, literacy and education in isiXhosa speaking university students’ writing show how well – established secondary discourses are found in formal oral language use such as in rituals and ceremonies. Such discourses, according to Gee (1996); are controlled and guided by the context in which they occur, which in turn determines what is right. In such contexts, for Gee, there is no explicit teaching but people learn the discourse by becoming a member of that group (ibid).

### 2.2.3 Language Ideologies

Language ideologies are “sets of beliefs, values and cultural frames that continually circulate in society, informing ways in which language is conceptualised and presented as well as how it is used” (Makoe and McKinney, 2014: 659). In this concept, two traditions are foregrounded. Firstly, Durkheim’s tradition and secondly that of Bakhtin and Voloshinov (as cited in Blommaert, 2006). Durkheim’s conceptualisation of language ideologies involves culture and society, where people through social constructs share values and attitudes which makes them homogenous (in Blommaert 2006: 510). On the other hand, Bakhtin and Voloshinov’s conceptualisation is that of language signifying social struggle, state of ambivalence (ibid). That is, the way people use language indexes how they constantly orientate and position themselves to social interests; meaning that the way people use language can signal their attributes and values. Simply, there is an interconnectedness between language and culture – because “language signals [people’s] social understanding effects in various socially constituted situations” (Blommaert, 2006: 510).

In the South African context, language ideologies and their effects on choice of languages of learning and teaching and in social contact plays a huge role in creating inequality (Smith, 2011). McKinney and Norton (2008) and Makoe and McKinney (2014) emphasise how students are positioned by dominant discourses, language ideologies and power – relations. An example would be, in Makoe and McKinney’s (2014) research in suburban schools, where English is viewed as superior, whereas African languages are perceived as inferior and unable to guarantee an individual quality education (see also Bangeni and Kapp, 2007: 256). Krause and Prinsloo (2016: 352) assert that the Language in Education Policy (Department of Education 1997) treats languages as separate, fixed entities. In their study, they describe how teachers assume that they have to use a monoglossic approach – where isiXhosa is used only when students do not understand in English (see also Makoe and McKinney, 2014). The monolingual ideology continuously disregards and constructs African languages and its varieties as a problem that needs to be fixed. Moreover, if teachers code – switch and use mixed – codes they are accused of disadvantaging students’ abilities (ibid).

This complex positioning of ‘superiority’ and ‘inferiority’ does not solely speak to English and African named languages but dialects and varieties within the African languages are also not equally valued as resources, particularly in the schooling context. Nomlomo (1993) avers that “other” varieties that do not conform to the SWX are excluded, nor do forms of writing using the “other” varieties and dialects appear in formal – structured situations and in mass media. To put it another way, “the non-standard varieties are stigmatised as corrupt forms of speech” (Nomlomo, 2004). Moreover, standardisation of languages perpetuates the ideology of languages as universal, fixed, bounded entities (Makoe and McKinney, 2014). At the same time, it perpetuates the colonial tendencies of demarcating and segregating people according to ethnic groups and/or languages they speak (Hornberger, 2000).

According to Janks, language ideologies “reveal how power works, to the play of interests in the textual instantiations of discourses” (2009: 35). In my study, I show how power is embedded in language, and how this power influences students’ writing. In addition, the concept of language ideologies helps me understand who benefits and has access to these textual instantiations, as well as who is marginalised in the writing and assessment process. In my study I have used these theorists to make sense of the institution’s practices.

### 2.2.3.1 *Language, writing and identity*

Language plays an important role in constructing and positioning youth identities. Learners at times because of apartheid legacies find themselves straddling multiple discourses and renegotiating their identities. One place in which these multiple discourses and renegotiated identities become explicit, is the schooling environment. McKinney posits (using Bourdieu 1997: 650) that “schooling is one of the most important sites for social reproduction and is thus also one of the key sites which imposes the legitimate forms of discourse and the ideas that discourses should be recognised if and only if it conforms to the legitimate norms” (2007: 10). Therefore, in the schooling context children from different language backgrounds might discriminate against one another or view those that may speak a variety of isiXhosa that is not familiar to the schooling context as different.

Studies of language ideologies show us how ideologies influence the use of a language (McKinney, 2007, Makoe, 2014). Language might be conceptualised as ‘correct’ – ‘appropriate’ or ‘proper’ by those within a particular context (see also Hornberger, 2000). This idea affirms the problematic assumption of the universality of language. Therefore, analysing the students’ language ideologies helps to uncover how Grade 6 isiXhosa HL students understand language and how their understanding of languages constructs multiple identities (Cooper, 2018: 31).

Therefore, the relationship between language and identity is paramount to this study of language varieties, as the varieties the students use cannot be separated from the identities they choose to perform in their interactions with one another. Their use of a different variety locates them and the words they use can also index their age, and social class. Most importantly, their language use serves as marker of identities. Chapter four & five of this study will show how the students resist, disrupt, reinvent and mix linguistic traditions and varieties in their writing.

### **2.2.4 Language body portraits/Linguistic Repertoires**

Busch’s notion of linguistic repertoire (2010) is used in this study to foreground my sensitivity to multilingualism as the norm. People’s histories and lived experiences of language or the ‘*Spracherleben*’ as used by Busch (2015) contributes to the way in which people’s linguistic repertoires are shaped. It is understood that “language is ... about positioning oneself in relation to the world, of projecting oneself towards the other” (Busch, 2015: 9). Therefore, speakers participate in varying spaces of communication which may be arranged sequentially, in parallel, in juxtaposition, or in overlapping form. So, every time the speakers communicate

they are constructed by the set of rules and orders of discourse and language ideologies that are already present in the space. Because of varied and heteroglossic practices of the speakers, it is up to them to take on the rules and ideologies of that space or bring in their own lived experiences and evaluations from other spaces which they inscribe into the practices involved.

Theoretically, linguistic repertoire moves away from viewing language as a bounded entity but embodies the notion of repertoire to better understand multilingual speakers. Moreover, it highlights the tension and complexities of student's identities evident in the linguistic repertoire.

### **2.2.5 Heteroglossia**

In contrast to the dominant monolingual approach operating in diverse classrooms, many socio – cultural theorists of language and literacy draw on a heteroglossic approach (Bakhtin, 1981; Busch, 2014, Canagarajah, 2011, 2017; Hornberger, 2004). Heteroglossia is defined by Bakhtin (1981) as the flexible use of language that draws on the heterogeneity of signs and stratified diversity of language which is always already available in the different languages. Heteroglossic practices take into consideration the registers, codes and varieties that the students have available in their linguistic repertoires (see also Guzula et al, 2016: 212). Additionally, heteroglossia views language use as multivoiced and multidiscursive.

Acknowledging heteroglossia in multilingual context disrupts the monolingual and normative ideology of standard language that privileges one language or variety over the other. In addition, it deconstructs the “ideology of autonomous, clearly separable and boundaried named languages” (Guzula et.al, 2016:212). Central in heteroglossia is the mobility of languages, and how speakers of different languages mix different codes, “employing different features at their disposal to achieve their communicative aims as best as they can” (Creese and Blackledge, 2015: 21). In super diverse and multilingual contexts, simultaneous use of more than one language, varieties and other codes and registers is prevalent but seldom regarded as a resource. Language is often taught as if it is a static bounded system – isolated from the context in which it is taught and acquired. However, a sociolinguistic approach focuses on the interlocutor as well as the emergence of varied practices that the interlocutors use in their contexts.

Duranti (1998: 76) explains that Bakhtin makes a distinction between centripetal and centrifugal forces in language, asserting that centripetal tension continues to impose one variety over others, henceforth adopting a unified linguistic identity – that of a standardised language. Whereas centrifugal forces emphasise diversity, acknowledging varieties and speakers' distinct

voices. This tension is inherent in all languages and not unique to South African context where the language of instruction is pulled towards a unitary language, and using Bakhtin's words; that of centripetal approach. Despite this, in the South African context, the centripetal force is more powerful than the centrifugal which shapes everyday language practice – including that of many teachers and students in classrooms.

In their study, based in Tanzania, Brock – Utne et. al. (2004:60) researched how students and teachers cope in bi/multilingual contexts, and one of the things that they found was that students and teachers moved across different named languages or dialects to display students' experience and knowledge of the curriculum, thus using code – switching as a strategy. Students used Kiswahili and English simultaneously and flexibly. Similarly, Guzula's et. al, (2016) research looked at how heteroglossic practices and meaning – making practices are taken up in a South African context, Cape Town and Eastern Cape. Their findings were that students were allowed by the teachers to draw from their linguistic resources in such a manner that they became resourceful through use of heteroglossic approaches – using translanguaging and multimodal meaning – making approaches to work on understanding.

### **2.2.6 Translingual practice**

Translingual practice is defined by Canagarajah (2018) as the mobility and complexity of communicative practices which looks at “verbal resources as interacting synergically to generate new grammars and meanings” (ibid: 31). This underpins that what is important is not only the language used but how diverse semiotic resources influence each other when in contact for meaning – making purposes. Herein, translingual practice takes into consideration the linguistic heterogeneity and language differences of the writers. In translingualism approach, evident is the fluidity of language use in writing (Canagarajah, 2011). In this case, when students engage in writing, making use of translingualism, they are given agency to construct and produce written activities that incorporate their rich linguistic repertoires (2013: 51). Many scholars of translingualism, assert that because translingualism indexes movement across contexts and practice, we should be wary of conceptualising it as a “neutral carrying over of knowledge from one context or language to another” but that, “writing is an activity carried out in language varieties” (Creese and Blackledge, 2010; Garcia and Wei, 2014; Makoni and Pennycook, 2007). The language varieties in return index socio-political histories as well as notions of power (Canagarajah, 2011).

Related to the notion of translingual practice is translanguaging, Makalela defines translanguaging as the “cultural competence of speakers with more than one language” (2019: 249). Translanguaging widens linguistic repertoires of multilingual speakers – through drawing on more than one resource and language in order to participate in meaning-making. Li Wei (2011: 1223; as cited in Busch, 2012) asserts that translanguaging ‘creates a social space for the multilingual language user by bringing together different dimensions of their personal history, experiences and environment, their attitude, belief and ideology’. Canagarajah affirms this stating that creating the space for multilingual language users through looking at time and space in which the communicative practice is taking place, “accommodates diversity and unpredictability” (Canagarajah, 2018: 33). Evident in this strategy is that bilingual speakers switch between two or more discrete languages in conversations and I extend, in writing. For purposes of this study, I seek to show how students residing in Gugulethu draw on different heteroglossic and translingual practices they are exposed to, and that are available in their linguistic repertoires.

### **2.2.7 Primary school children’s writing in South Africa**

While there is extensive research on student writing in higher education in South Africa (e.g. Bangeni and Kapp, 2007; Bock and Dadlana 2002; Gough and Bock, 2001; Paxton and Tyam, 2010) there is very little research on writing in upper primary school level and none on writing of isiXhosa HL in the Intermediate Phase. However, Hendricks (2007) in her study explores Grade 7 student’s writing in an English First Additional Language classroom in two differently resourced primary schools located in Grahamstown. In describing the different kinds of writing in the two schools, Hendricks (2007: 103) makes a distinction between ‘scribing’ and ‘composing’. ‘Scribing’ refers to “classroom writing activities and tasks in which learners practise content, display knowledge and grammatical accuracy”. That is, scribing, according to Hendricks, is reproductive – dealing with the ‘routinized’ writing of scribing and school children’s text (ibid). While ‘composing’ on the other hand denotes student’s personal - agency in creating their own writings and their meaning as well as taking sense of ownership (Hendricks, 2007: 103). When students are given this agency to compose, – Hendricks asserts that students are ascribed with high levels of education, economic and political power (ibid).

Hendricks’ findings were that, students at the historically disadvantaged school at the time of the study were introduced more to grammar exercises with less comprehension and extended writing tasks. Whereas, in the privileged school, students were introduced to less grammar

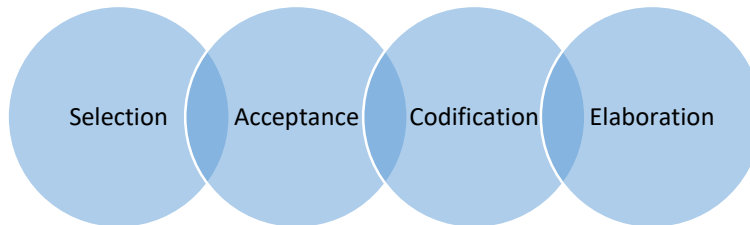
tasks and more comprehension and extended writing tasks. However, she asserts that “though these learners have more opportunities for ‘composing’, they are unlikely to develop a formal impersonal academic register, or cognitive academic language proficiency” (2007: 106). This implies that, explicit instruction in writing as meaning – making and composing is very limited. What is valorised is the correct grammatical use of language structures rather than composing (Mendelowitz, 2014: 168).

Similarly, Mendelowitz (2014) presents case studies of two primary school (Grade 7) home language teachers in Gauteng, distinguishing between reproductive and creative writing. Reproductive activity is defined as repeating or producing something that has already been done. Whereas, creativity refers to “reworking creatively the past experiences to generate new ideas” (2014: 167). Mendelowitz’s study shows that teachers (in most cases) try to elicit creativity and imagination in their teaching of writing – enabling students to explore different forms of writings, and writing drafts but sadly teachers focus more on correcting language use and “fixing something broken, gaps and errors rather than presences” in feedback on student writing (2014: 174).

Coady et. al. (2019) in their study of writing among Grade 4 multilingual students in Limpopo, SA introduce the term ‘metaliteracy’ to refer not only to the ability to engage and understand text but also the “knowledge – base specific to multilinguals that enables them to navigate within, across, and between multiple languages simultaneously” (2019: 3). In their study they present the grade 4 students as emergent bi – and multilingual writers, with language and culture intersecting in student’s writing to reveal their knowledge and identities. Moreover, the grade 4 students followed what Makalela (2019) refers to as ‘*Ubuntu* translanguaging’ (I am because you are). *Ubuntu*, according to Makalela refers to “an African humanism and cultural patterns that value overlaps, continuity, and across – overs between communities” (2019: 240). Makalela explores how translanguaging is effective in deepening comprehension and cultivating a sense of self (2019: 237). In his study, he found that there is high prevalence of translanguaging that reflects infinite dependency between various linguistic resources employed in classroom discourse. He then interprets this translingual practice through the African value system of *Ubuntu* translanguaging to demonstrate interdependence of languages on one another.

## 2.2.8 Language Standardisation

Costa, Dyers and Mheta (2014), define standard language as the universal language variety which has been selected and accepted by lexicographers (2014: 335). They claim that before a language is standardised, it has to undergo four processes of language standardisation as shown below.



**Diagram 1:** *Four processes of standardisation* (Costa et al 2014:335)

- **Selection** refers to the ‘appropriate’ dialect selected to be used as a standard form. Here, one system is ‘selected’ among other dialects to form one representation of ‘standard language’ for writing or vocabulary. (Costa et, al. 2014: 336).
- **Acceptance** refers to the process where the community of speakers in the standardising committee (not the wider community), related to the dialects – ‘accept’ the newly ‘selected – standard variety’ (2014: 338). Power, in this process lies not in the ordinary members of the community but the linguists and lexicographers who decide which ‘dialect’ is used.
- **Codification** refers to the development of a writing system, especially if the selected ‘language variety’ does not have one. This stage is achieved by creating grammars and dictionaries which record and prescribe the standard forms of the language. Lexicographers during this stage select which words to include in the dictionary which will equate to the standard variety; as well as which words to omit (meaning that it is a deliberate process or choice) (2014: 336).
- **Elaboration** pertains to the processes of ‘language modernisation’. The functions of elaboration are in line with how and where the selected and accepted variant is used. This process is achieved through bilingual borrowings or coining of new words. (2014: 337).

It is important to note that the processes of language standardisation do not necessarily have to follow the left to right order as displayed in diagram 1. The four processes of standardisation are also influenced by the power relations and language ideologies that circulate in that specific

community in which the language is spoken (Nomlomo, 1993). The standard language is the one which after ‘selection and acceptance’ is used in writing (Costa, Dyers and Mheta; 2014: 335). In the same way that codification has to precede acceptance, and in order for a variety to be selected/chosen it has to be codified (ibid).

In order to standardise a language it has to be written down by lexicographers. The language variety that has been selected and unified becomes the prestigious variety of a specific group. Consequently, the standard language is used “as a norm in which to judge what others write or say as ‘right’ or ‘wrong’, ‘good’ or ‘bad’” (Costa et al, 2014: 353). The standard language according to Costa et, al. is then “used for high (H) or ‘official’ functions alongside a diversity of low or ‘everyday’ varieties” (2014: 335). Costa et, al. argues that the language varieties that were not selected and developed as the standard language are often referred to as non – standard varieties (2014: 335).

It is clear that the process of accepting and normalising a certain language leaves other languages and other speech communities marginalised and discriminated against. The fundamentals of accepting and normalising a language imbues the aspects of correct written form and correct – oral usage. Nomlomo (1993) in her study of language varieties echoes what Costa et, al. (2014) have said about language standardisation, though Nomlomo refers to a spoken language or dialect. She, however states that in this process of selecting, accepting and normalising a standard language, forms of “grammar, dictionary, vocabulary and oral usage” (1993:73) are established.

### **2.2.9 Role of Missionaries in the development of current Standard Written isiXhosa (SWX)**

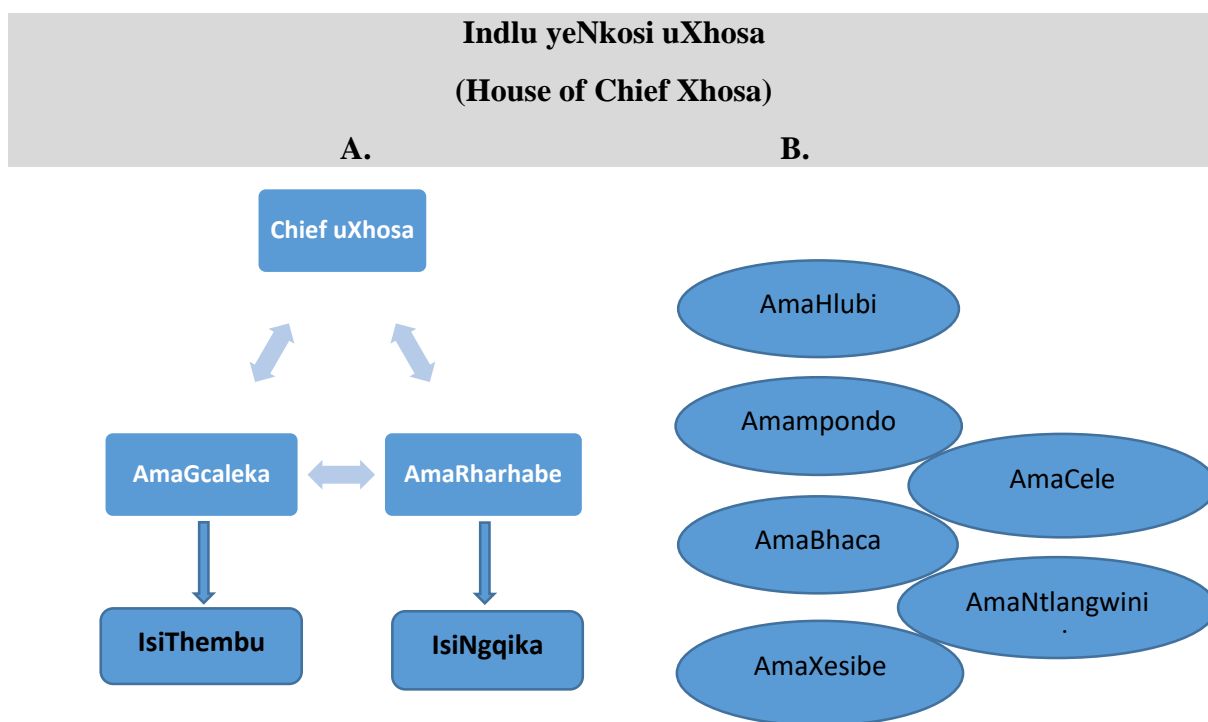
Problems of standardisation through missionary intervention exist for indigenous languages in South Africa, as Makalela (2014) outlines for the Sotho language group. Looking deeply at African language history, particularly isiXhosa, Nomlomo (1993) and Makalela (2014) draw attention to the role of missionaries in standardising the African languages. Mtsate and Combrinck (2018) aver that SWX can be traced back to 1799. When missionaries came to the Eastern Cape they lived among the Xhosa people who were then still under the ruler of Chief Ngqika (Nomlomo, 1993). During this time, Theodore van der Kemp was one of the first missionaries who lived with Xhosa people. Van der Kemp learned the language of the Xhosa people, most importantly the Ngqika dialect which is one of the two acceptable standardised isiXhosa today (Mtsatse and Combrinck, 2018). Ngqika dialect has similarities with the

Gcaleka and Thembu dialects (ibid). The missionaries' task was to introduce Christianity to amaXhosa. Here, there was also an assumption that amaXhosa were 'illiterate' since they had limited written texts, if any. As a result, during their settlement in the Ngqika community the missionaries devised a written code which imbued alphabets, SWX orthography to facilitate the written form of isiXhosa language (Nomlomo, 1993). After the missionaries facilitated a written code they translated and made bibles available to amaXhosa and other religious materials. "Thus the Ngqika group were the first to be exposed to Christianity" (Mtsatse et, al. 2018: 21) "These pioneering processes led to *these two* [Ngqika and Gcaleka] dialects becoming what is known today as the *SWX*" (*my italics*) (Mtsatse, et, al. 2018: 21).

Furthermore, missionaries translated hymns and made them available to amaXhosa. Being able to read the bible, according to the missionaries was one way amongst others to promote 'literacy'. The missionaries opened up schools to teach reading and writing (Costa et al, (2014: 346) using the same SWX that they had invented. Consequently, they had to codify and develop orthographies of the isiXhosa language..

#### 2.2.9.1 History of Ngqika and Gcaleka

As a result of the missionaries, the Ngqika dialect was then "standardised and reduced into writing" (Mtsatse and Combrinck, 2018: 21). It is understood that Gcaleka and the Rharhabe were children of two different mothers but had the same father who was Chief Phalo. In essence, Gcaleka and Ngqika were brothers from the same homestead. Nomlomo avers that traditionally members of the chieftom were known by the names of the founding chiefs. For instance, there are amaXhosa (Chief uXhosa/Phalo), amaGcaleka who comprise of ooKhawuta, ooHintsisa, noSarhili and then there is amaRharhabe which comprise of ooMlawu, ooNgqika and Sandile. Nomlomo states that these 'houses' or followers in different communities were the descendants of Xhosa (Nkosi uXhosa) and that it is their language that was transcribed and printed by the Christian missionaries and the variant that arises from such is associated with the Xhosa people (1993). However, isiNgqika and isiGcaleka dialects are said to be spoken in smaller geographical areas; isiGcaleka in Transkei and isiNgqika in Ciskei. Diagram 2 presents a graphic illustration of the distribution of the houses of Chief uXhosa and their lanaguge varieties:



**Diagram 2:** Lineage of standard isiXhosa & the house of Chief Phalo.

Therefore, the process of standardisation rests on hegemony. Crawhall (1991: 4 as cited in Nomlomo, 1993) asserts that “there is a close relationship between language and access to power”. In this case of the isiXhosa dialects and speech communities, it can be deduced that *amaNgqika* and *amaGcaleka* are the pioneers of the Xhosa language – as evident in diagram 2. The standardised dialects like Ngqika and Gcaleka are used by politicians for political purposes and signal the socio –economic class of a particular community (Nomlomo, 1993). This then serves as a framework in which to judge other dialects because the standardised versions are considered to offer the correct form of the language.

However, unlike the current conjunctive writing, disjunctive writing was the norm around this time, as evident in the works of Reverend John Bennie of Lovedale below. Oosthuysen (2016) displays the following example which shows disjunctive form of writing;

**Example A-disjunctive**

*In ko mo zon ke ze zi ka-Tixo: un gum ni ni zo ye na*

**Current Conjunctive:** (Inkomo zonke zezi kaThixo: Ungumninizo yena)

**[All cattle belong to God: He owns them all].**

Around the 1859's Reverend John Appleyard introduced the conjunctive writing of isiXhosa as evident in the following example;

### **Example B- conjunctive**

*Bendinjengesithulu* [I was like a deaf mute person –Iculo/Psalm 38:13]

The conjunctive approach of writing was then adopted and used for Bible translations and hymns at church, with slight adjustments of the syntax. From there onwards, conjunctive approach of writing has been normalised into the SWX. Interestingly to note, Oosthuysen (2016: vii) asserts that in “1957 the Education Department issued a list of grammatical forms that were previously not accepted as standard isiXhosa but that were henceforth to be recognised”. Words like *ucango/iingcango* (door/s) from the isiHlubi dialect nouns of class 11/10 were then transferred into nouns class 5/6 and projected as *icango/amacango*, like other words from the same noun class *ilitye/amatye* (stone/s). Hitherto, however, people still use a variety of the ‘nouns’ they are familiar with.

African languages were used in education in 1953, after UNESCO announced the importance of mother tongue in education (MTE). However, the Apartheid government used the notion of MTE to develop ethnolinguistic divisions by connecting language to the creation of Bantustans. Therefore, the idea of harmonisation of languages in the Nguni language group and in the Sotho group to counter apartheid ethno – linguistic divisions was put forward but it has not been taken up (see also Msimang, in Kwesi Kwaa Prah, 1998; Janks and Makalela, 2013).

### **2.2.10 Issues of language standardisation and children’s literacy**

The process of standardisation has profound effects and implications for education. The process of standardisation not only discriminates against those that use non – standard varieties but it also disadvantages them. This process is problematic in such a manner that it is also informed by colonial influences.

Dyson and Smitherman’s (2009) study on African American Language (AAL) speaking children’s writing in the United States (US) focuses on issues of standard language, power and negative consequences for children. Dyson and Smitherman point out that “children’s writing is ... about their efforts to make a voice visible on paper” (2009: 973). Herein, writing for children is a talkative experience. This experience contributes to the way in which children make meaning. During this process, children choose what they want to say, and what not to say. All this process is guided by their talk. As children write, they do not aspire to sound

‘right’, because as Dyson and Smitherman aver (2009: 973) “sounding right to children will vary for developmental, situational, and, as emphasised herein, sociocultural reasons” (2009: 973). Underpinned here is how the context in which the students use language guides ‘what to say and not to say’. However, when students do not sound ‘right’, that is, they do not express themselves in a ‘standard language’ – teachers tend to describe them in deficit terms. In Dyson and Smitherman’s (2009) study what is evident is that the AAL speaking children’s language has no space in the schooling context. Seemingly, it is not that teachers do not recognise such practices, but that; they think they have no space in the schooling context and language classroom. Students are expected to produce writing that sounds ‘right’ in an unfamiliar discourse though it may ‘sound right’ to their teachers. As evident in Dyson and Smitherman’s research (2009) teachers in reading and/writing focus more on the grammatical aspects (punctuation, capitalization, and other grammatical usage) of the standard language. A dichotomy becomes evident between the way students speak and the way they are expected to write.

In South Africa, where we have nine indigenous languages, in addition to English and Afrikaans, the reality is that languages co – exist (Makalela, 2019). Within this coexistence, languages borrow from one another. Mafela (2010:692) uses Fromkin and Rodman’s (1998:459) definition of borrowing, stating that borrowing occurs “when one language adds to its own lexicon a word or morpheme from another language, often altering its pronunciation to fit the [phonological] of the borrowing language”. According to Mafela (2010) there are numerous factors contributing to the non-borrowing by African languages from each other. Some of these are; lexicographers are unwilling to include borrowed words from other African languages because their focus is on the standardisation and purity of (named) languages. For them, borrowing from other [African] languages mean that their standard languages will be ‘corrupted’ and ‘impure’. Even borrowing from within the language family – incorporating a different variety of a said word into the ‘standard’ language is in most cases prohibited. That is, lexicographers could ‘accept’ the borrowings and varieties from other non - African languages but still put constraints and dictate which socio – cultural markings of features to use when, how and where. It is the lexicographer’s language ideologies that inform the standardisation of languages and language contexts, even though they themselves are multilingual. Moreover, foregrounded here are entrenched ethnolinguistic divisions and nationalisms as well as the status and power of English and Afrikaans pointing to the success of the apartheid project in sowing these divisions and the superiority of whiteness.

However, most classrooms – particularly language classrooms, strive to work towards the standard version of the borrowing language (that’s if the language has the word) and continue to perceive *borrowing* as being illegitimate. Similar to Dyson and Smitherman’s (2009) study, Guzula et al, (2016, 211) postulate that “monolingual ideologies have negative consequences for the positioning of South African learners as well as for their participation in the curriculum”. Also, Guzula et al, aver that in thinking about meaning-making processes the concept of borrowing “challenges the dominant monolingual orientation to children’s languaging in many classrooms.” (2016: 211).

The implications of standardisation on children’s literacies are that despite the known variation of isiXhosa, the SA curriculum recognises only one variety as correct. An example would be the uncritical reproduction of the statements about PIRLS or even the ANAs and/or WCED Systemic for Grade 3, 6 and 9 where the standardised tests states that children are writing in their HL. Language standardisation informs the way in which these assessments are developed. In reality, students are tested in a variety of language that is often not their own, there seems to be no ‘appropriacy of the reading texts’ (Bua – lit, 2018). Standardised assessments fail to consider that bilingual students are being evaluated on a performance that prevents them from using more than half of their linguistic repertoire, thus rendering them deficient (Garcia and Kleifgen, 2019:15). The assessments evaluate the students with assessment instruments that only validate the language practices of dominant monolingual groups (ibid).

Furthermore, having a ‘standard language’ not only contributes to the pervasive monoglossic ideology (McKinney, 2015) but also contributes to inequality (Smith, 2011). Moreover, it perpetuates poor academic achievement. Therefore, student’s resources are marginalised and seldom valued. (see Hlongwa and Ndebele, 2017; and Krause and Prinsloo, 2016). Students often times develop low self-esteem when they cannot fully express themselves in the ‘standard language’ used in the schooling context. Evident in school contexts is the development of negative and conflicting attitudes from the students about their own variants that are not valued in the schooling context (see Chapter 4 & 5 of this study). As Nomlomo puts it, if students are not given a safe space in which to make visible who they are, they start to believe that “their variants do not have a function in gaining upward social mobility” (1993, 132).

### **2.3 Conclusion**

This chapter provided a theoretical framework of language and literacy as social practice, in order to understand the language varieties students employ. Although there is paucity of

literature that focuses on isiXhosa HL students' writing in the intermediate phase, studies from other phases and in higher institution have been reviewed, as well as other studies from other countries. In this chapter I have also reviewed literature that focuses on different approaches bi/multilingual speakers use in their contexts. Herein, theories of heteroglossia, language ideologies, linguistic repertoire and language standardisation are also reviewed. In relation to standardisation, I reviewed concepts of orthography and bilingual borrowings.

## CHAPTER THREE

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### RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Introduction

The aim of this study is to provide a sociolinguistic account of the language varieties used by Grade 6 isiXhosa home language students in their writing, determining the context in which they are most likely to use different features, as well as to develop an understanding of why such varieties are used.

#### 3.2 Research Design

This study takes the form of qualitative case study. Below I outline the purpose of using this design in relation to my study.

#### 3.3 Qualitative case study

Flyvberg uses Merriam Webster dictionary's (2009) definition of case study as "an intensive analysis of an individual unit (as a person or community) stressing developmental factors in relation to environment" (2011: 301). According to this definition, the focus is on the individual or a particular group in a context – looking deeply at how it functions as a bounded system. The main reason for this approach is that the qualitative case – study approach allows one to investigate the "how and why ... (*other language varieties*) are used" (my italics) (Johnstone, 2000). I have conducted a qualitative case – study of the language resources the Grade 6 isiXhosa home language students in a particular school draw on in completing their assessed written work <sup>3</sup>(Umseteyenzana wesi – 4 kunye no msebenzi wesi – 5) and informal paragraph writing.

Dornyei (2007: 26) argues that a case study approach is "usually not determined a priori but ... left open and flexible as long as possible to be able to account for subtle nuances of meaning uncovered during the process of investigation". Thus, framing this study as a qualitative case study allowed the researcher to have depth, and thorough understanding of the context and process, particularly "understanding what causes a phenomenon, linking causes and outcomes" (Flyvberg, 2011: 314). Moreover, since this study seeks to understand and analyse the language varieties employed by Grade 6 isiXhosa HL students in their writing and their representations of such varieties through use of a language portrait, a qualitative case – study is appropriate, as

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<sup>3</sup> Umseteyenzana wesi 4 no wesi – 5: refers to Task 4 and 5

it can assist me in defining the reality of the interconnectedness of language learning and identity (Norton, 2010: 413).

### **3.4 Research site: School background and participant selection**

This study was conducted in an underserved working – class primary school. The school is a relatively small (700 learners) no-fee school under the administration of the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) and is located in Gugulethu, a residential area in Cape Town. Townships such as the one I have conducted this research in, comprise of low cost –formal housing along with proliferating shack settlements. SA Venues (2018) describes Gugulethu as having a combination of vibrant life, poverty, disease and violence and has its roots in the migrant labour system of the apartheid era, when the number of migrant workers from the Transkei became too great for the township of Langa to contain. Many learners in the school come from working – class communities surrounding Gugulethu, namely; Vlei, Philipi and Khayelitsha. As a result, some walk to school whilst others travel through public transport or organised transport from their surrounding communities. Linguistically, Gugulethu is predominantly associated with isiXhosa, which is, according to the 2011 survey, spoken by 88.56% of its population (Census, 2011). However, in my experience of being an isiXhosa teacher, there seems to be a mismatch between the variety of isiXhosa that is spoken in people’s homes and the one evident in the schooling context – different varieties of isiXhosa which people refer to as ‘IziXhosa’ emerge in such a context. Thus, a school located in Gugulethu serves as an important research site for this kind of study.

At the time of conducting this study, the language of learning and teaching (LOLT) of the school, as stated in the policy is English and isiXhosa in the InterSen (Grade 4 –6/7). However, this does not necessarily happen in practice because the assessments and Learning Teaching Support Materials (LTSM) are monolingual English. That is, they are in English only even though the majority of learners and teachers come from an isiXhosa background.

Tuition in the foundation phase is solely in isiXhosa, and English is taught as first additional language, whereas in the InterSen, English is the de facto language of learning and teaching (LoLT) and taught as first additional language while isiXhosa is taught as a subject at home language level from Grades 4 – 7.

Although it is a fee-free public school, the school has more resources than most of the schools in this category. It has a functioning library; however, the majority of the books present in the library are in English, and very few (if any) are in isiXhosa. In addition to this, the school is an

e – learning model school. Each student at the school is allocated his/her tablet to access textbooks and other resource materials. Shockingly enough, from the time of writing this chapter, the students' tablets were not loaded with any isiXhosa material and resources – nor the isiXhosa textbook. This then shows how isiXhosa is seldom recognised as a resource by the provincial government department nor deemed as having affordances of navigating the digital platform for learning and teaching purposes.

In this study I worked with one class of 35 Grade 6 isiXhosa home language students. I have chosen to work with the Grade 6 students because they have been studying isiXhosa as HL for six years and so it is assumed that they are well – established and confident in their written abilities. Secondly, there is no research focussing on isiXhosa written literacies and their varieties in the intermediate phase. Lastly, as subject teacher for Grade 6, data collection of the students' FATs was accessible to me. Moreover, students in this grade are able to vocalise their feelings in reference to their language attitudes and values. Therefore, doing research in this grade allowed me to understand the language ideologies that circulate in society about African languages, and the language attitudes and values the students hold about their varieties and what informs these.

### **3.5 Methods of data collection**

This study used the following research strategies and data collection methods:

- Student writing in a Formal Assessment Task (FAT),
- Student completion of a body portrait (Busch, 2018) to explore their linguistic repertoires and
- Informal student paragraph writing about their linguistic repertoire

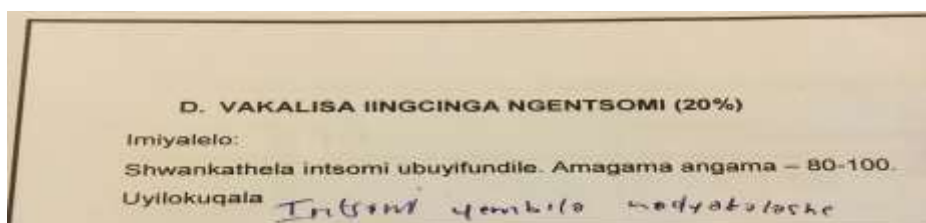
#### **3.5.1 Formal Assessment Task (FATs)**

The Formal Assessment Task (FAT) for Grade 6 isiXhosa HL was written by the students as part of their March 2019 assessment. This written data was then collected during term 2 (April/May) and discourse analysis of the writing was then conducted. All 35 students wrote the assessment. The assessment comprised of five different sections and these were:

| UMSEBENZI 1         | Imisetyenzana                          | Amanqaku omfundi | % efuyenwe ngumfundi | %    |
|---------------------|--|------------------|----------------------|------|
| Umsetyenzana woku-1 | Ukuphulaphula nokuthetha               | 13               |                      | 20%  |
| Umsetyenzana wesi-2 | Izaki nemigaqo yokusetyenziswa kolwimi | 05               |                      | 15%  |
| Umsetyenzana wesi-3 | Ukufunda ngokuvakalayo                 | 08               |                      | 15%  |
| Umsetyenzana wesi-4 | Wetyisa intsomi ezifundiweyo           | 04               |                      | 20%  |
| Umsetyenzana wesi-5 | ukubhala itekisi yokufundisa           | 19               |                      | 30%  |
| AMANQAKU EWONKE     |  |                  |                      | 100% |

#### Extract 3.5.1.1: FAT sections

Because this study focuses on students ‘writing’ the two sections *Umsetyenzana wesi – 4* and *Umsetyenzana wesi – 5* were selected for a number of reasons. These two sections ask students to give their own account of a story. Students’ agency is thus promoted and prompted in these sections in order to reflect on texts that have been studied and summarise them using their own words (*umsetyenzana wesi – 4*),



#### [D. Reflections on texts

**Instructions: Summarise a folktale that has been studied. Words should be between 80 – 100.**

**Start with first 1<sup>st</sup> draft.]**

#### Extract 3.5.1.2: *Umsetyenzana wesi – 4*

as well as writing a story that might not be true – that of ‘*intsomi*’ (folktale). The task simply asked the students to compose their own ‘*intsomi*’ which has a moral at the end (*Umsetyenzana wesi – 5*). From the 35 FATs of the students, seven (7) extracts of *umsetyenzana wesi – 5* were selected for close textual analysis, and five (5) extracts of *umsetyenzana wesi – 4* were selected from different students. These were selected on the basis that they best illustrated literacy as social practice, infusing a range of different discourses in one written piece (Gee, 1990; 1996 and Street, 1993). They were also selected because of the evidence of different varieties of

<sup>4</sup> Task 1: Listening and Speaking

Task 2: Language Structure and Conventions

Task 3: Reading aloud

Task 4: Reflection on text

Task 5: Writing a moral text

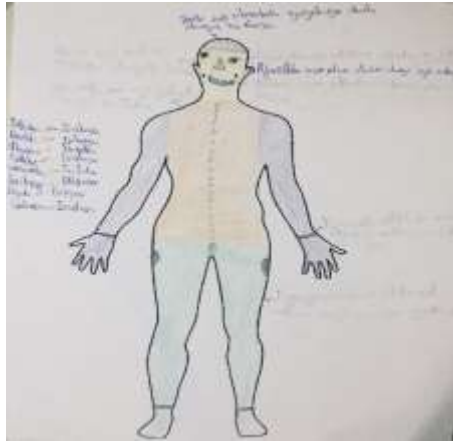
isiXhosa emerging from students’ writings displaying heteroglossia and translingual practices (Bakhtin, 1981, Canagarajah, 2011; 2017 & 2018). Furthermore, the writing reflected different orthographies of isiXhosa language – the standard (SWX) and non – standard written isiXhosa. Analysing the writing produced for ‘*umsetyenzana wesi – 4*’ and ‘*umsetyenzana wesi – 5*’ was helpful in answering the research question: a) *what are the language varieties employed by Grade 6 isiXhosa home language students as evident in their writing?* of my study.

**Table 3a** displays the number of students and the genres they produced

| Genres                                    | Total number of students |
|---|--------------------------|
| a) Narratives (myth, folktales and fable) | 15                       |
| b) Recounts                               | 7                        |
| c) Fiction                                | 13                       |
| <b>Total Number</b>                       | <b>35</b>                |

### 3.5.2 Language body portrait

Drawing on Busch’s (2010, 2014 and 2018) biographical research methods, the methodological tool of a body portrait was disseminated to the class of Grade 6 students after completing the FATs. Busch defines a language body portrait as a visualisation of linguistic repertoires using an outline of a body silhouette. The body portrait enables representation of languages and varieties, styles, dialects, registers and codes that are evident in a particular community which are constituted through regular interaction over a long period of time (Busch 2018: 3). With a language portrait exercise “it is up to the participant to define categories, to decide what is considered a “language” or a “code”, and how different linguistic resources are related” (Busch, 2012: 511). In another paper, Busch (2018: 1) asserts that using a body portrait helps develop language awareness and enables one to investigate and interpret the “heteroglossic practices and practices” of the speakers. The portraits were completed and submitted to the researcher during the course of Term 2 (April – June). Eleven (11) student’s linguistic repertoires were then selected for multimodal discourse analysis from the Grade 6 class.



**Extract 3.5.2.1: *Language body portrait***

Using a body portrait as a method for data collection allowed students the freedom to inscribe and display the language resources available in their linguistic repertoire. The student's portraits give their personal representation of their language profile that inscribes not only current language learning and language use in multilingual contexts but also “plans and aspirations for the future” (Busch, 2010: 286). Students used different colours to display the language resources they have acquired. The portrait does not require students to display those resources they have mastery of or fluency in but even those that are not yet fully developed. The method is a tool that also allows the students to think about their own repertoire and most importantly, think about what they do with language. In an attempt to understand students' language use and resources, the use of a body portrait in conjunction with students' writing about it was effective in displaying their heteroglossic and translingual practices and language ideologies informing these, as well as their attitudes in attaining these. Body portraits were effective in answering the research question: b) *How do students represent the language resources available in their linguistic repertoire?* Consequently, the data collected were analysed and compared with their formal writing to determine the language varieties evident in the students' assessed writing (FATs) and the language resources available in their linguistic repertoire. Moreover, the body portrait method takes into consideration that speakers living in multilingual contexts draw not only on one linguistic resource – even if that speaker assumes that they speak only ‘one’ language. That is, even if the speakers use ‘one language’, that language may be infused with different varieties and registers.

### 3.5.3 Informal paragraph writing about linguistic repertoire

Another method of data collection used in the study was that of collecting informal paragraph writing about the student's linguistic repertoire. After completing their body portraits, students were then asked to explain their body portraits in a form of paragraph writing. This allowed the students to elaborate why they chose certain colours and not others, and also what the different colours meant to them and their repertoires, as well as the acquisition of these resources evident in their linguistic repertoires. Blommaert (2010) asserts that using a language body portrait enables students to break from the normative and move beyond constraining categories. The data shows that the students change the way they speak and communicate depending whether they are the sender or receivers. In essence, the language variety or code and register the students use in communicating and/or their writing is then guided by the social context in which they are participating. The students chose themselves which language they should write their informal paragraphs in. The data collected displays the student's creativity evident in their writing, the language ideologies the students hold about African languages and particularly isiXhosa, as well as different positioning of subjects.

### **3.6 Data analysis**

My data analysis process has not been easy as there are limited studies that investigate and explore the writing of primary school African language speakers; the majority of research focuses on English as a first additional language or second language acquisition. Moreover, few studies look at the language varieties of isiXhosa speakers, particularly in writing. I thus had to develop my own analytical framework from scratch.

After collecting the Grade 6 students' FATs, language body portraits and informal paragraphs, I then began with reading intensively *umsetyenzana wesi* – 4 no *wesi* – 5 of the FATs. This allowed me to get an overall sense of the dataset and to be familiar with it. In the formal writing, I focused on the features of the students' FATs which were likely to have resulted in the mark it was awarded (good and/or poor), and secondly, features that enabled me to compare patterns across the students' writing. In comparing those patterns in the student's writings, I identified different categories of orthography – where the writing consists of the substitution of a deviant spelling for a correct one when the writer simply does not know the correct spelling of a particular word or forgot it or misconceived, words that are 'borrowed' from other languages but incorporated in isiXhosa by the students. Here a linguistic discourse analysis was

paramount, to look intensively at the unconventional spellings, and ‘errors’ that have been committed through mispronunciation (phonology).

For the FATs, a total number of 12 extracts from *umsetyenzana wesi – 4* and *umsetyenzana wesi – 5* were tabulated into one document and ready for analysis, and a total number of 11 body portraits with their paragraph writing were also tabulated. This strategy allowed me to navigate and access the students’ responses easily. I then coded my data. Here, I applied what Wolcott (1994; as quoted by Esau, 2014:38) states as “data coding process ... identifying dominant themes, concepts or categories” in investigating and pin-pointing the interesting linguistic features in the FAT writing, along with emerging themes and concepts arising from student’s language portraits and informal paragraph writing. underlying prevailing themes and concepts that arose from the FATs, language portraits and the informal paragraph writing. I also identified categories of narrative clauses from the students’ writing of *intsomi*. I have based my approach here on Labov and Waletzky’s (1967) theory of narrative which identifies different elements included in a narrative: such as orientation, complication, evaluation and resolution. During this process I had to investigate and analyse the varied language varieties the students used in their writing – read in conjunction with other student’s work. Evident in the process are how students incorporated English borrowings in their writings and how certain words were different in orthography from one another. Moreover, in line with orthography, phonological errors were then discovered and analysed in this process – these were looked at through the lens of ‘errors committed through mispronunciation’ and the way some words are similar to each other but written differently. In essence, paying attention to spellings, and word choice in the students’ FATs was paramount in this analysis. Linguistic repertoires of the students were identified and paired against their FATs and informal paragraph writing, and vice versa. This was effective at this stage of data analysis as this process explored the patterns of varieties available in the student’s linguistic repertoire and whether these are evident in the (FAT) writing or not.

Gee’s concept of discourse informed my analysis of the FATs, informal paragraph writing and body portraits. Students’ writing showed different discourses – that of primary and secondary discourses. In addition, the data showed the different ways the students use creativity in writing. In analysing the linguistic repertoires, hybridity and fluidity of the body portraits was taken into consideration – as a result I had to look for prevailing language ideologies that were constructed by the students in their paragraph writing. For example, I needed to understand the reasons for students identifying themselves as proudly Xhosa but at the same time still

‘invested’ in other languages, and analysed what that meant for language and literacy and their learning process. Kapp and Bangeni (2011: 199) state that “patterns, exceptions, silences and contradictions” are essential for data analysis. In analysing the informal paragraph writing, both patterns and contradictions were prevalent. In the informal writing, I looked specifically at how students position themselves and others in relation to language. I did this by analysing the use of pronouns by the students.

### **3.7 Ethical considerations**

This study was reviewed by the Research Ethics Committee of UCT’s School of Education and WCED permission to access the school site was also sought.

I followed the principles of informed consent approaching both parents/guardians and the students themselves. My research participants received reasonable and sufficient knowledge about me, and this was clearly outlined in the information letter. The letter was written in a language that was accessible to the participants. The letter informed my participants about my research intentions. The participants were informed verbally that there will not be any financial compensation that will be offered for their participation in the study. Fortunately, the students did not expect anything either in return as they proclaimed that this is their first research encounter and they were excited to be taking part. Moreover, when they were told that their FATs will be used they exclaimed that this will propel them to give their utmost best in the writing of the FATs – thus motivating them to write creative stories, as well as getting good grades for the FAT. Consent was then sought verbally and in writing from the students and their parents. Privacy and confidentiality of participants was taken into consideration. The students’ names have not been identified in the study – thus, pseudonyms are provided.

With hindsight, I am aware that my position as their subject teacher might have an influence in the way in which they constructed their FATs – an example of this would be trying to limit the amount of *errors* made in the FATs; particularly in the writing sections of *Umsetyenzana wesi – 4 and Umsetyenzana wesi – 5*. However, the fact that there were many deviations from SWX in the formal writing meant that this was not a problem.

### **3.7 Conclusion**

In this chapter I have discussed the fundamental features of the methodology employed and provided a brief rationale for such. Moreover, I have discussed the advantages of using the methods in order to answer my research questions. Methodological processes as well as ethical

considerations have been discussed. In the next two chapters I present data that was gathered from the methods described earlier. The data is presented and analysed.

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## CHAPTER FOUR

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### Language ideologies: Analysing student's writing and body portraits

#### 4.1 Introduction

Chapter four of this study analyses data collected from my students' body portraits, as well as their written paragraphs (informal) which explain their body portraits in order to answer the research question; *how do students represent the language resources available in their linguistic repertoire?* The key focus of this chapter is to present the fluidity and heteroglossic approach students employ when they are given agency over their own writings. Moreover, I look at the students' body portraits in relation to their informal writing. Here, I show how students negotiate meaning in their everyday context and analyse the language ideologies that inform their language varieties.

#### 4.2 Brief contextual background

The site in which the data has been collected is linguistically associated with isiXhosa. However, the isiXhosa that is spoken and evident in people's homes is not necessarily the same as the standard written isiXhosa (SWX) that is tested in schools (see Krause and Prinsloo, 2016); different varieties of isiXhosa and/or urban vernaculars are evident.

#### 4.3 Fluidity of named language(s): From standard language to linguistic repertoires (Heteroglossia)

In a Grade 6 isiXhosa home language (HL) classroom, the curriculum of isiXhosa HL propels students into learning standardised written isiXhosa (SWX). However, in the students' writing about their language portraits, we see a shift from named standard languages to a hybrid and fluid form of writing. McKinney reviews current *heteroglossic* approaches to understanding and describing language as well as language practices. She uses Bakhtin's definition of heteroglossia, which can be viewed as the "complex, simultaneous use of a diverse range of registers, voices, named languages or codes, in our daily lives, but it also draws attention to the potential tension between different kinds of registers and voices" (2017: 22). Heteroglossic language practices then involve the mobility of different voices, registers and named languages into stratified spaces. In reviewing heteroglossic practices, McKinney (2017) mentions *translingualism* among other practices. There she uses Canagarajah's (2013a; 2013b) definition which asserts *translingualism* as "shuttling between languages and a negotiation of diverse linguistic resources for situated construction of meaning" (McKinney, 2017: 22). This

approach is evident in the data collected and shall be displayed later in this chapter. McKinney asserts that *translingualism* can be explicit in spoken and written discourses (ibid).

**Table 4a** below displays the languages resources named by the students in their body portraits as part of their linguistic repertoire.

| IsiXhosa | English | Afrikaans | Tshivenda | Sesotho | Setswana | IsiNdebele | Xitsonga | Sepedi | IsiZulu | SiSwati |
|----------|---------|-----------|-----------|---------|----------|------------|----------|--------|---------|---------|
| 35       | 35      | 12        | 4         | 12      | 2        | 1          | 0        | 1      | 27      | 3       |

Speakers then draw from their linguistic repertoires varied meaning – making resources to negotiate meaning with other speakers of other languages. In the schooling context, students and teachers are found to use code-switching and/or translanguaging (Brock – Utne et, al. 2004; Creese et, al. 2015; Guzula et, al. 2016 and Heugh, 2014). During the research process students were tasked to reflect on their linguistic repertoires that they had drawn by means of writing a paragraph explaining their body portraits. Below I present an extract of Emihle’s writing.

We use English when we are talking with some who do not understand **our** language. Mhlawumbi ayo\***languweji** yakhe **iEnglish** qha uyayi \***understanda** futhi uyakwazi ukuyithetha futhi nathi asiyi-**understandi ilanguage** yakhe sikwazi ukuthetha **iEnglish** so sizothetha yona **iEnglish** although ingeyo language yethu sobabini. (**Maybe it’s not his/her language but he/she can understand it also she/he can speak it maybe we also don’t understand his/her language we are able to speak English so we will speak it although it’s not our language.**)

**Extract 4.1: Emihle’s Informal Paragraph**

What is evident in Emihle’s writing is the patterns of translanguaging that she uses despite the schooling environment where languages are taught in isolation as separate subjects. Emihle translanguages on the inter and intra-sentential level as well as within single words. It is interesting to see Emihle begins her writing monolingually using English even though she later herself claims that it is not her language but she is able to speak it: *‘We use English when we are talking with some who do not understand **our** language.’* According to Emihle’s explanation it can be deduced that level of fluency and proficiency is not that important and that one can never know a language fully. Therefore, through availability of the linguistic repertoire one is able to draw from different resources and negotiate meaning – as Emihle has done in her paragraph. In the second sentence she however continues with a ‘low level’ of

translanguaging with isiXhosa resources in the lead and traces of English in the heteroglossic terms *'languweji'*, *'understanda'*, *'understandi'*, *'ilanguage'*, *'iEnglish'* (“*Maybe **English** it’s not his/her language but he/she can **understand** it also she/he can speak it maybe we also don’t **understand** his/her language we are able to speak **English** so we will speak it [English] although it’s not our language both*”).

Even though Emihle is using more of an isiXhosa variety, in the second sentence onwards she inserts heteroglossic terms like the ones highlighted in bold above and thus her sentence remains highly translingual; *'understand-a'*, *'understand-i'*. Moreover, she shifts to isiXhosa in the second sentence to give clear contrast between isiXhosa and English; these are both languages available in her linguistic repertoire. From her use of the contrast in this context it could be assumed that, even though Emihle does not regard English as her own language, she uses it to shuttle and negotiate meaning with people who are translingual. This is explicit when she says, *'Maybe English is not his/her language ... but she can speak and understand it ... and also we don’t understand his/her language ... then we speak English'*. It is interesting that Emihle says that English *'is not our language'* – even though she learns through the medium of English in her school throughout the day in almost all the subjects. Here, she distances herself from English, while she understands English to be a language of communication – a lingua franca.

That being said, her writing could be classified as being highly translingual. This is evident when she says *'ayolanguweji yakhe'* which simply means *it’s not his/her language*. Displayed here is that Emihle is building her repertoire from heteroglossic terms – “lexical items which are built from linguistic features conventionally associated with different languages” (Bailey 2007: 272; as quoted in Krause and Prinsloo, 2016:349). In the same paragraph, it can be deduced that Emihle is able to shift and shuttle between languages drawing from her linguistic repertoire. Emihle achieves this by writing the word *'language'* in different ways. At first, she writes the word in its ‘universal’ orthography in English; in the second sentence she comfortably switches to heteroglossic patterns stating *'languweji'* which is understood as the same as ‘language’ in English. Similarly, when Emihle writes the conventional English word ‘understand’ in the first line of her paragraph and swiftly moves to *'understanda'* in the second paragraph.

Like Emihle, Kuhle another Grade 6 student displays fluidity and hybridity in his paragraph writing;

IsiXhosa is a language that I use but not every day. Actually I talk *isinene* almost every day. If you want to talk isinene you must use '*sna, sne, sni, sno, snu*'. If you want to say '**molo mfethu unjani ngoku**'? (hello man how are you now?) You say: **Mosnolo mfesnethu unjasnani ngosnoku**? The languages that I talk are English, Xhosa, Zulu and the languages that I understand but cannot respond with them are Sotho. Talking many languages is good because if you are lost then there is someone that is talking isiSotho and you can hear him/her.

**Extract 4.2: Kuhle's Informal Paragraph**

Kuhle, in the above extract talks about how he uses isiXhosa but not every day. It can be deduced from extract 4.2 that isiXhosa is seldom used by him as there are few isiXhosa words in his paragraph. Kuhle then is accustomed to the use of English and when he uses isiXhosa he does so to show hybridity and creativity.

Both Kuhle and Emihle begin their paragraph writing in English. However, Kuhle introduces us to a different variety that he is exposed to – likely from his local environment/context. He mentions '*isinene*' a variety that he uses. The literal definition of the word is '*Gentleman*'. In extract 4.2, deviations from the SWX norm can be seen from the use of this kind of variety. This variety can be classified to male counter – parts only for secrecy – especially talking during the presence of elders, hence the term '*isinene*' (Gentleman). Contrary to this, Xhosa girls also would use *isidubada* which uses reversals and additions – to elongate their morphemes indexing secrecy. The insertion of **sna, sne, sni, sno, snu** in the middle of every morpheme could be seen, as used by Kuhle. Using Swann and Deumert's definition of 'language creativity' (2018), Kuhle challenges the linguistic rules that he has been introduced to by the school. Through mastery of isiXhosa HL, he is then able to manipulate these linguistic rules – to perform a certain variety/language creativity – using different codes and registers that in this case may be known as *isinene* (Gentleman). In this process it is clear that in order for one to be able to communicate or understand such a variety they have to be 'associated members of a social 'certain' group' (Gee, 1990, 143).

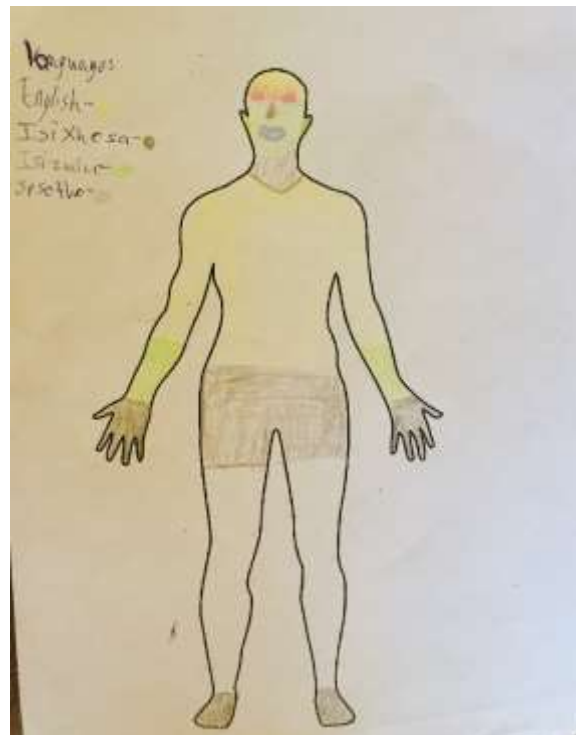
Moreover, what is evident from Kuhle's use of 'language creativity' is a variation within the isiXhosa language. It is important to note that the child shows ability to write in isiXhosa, at the same time showing capabilities of exploring different creativities and varieties. Though this kind of variety is unusual in written texts but evident in spoken communication, Kuhle produces something new and at the same time something that is meaningful – which brings newness into his own isiXhosa which his counterparts might find difficult. Kuhle's use of *isinene* as a variety is therefore unconstrained and unbounded (Swann et al, 2018). As Swann and Deumert describe creativity, what is important in this case "might not be doing – things –

with – words, but it is certainly doing – things – with – sounds” (2018: 6) as displayed in extract 4.2 with the insertion of *sna, sne, sni, sno, snu*.

#### 4.4 Language ideologies

Because of migration and the vibrant life of Gugulethu, students are exposed to various kinds of varieties of isiXhosa and other languages rather than one standard language and variety.

In the extracts below, taken from the Grade 6 students’ informal writing, I show how students negotiate meaning in their everyday context – either in school or outside the schooling environment and how that shows their state of ambivalence while investing in the target ‘*standard isiXhosa*’. Before that, I look at Onke’s use of body portrait and his paragraph writing, in relation to his FAT.



Extract 4.3: *Onke’s linguistic repertoire*

The Sesotho language I can understand but andikwazi ukusithetha and write it but I can hear someone when he talk isiSesotho kodwa amanye amagama sesisuthu andikwazi ukwava.

English ngeyona language esikolweni sam that we write but isiXhosa we dont thala kakhulu isiXhosa. IsiZulu ngeyona language that I love to talk it when ndibhala into engeyayo yesikolo some times.

*English ngeyona language esikolweni sam that we write but isiXhosa we don't bhala kakhulu isiXhosa [English is the most language used for writing at my school but (in) isiXhosa we don't write a lot]*

**Extract 4.4: Onke's (short) Informal Paragraph**

Onke's body portrait shows English, isiXhosa, isiZulu, and Sesotho, as part of his linguistic repertoire. In the key to his portrait, Onke indicates that he will use purple to represent Sesotho. However, looking at his body portrait this is sadly missed; even though in his paragraph writing he has indicated that Sesotho is a language he can understand but not speak nor write. English is displayed through use of yellow colour and this colour dominates his body portrait – as it is displayed in his head and upper body. IsiXhosa on the other hand, which he learns at school as a home language is displayed in lower body – indexing someone who is wearing shorts; and also it is inscribed in his hands using a light grey colour. And lastly, isiZulu is infused in his ears and arms using colour green.

What Onke's extract displays is rich language resources at his disposal – given the languages demonstrated in his body portrait. However, when he says that '*English is the most language used for writing at school*' [line 5] he means that English is used for writing in all school subjects that he learns, as well as in English as a subject, more so than isiXhosa, which is used only in isiXhosa as a subject. This shows how the schooling system values 'English' as a prestige language, even though Onke is not explicitly saying that in his paragraph. This draws me back to the notion of subordination of groups, where certain groups of language speakers have minimal opportunities to use the resources available in their repertoires. Further, it speaks to both the monolingual bias and Anglonormativity – "the expectation that people will and should be proficient in English, and are deficient (even deviant) if they are not" (McKinney, 2016:37).

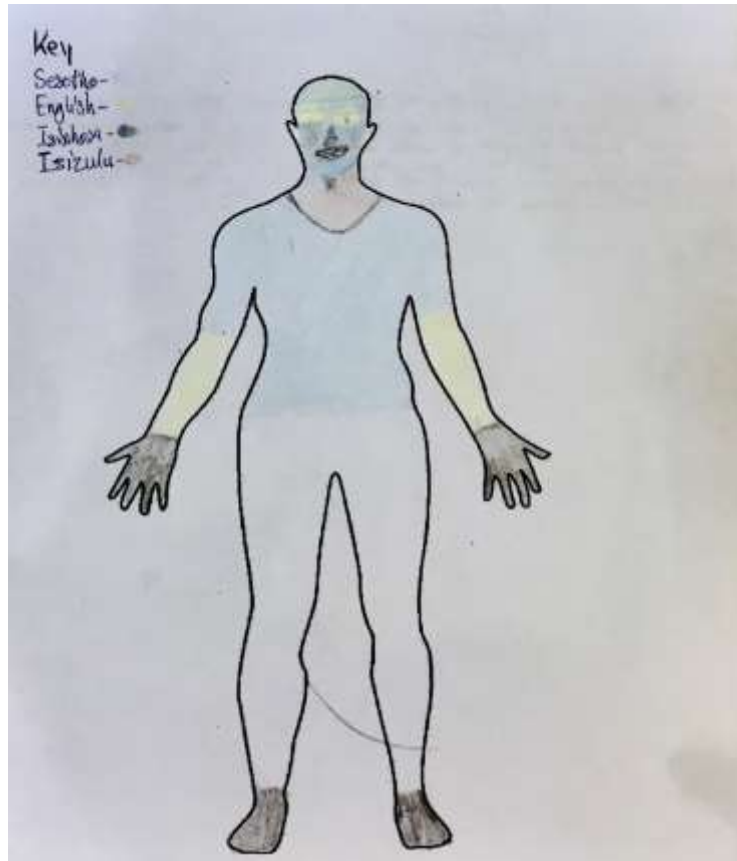
In this particular school context that I am researching, the library is filled with monolingual English books only; that means the kinds of writings the students are familiar with are in English. The only time the students, like Onke, are exposed to isiXhosa is when they have a period for isiXhosa with their teacher – through the prescribed isiXhosa HL textbook and the Department of Basic Education workbook. That being so, prescribed literature at Grade 6 level is not a norm – however, the school has 'core readers' that have limited stories, poems and novellas for this level. Nevertheless, the 'core readers' fail to expose students to varied texts and genres or different language varieties – thus assuming monoglossic approach. The class register teacher then is tasked to find more resources outside the school to support the

multilingual students in his class, to take into consideration the resources that they bring to the schooling context. When Onke postulates that '*we don't bhala kakhulu [write a lot] in isiXhosa*', [line 6] is not synonymous to saying that 'they do not read a lot in isiXhosa or they are not taught in the medium of isiXhosa'. Students are then expected to read or write in only one language even though the school's language policy states English and isiXhosa as the LoLT. Moreover, they have one period (1 hour a day) of being taught his HL, where he has to assimilate to the SWX. This then limits students' exposure to other varieties that they may be familiar with, like reading and writing multilingual stories, and for meaning – making purposes. Research shows (Adendorff, 1996; Cleghorn and Rollnick, 2002) that, as much as teachers will make use of translanguaging and code – mixing during spoken discourse, when it comes to writing – students are not encouraged to apply these strategies. Here, reading (orally) is separated from the writing skill.

Onke makes visible the disconnection between the language policy of both English and isiXhosa LoLT and the assessment policy [since they are assessed in English only, in other subjects]. My inferences of stating that they do all of their subjects in English does not mean that there is no tacit language policy that is being practiced in the school nor that teachers do not use other semiotic strategies for teaching and learning but the limited LTSM the school has in isiXhosa/African languages makes one assume and postulate that English is the norm, especially in written texts.

Despite this, it is unclear how Onke feels about the notion of being taught all subjects in English except isiXhosa HL – nevertheless, he displays neither negative nor positive attitudes to being taught in English, as his paragraph writing (extract 4.5) and body portrait (extract 4.3) shows heteroglossic writing and repertoire.





**Extract 4.6: Nathaniel's Linguistic repertoire**

However, he coloured his eyes using yellow, and he explains:

*And imbangela yokuba amehlo wam abe yellow yeyokuba xa ndiphakamisa amehlo am ndibona isingesi kakhulu. [And the reason that my eyes are yellow is that when I lift (open) my eyes I see English a lot]*

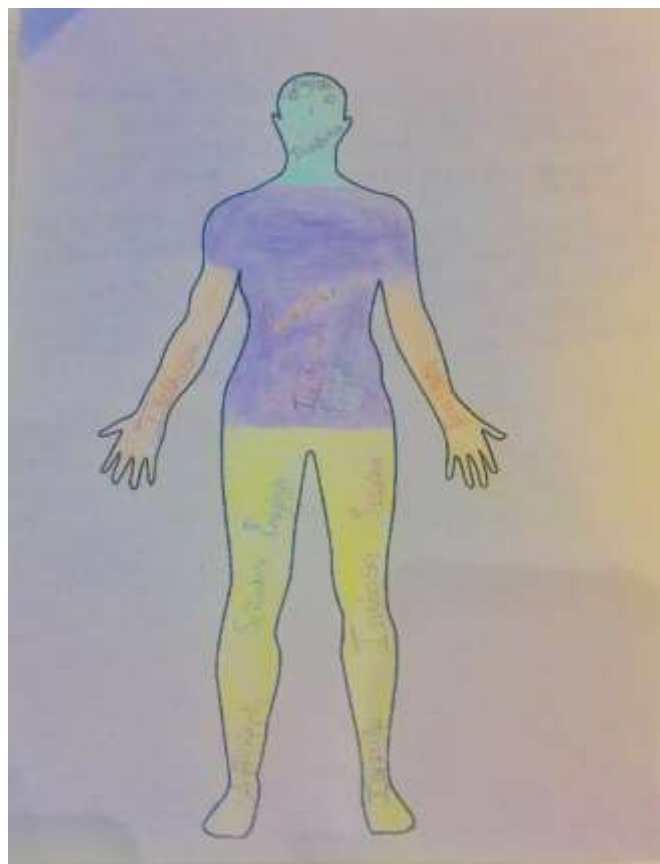
**Extract 4.7: Nathaniel's Informal Paragraph**

In extract 4.7 Nathaniel states that the reason for him to use yellow for his eyes is because when he opens his eyes (that is, everywhere he goes) he finds that he is surrounded by English texts and prints. This connects with Onke (extract 4.4) who exclaimed that *'we don't bhala kakhulu in isiXhosa'*. Like Onke, Nathaniel provides evidence of Anglonormativity dominating the linguistic landscape in the written texts around him. This is often a consequence of the lack of LTSM (and assessments) in languages other than English.

In contrast to the ideology of one language, one nation (Makalela, 2014) or that of SWX, evident in Nathaniel's paragraph writing (extract 4) is how he tranlanguages inter –and intrasentential breaking the notion of viewing languages as bounded entities and separated from one another. This break could also be seen in his body portrait (extract 4.7) where instead of using one colour for the whole face – as one would expect, Nathaniel uses varied colours to

index this ‘break’ – as well as in his arms to represent the heteroglossic approaches and the interrelatedness of languages. This implies that Nathaniel does not regard languages as being separate and bounded but as ‘meshed’ and ‘working together’, reminiscent of Makalela’s concept of ubuntu *translangauging* (Makalela, 2019). In his paragraph writing, he translanguages in isiXhosa and English. Nathaniel presents himself as multilingual.

Similar to Nathaniel and other students’ body portraits analysed thus far, Emihle displays an inevitable ambiguity of heteroglossic practices and varied repertoire, displaying loyalty attached to the varieties/languages they inscribe.



**Extract 4.8:** *Emihle’s Linguistic repertoire*

Emihle’s body portrait shows explicitly aspects of a person straddling multiple discourses and named languages. Displayed in the extract above is quite a strange yet unique way of using this language profile. As much as other students like Nathaniel (extract 4.6) used one colour for a particular language or a variety, this is not the case for Emihle. My point of analysis lies not in the colours chosen by Emihle but on the inferences of the ‘named languages’ that she has used in her body portrait. An example of a person who is straddling multiple discourses is thus seen in her body portrait (extract 4.8). It can be deduced that the student has a wide range of

resources that she draws on – isiXhosa, isiZulu, English, Afrikaans, Sesotho and Setswana. However, having looked at her legs on the portrait – displayed in one leg are Afrikaans, Setswana and English and on the other, isiZulu, isiXhosa and Sesotho. The languages that are on both legs are not the same. That is, at times Emihle finds herself having to shuttle between these resources across contexts – as when the demand arises. Imagine a left leg in front and a right leg at the back. Though we know little about Emihle’s fluency in the inscribed linguistic resources in her linguistic repertoire – we know that she feels comfortable to say these are part of her repertoire. As a result, she is obliged to switch and shuttle between these and make use of isiZulu, isiXhosa and Sesotho while holding on to the other varieties/named languages displayed in the other leg. This is one example of a person who is bound to constantly re – negotiate their identity. At the same time straddling across multiple discourses.

Moreover, the ideologies of ‘lingua franca’ can be deduced from analysing Emihle’s portrait. For an example, it is unusual that an isiXhosa speaker like Emihle who claims in her paragraph writing (extract 4.1) that *‘isiXhosa ndisithanda ngentliziyo yam yonke’* would in the same line ‘think’ in a language of the ‘other’ – which is English. Fascinatingly so, her body portrait indexes English in the head/mind possibly to assert the cognitive levels capabilities of this language and also displays the language they are mostly taught in, as well as indexing the power of English in the schooling context. IsiXhosa, which is a language that *‘she loves wholeheartedly’* however, is written in the mouth, asserting that it is a language that she can fully communicate in. Because of the legacies of the apartheid system, it is no surprise that this is displayed in this manner – even though the child knows little about the past injustices – where people were segregated according to the languages they speak. Bristowe et. al. puts it nicely stating that “in spite of the oppressive history associated with the language, they are of a generation with no personal memory of the former dispensation” (2014: 235).

This ideology seems to contradict the portrait where more than one language is included in a colour and a limb thus implying lack of separation in contrast to the curriculum. In addition to these ideologies displayed by Emihle in the body portrait, it must be understood that languages are interconnected and thus no other language must be deemed superior than the other. For an example, Emihle’s language body portrait displays six languages. IsiXhosa and English both appear four times in the portrait, followed by isiZulu appearing twice and Setswana, Sesotho and Afrikaans appearing once. English and isiXhosa are then assumed to be the languages that the students mostly use– for writing and thinking (hands and head). IsiZulu appears in the stomach (together with isiXhosa and English) to display how she benefits from them and in

return satisfy her and in the left foot of the portrait. This might be done to apprehend the similarities that isiXhosa and isiZulu have in common. Therefore, Emihle's body portrait displays her as a multilingual speaker – with the ability of employing heteroglossic practices at her disposal, problematizing the monolingual bias. This is more evident in her paragraph writing below.

*We use English when we are talking with some who do not understand our language. Mhlawumbi ayolanguweji yakhe iEnglish qha uyayi understanda futhi uyakwazi ukuyithetha futhi nathi asiyi-understandi ilanguage yakhe sikwazi ukuthetha iEnglish so sizothetha yona iEnglish although ingeyo language yethu sobabini. (Maybe it's not **his/her** language but **he/she** can understand it also **she/he** can speak it maybe **we** also don't understand **his/her** language **we** are able to speak English so **we** will speak it although it's not **our** language.) Afrikaans yilanguage endiyivayo ithethwa endaweni endihamba kuyo kakhulu. IsiZulu yilanguage endiyivayo kodwa endingenokwazi ukuyithetha. Lento ndifake umbala obomvu kwisiXhosa kuba isiXhosa ndisithanda ngentliziyo yam yonke kwaye ndiyiva apha kum egazini. (Afrikaans is a language that **I** can hear from *different places* I go to. IsiZulu is a language I can hear but I cannot speak it. The reason why I've put red as a colour for isiXhosa, is because I love isiXhosa with my whole heart and I can feel it in my blood).*

**Extract 4.9: Emihle's Informal Paragraph**

Emihle produces a hybrid and fluid discourse of subjectivity in her paragraph writing. She refers not only to the use of a range of named languages, i.e., English, isiZulu, isiXhosa and Afrikaans but she links these to different domains of language use (McKinney, 2013:26); even though she does not explicitly mention those domains in her paragraph. How she does this is very interesting. She has all the language resources available in her repertoire and shortly tells us in which instance she uses which 'named language'. This is clear when she talks about Afrikaans stating that she hears it in *different places*.

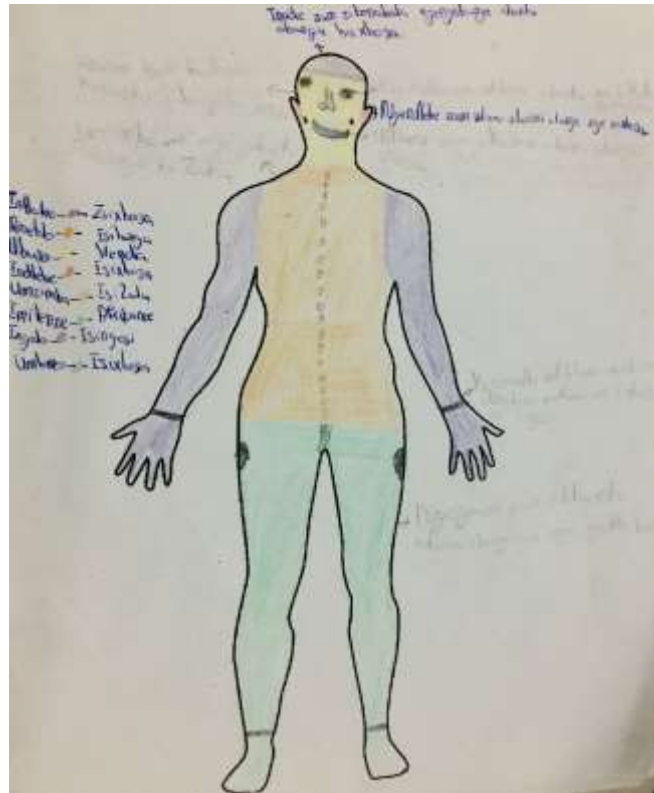
To analyse positioning in extract 4.9 I would like to use Wortham's definition of social positioning to trace from the text/paragraph the positioning and distancing Emihle brings forth. Wortham explains social positioning as 'an event of identification in which a recognizable category of identity gets explicitly or implicitly applied to an individual' (2004:166). In extract 4.9 I have underlined words that have particular significance. For example, the personal pronouns (*We, he/she, his/her and our*) play a significant role in the way she positions herself and others. According to Emihle, it is clear that there is a language that belongs to other people '*his/her language*'. By so doing she is distancing herself – as speaker of isiXhosa from other speakers. The notion of '*us and them*' or the '*language of the other*' is paramount here – "creating a dichotomy between interior and exterior, between one's '*own*' language and a foreign language" (Busch, 2012:13). Therefore, while Emihle uses English to navigate and

negotiate meaning, it is clear that she identifies herself as an isiXhosa speaker ('I love isiXhosa with my whole heart and I can feel it in my blood') who is able to shift identities to negotiate meaning or move around contexts. What is evident here is the "multiplicity of points of resistance" from Emihle (McKinney, 2011:5). At one point Emihle wants to be seen as an isiXhosa speaker but when she is caught in a compromising situation she is then able to shift to '*their*' language which is not *hers*. Kapp and Bangeni (2017: 86) talk about "straddling multiple discourses". That is, Emihle continuously finds herself having to shift identities depending on who she is talking to or what she is writing. In other words, when she meets a person who does not speak her language (i.e., isiXhosa) she then switches to English even though she does not perceive it as her language, but part of her repertoire. Her view of English here is clear. She views English as connecting her with different people in different domains.

Moreover, Bourdieu's metaphorical concept of 'linguistic capital' (1976, 1997) plays a vital role in Emihle and the school's context. There is an assumption that if one invests in the learning of English, this will allow one to gain access to better jobs which, in turn, provide financial return on one's investment in terms of better pay.

#### **4.5 Language attitudes and values**

According to Wolff, analysing language attitudes assists in determining the progress or decline of a language (2006:41), as assessing people's views on languages. It is important to note that language attitudes are not separate to language ideologies and they "tend to favour or privilege the views and beliefs of those already in power" (Costa, Dyers & Mheta; 2014: 351). For example, Ngcwalisa, stated that: '*I talk isiXhosa when I am swearing*' (extract 4.13 below). Stroud (2014: 305; as cited in Bock & Mheta) talks about linguistic variables which point to certain social categories. In this case we see that the use of isiXhosa for Ngcwalisa affords her different personalities and/or identities which they may not invest in for a long period of time - since using 'amagama akwada' has no space in the schooling context. Moreover, her use of *amagama akwada* highlights the social and power dynamics surrounding their society that some of the people might not be aware of or social dynamics that the school might not notice or value Stroud asserts that what we see in Ngcwalisa's comment is the "linguistic ideologies or beliefs that serve to mediate a link between social meanings and forms of talk" (ibid).



**Extract 4.10: Live's Linguistic Repertoire**

While the students were explaining their language body portraits, evident in their informal writing is their attitudes and feelings towards languages. Live, pointed out the following:

Ngezi language zam ndizibhalileyo ezinye ziripresenter *ubutraditional bam* endinabo nafuthi umlomo wam xa ndithetha ilanguage enje ngesiXhosa nafuthi *izixhosa* endizithethayo mhlaumbi esinye sesalapha esikolweni nasese sitratweni mhlaumbi uthetha amagama akwada umana uthuka nafuthi iiLanguage endizivayo qha andikwazi ukumuphendula ngale language yakhe ngoba mna sendiqhele ilanguage ethethwa ekhayeni. **(With these languages I have written some represent my tradition and my mouth when I speak a language like isiXhosa and also the isiXhosa(s) that I speak maybe the one is from school and isiXhosa from the streets like saying vulgar language and languages that I can hear (understand) but I cannot respond in the same language that they use because I am used to my home language.**

**Extract 4.11: Live's Informal Paragraph**

Live opens his paragraph asserting that the languages evident in his body portrait represent '**ubutraditional bam**' – *his tradition*. According to Live, there is an interconnectedness between language and what I call 'cultural identity'. That is, there is an understanding from Live that his cultural identity – since developed from birth, is shaped by the values and attitudes that he is accustomed and exposed to from his home and surroundings. Here, an understanding of language and literacy as social practice can be seen. Moreover, Live's view of and about

language shows explicitly that “identities are performed in the context of interaction with other people” (Ferris, Peck & Banda; 2014: 413). This is justified when he says;

**Sendiqhele ilanguage ethethwa ekhayeni.** (*I am used to the language I speak at home*).

This justification then informs that Live has ‘*assumed*’, taken, and accepted a certain kind of identity which is projected and performed through everyday practice – that is, in his home and on ‘the streets’. As a result of this, in his statement lies the fact that despite the dominance of English in his formal schooling, he does not negotiate his identity through nor show investment in the English language because he sees himself as a person who is ‘*traditional*’ and as a person whose mouth only speaks or utters ‘isiXhosa’ most of the time.

**‘nafuthi umlomo wam xa ndithetha ilanguage enje ngesiXhosa’** (*...and my mouth when I speak a language like isiXhosa*).

Although this is what Live presupposes, it does not infer that people in multilingual contexts do not select from their linguistic repertoires to signal different identities nor that identities are solely constructed by languages. Ironically though, Live code-meshed English and isiXhosa (ubutraditional bam) to express his affiliation with tradition. This reminds us of Nongogo’s (2007: 48) Sepedi speaking student who similarly claimed a strong sePedi identity through the translingual expression ‘ke mo Pedi feela full-time.’

Overtly, the languages that Live values or seems to invest in are ‘*iziXhosa*’ (line 2). The use of ‘*izi*’ here shows plurality of varieties within isiXhosa language. Looking closely at his text, there is not only one isiXhosa that he is exposed to and has acquired but there are ‘*iziXhosa*’, as he exclaimed. Live thus shows awareness of different kinds of ‘*iziXhosa*’ and makes a clear distinction between the varieties of ‘*iziXhosa*’ that are available in his linguistic repertoire:

**Mhlaumbi esinye sesalapha esikolweni nasesistratweni** (Maybe the other isiXhosa is from school and the other one from the street)

From this account there is isiXhosa that is acquired and used ‘*esikolweni*’ (*at school*) and there is isiXhosa that is acquired and used ‘*estratweni*’ (*in the streets*). The acquisition of the isiXhosa that is learned from ‘*esikolweni*’ as he states could be synonymous to the SWX that is taught in schools– since the schooling system values it; and from the fact that the types of writing evident in the policies and the prescribed textbooks mostly use the SWX as opposed to the everyday language or urban vernaculars that the students produce – or bring to the schooling

context. On the other side, the isiXhosa acquired '*esitratweni*' could be informed by the games the children play when they are home after school and also which could be acquired at home through exposure from watching TV, talking to relatives and friends outside tuition time. This concludes that Live is a student and a child who has rich language resources available in his linguistic repertoire – and that, even though he is not explicitly telling us about his view point in investing in the SWX, he undoubtedly regards himself as a '*traditional*' person who is able to switch between '*iziXhosa*' (multiple varieties of isiXhosa) and not 'isiXhosa' – making him a multilingual speaker. These attitudes from Live emulates that language is carrier of culture and identity.

Live's account emulates that interlocutors may speak, for example urban isiXhosa, to index that they are urbanites, but at the very same time they are able to switch to rural or the SWX. This also proves that Live does not regard himself as a monolingual – even though he does not make mention of 'named languages' other than iziXhosa. But that, Live perceives himself as a multilingual – who has multiple identity affiliations with an understanding that he is able to switch between different varieties of isiXhosa available from his repertoire. This means that 'the use of language can be extremely complex, layered and unique to the individual and/or context' (Ferris et al, 2014: 413). Furthermore, Live's account makes explicit the fact that varieties may occur even within one single language.

#### **4.6 Students' attitudes to named languages**

Live does not mention the English language, despite the fact that he spends much of his time at school learning in English. This shows that as much as Live's education is completed in English, he however does not invest in it nor claim competency or proficiency in the language. That is, he is not at once striving to compromise nor negotiate his '*tradition*'. Instead, Live makes mention of the isiXhosa present '*esikolweni*' and the isiXhosa present '*esitratweni*' (extract 4.11).

As much as Live does not see himself speaking or investing in another language other than 'iziXhosa', his view and attitude towards isiXhosa tends to be unusual. He says; '*mhlaumbi uthetha amagama akwada umana uthuka*' (**perhaps you say offensive words, being rude/using vulgar language**). Again, this is informed by '*isitrato*' where people use offensive words carelessly (vulgar language) to one another particularly when they are fighting and when they have 'had one too many' (drunk). Through this, we learn that isiXhosa might at times not be as valued a resource as other languages like English or Afrikaans, as seen in Emihle's

extract. Reasons for this are that, ‘amagama akrwada’ (vulgar language) have no value in the schooling context. Secondly, such language might be viewed (by teachers) as street language. This however, does not infer that English and Afrikaans speakers do not hold such attitudes to the use of their languages. As much as Live could be diminishing and limiting isiXhosa as a resource that could be used thoroughly at school and *esitratweni* but making it sound as a language that does not hold power *esikolweni*. However, in many cases when people use such offensive language – they do so displaying their social standing and thus asserting power and dominance over others. Here, it could also be understood that isiXhosa is powerful in the context of ‘*estratweni*’. Thus, it can be deduced that language use depends on the context in which it is being used, in as much as language gains power through use in different domains.

In extract 4.9 above, Emihle represents herself in a state of ambivalence, straddling across multiple discourses. Emihle acknowledges that English is not her language, and she implicitly does not fully claim competency in it. Emihle positions English as a lingua franca that can be used to communicate with people who do not speak ‘*our language*’ [extract 4.9]. This echoes Makoe and McKinney’s findings in two Johannesburg schools that “English becomes ‘normalised’ and ‘neutralised’ (Foucault 1980) as the only order that counts” (2014: 664).

Contrary to Live who does not acknowledge nor make mention of English as having affordances for him, Emihle emphasises how English enables her to reach out to a wider community. Despite this positioning of English, Emihle states that “*lento ndifake umbala obomvu kwisiXhosa kuba isiXhosa ndisithanda ngentliziyo yam yonke kwaye ndiyiva apha kum egazini*” (**the reason why I’ve put red as a colour for isiXhosa, is because I love isiXhosa with my whole heart and I can feel it in my blood**). Similarly, to Live, who postulated that isiXhosa represents ‘*ubutraditional bam*’ - his tradition, Emihle avers that she loves isiXhosa with her whole heart. Emihle here ties her love for isiXhosa with her heart – and through the use of ‘*egazini*’ (blood) expresses how isiXhosa reverberates in her veins or being. In other words, she lives isiXhosa – she is made of isiXhosa and that she cannot function without it since ‘*igazi/blood*’ is what makes the heart function and pump.

However, this is contrary to her attitude of and about English. At some point she wants to claim English, on the other side there’s isiXhosa. Therefore, Kapp and Bangeni postulate that when this happens it “reveals students’ ambivalence as they found themselves straddling in multiple, often conflicting discourses between home and the institution” (2011:197). Here, the student’s ambivalence needs not to be conceptualised as a problem since she seems to be very successful

in constructing her strong identification with isiXhosa, at the same time as she can use English to communicate when necessary. This ambivalence is typical of one being in ‘third space’ (Guiterez, et al, 1999: 290) – “a transformative space where the potential for an expanded form of learning and the development of new knowledge are heightened”. Similarly, Anzaldúa (1987) uses the concept of third space to assert the situatedness of interaction, as well as the complexity of identity which forces people living in third spaces or borderlands to hold multiple perspectives. The dichotomy between the languages and variants that are valued in the schooling context – and mostly in students’ writing, avers students having to constantly negotiate their identities and putting different personas in order to finish their schooling years. Ferris, Peck and Banda assert that “identities may be negotiated in the sense that we may at one point in time perform or enact different identities depending on the context in which we find ourselves” (2014: 411). Meaning, people perform different roles – bring different identities. For example, when they are in church, with their family and when they are in school. Identities then are always flexible and dynamic just as language evolves.

#### **4.7 Turning to literacy and status of isiXhosa**

Looking at Ngcwalisa’s written paragraph

*I talk isiXhosa when I am swearing and when I talk to my family, friends, teachers, and when I am texting someone or sometimes I use English when I am texting to someone or writing. I talk English when I am writing. English or reading. I hear Sesotho a little when my cousins that stay in joburg talk to me in Sesotho. I hear isiZulu when in television or someone talking isiZulu.*

##### **Extract 4.12: Ngcwalisa’s Informal Paragraph**

In analysing the Ngcwalisa’s extract, it can be deduced that both English and isiXhosa have their own affordances. Ngcwalisa in her paragraph understands the affordances that isiXhosa and English provide her. For an example, she uses isiXhosa for swearing, talking and texting someone. Her asserting that she is ‘*swearing*’ provides notions of viewing isiXhosa as being rude and on the other hand English is viewed as being polite. Further, Ngcwalisa understands that literacy can take form in any language and in any mode of communication. This is evident when she states that ‘*I talk isiXhosa ...when I am texting someone*’. The connection between orality/speech and writing is displayed by Ngcwalisa. Her, presupposing that ‘*I hear Sesotho a little when my cousins that stay in joburg talk to me in Sesotho. I hear isiZulu when in television or someone talking isiZulu*’ she understands that in a platform such as a television simultaneous

use of more than one language is the norm – and that there is nothing wrong in letting people speak ‘other’ languages even though she herself might not understand them, but can only hear them. This then presupposes that students come to the schooling context having a range of literacies at their disposal, and that they come to school as emergent bilinguals. Moreover, what Ngcwalisa is teaching us is that, despite the limited exposure in her school to reading materials – there are other modes which people can learn from. Moreover, literacy does not begin and end in the schooling environment. But it extends to digital media (e.g. texting on the phone and watching television).

#### **4.8 Conclusion**

This chapter discussed student’s body portraits, as well as their writing of paragraphs in relation to their body portraits. The student’s portraits reveal vibrant and lively colours, thus creating a pleasant atmosphere. The students’ portraits give personal language profiles that inscribe not only current language learning and language use in multilingual contexts but their lived experiences and future desires. The student’s inscription of more than one named language in their body portrait displays the fluidity and interconnectedness of language. The data discussed has shown how meanings are attributed to language practices, and also guided by varying spaces in which the students use language.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### Analysing how 6<sup>th</sup> Graders of isiXhosa home language use isiXhosa resources in their formal (FAT) and informal writing

#### 5.1 Introduction

Chapter five of this study analyses the language varieties evident in the students' writing and what informs these. This chapter seeks to answer the research question; *what are the language varieties employed by Grade 6 isiXhosa home language students as evident in their writing?* Here, I will explore and analyse the written varieties and discourses the students use in completing their FATs. The written varieties that I shall explore in this chapter are everyday language use and urban varieties, as well as the SWX.

#### 5.2 Everyday language use & urban varieties

In order for children to find their way with writing, they depend on the 'familiar and typified voices' (Dyson and Smitherman, 2009) of their everyday lives – in this case, their everyday language influenced by their families, friends and teachers. The everyday language then reverberates "in their own [voice] as the children orally articulate what they are going to say and monitor its encoding on the page" (Dyson and Smitherman, 2009:978). Although Dyson and Smitherman were researching the process of learning in Grade 1, the idea of children drawing on the voices they hear is still relevant for Grade 6 students who are involved in the process of writing (ibid). Dyson and Smitherman postulate that children's language use is guided by a "sense of what sounds right, but that sense does not come from a grammar textbook"; rather it comes from "their sensitivity to how voices should sound in varied kinds of communicative situations with different purposes and participants" (2009: 978). One way to find this sensitivity is through children's play where they are able to mimic or portray different characters to show their communicative flexibility – how mothers, preachers, boyfriends and girlfriends speak. A brief outline of the students who incorporated everyday language in their writing is tabled below.

**Table 5a** shows the number of students who produced everyday language in their writing

| Total number of students | Students who used everyday language |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 35                       | 12                                  |

I now move to talk about the everyday language and urban varieties evident in the student's texts produced as part of the Formal Assessment Task (FATs).

The students were tasked to write a text that gives a moral or lesson at the end. It is important to note that the students had been taught the *intsomi (folklore)* genre during previous lessons in the term, and thus they should be aware that one of the features of this genre is to outline the moral of the story at the end of their narrative. It is thus unsurprising that the majority of the students chose to write a folktale genre. The following extracts are taken from the students' writing of a folktale (FATs).

Ngenye imini umpukane wavuka wahlamba waza wathi kumakhulu mabahambe **\*bayokha** imifuno. *Wamana* esithi umakhulu yena uyonqena **\*uyokha** imifuno. Wahamba ke yena umakhulu wayokuzikhela yedwa. Wathi xa ebuya wafika wayihlamba waza emva kokuba eyihlambile waza wayiphaka wayitya. **(One day the fly woke up and took a bath and said to granny they should go harvest. Granny said she is lazy to go harvest. Granny left to harvest alone. When she got back she washed the veggies after she washed it she cooked it and ate.)**

Wayitya wayitya waza eminye imifuno wayifaka **ekhabhathini** kuba wasose wayaleza umakhulu ukuba angayityi imifuno yakhe **\*ngoba** yena umakhulu khange afune **\*ukuyokha** imifuno emva koko umpukane wahamba waya emdlalweni. Wathi esadlala umpukane umakhulu wachwechwa wayokuvula **ekhabhathini** wathatha imifuno kampukane wayitya wayigqiba. **(She ate and ate and she took other veggies to the cupboard and she told granny to not eat it because she didn't want to go harvest after that the fly left to play. While Mpukane was playing, granny stalked slowly and opened the cupboard and took Mpukane's veggies and ate them)**

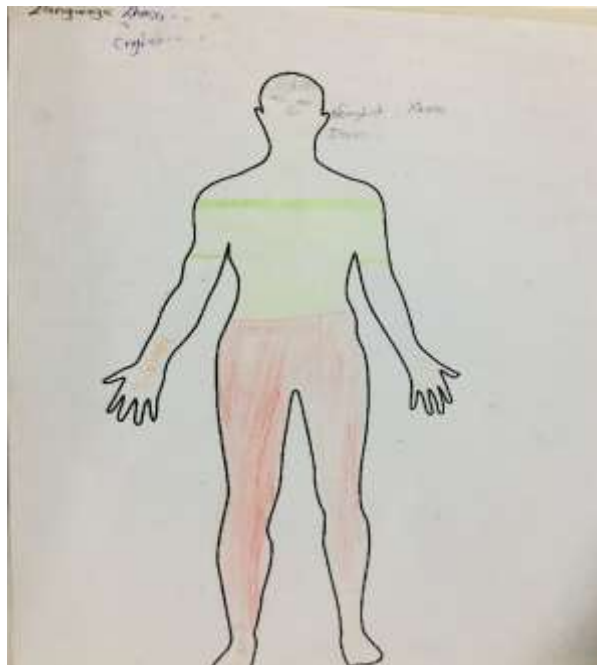
Extract 5.1: *Anovuyo's FAT Umsetyenzana wesi – 5*

11. **Lukho:** Kudala-dala kwakukho abantwana babehlanu *nomkhulu* wabo ngenye imini *umakhulu* wabantwana wathuma omnye wabantwana bake ukuba **\*makayo thenga** iswekile **\*eshopu** wathi **\*lomtana** wadibana nomnye ubhuti wabuza *igamalakhe* wathi **lam tana kubana** akanalo yena igama wathi la bhuti igama lakho unguSimbulele engekabuyi lowa ebemthumile wathuma omnye **\*umtana** ukuba makayothenga iswekile **eshopu** kuba akabuyi lona ebemthumile kuqala **eshopu**. **(long time ago there were 5 children with their grandfather the other day the granny sent one of the kids to go buy sugar from the shop and the child met a man and he asked her name and the kid said she doesn't have a name the man said your name is Simbulele the other one who was sent was not yet back/ she sent another child to go buy sugar from the shop because the other one she had sent is not back from the shops)**

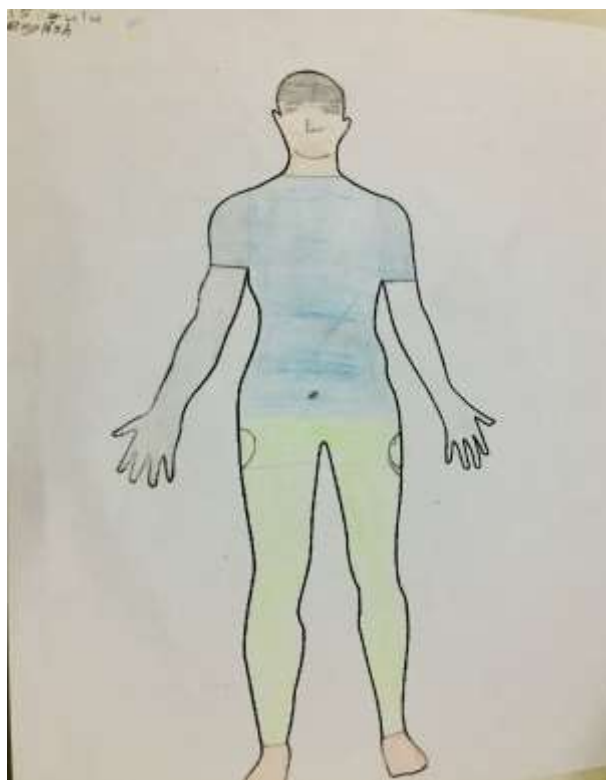
Kanti nalona **\*umtana** kanti naye wadibana nomnye ubhuti kwindlela eya **eshopu** labhuti wabuza **\*lamtana** ukuba ngubani *igamalakhe* wathi **lamtana** kubana **igama** akanalo yena phela-phela ngantsomi. **(and even this one even her she met another man on her way to the shop the man asked the girl what's her name and the girl said she doesn't have a name)**

Extract 5.2: *Lukho's FAT Umsetyenzana wesi – 4*

Anovuyo and Lukho are both Grade 6 isiXhosa HL students. They reside in the township of Gugulethu. Lukho in his body portrait represented isiXhosa, English and isiZulu. Whereas, Anovuyo only displayed English and isiXhosa.



**Extract 5.3:** *Anovuyo's linguistic repertoire*



**Extract 5.4:** *Lukho's Linguistic Repertoire*

Their writings demonstrate a rich variety of resources that they draw from. Extracts 5.1 and 5.2 above show explicitly how the students are able to use varied (language) resources. For an example, Anovuyo is telling a folktale of a ‘lazy’ grandmother who stayed with a fly in a faraway– isolated forest. One would expect that Anovuyo would use a strictly ‘formal’ version of isiXhosa – that is, the SWX that is valued in the schooling context which t mostly appears in the textbooks and books they have read. She however, draws on an informal register and everyday language. This version of informal and everyday language is evident when she says; ‘*mabahambe bayokha imifuno*’ (they should go pull vegetables). She further uses the same term in ‘*khangе afune ukuyokha imifuno*’ (she did not want to go pull vegetables). Anovuyo here decides to use *bayokha* as opposed to *bayokukha*. One could find ‘*bayokha*’ in spoken communication which arises from the children’s play, during recess, and language they use with their friends; whereas *bayokukha* could be found in the school textbooks and serves as the valorised and standardised form. Her use of ‘*Bayokha*’ in this context of the story is used as a form of a reported speech, bearing in mind that the ‘fly’ would have been *talking* to the grandmother. Understanding the context in which Anovuyo’s story takes place, ‘*bayokha/ukuyokha*’ – which she used in her writing would not be valued as ‘contextually correct or appropriate’ for this kind of writing and context by some teachers. Reasons for this could be that, most textbooks and stories have valorised the following: ‘*ukuvuna imifuno*’ and not ‘*ukukha imifuno*’ which can be found in spoken communication, even though it is still correct. Additionally, maybe the teachers themselves have no experience of digging edibles. The former one simply means to *harvest vegetables*, and the latter means to *pull vegetables* or to ‘*ukuyokha amanzi*’ as in to *go collect water*. It is with these reasons that Anovuyo’s use of such words, ‘*bayokha*’ and ‘*ukuyokha*’ forms basis of everyday language. However, the fact that Anovuyo chose to use ‘*ukuyokha*’ and ‘*bayokha*’ over ‘*ukuvuna*’ brings forth sociocultural factors. For an example, most of the student at this level are born and bred in the urban environments, and in modern times where in the city of Cape Town they do not have to go ‘*harvest vegetables*’, but rather, what they will do is to go ‘*ukuyokha amanzi*’ (collect/draw water) from communal taps – since the majority of them live in ‘impoverished’ areas with shared toilets and taps. Therefore, the students do not have an experience of harvesting in farms, like the students residing in rural areas. However, her use of ‘*ukuyokha*’ as opposed to ‘*ukuvuna*’ with its contextual meaning does not infer that her usage is wrong, because what is important is how the message is conveyed in that context.

Moreover, in the everyday language that most isiXhosa speakers use there is a deletion of some sort – just like in every language. For example, Anovuyo here has deleted the third syllable ‘-ku’ which may be evident in the SWX of the word ‘*bayokukha*’. However, the deletion of the syllable in this context does not change the meaning of the word – and most importantly it does not deter the meaning of the text at any given point. But it shows that Anovuyo is making use of the language resources and varieties available at her disposal. Furthermore, the fact that Anovuyo repeats the word ‘*bayokha*’ in her text shows that the word is used deliberately and purposefully, rather than a once-off orthographic or grammatical error. Herein, the student takes agency in controlling the narrative of the story, drawing from the urban resources evident in her linguistic repertoire. That is, the student shows adequate understanding and command of the isiXhosa language, while making sure that the creativity in her narrative is not lost.

On reflection, the ‘ku’ in ‘**bayokukha**’ is deleted by most people when engaging in oral communication and the resulting pronunciation becomes ‘**bayokha**’. Many words like this that include deletion or omission in isiXhosa language are used – i.e. ‘**ngokuba**’ which simply means *because* could be said and written as *ngoba*; and when a person asks a question using ‘*Why?*’ in isiXhosa it could be said as *Ngoba?* With a rising intonation; this has been accepted and appropriated as the norm. What this means is that, in order for Anovuyo to make sense of her story she needs to bring forth the everyday language which brings essence to her story, *mixing* it with the valued SWX used in school. The term that she chose to insert in her text shows how the written language is influenced by the spoken language – her everyday language, that she brings to the schooling context, even though this is seldom valued.

Below I explore and describe how the two students begin their folktale. Anovuyo begins her text by saying “*Kwathi ke kaloku ngantsomi kwaye kukho ...*” (**Once upon a time there was a granny...**), but Lukho chooses to begin his text by saying “*Kudala-dala kwakukho abantwana babebahlanu...*” (**Long – long time ago there were five children...**). Both of these beginnings are very common and taught to children, though Lukho’s beginning may be less formal but it is still a norm to begin a story like this. What both students do here is to draw on different beginnings they are familiar with. Moreover, we are shown that for writings of the same purpose, students may choose which variation they wish to use in their writings – making their voices audible through writing.

It is important to note that the two beginnings in isiXhosa do not hold much difference but my point here is that Anovuyo’s beginning could be regarded as traditional and formal, whereas

Lukho's beginning is much less formal but yet leaning towards the everyday language use. The students are aware of these differences hence they chose these two different beginnings. For an example, Anovuyo's traditional formal beginning I could postulate that it introduces and identifies the (language) resources available in the student's linguistic repertoire, at the same time it informs the reader of the kind of language to expect throughout the text. For an example, looking intensively at the two texts what is evident is that Anovuyo uses predominantly SWX that is most valued in the schooling context. She understands the text features of the genre – hence the beginning. Consequently, there's minimal informal language or everyday language that she uses in her text. In a total of 165 words used in her writing, she makes reference to about 4 words only that could be classified as everyday language or informal language. Additionally, this shows that as much as people, or in this case; the students come from the same 'context and society', the way in which they may use language and take hold of literacies is not homogenous but rather varied.

On the other hand, given the beginning of Lukho's text which I have classified as traditional but yet informal and informed by the everyday language use, what is interesting in Lukho's text is when he decides to use the informal/everyday language. What's striking for me in his text is the hierarchical social positioning. As apparent from his text, he introduced *uMakhulu* (Grand-mother) who sends one child to buy sugar from the shops, then when she (*uMakhulu*) saw that the other child is not coming anytime soon; she sends another child. Now, one notices that when it's *uMakhulu* who is speaking or sending the child to the shops, words like "*abantwana, wabantwana*" (children, of the children) are written in the SWX form and standard way of writing – particularly in the schooling context and for formal assessments. But when the child meets *uBhuti* on the streets, Lukho changes his writing/wording inserting "*umtana, lomtana, lamtana*" (*the child, this child, that child*) – adjusting his language use to match the different characters in the story. Moreover, this displays that when students use non – standard varieties, it does not mean they do not know the standard variety but that they are able to distinguish between the two and use them as need arises.

Lukho's writing shows the reader that he is able to switch between the everyday discourse/everyday language and /SWX without any hesitations.

SWX:

Kudala-dala kwakukho \***abantwana** babehlanu nomkhulu wabo ngenye imini umakhulu \***wabantwana** wathuma omnye \***wabantwana**

*Everyday discourse:*

Kanti nalona \***umtana** kanti naye wadibana nomnye ubhuti kwindlela eya **eshopu** labhuti wabuza \***lamtana** ukuba ngubani *igamalakhe* wathi \***lamtana** kubana **igama** akanalo yena phela-phela ngantsomi.

However, even though when one reads Lukho's text it feels like a SWX; there are still words like *eshopu* (at the shop), *lomtana* (this child) which children use in their everyday spoken language, and these are the few examples amongst others. Some examples could be, *endlini* as opposed to **endlwini**. Here, Lukho omits and deletes a lot of consonants (*umntwana*, *lomntwana*, *lamntwana*), to shift the hierarchical culture and the context in which a particular scenario takes place. One would ask what do I mean by the hierarchical cultural shift. According to Lukho's writing uMakhulu is displayed as the source and archive of knowledge, the wise one. Moreover, uMakhulu is the one who tells stories to her grand – children. Therefore, she is 'supposed' to know the correct grammatical inferences of the words that he (Lukho) has deleted/omitted when uBhuti speaks in the streets. This shift implies that when uMakhulu speaks she will most probably use formal and standardised isiXhosa, whereas uBhuti will use an informal and everyday language use. This then supports the idea that the writer is aware that language use and varieties change depending on the context in which they are used – and to whom they are used to – and is able to do this in his own writing.

Therefore, students in the above texts are incorporating a local scale level to their language norms and text production. Because of the language ideologies within the isiXhosa varieties words like [umtana, lamtana, eshopu, bayokha] used by Lukho and Anovuyo will seldom be valued and accepted as the norm in the schooling environment yet the society and schooling context accept words that have been borrowed from foreign languages like English and Afrikaans which have been appropriated into the standard language. For example, words like *ikhabhathi* (cupboard), *isikolo* (school), *itispuni* (teaspoon), *ipensile* (pencil), *idesika* (desk) to name a few, have been accepted and appropriated into the SWX and in many writings. However, as a language teacher myself I am fully aware that the sentence level errors are not the sole concern in grading an essay. There are many other factors that are of concern.

### **5.3 Intsomi as a genre**

Similar to Lukho's written text in response to the same FAT, Siyabonga demonstrates a high diversity of language varieties in his writing. I have chosen his piece of writing as it shows clearly how students make use of the everyday language and how their immediate context or

environment provides sources of meaning for their own writing through use of everyday language.

The FATs of the students involved limited kinds of writings. The isiXhosa HL students wrote narratives (literal or personal)– which takes into consideration myths, fables and folktales, fiction and recounts. These narratives can be literal or personal. Some of the narratives can be classified as recounts as shown in the table below.

What is meant by a narrative genre here is of a story in which something goes wrong – a kind of story which offers a problem, resolution and possibly a moral at the end.

The following summary and extracts depicts the kind of moral messages evident in the students' narratives.

One student who wrote a narrative text genre is Kuhle

*His narrative is about a young girl who is named Lindokuhle who came from an impoverished background, whose mother worked as a domestic worker. Lindokuhle in the narrative appears as someone who is not doing well at school – academically. On pay day, her mother used to take her to the mall and buy her 'girly' stuff. One time they met a young man who complimented her (Lindokuhle) and asked for her parents' permission to allow her to take part in a beauty pageant – where she was crowned first prize and also received money as a prize. After that, Lindokuhle and her family never went poor ever again.*

**Extract 5.5: FAT (Translated from isiXhosa to English)**

The moral of the story is simple, yet problematic. Kuhle, in his writing problematizes the character's role. His writing displays a moral of a young girl who lives in a world where young girls and women are objectified by men. In order for Lindokuhle (the character) to make ends meet she needs to trade her body and rely on her beauty in order to be valued in the society.

Ona, another student, wrote a compelling narrative which had a clear moral.

*Ona's narrative is about a Lion that was the only one with a tail. One day he decided that all animals should have a tail like him – so that he does not look odd alone. He then summoned all animals to receive their tails. But the dassie was lazy to go fetch its own tail because he felt that it was too far to go – and asked some passing monkeys to fetch the tail on his behalf. On their way back, the monkey's decided to teach the Dassie a lesson, because they thought that the Dassie did not deserve the present, so they stuck the tail onto their long tails. On reaching the Dassie, they showed off their tails and told the Dassie that it needs to obey the King. The poor Dassie could not respond.*

**Extract 5.6: FAT (Translated from isiXhosa to English)**

The moral of the story then is that if you always ask people to do things on your behalf because you are lazy, they could rob you off of your belongings and that is why in the narrative the Dassie remains tailless to this day because it has asked someone else on its behalf.

Because language use is only a fraction of what makes a good story, it is of utmost importance that attention be given to the kinds of everyday language and varieties the students evidences in the above extracts. Persistent focus on assessing the kind of language that the learner produces, with its language structures and conventions in most cases takes away the learners' agency and robs them of creativity and richness of the interaction that the student tries to make evident in their writings or genres.

Below I move to analyse and explore *intsomi* ka - Siyabonga.

Kudala dala kwakukho uSiya owayeyi hagu no**xhanti** awayeyimfene kunye no **ukho owayeyi lisele** abantwana **zabe zitshomi** ezidibeneyo UXhanti no siya **zabe funda kwiklasi** enye yena uUkho efunda kwenye. **(Once upon a time there was Siya who was a pig and xhanti who was a baboon and ukho who was a frog these kids were friends who were together Xhanti and Siya were in the same class and the other one ukho was in another class.)**

USiya kunye noXhanti **bebeseklasini** be bhala izibalo U **misi** owaye bafundisa **zayingu Miss X** u miss X waye yi nkomo kafuneka ba **khrayonishe** usiya wakhupha eyakhe into ye **khrayoni wakhrayonisha usiya, uxhanti** wacela usiya **ikhrayoni** em khwaza e be nge kho ye na **umisi** kunye lento eyabangela uxhanti akhwaze ukukuba uxhanti uhlala kude ku Siya, **(Siya and Xhanti were in class writing Maths the mistress who taught them was Miss X who was a cow they had to colour-in siya took out his crayons and coloured-in xhanti asked siya for crayons siya; “crayons” (shouting) and the teacher was not there that is why siya was shouting and that xhanti sitsfar from siya)**

USiya **wamuva** uxhanti qha usiya **wa zu lisa** waphinda **wam khwaza** uxhanti usiya usiya **wamuhoya** uXhanti wacela **ikhrayoni** kusiya **wam nika** uxhanti wafuna ezinye usiya wathi akafuni kwakhala intsimbi yokuphuma esikolweni baphuma abantwana baya kwi ndawo **yocula**. **(Siya heard xhanti but siya was hesitant and again he shouted at xhanti and siya payed attention to him and asked for crayons siya gave them to xhanti and he asked for more and siya said he doesn't want to give him/the bell rang for kids to go out other kids went to the place of singing)**

Baya cula oXhanti kunye nabanye abantwa kunye **No Siya** bacula bacula kwade kwabetha u 03:30 usiya no xhanti kunye no ukho baya emva kwezi **thoyilethi** bancokola uxhanti wachazela **uukho** lanto **biyenze kile eklasini** uxhanti **wa qhi** ba uthetha waza **ku siya** baxabana **(Xhanti and others are singing and siya are singing singing till around 03:30 siya and xhanti and ukho they went behind the toilets and chat/ xhanti told ukho about what had happened in class and Xhanti finished talking and came to siya and they fought)**

Nge ngomso zayi ngu 23 **Eyomdumba** 2019 uxhanti benga thethi kengo nge xesha **lodlala** elikhulu be dlala kamnandi (**the following day it was the 23<sup>rd</sup> February 2019 xhanti wasn't talking/ then during break time they played nicely**)

No ukho wadlala nathi ke ngoku ngokuya bebegqibile **udlala** uukho wababuza ukuba badibene kanjani kodwa **bebe lwilwe** izolo bobabini uxhanti nosiya bathi abayazi bayothenga into yokutya abantu bababiza babazi **mofi** *gqibana* be be ngabahoyi kuba bayayazi bazange bazikhethela ukubazi **mofi**. (**and Ukho played with us and after they were done playing Ukho asked them how did they reconcile because they had fought yesterday, xhanti and siya said they don't know they went to buy something to eat people called them gay then they ignored them because they know they didn't choose to be gay**)

**Extract 5.7: Siyabonga's FAT 5**

It is visible that Siyabonga understands the fundamental features of writing in the folktale genre. His text begins with the indexical “Kudala dala kwakukho ...” (**Long-long time ago there was ...**). Siyabonga then introduces us to the main characters in the story who take the form of different animals: Xhanti who is a baboon, Ukho who is a tortoise and uMisi (mistress) who is a cow. The story also follows the basic narrative structure first outlined by Labov and Waletzky (1967). It includes the *orientation* or setting, who does what and where: Siya, Ukho and Xhanti in Miss X's class doing Mathematics. Then the story builds on to the *complication* – what happened i.e., Siya and Xhanti fought. Their fight arises from the fact that Siya took his pencil case full of crayons then Xhanti asked for some crayons from Siya. When Xhanti asked for another pair of crayons Siyabonga refused that's when Xhanti decided to tell Lukho what had really transpired, between him and Siyabonga. Here, Siyabonga is doing an *evaluation* of the situation, giving his writing some timeline to allow for evaluation before they could resolve the situation. Lastly, they *resolve* the complication by talking, playing and going to buy something to eat together. Labov and Waletzky's (1967) proposal for basic narrative structure (orientation, complication, evaluation, resolution) are thus easily recognised here. Because of this, the story of Siyabonga is highly regarded by the teacher despite many apparent transgressions evident in the student's writing. The reason for this could be the fact that even though the student problematized the time line and used his everyday language and/or urban varieties for certain words, he was able to do so not compromising the genre or the text type and was able to charge the story with feeling and bringing his everyday knowledge as well as for “incorporating literary devices such as personification” (Rose and Martin, 2012: 44). For an example; Siyabonga personified the characters as animals by giving them human names and taking into account what the people have said, how and when. Examples: *Personification in the text are as follows:*

Kudala - dala kwakukho uSiya owayeyi hagu no**xhanti** awayeyimfene kunye no **Lukho** owayeyi lisele

U **missi** owaye bafundisa **zayingu Miss X** u miss X waye yi nkomo

For personification to work well in SWX the sentence should be written as:

*Kudala – dala kwakukho igagu egama linguSiya nemfene egama layo inguXhanti junye nesele elalinguLukho, Umisi owayebafundisa yayiyinkomo enguMiss X.*

Though the word order is not perfect, according to the SWX Siyabonga demonstrates knowledge of personification which is key element of African children's stories. Animals often stand for human characters to keep the story in a fantastic (fantasy) world that children identify with rather than realism. The grammatical errors around the word order demonstrate a student who is still learning to write, and had there been a chance for the teacher to teach the writing process which includes revision and editing. A challenge for the teacher, would be to work on these drafts to teach grammar in context.

#### **5.4 Language practices and languaging of African language speakers**

Makalela (2014) asserts that language teachers tend to treat language as separate and bounded entities. This conventional way of thinking in my opinion is very problematic, particularly in a time when teachers and government stakeholders are urged to promote and advocate for bi/multilingualism and different strategies like code-switching/code-mixing and translanguaging. The reality of many South African classrooms is that teachers use different strategies and processes to teach the content. In such contexts you find not only one language spoken by a learner but that there's always an amalgamation, blending and overlapping of languages; as well as borrowings from other languages that are incorporated into a language. Consequently, different varieties of a particular language emerge from such contexts. Extract 4.1 of Chapter four of this study also encapsulated this vividly. In many cases it is easy to identify named languages (English, Afrikaans, French etc.) but in the case like Emihle's this seems impossible (see Chapter four for analysis [extract 4.1]).

We use English when we are talking with some who do not understand **our** language. Mhlawumbi ayo\***languweji** yakhe **iEnglish** qha uyayi \***understanda** futhi uyakwazi ukuyithetha futhi nathi asiyi-**understandi ilanguage** yakhe sikwazi ukuthetha **iEnglish** so sizothetha yona **iEnglish** although ingeyo language yethu sobabini. (**Maybe it's not his/her language but he/she can understand it also she/he can speak it maybe we also don't understand his/her language we are able to speak English so we will speak it although it's not our language.**) [*extract 4.1*]

Emihle in her text has used different codes (language variety) – these have been underlined. Herein, Emihle is mixing languages and engaging in languaging activities like code – switching and code – mixing. These practices are very common in bi/multilingual contexts. She is also showing us how what might be considered separate languages in her repertoire are used as one continuous language. She does this by combining resources from what other people might consider to be separate languages and what the school curriculum treats as separate languages. She does this through moving between larger units of a particular language, clauses, sentences and chunks which are longer than sentences.

This is, of course, not unique to South Africa – it happens in all multilingual societies to a certain degree. Makalela (2014) argues that in contexts of multilingualism, people should advocate for the use of plural language practices. I thus argue that the above reasoning does not solely refer to named languages but also to variants, harmonisation, blending that occurs within a language. For an example, in a named language such as isiXhosa there could be many variants that the speakers of isiXhosa possess – and not just one variant or that of standardised form. This leaves us with the notion of iziXhosa (multiple) and not just isiXhosa (singular). The former takes into consideration the varieties, and borrowings that can be accepted into the isiXhosa language, resulting into a bi/multilingual speaker. Whereas the latter, will only view the speaker as a monolingual – speaking only the standardised version of isiXhosa, or being a deficient/incompetent user of SWX.

### 5.5 Use of SWX and orthography in students' writing

Drawing on the concepts of language standardisation and the origins of isiXhosa orthography (discussed in Chapter 2), here I move to analyse Ona's use of intsonkotho; showing how her text could be traced back from the very first orthography orchestrated by the missionaries. For the parts that are of reference, I have inserted an asterisk\* before the affected word.

Kwati ke kalokhu ...kwaye kuko **uyakalashi**, imbila, **igonyama** nezilwanyana. Le mbizo yayibizwa **gokuba gumphathi** wezilwanyana, ingonyama. Kwavaka... ukuba yayifuna \*ukuzipa imisila babefuna \***kakulu** izilwanyana. (**once upon ... there was ...the rock-rabbit, ... and other animals. This meeting was called by the king of the lions, the lion. It was known... that it wanted to give all animals tails.**)

**Uyakalashi** wayogqitha kwimbila \***wati** imbila **andizukwazi** **mana** kuba ndiyoyika **ilaga**. \***Wati** **uyakalashi** **okeyi** ndiyakuva mbila wahamba **uyakalashi** **zanikezwa** izilwanyana imisila \***wati** **uyakalashi** **makonikwi** no *kambila* **umusila** **igoyama** **wamunika umusila**. (**'jackal' passed through the rock-rabbit and said I am not able ... I am scared of the sun. Jackal said okay I hear you dassie and jackal**)

**left/tails were given to the animals and jackal said dassies' tail must be given to him; the lion gave it to him)**

**\*Zapuma izilwanya zadibana nembila zamuqayisela wntimba ukuba uyakal Ashe uyeza nowake \*wati qi uyakal Ashe enomusila omukhulu esandleni yedwa. \*Wati xa efika ecakwembila wabona esandleni ba akaphethanganto misila wakhe \*wati uzoyeka \*ukutumela umutu funeka uyozithathela into oyiphiwayo. (the animals all left and met with the dassies and showed off their tails and told him that jackal is coming with his tail/ jackal came with a big tail. When he got next to jackal he saw that he didn't have anything for him and said he will stop instructing people he will go and take the gift himself.)**

**Extract 5.8: Ona's FAT**

Ona begins her text with the indexical "Once upon a time, there was..." just like most of the students in her class. However, what is evident in her writing is that she persistently deletes the 'h' letter in her words like 'ukuzipa' instead of ukuzipha; 'kakulu'- kakhulu; 'wati'-wathi, 'zapuma' – zaphuma; 'zamuqayisela'- zamqhayisela, and 'ukutumela'-ukuthumela. Her orthography could be regarded as a problem by most teachers and we could say that it is not 'correct' or conforming to standard Xhosa. However, one could argue that given the orthography and history of African languages in South Africa – it reflects a different version of isiXhosa. This dialect that Ona is using is the one that is evident in many olden books and writings. It is therefore reproduced from the early influence of the early SWX. Moreover, this is said to be the original Xhosa used by Nontsizi Mqgqetho who was writing in the 1920's. Surprisingly enough, most renowned writers, poets and translators like S.E.K. Mqhayi, who is well-known for his work entitled *Ityala lamaWele* (The Court Case of the Twin Brothers), P.T. Mtuze, J.J.R. Jolobe, A.C. Jordan who wrote *Ingqumbo yemiNyanya* (The Wrath of the Ancestors) also make use of this deletion in their writings.

|   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. Ulo <u>Tixo</u> <u>omkulu</u> , ngosezulwini;                | He, is the Great God, Who is in heaven;                   |
| 2. Ungu Wena-wena Kaka <u>lenyaniso</u> .                       | Thou art Thou, Shield of truth.                           |
| 3. Ungu Wena-wena Nqaba <u>nyaniso</u> .                        | Thou art Thou, Stronghold of truth.                       |
| 4. Ungu Wena-wena Hlati <u>lenyaniso</u> .                      | Thou art Thou, Thicket of truth.                          |
| 5. Ungu Wena-wen' uhlel' <u>enyangwaneni</u> .                  | Thou art Thou Who dwellest in the highest.                |
| 6. Ulo dal' ubom, wadala <u>pesulu</u> .                        | He, Who created life (below), created (life) above.       |
| 7. Lo Mdal' owadala wadala <u>isulu</u> .                       | That Creator Who created, created heaven.                 |
| 8. Lo Menzi wenkwenkwezi <u>nozilimela</u> ;                    | This maker of the stars, and the Pleiades.                |
| 9. Yabinza inkwenkwezi, <u>isizelela</u> .                      | A star flashed forth, it was telling us.                  |
| 10. Lo Menzi wemfaman' usenza <u>ngabom?</u>                    | The Maker of the blind, does He not make them of purpose? |
| 11. <u>Lateta</u> <u>ixilongo</u> <u>lisibizile</u> .           | The trumpet sounded, it has called us.                    |
| 12. Ulonqin' <u>izingela</u> <u>imipefumlo</u> .                | As for his chase He hunteth, for souls.                   |
| 13. Ulohlanganis' <u>imihlamb'</u> <u>eyalanayo</u> .           | He, Who amalgamates flocks rejecting each other.          |
| 14. Ulomkokeli <u>wasikokela</u> <u>tina</u> .                  | He, the Leader, Who has led us.                           |
| 15. Ulenqub' <u>inkul'</u> <u>esiyambata</u> <u>tina</u> .      | He, Whose great mantle, we do put it on.                  |
| 16. <u>Ozanana</u> <u>Zako</u> <u>sinamanzeba</u> <u>Wena</u> . | Those hands of Thine, they are wounded.                   |
| 17. <u>Onyaso</u> <u>Zako</u> <u>sinamanzeba</u> <u>Wena</u> .  | Those feet of Thine, they are wounded.                    |
| 18. Ugazi <u>Lako</u> <u>limrolo</u> <u>yinina?</u>             | Thy blood, why is it streaming?                           |
| 19. Ugazi <u>Lako</u> <u>lipalalele</u> <u>tina</u> .           | Thy blood, it was shed for us.                            |
| 20. Lemali <u>enkulu-na</u> <u>siyibizile?</u>                  | This great price, have we called for it?                  |
| 21. Lomzi <u>Wako-na-na</u> <u>siwubizile?</u>                  | This home of Thine, have we called for it?                |

Extract 5.9: Hymn using Old orthography

The history of the Methodist church also identifies with this variety – deletion of the ‘h’ consonants in words that in later versions include it. Looking closely at extract 5.9 the ‘h’s are not presented in the song and the text. This shows that there are several varieties co-existing even within the written forms of isiXhosa language. Even though there could be differences between the orthography of the words, the pronunciation and phonology of the words would still be the same. Through these variations, Xhosa people’s last names (surnames) - of our great grand-fathers did not include the ‘h’ consonant as well. However, people who are not informed and unaware of this history and shift find it difficult to navigate between the two. For example, having my surname being ‘Matutu’, one will surely pronounce it as ‘Ma-tu-tu’ instead of ‘Ma-thu-thu’ given the history of our names. Looking at the first orthography; ‘Ma’- is taken from the plural form of ‘Ama’ – with the deletion of the vowel ‘a’ at the beginning, then we are left with ‘tutu’ which means a *thief*, with the whole surname making it ‘many thieves’. Whereas if a person reads it as ‘Ma-thu-thu’ inserting the ‘h’ which has been previously deleted or not included in the old form of writing then it would mean ‘Many ashes’. Questions arise of why

it is normative and acceptable for the bible to delete the 'h' in its text but students are prohibited from and deemed deviant for doing this in their writing when the missionaries are the very same ones who brought gospel to the African land with such orthography.

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Doh is G

|                                       |                                       |                          |                                  |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|
| { s <sub>1</sub> :- :s <sub>1</sub> } | { d :- :d }                           | { m :- .r :d }           | { r :- :- m :- :m }              |
| { s <sub>1</sub> :- :s <sub>1</sub> } | { s <sub>1</sub> :- :s <sub>1</sub> } | { s <sub>1</sub> :- :d } | { t <sub>1</sub> :- :- d :- :d } |
| { m :- :m }                           | { m :- :m }                           | { s :- .f :m }           | { s :- :- s :- :s }              |
| { d :- :d }                           | { d :- :d }                           | { d :- :d }              | { s <sub>1</sub> :- :- d :- :d } |

Five

|                          |                                       |                          |                                       |                                       |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| { s :- :d }              | { t <sub>1</sub> :- .d :r }           | { d :- :- }              | { s <sub>1</sub> :- :s <sub>1</sub> } | { d :- :d }                           |
| { d :- :s <sub>1</sub> } | { s <sub>1</sub> :- :s <sub>1</sub> } | { s <sub>1</sub> :- :- } | { s <sub>1</sub> :- :s <sub>1</sub> } | { s <sub>1</sub> :- :s <sub>1</sub> } |
| { m :- :m }              | { r :- .m :f }                        | { m :- :- }              | { m :- :m }                           | { m :- :m }                           |
| { d :- :d }              | { s <sub>1</sub> :- :s <sub>1</sub> } | { d <sub>1</sub> :- :- } | { d :- :d }                           | { d :- :d }                           |

|                          |                          |             |                          |                                       |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| { m :- .r :d }           | { r :- :- }              | { m :- :m } | { s :- :d }              | { t <sub>1</sub> :- .d :r }           |
| { s <sub>1</sub> :- :d } | { t <sub>1</sub> :- :- } | { d :- :d } | { d :- :s <sub>1</sub> } | { s <sub>1</sub> :- :s <sub>1</sub> } |
| { s :- .f :m }           | { s :- :- }              | { s :- :s } | { m :- :m }              | { r :- .m :f }                        |
| { d :- :d }              | { s <sub>1</sub> :- :- } | { d :- :d } | { d :- :d }              | { s <sub>1</sub> :- :s <sub>1</sub> } |

|                          |                                       |             |                                       |             |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------|---------------------------------------|-------------|
| { d :- :- }              | { f :- :f }                           | { m :- :m } | { r :- .m :f }                        | { m :- :- } |
| { s <sub>1</sub> :- :- } | { t <sub>1</sub> :- :t <sub>1</sub> } | { d :- :d } | { t <sub>1</sub> :- .d :r }           | { d :- :- } |
| { m :- :- }              | { r :- :r }                           | { d :- :d } | { s :- :s }                           | { s :- :- } |
| { d <sub>1</sub> :- :- } | { s <sub>1</sub> :- :s <sub>1</sub> } | { d :- :d } | { s <sub>1</sub> :- :s <sub>1</sub> } | { d :- :- } |

D.C.

|             |             |                          |                          |
|-------------|-------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| { s :- :s } | { m :- :m } | { f :- :m }              | { r :- :- }              |
| { d :- :d } | { d :- :d } | { r :- :d }              | { t <sub>1</sub> :- :- } |
| { m :- :m } | { s :- :s } | { s :- :s }              | { s :- :- }              |
| { d :- :d } | { d :- :d } | { t <sub>1</sub> :- :d } | { s <sub>1</sub> :- :- } |

- O, Moya Oyingcwele, Seku kad' ulindle, Ngesandla sirholele, Thina bahambi apha, Odniweyo, bonga Ngelizwi elilodwa Elithi, "Mhambi yiza, Ndakukusa ekhaya."
- Wena Mhlobo wenene Ukufunh' ukunceda Ungasishiyi apha, Styoyika kakhulu; Xa izutu ligquma, Sokwayama ngakuWe, Sebeza, "Mhambi yiza, Ndakukusa ekhaya."
- Nkosi yethu enkulu, Salathele phezulu, Ukumandaza kwethu; Azi amagam ethu Akho-na ezulwini? Izwi liya phendula, "Mhambi, yiza, yiza bo, Ndakukusa ekhaya."

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Extract 5.10: Sabbath Hymn

Extract 5.10 displays both the old and current orthography. The title 'Mkokeli Otembekileyo' does not include the 'h' consonant. But the verses do include it. This then shows how students could also inscribe different orthography and varieties in one text.

Moving further on with Ona's writing it could be assumed that Ona's writing and language/variety might be influenced by isiZulu; since isiXhosa and isiZulu are both in the Nguni group (and both included in her body portrait). This is evident in her text with words like 'wamunika', 'umusila'. However, this shows us one way – amongst others; why it is problematic and challenging to standardise African languages. Despite that, in her language body portrait, she makes reference to isiZulu using colour blue occupying a large part of her

body. It is therefore no doubt isiZulu is an important part of her linguistic repertoire and thus her writing could be described as an amalgamation of isiZulu, SWX and another isiXhosa variety. IsiXhosa and isiZulu varieties dominate her writing. Mtsatse et al, (2018: 23) assert that “because of migration African languages and their dialects are no longer limited to specific geographical regions, cultures, or tribes”. That is, the reality of most South African classrooms are filled by students with multiple ‘*home languages*’ thus making the classrooms multilingual and/or polylingual as opposed to ascribing students as two-monolinguals. Further, Prinsloo (2011, as quoted in Mtsatse et al, 2018:23), states that

languages spoken at home could be based on the standardised form of a language, or could use dialects, and/or mixtures of dialects and/or additional languages. Through social change, African languages have evolved, developed and become different orthographies within one language, leading to different dialects.

### **5.6 Orthographic/Phonological errors: language analysis through linguistic lenses**

Every language has its own conventions of writing, teaching and learning process takes into considerate varied techniques in learning the conventions. In the teaching and learning process of the conventions there is an assumption that “learners know how to speak the language that they must write” (Franklin, 2014). In this very same case, because the students are already doing their 6<sup>th</sup> grade of schooling – it is unfortunately assumed and expected that they should be able to write fluently and correctly in their HL. This assumption presupposes that the isiXhosa HL students have mastered the basic phonological conventions of isiXhosa by the time they reach their sixth grade. However, this is not the case. It is no doubt why isiXhosa HL students produce unconventional spellings in their compositions. In this study, I am going to make evident the ‘dialectal or non – standard’ unconventional spellings the students produce in their writings. Though this study looks at language varieties of students depending on the context in which they are used. This section, nevertheless highlights student’s unconventional spellings evident in their FAT writing through linguistic lenses, together with student’s challenges in relation to phonological features. Students were tasked to *Ukuvakalisa iingcinga zabo ngetekisi*, [offer their opinions about the text] and compose their own narrative through texts that have been previously read in class. Their FAT writing indexed unconventional spellings. Some of these can be evident in the extracts below and other unconventional spellings have been tabled below as well. The student’s unconventional spellings have been

categorised as ones of *addition*, *omission* and *reversals* in relation to phonological features, at either sentence or discourse level. This is shown after the students' extract below

inyoka ne kati *yahamba* phantsi komthi *izicakamele* umthunzi ... yathi ikati hayi ndinabo *adangani* ndiyakucela ungandilumi ... intliziyo yam ithi mandihlale nawe *bathi* inyoka yingozi andifani nayo funa ukuhlala apha *emhladeni* phofu kulendawo ... ikati uyavuma ukuhlala nathi yaphendula ndinga yathi udyakalashe *denbishilo* yilonto ndingafuni ukuhlala nenyoka ... ndiyahamba *sukundidiza*

Extract 5.11: *Awonke's FAT umsetyenzana wesi – 4*

Udyakalashe wabaleka esatsho ukubaleka ukubaleka ukuya kwimbila bezakuhamba *bayogqhithisa* ngo-msila yabo. Wathi udyakalashe esakubona imbila isitya *amayhinyayhinya* ngaloo mini kwaku shushu *ngayho* wabona imbila *ichakamele* umthunzi ngasemthini. Emveni koko wabuza udyakalashe mbila uhamba nini *ukuyokugqhithisa* ngomsila. (**jackal ran going to the dassies to go pass their tails. Jackal saw the dassies eating ... that day it was hot he saw the dassies under the tree. After jackal asked the dassies when is he going to pass the tail**)

Extract 5.12: *Iminathi's FAT*

**Table 5b unconventional spellings through the feature of *addition***

| Unconventional spelling | Conventional spelling | Translation                 |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| Xhesha                  | <b>Xesha</b>          | <i>Time</i>                 |
| Wamuhoya                | <b>Wamhoya</b>        | <i>To pay attention</i>     |
| Wamuva                  | <b>Wamva</b>          | <i>He/she heard him/her</i> |
| Whathi                  | <b>Wathi</b>          | <i>He/she said</i>          |
| Ngayho                  | <b>Ngayo</b>          | <i>With it</i>              |
| Bayogqhithisa           | <b>Bayogqithisa</b>   | <i>To pass</i>              |
| Qhoqhoza                | <b>Nkqonkqoza</b>     | <i>Knock</i>                |
| Amayhinyayhinya         | <b>Amahinyahinya</b>  | <i>Nice food/snacks</i>     |

**Table 5c unconventional spellings through the feature of *omission***

| Unconventional spelling | Conventional spelling    | Translation                  |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| Nxaki                   | <b>Ngxaki</b>            | <i>Problem</i>               |
| Zicakamele              | <b>Zigcakamele</b>       | <i>Basking</i>               |
| Zapuma                  | <b>Zaphuma</b>           | <i>They came out</i>         |
| Lo mtana/la mtana       | <b>Lo mtana/la mtana</b> | <i>This child/that child</i> |

**Table 5d unconventional spellings through the feature of *reversals***

| Unconventional spelling | Conventional spelling | Translation           |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Adangani                | <b>Abangani</b>       | <i>Friends</i>        |
| Emhladeni               | <b>Emhlabeni</b>      | <i>On the ground</i>  |
| Denbishilo              | <b>Benditshilo</b>    | <i>I have said it</i> |

|             |                    |                      |
|-------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| Sukundidiza | <b>Sukundibiza</b> | <i>Don't call me</i> |
|-------------|--------------------|----------------------|

Awonke's extract indexes unconventional spellings through phonological features of omission and reversals, whereas Iminathi's writing indexes unconventional spellings through features of addition.

### Addition

In reference to addition, I take the word '*bayogqhithisa*', as written by Iminathi. Here, Iminathi has added a phoneme that might not belong to the initial morphology which is the '*h*' letter. It is no surprise that Iminathi has made this kind of mistake. The word is constructed to have five syllables 'Ba-yo-**gqi**-thi-sa'. However, difficulties arise from the third syllable due to a number of factors, one of which could be mispronunciation or hearing problem. The syllable '**gqi**' is built up of three phonemes, namely; **g**-which is formed of the voiceless/voiced pair and the velar nasal; **q**- which is a palatal click and **i** – which is a high – front vowel. Despite this, difficulties arise when the syllable or word is pronounced. If the syllable or word is not articulated clearly, or diction is not clear one might come up with the variety Iminathi has used in his text; the '**gqi**' adding the '**h**' which is a glottal. Given this complexity of the syllable '**gqi**' and the addition of '**h**' in it; Iminathi, I argue has made a mistake rather than an orthographic or phonological error; because looking at other examples from his writing he seemingly knows how to write the words in their correct form.

*Wathi **gqi** udyakal Ashe esithi umsila ndiwuthathile ke ndawenza owam ndaqonda ukuba mandiwufake kum. Ke wena uyawuthi xa kuphindwe kwag**qithis**wa ngemisila.*

### Omission

Moreover, certain phonemes are omitted in the student's written text for a number of reasons. For an example, the word '*ngxaki*' is written as '*nxaki*' by the student: deleting the '*g*' sound (phoneme). The issue with this word is that in isiXhosa it includes the sound of a lateral *click* '*x*'. A mistake could have risen from the initial pronunciation of the word. For an example; the '*ng*' which is a nasal sound at the beginning of the word '*ngxaki*' is silent (unvoiced) or rather omitted in the utterance but not entirely in writing hence the student wrote it as '*nxaki*' – omitting the nasal sound and jumping right to the lateral click sound. In classrooms that approximately have +/- 40 students; it might be impossible for students to hear all the fundamental conventions displayed in such a word. Challenges of class number, volume

(projection/articulation from the teacher) are paramount to the teaching and learning of phonics and orthography.

Furthermore, it can be deduced that Awonke and Iminathi's challenge here is to hear the correct sounds of the language. Both students lack phonemic awareness – the ability to hear and discriminate phonemes. It could be assumed that the students grew up speaking another language before they could consolidate isiXhosa. The teachers might have not taught the sounds explicitly to the students or even that the students have a hearing problem. Despite this, children need to engage with literacy as a social practice and with literacy as skills. Not all children acquire words in their language, some learn more from explicit teaching. That being so, the role of songs, games, and language play in developing these skills is paramount but because of more direct focus on teaching language more explicitly, children are presented with limited opportunities to develop these skills.

### **5.7 English borrowings**

Guzula et al, (2016) postulate that “monolingual ideologies have negative consequences for the positioning of South African learners as well as for their participation in the curriculum”. In the South African context, where we have nine indigenous languages, in addition to English and Afrikaans – the reality is that they all coexist. Within this coexistence, they certainly borrow from one another – and most of the African languages have borrowed from English and Afrikaans. Mafela (2010:692) uses Fromkin and Rodman's (1998:459) definition of borrowing, stating that borrowing occurs “when one language adds to its own lexicon a word or morpheme from another language, often altering its pronunciation to fit the [phonological] of the borrowing language”. However, most classrooms – particularly language classrooms, strive to work towards the standard version of the borrowing language (that's if it has the word) and continue to perceive this concept of *borrowing* as being illegitimate for that particular case. In the next section I move to show examples of how the students incorporated *English borrowings* in their writings to make them socially relevant and of course, using the resources available to them. Some of the examples are:

|  |
|--|
| Klasini ( <i>Class</i> ), Misi ( <i>Mistress</i> ), Khrayoni ( <i>crayon</i> ), thoyilethi ( <i>toilet</i> ), Mem ( <i>Ma'am</i> ) |
|--|

Siyabonga's FAT incorporates a lot of borrowed words. Some examples are taken from his FAT [extract 5.7]

UXhanti no siya **zabe funda kwiklasi** enye yena uUkho efunda kwenye...

USiya kunye noXhanti **bebeseklasini** be bhala izibalo U **misi** owaye bafundisa **zayingu Miss X** u miss X waye yi nkomo kafuneka ba **khrayonishe** usiya wakhupha eyakhe into ye **khrayoni wakhrayonisha**

What is evident in Siyabonga's written text is that language is not static but rather that it develops overtime. During this development some words might be lost while other new words are introduced – the new words then become the norm within a particular community; providing them a code to negotiate meaning. Mafela (2010) avers that borrowing in such a context like Siyabonga's could necessarily mean to adopt a word from another language and use it as one's own. Many learners, who are speakers of the African languages are no different to Siyabonga. Students are accustomed to addressing their female teachers as *Misi* (mistress/female teacher), just the same way as in Siyabonga's text above– from the first grade of school. Normally, if the female teacher is married, the learners would call her '*Mem*' which simply means *Ma'am or Madam* in the English language, but nowadays learners tend to generalise for all female teachers and settle for *Misi*, as in the example above.

It is clear that the phrase *bebeseKlasini* – which means 'they were in class' and *uMisi* meaning 'Miss' are of the same language; isiXhosa, even though they originate from or are borrowed from English. The way the morpheme has been used by Siyabonga makes it impossible for such words to belong to English and hence I regard them as isiXhosa (or amalgamation of isiXhosa and English =Xhenglish [mixture of Xhosa and English]) (see also Paxton and Tyam, 2010). *UMisi* (Mistress) is itself borrowing from the English word, 'Mistress' and has now been assimilated into isiXhosa language. According to Paxton and Tyam (2010: 254) this displays how "code – switching can facilitate the establishment of meaning by providing a linguistic and cultural bridge to understanding".

I argue that it is acceptable for Siyabonga to use such a word as *u-Misi* or *eklasini* in his text because it is isiXhosa and not English, even though some may argue that it is not. Given the vast scope of learners addressing their teachers as such, in the South African context mostly. Most of the written language used by the students is informed by their social practices, oral communication skills, everyday knowledge and the way in which they are accustomed to using language, hence the varieties of *uMisi* and *eklasini*, to make an example.

Another student, Anovuyo, in her paragraph writing on her body portrait made use of language borrowing. Her paragraph displays everyday and urban varieties that she possesses. In describing the colours in her body portrait – she uses the word '*orayinji*' [orange]. Anovuyo

has borrowed the word from the English language, however, it can be noted that she borrowed the ‘phonological’ feature of the word whereas the ‘morphology’ does not belong to the English language but to the variety of isiXhosa. This is unsurprising, because most children and people in general do not necessarily refer to colours and even numbers using their originality in terms of language. It is also common in many SWX text to encounter the word *orenji* for colour orange or for the orange fruit.

Besides the above borrowed words used by Siyabonga and Anovuyo, there are other borrowings that African language speakers (not only isiXhosa speakers) use and are familiar with that comes from other languages like Afrikaans and English. For example;

- |       |                    |                             |
|-------|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| i.    | Petrol (English)   | <i>ipetroli</i> (isiXhosa)  |
| ii.   | Botter (Afrikaans) | <i>ibhotolo</i> (isiXhosa)  |
| iii.  | Bank (English)     | <i>ibhanki</i> (isiXhosa)   |
| iv.   | Paper (English)    | <i>iphepha</i> (isiXhosa)   |
| v.    | Papier (Afrikaans) | <i>pampiri</i> (Sesotho)    |
| vi.   | Tafel (Afrikaans)  | <i>tafole</i> (Sesotho)     |
| vii.  | Wine (English)     | <i>waini</i> (Tshivenda)    |
| viii. | Brood (Afrikaans)  | <i>vhurotho</i> (Tshivenda) |

According to these examples, including Siyabonga, and Anovuyo’s text; isiXhosa, Sesotho and Tshivenda amongst other languages; it is evident that extensive words can be traced to another language. Simply, developing countries and languages like the case of the above languages (isiXhosa, Sesotho, Tshivenda); have borrowed from developed languages. This however, does not mean that African languages are not developed on their own and cannot function in their corpus and be functional but that, in this respect they are borrowers, mainly; from English and Afrikaans. Despite this, it is of interest to note that English is the most hybrid modern language since it borrows words from many other languages too. Contrary to African languages, English has borrowed and incorporated many foreign words from cultures that are not necessarily more prestigious to its language. As a result, the borrowing has been accepted, made common and been appropriated by the language speakers.

While this is the case, African languages also borrow from each other and not solely borrowing from English and Afrikaans.

Example of this is found in the word ‘*person*’:

- a) Tshivenda – *muthu*

- b) Sotho languages – *motho*
- c) Xitsonga – *munhu*
- d) IsiXhosa – *umntu*
- e) IsiZulu – *umuntu*

This concept of borrowing, which is also evident in Siyabonga’s text; which avers us to think about meaning – making process “challenges the dominant monolingual orientation to children’s languaging in many classrooms.” (Guzula, et, al. 2016: 211).

## **5.8 Conclusion**

This chapter has discussed the written varieties and discourses the students use in completing their FATs. The written varieties that I have discussed are everyday language use and urban varieties, as well as the SWX. Data reveals that there is a mismatch between the language varieties students use and the SWX taught in school. In this chapter I have also discussed that the orthography the students display can be seen in the old orthography of the missionaries writing. Moreover, despite writing in the SWX – students do perform a bilingual borrowing in their writing making language more fluid, hybrid and as social practice.

## CHAPTER SIX

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### CONCLUSION

#### **6.1 Introduction**

This chapter seeks to give a synthesis of the key findings of this study and recommendations for language and literacy (with specific reference to writing) teachers, as well as other role – players. Although this is a small study, the issues addressed in this paper will be apposite to many contexts other than SA where students are bi/multilingual but practice is monoglossic.

#### **6.2 Discussion of findings**

The aims of this study were to investigate the language varieties Grade 6 isiXhosa HL students (in Gugulethu, Cape Town) employ in their assessed writing and informal writing. The purpose was to provide a sociolinguistic account of students' language varieties in relation to the context in which they are used, and demonstrate how the student's varieties reflect multilingualism. Further, the study aimed at demonstrating how the idea of linguistic repertoire, rather than solely focusing on single named languages can be used to understand urban multilingualism in a school context like Gugulethu; and the way in which identity is entangled with multilingual repertoires.

The data reveals that there is a complex relationship between discourse/language, literacy and identity. It shows that the notions of language and literacy as hermetically sealed, perpetuates monoglossic ideologies, and that of the apartheid language policy. As a result, students are constantly constructed as lacking agency over their own writings, as well as showing no authority over their languages. In this study, I have tried to show: 1) that the use of more than one named language in the students' writing (assessed and informal) is a reality of many multilingual students and should be treated as a norm. 2) I have also shown that even within the one named language, students do not always subscribe and fit to the standard language. 3) that some of the errors that students make are regarded as correct language in earlier texts that used old orthographies of isiXhosa including hymn books. 4) that students borrow words from other languages in a similar way that some Afrikaans and English words were borrowed and appropriated by lexicographers, which now form part of the SWX. 5) and I have shown that some of the errors that students make are phonological and have something to do with limited opportunities that the students in the foundation phase are given to develop their phonemic

awareness (e.g. singing, tongue twisters and rhymes). Below I discuss each of these findings separately.

### 6.2.1 *Use of more than one named language*

It could be argued that the students' written texts are bi-multilingual and/or translingual. However, it is unlikely that they will be recognised and acknowledged as legitimate in a monolingual system of education and these students might continue to be penalised by teachers. Students displayed their flexibility of using different named languages – registers, codes and varieties. In their informal writing, students made use of more than one named language, drawing on resources of isiXhosa, isiZulu and English, for example. Their use of more than one named language has displayed how languages can be viewed as mobile resources rather than static and fixed bounded entities. Through use of different languages, students disrupted the monoglossic approach to language evident in schools. Children's use of more than one named language is evidence of the complexity of the linguistic repertoires of bi/multilingual speakers. Moreover, it displays how bi/multilingual children draw on more than one language to aid comprehension, for meaning – making purposes. Students evidenced their use of isiXhosa variety with an influence of other languages. This demonstrated how languages are interconnected and thus, should be treated as such as Makalela argues with the *term ubuntu translanguaging* (Makalela, 2019). As students draw on their array of language varieties, they display their efficacy in negotiation strategies and shuttling between different discourses, domains of language use, as well as scales in order to develop rich metacognitive resources. The student's negotiation strategies reflect the position of theorists such as Canagarajah (2011, 2017, 2018), Coady et, al. (2018), Creese and Blackledge (2015), Guzula et, al. (2016), Makalela (2014, 2015, 2019) and Paxton and Tyam (2010). The data reveals that students continuously challenge the fixed, unitary and bounded concept of language through use of heteroglossic and translingual practices.

### 6.2.2 *Resistance to SWX*

The data displayed the disconnection between the SWX taught in school and the student's language use. While some students' data reveals orthography that might originate from the SWX, invented by the missionaries, other students' data, however, shows their resistance to the SWX. Students' writing displays how they do not always subscribe and fit to the standard language taught in school. Students' produced fluid and hybrid texts that draw on the old orthography, bilingual borrowings, urban and everyday language. Examples of these are found

when they produced words such *la mtana/ lo mtana* and *ngoba* to name a few – which can be classified as everyday language and urban variety. As literature reviewed showed (Dyson and Smitherman, 2009) that while students want to sound right – their notions of sounding right, as well as their writings are not informed nor guided by the conventions of a language but the way in which voices should sound in different domains of language use. Students’ language use is informed by their experiences of the kinds of books they read, the television they watch, music they listen to – which in most cases infuses urban and everyday language. Furthermore, the data has revealed even those students who seem to have invested in the SWX at times they resisted this – finding themselves straddling multiple discourses, including their everyday language and urban varieties.

### *6.2.3 Use of old orthography in assessed and informal writing*

In this study I have also shown that there are several varieties co – existing even within the written forms of isiXhosa language. However, the schooling context continues to view students’ linguistic variation as illegitimate. For an example. Ona’s FAT displayed use of the old orthography which is evident and widely used in churches; also evident in hymn books. Ona made use of words like, ukuzipa, kakulu, wati – which are reproduced from the early influence of the early orthography and invented by the missionaries. The students’ FAT has been contrasted with the hymns for example. This reveals that it is a norm for the hymns to not insert the phoneme ‘h’ in certain verses of the text and include them in other parts of the same hymn, but when it is students doing these variations in their texts they are regarded as errors that needs to be fixed, as well as being described in deficient terms.

### *6.2.4 Bilingual borrowing in isiXhosa writing*

The data reveals that meaning – making for the students becomes effective if they make use of bilingual borrowing. The data shows that students have borrowed words from other languages i.e, English and isiZulu; and have incorporated these in their linguistic repertoire. Despite this hybridity of language used by the students in their FATs and in informal paragraphs, isiXhosa is still their matrix language: “the appearance of elements from another language in the flow of speech (*and writing*) of one language” (my italics) (Blommaert, 1992: 57). Moreover, I have shown that students through borrowing display what Makalela avers as Ubuntu translanguaging. Herein, languages do not work or function in isolation but rather languages are interconnected and thus function because of the other. Students in the data have displayed borrowing through translanguaging. This is evident in words like *understanda*, *understandi*,

*Khrayoni, ekllassini, Misi.* Despite this evidence, most classrooms strive to work towards the standard version of the borrowing language (if it has the word) and perceive the concept of borrowing as being illegitimate. I would like to aver that the students' borrowing or use of translanguaging demonstrates students' metalanguage and how languages function as a system. Thus, as much as they borrow, their morphemes are informed by their variety of isiXhosa.

#### *6.2.5 Students' errors as phonological errors*

It is often assumed that by the time students get into the intermediate phase – this case, Grade 6, they have mastery of the HL, as well as thorough understanding of their language. However, this study shows that this is not the case. Students in this study revealed errors or unconventional spellings that are as a result of phonology. The data has demonstrated students' phonological errors as means of addition and omission. The word 'bayogqithisa' for example has been used, where the student has added an 'h' phoneme: 'bayogqhithisa'. Whereas, for omission, the word 'ingxaki' has been noted, and written as 'nxaki; by one student. In this paper, I argue that these phonological errors arise if there is no overt teaching or instruction of phonology/phonetic. Moreover, teachers' understanding of students' history is paramount – in order to know who has hearing problem, or who might not have had experience of overt phonological teaching in isiXhosa or even have learned isiXhosa prior. These phonological errors could arise if there are limited opportunities offered by the teachers, for tongue twisters games, singing and doing rhymes. It is not secret that children learn best through play.

#### *6.2.6 Implications of language standardisation for writing and identity*

The concept of language standardisation has implications for education and language classrooms. Moreover, it perpetuates colonial tendencies of separating people according to ethnic groups and contributes to inequality. Standard language ideologies propel students to present, construct themselves in a manner that is not true to their identity. It is no secret that the data [body portraits especially] proves the relationship between language and identity – and that, the varieties the students use cannot be separated from the identities they choose to perform in their interactions with one another. Moreover, the centrifugal force (Bakhtin, 1981) is more powerful in shaping children's written language use, even though the centripetal force (Bakhtin, 1981) is always more powerful in formal schooling systems.

## **6.3 Recommendations**

Having considered the mismatch between student's varieties and the SWX taught in school – and the way in which students conceptualise and display language, the following is recommended:

### **6.3.1 Conceptualisation of language and literacy**

Language should be viewed as a social practice. Herein, student's primary discourses, everyday language, as well as their varieties are seen as identity kits and embedded in their identities. Language as social practice understands that students through their languages display who they are and what they are doing. It identifies them as members of different social contexts. Therefore, the way in which students use language across contexts cannot be homogenised and generalised. The view of literacy as being universal or of the same kind across contexts is colonial. A shift from literacy to literacies needs to be emphasised, to take into consideration the multiplicity of literacies the students are exposed to, as well as their varied experiences from differing contexts. Reading is connected to writing (and vice versa). The only way students can read something – is through reading the 'word'. Thus, students need to be able to understand the written language, and how it is similar or different to oral language. Connections here should be based on building phonemic awareness in the context of writing – e.g. students should know that (at most times) words are not written the same way as when pronounced.

### **6.3.2 Teaching practice**

Pre – service and in – service teachers should be given opportunities to engage in workshops that equip them with skills for teaching in multilingual contexts. Herein, awareness of language varieties is introduced and emphasised, as well as how they can be used in their writing. This way, students would feel comfortable drawing on their linguistic resources without being described in deficit terms or being failed. Practical and explicit examples of student intervention should be provided for teachers working in these contexts as well as advice on how they can work together as language teachers and content teachers in assisting their students to learn the SWX variety. Pre – service and in – service training, as well as curriculum should address the role songs, games and language play have in developing student's language abilities, as well as their metacognitive skills. Thus, a multimodal approach to teaching language and literacy is needed.

Explicit teaching or revising of literacy skills including spelling rules, coinage of words, origin of words, phonetics every time students exit a phase should be introduced (e.g. Grade 3, Grade 6, Grade 9), building on what the Grade R/1 teachers have started. This is paramount because these grades contribute to the results of the national standardised test. Through this, teachers in all phases will take responsibility and not leave such skills to foundation phase teachers. This will grow children as strong writers who are critically aware of the language they use, how and when and for what use.

Considerable time, attention and focus should be given by language and writing teachers to the writing process of the students. Students after writing their first drafts, should be given time to read their drafts or even exchange writings with other students in class to read them – circle, underline and provide the ‘correct conventions’ with the guidance of the teacher if they are able. This will allow students to be cognisant while critically engaging with their writing and promoting critical language awareness.

Moreover, in the case of the Western Cape; the WCED should employ language experts and curriculum advisers - especially for primary schools - who specialise in isiXhosa, and who understand the experiences of multilinguals rather than using the same curriculum adviser of English FAL to advise schools that use isiXhosa as HL, and English and isiXhosa as their LoLT. In this way, teachers will be advised appropriately and implement such advice in their classrooms.

### **6.3.3 Learning and Teaching Support Material (LTSM)**

Adequate and effective management of LTSM such as core – readers, textbooks, reading books computer – tablets contribute to the learning opportunities of the students. This is the case in contexts like the one I research, where there is a mismatch between the language for teaching and learning and the one used by the students.

Students in the study reported that they do not have enough time writing in their HL, and that they do not write a lot in isiXhosa. They have reported that isiXhosa is used mostly for talking, texting and that they are invested in writing more in the English language – even though they do not show any problems in writing in an isiXhosa variety.

In addressing this issue, texts should be made available so that students are encouraged to read more in their HL. The school libraries should be assisted in investing more in isiXhosa books – to promote reading for enjoyment. It is only then students can also be exposed to isiXhosa

varieties and how they are used, and when they are used. Also, providing them access to these books and other print-rich material in the HL will expose them to different genres of writing and not be limited to the scope of genres in the curriculum. Having the isiXhosa textbook and other books loaded on the student's computer – tablet will show how isiXhosa is a resource and has affordances of navigating the digital platform for learning and teaching purposes. As far as assessment is concerned, schools that use English and isiXhosa as their LoLT should be assisted by means of translation – from the content language to isiXhosa variety of the students. By so doing, we can see change in the way isiXhosa and other African languages are perceived.

#### **6.4 Limitations of the study**

The limitations of this study can be attributed to the methods of data collection used in the study. This study only used students' written FATs, their language body portraits and informal body paragraphs explaining their body portraits. However, the researcher realised during the analysis stage that he could have included group interviews for more data – to avoid any ambiguities in interpreting language use in the students' FATs as well as their informal paragraph. By so doing, the researcher could have gathered more data on the students' language attitudes as well as the different domains in which they use language – especially their varieties. Literature reviewed in this study mostly pertains to studies that make reference to speech communities, in other words – the study has reviewed (though not entirely) strategies that are used orally by language speakers; since there is limited research on written varieties in isiXhosa. Moreover, because there is little (if any) research on students' varieties, particularly in isiXhosa; the researcher has reviewed studies researched elsewhere and in most cases those of African students learning English as an additional language. This then shows the need for further research on isiXhosa writing and its varieties.

Furthermore, this study focused on one school. However, it is understood that it could be expanded to many more schools even in the Eastern Cape – where isiXhosa is prevalent, in order to draw conclusions from all other isiXhosa contexts and not in Cape Town only. Future research is needed to investigate the varieties of the students living in the Eastern Cape and their experiences of schooling in isiXhosa variety.

#### **6.5 Conclusion**

This study was performed at Gugulethu township, Cape Town. The study provided a sociolinguistic investigation of Grade 6 isiXhosa HL students' writings. It investigated the written language varieties students employ in their formally assessed and informal writings.

The study further investigated how the students represented such varieties through use of a body portrait. This study argues that while official school and curriculum practice is monoglossic, children's written texts are heteroglossic.

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# APPENDICES

Wt uBa English when we are talking with someone who do not under-  
 stand our language. Mhlawumbi ayolanguweji yakhe iEnglish qha  
 uyay i UNDERSTANDS. tuthi <sup>Zulu influence</sup> uyakwazi ukuyithetha tuthi nathi  
 asiyi - UNDERSTANDS iLanguge yakhe si kwazi ukuyithetha iEnglish  
 so gizothetha yona iEnglish although ingayo language  
 yethu sobabini. I-Afrikaans yi language endiyivayo ithethwa  
 endaweni endinababa kuyo kakhulu. I-SiZulu yi language  
 endiyivayo kodwa endingenokwazi ukuyithetha. Lento ndi  
 take umbala obomvu kwigixhosa kyba isixhosa ndigithanda  
 ngentliziyo yam yonke kwaye ndiyiva apha kum egazini.

IsiXhosa is a language that I use but not everyday, actually I talk  
isiNene almost everyday. If you want to talk isiNene you must add  
sna, sne, sni, sno, sna. If you want to say molo mfethu unjani ngoku?  
You say molo mfethu unjani ngosoku. The languages that I talk  
are English, Xhosa, Zulu, and the languages that I understand but  
cannot respond with them are Suthu. Talking many languages is good  
because if you are lost then there is someone that is talking good  
IsiSuthu and you can hear him or her.

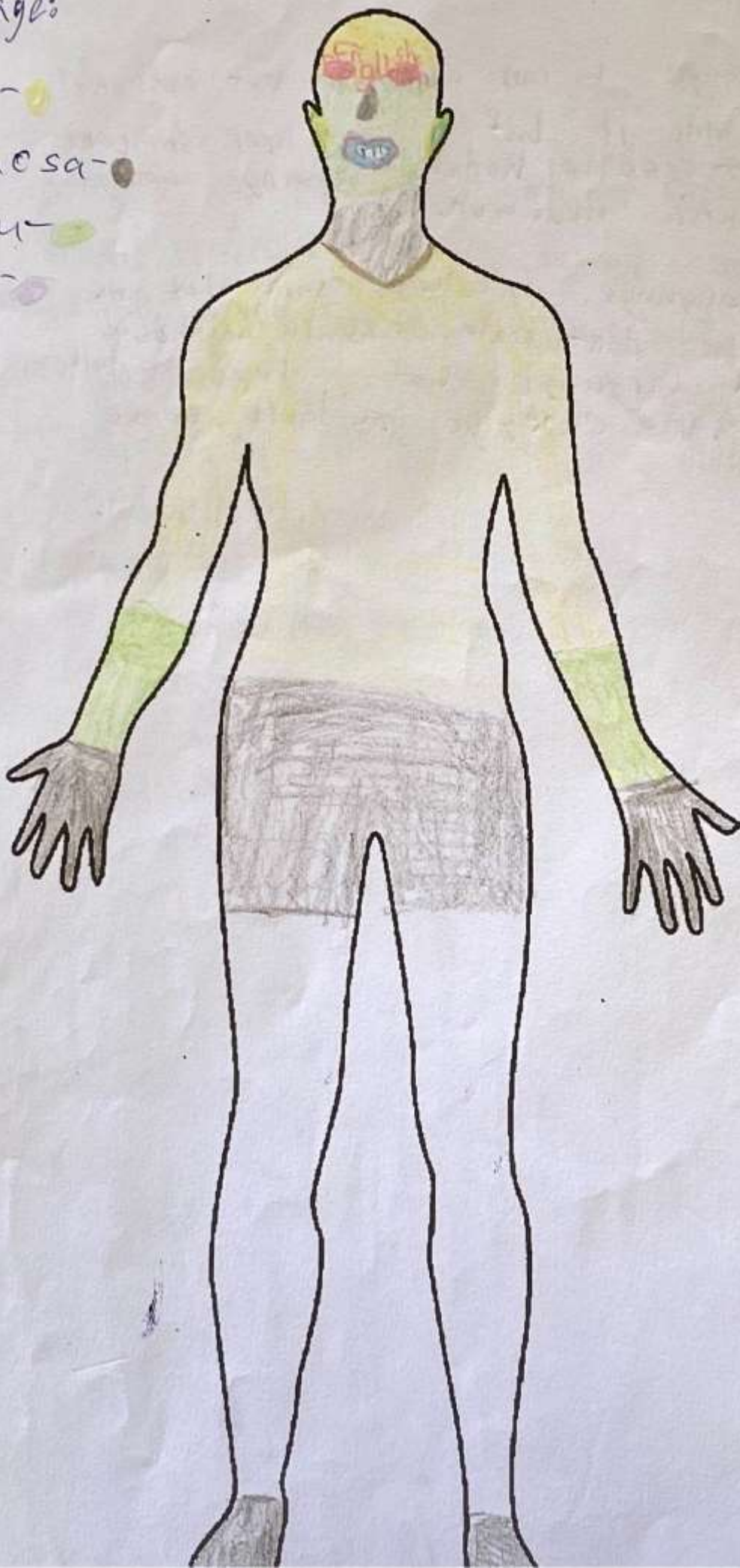
Languages:

English - ●

IsiXhosa - ●

Isizulu - ●

sesotho - ●



The Sesotho language I can understand but andikwazi  
ukusithetha and write it but I can't hear someone  
when he talk isi sesotho kodwa amanye umagama  
Sesisuthu andikwazi nkuwava.

English ngeyona language esikolweni sam that we  
write but isixhosa we don't bhala kakuhlu isixhosa.  
IsiZulu sigezona language, that I love to talk  
it when ndibhala into engeyayo yesikolo some  
times.

Uyilo lokugqibela

Isihloko?

Kwathi ke kabeka ngantsoni, kwakukho inyoka eyayici-  
nezelwe <sup>lithe?</sup> Sisitena <sup>elikhulu.</sup> esikhulakondamu eyayicinezela inyoka  
kwakuse ntlango.

16  
20

Ngenye ininzi igusha yabona inyoka icimezelwe Sisitena  
esikhulu. Inyoka yacela igusha ukuba asuse isitena esikh-  
ulu phezu kwakhe. Igusha yathi andisoze ndikuncede  
kuba ndiyalawazi wena ndalanceda uzakundiluma. Inyoka  
baphendula yathi <sup>ukuba ndikhe</sup> awugusha ndingakuluma njani unqumhlobo  
kwan wenene. Igusha yanceda <sup>ukuba isuse</sup> inyoka ukususisa isitena  
esikhulu phezu kwakhe. Inyoka <sup>igama elinye</sup> yaze lula yaze yathi  
undancedile, ngoku kufuneka ndikulume kuba andinoshiya  
sidlo isidlo esimnandi kangaka. Igusha yathi uthini hayi.  
njani waditye kodwa ndikuncedile kufuneka sihambe siye  
kuthetha ngalento kudyakalashu.

baze emveni kokho  
Bafika kudyakalashu igusha yacela uncedo. Udyakalashu  
wathi thethani yonke lento iyenzekileyo. Igusha yatsetha yonke  
lento ibiyenzekile. Udyakalashu wathi masambeni siye kulon-  
dama ibicinezela inyoka. Bafika kungelondala waze Udyakalashu  
lashe wathi inyoka mayilale ngelohlobo ibilelingale. <sup>inyoka</sup> Wala <sup>49</sup>  
kugusha wabeka isitena phezu kwenyoka emqolo. Udyak-  
alashu wathi hayi ve gusha kufuneka sigodye, ngoku  
inyoka sigithiye apho incwina kwaye ikhala. Inyoka  
yalala ikhala kwaye incwina kuba kukha isitena phe-  
zu kwakhe.

Phela Phela ngantsoni  
Yintoni ke Onke esiyifundayo Kulentsomi?

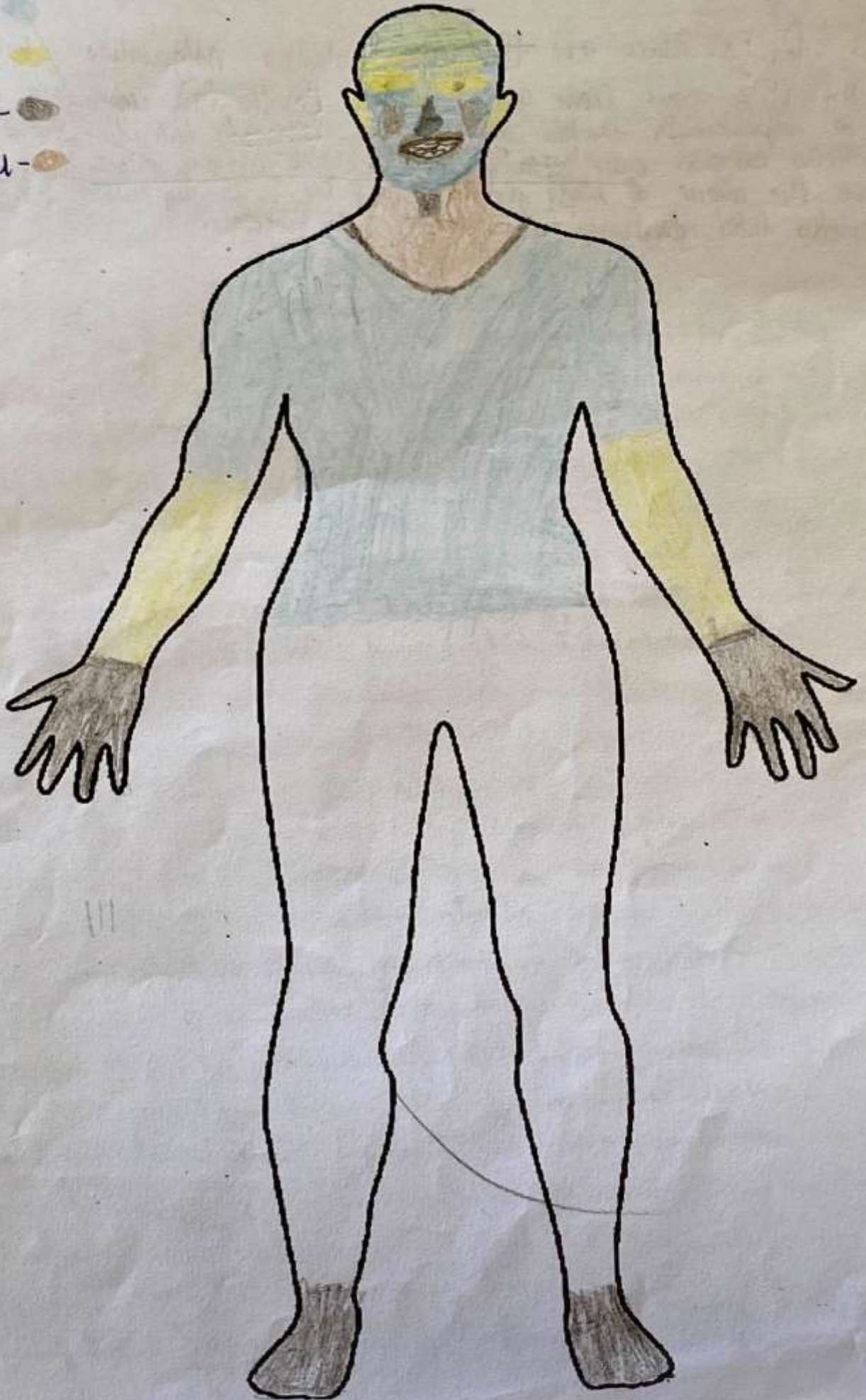
# Key

Sesotho-

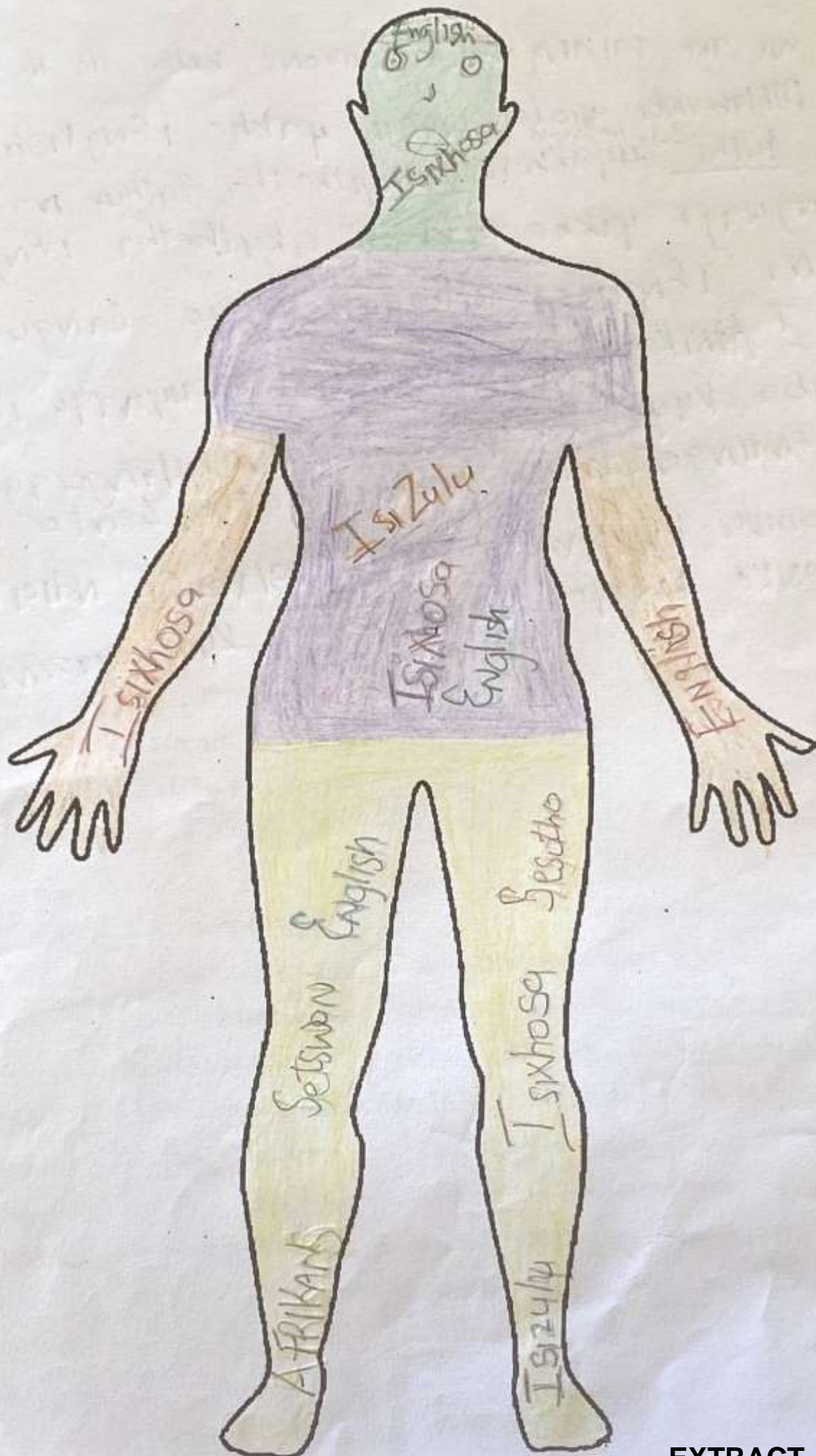
English-

Isixhosa-

Isizulu-



The blue colour is for Sesotho and the reason yoleuba ~~ndigawelise~~ / kangalea is because I was raised by it. I come from aqapho twase Lesotho. And ~~imbangela~~ yokuba amehle nam abe yellow yeyokuba xa ndiphakamisa amehle am-ndibona isingesi bakhulu futhi kecolour e yellow ngeyokuba abantu abathetha isingesi bane skin esi <sup>racism</sup> necolour eluhl' njengo yellow. The black colour represents isikhosa, and because the colour of those people is black. And I usually write isikhosa. The brown colour is for isizulu xa ndiyaviva futhi ndiyakwazi ukusithetha nje kancinci.



Iipele zam zibonakala ngenabanye abantu abanga baXhosa.

Ubuso bam bukhona nabantu eNingizimu Afrika.

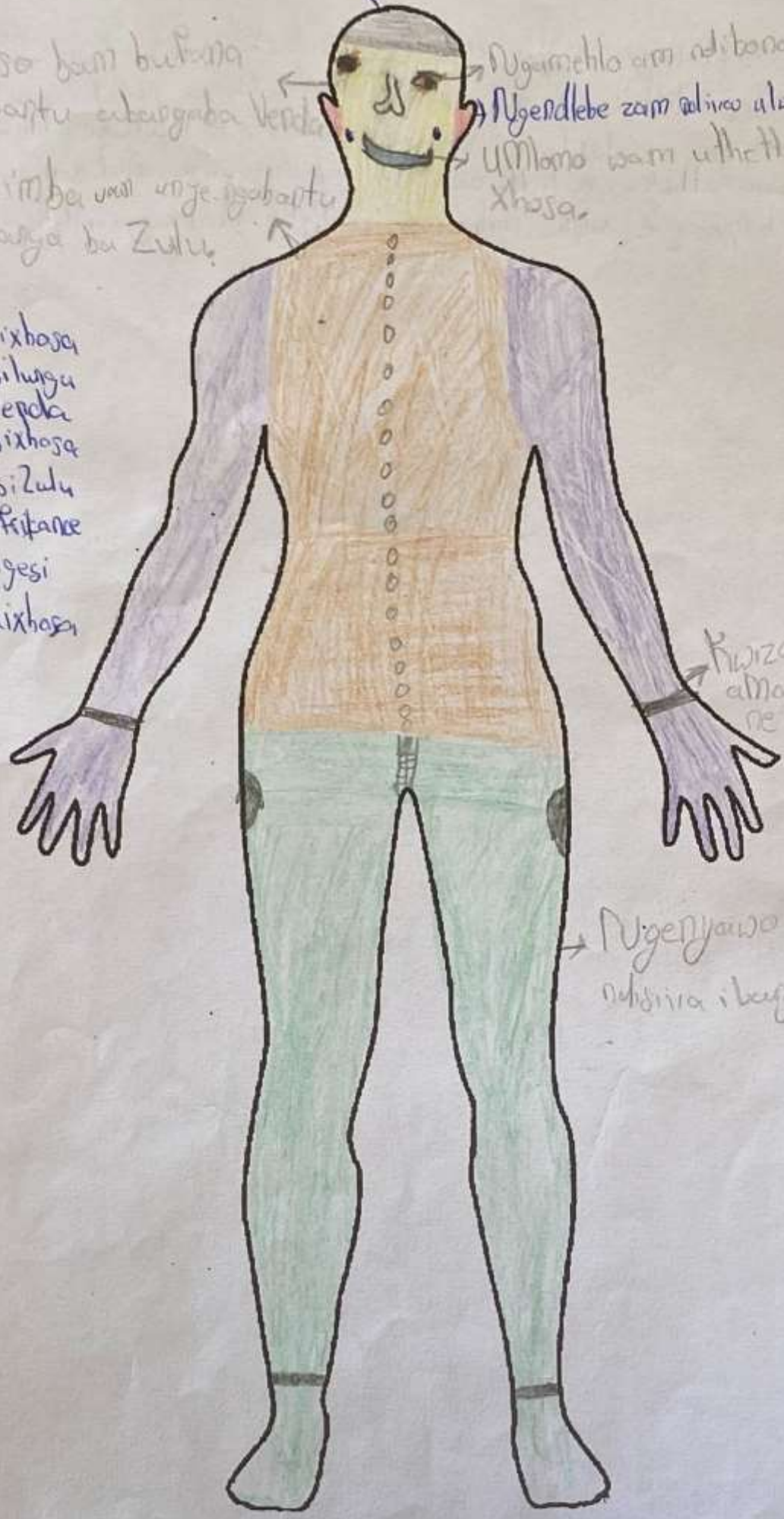
Nugumhlo am ndibona abantu xa bekeke Isixhosa.

Nyendlebe zam ndinca ulwimi olunye nge oixhosa.

Umomo wam ulithetha ulwimi oluXhosa.

Imzimba wam unje ngabantu abanga baZulu.

- Inflakhe - Isixhosa
- Amele - Isilungu
- Ubuso - Venda
- Indlebe - Isixhosa
- Umsimba - IsiZulu
- Imikenze - Afrikaance
- Ingaba - Isingesi
- Umbono - Isixhosa



Kwizandla ndibhala amabini ezintu ne Isingesi.

Nyenyawo zam ndihamba ndiviva ibugqirha enye nge.

Ugesi language zam nolizi bholikeyo ezinye ziri presenter ubu traditional bam endinabo nafuthi  
umlomo wam xa nelithetha nelithetha ibanguage enje ngesi Xhosa nafuthi aziPani iziXhosa  
endizithethayo hlawumbi ezinye sesalapha esikalweni nasesa sitratweni hlawumbi uthehwa  
amagama agrwada umona uthehwa nafuthi zininzi iibanguage endizirayo gha andiki  
azi ukumphendula ngele language yakhe ngoba ma sendighele ibanguage ethethwa ekhaya

~~Isixhosa~~ I ~~use~~ talk Isixhosa when I am swearing and when I talk to my family, friends, teacher and when I am texting to someone or sometimes I use English when I am texting to someone or writing answers in my workbook.

I talk English when I am writing English or ~~writing~~ <sup>reading</sup> I hear Sesotho a little when my cousins that stay in Joburg talk to me in Sesotho. I hear ~~an~~ Isizulu when in television or someone talking Isizulu.

Uyilo lokugqibeka

Umakhulu kunye nempukane

Kwathi klabu ngantsomi, kunye kukho umakhulu owayehlalq nempukane kwinkatho elikude. Lo makhulu wayesongena ukusebenza okuphuma phandle. Wayesoloko thile phantsi ingumpukane yetha osebenzayo endlwini yabo.

17/20

Ngenye imini umpukane wavuka wahlamba waza wathi kumakhulu mabambane bayokukha imizuno. Wamama esithi ukhulula, umakhulu yama uyongena. Ukuyokha imizuno, wahlamba kweyeng umpukane wayokuzikhelela yedwa. Wathi xa ebuya wayikha wayihlamba waza wama kokuba ayihambile waza wayiphaka wayitya. Ukuyitya - wayitya waza emanye imizuno wayifaka ekhabhothuni. Kuba ukhululeka wayileza umakhulu ukuba angayityi imizuno yakhe ngobungena umakhulu kange aqune ukuyokha imizuno emma koko umpukane wabambane waza endlwini. Wathi esalala umpukane umakhulu wachochcha wayokumila ekhabhothuni wabamba imizuno kumpukane wayitya wayigqiba.

Habuya umpukane endlwini waza wavuka ekhabhothuni, wayamama ukuba imizuno yakhe ayikho. Wayibuzi kumakhulu waza wathi umakhulu uyitye, umpukane wambuzi ukuba uyityele ntoni imizuno yakhe wathi umakhulu ebelambile.

Ngokuphanuzelile umpukane wangena empumleni kumakhulu waza umakhulu wamama esithi "uxolo mpukane, yithu soze ndiphinde". Kulapho umakhulu wayeka ukongena. Phela Phela ngantsomi.

Irikisa umdla ukwazile ukuyile abalinganiswa ngendlela

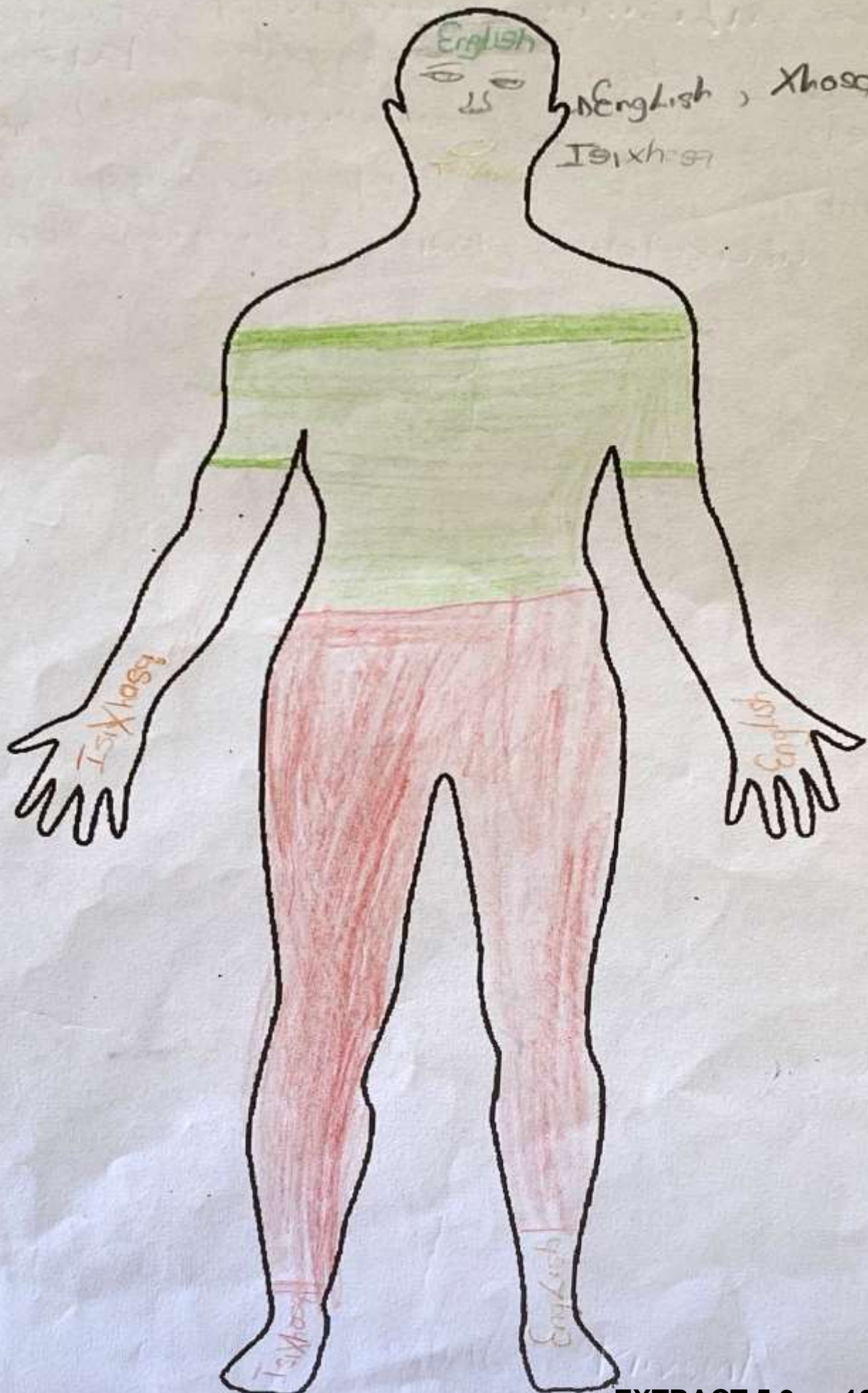
Intsomi iocile (Uyilo, abalinganiswa, isigalo nesiphelo sichanekile. Indlela ekusetyenziswe ngayo izicwazi irikisa umdla kuwaye ngendlela izihlanganiswi ezichanise ngayo zenzo intsomi ihambel okanye ifundeke camnandi).

~~Kudabada~~ kwakakhe abantwana babe  
hlala nemkhulu wabo ngenye imeni  
Umakhulu wabantwana ka thuma onye  
wabantwanabakhe ukuba makayo thenga  
iswekile eshopha wathi lamtana wadibana  
nomnye ubhuti wabuza igamakakhe wathi  
lamtana kubana akanalo yena igama wathi  
ka bhuti igama lakhe ungu Simbulale ege  
engekabuyi lona ebomthumile wathuma  
omnye umtana ukuba makayotheng  
iswekile eshoph kuba akabuyi lona eb-  
mtumile kugala eshopha.

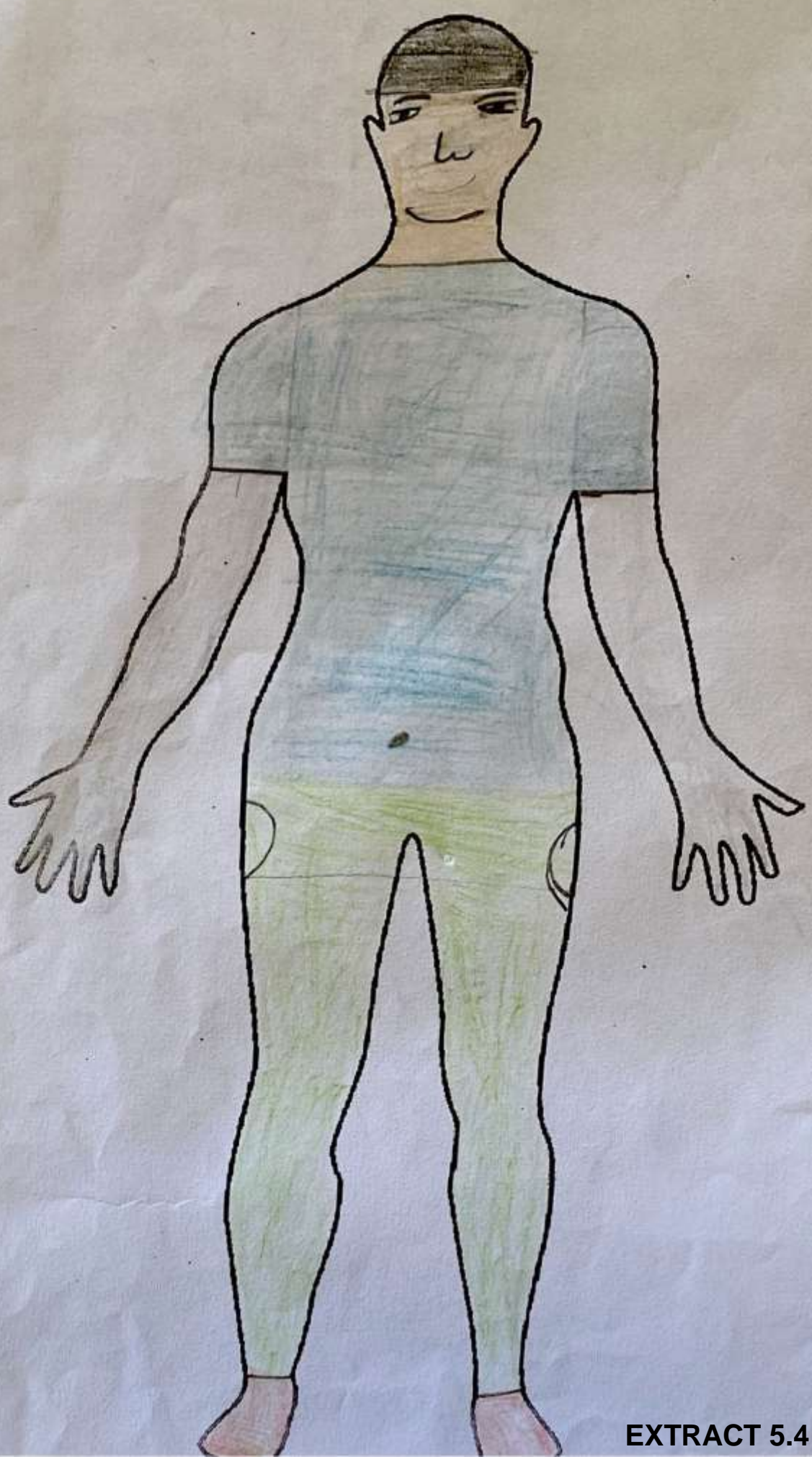
Kanti nalona umtana kanti naye wadibana  
nomnye ubhuti kwindlela eya eshoph labhuti  
wabuza nomnye lamtana ukuba ngubani  
igamalakhe wathi lamtana kubana igama  
akanalo yena phelapha phela ngantsomi.

Language Xhosa - . . .

English - . . .



isiXhosa  
isiZulu  
English



Vyilo lokugala

Intombazana eyakhethe ihe Nganobuhle.

- Kwathi ke kaloku ngandsoni kwakutho indlu ekuakuhlala  
Uhindokuhle nabazali bakhe. Pha kulandla kwakusokolwa  
kakhulu, uhindokuhle ade alale engadyanga. Uhindokuhle  
wayeneminyaka eli-12 ubudala. Abazali bakhe babazi coca indlu  
yomlungu emaphasini. Kwathi abazali bakhe bakuhola, baye naye  
edolophini.

18  
20  
Uhindokuhle wayekhanda ukuzenza abantle kugumbi lkanama  
wakhe lokulala. Athi umama wakhe ekufika emebentini,  
amncome. Uhindokuhle wayongagubi lakuhle namt esikolweni kwaye  
engapasi. Ngomhlo umama ka-hindokuhle namthatha wama  
edolophini ekhambile emhle. Bayakuthonga ubutya.

Uhindokuhle wayekhamba nomama wakhe waze wabona omnye  
okhaki okhethe nomama wakhe emnika namaphapha. lo bhudi wathi  
nomama ka-hindokuhle ukuba uhindokuhle amhle kwaye angangena  
lukuphiswano honobuhle. ka maphepha lo bhudi wayenike umama ka-hindo  
kuhle <sup>ulaba khulisa amaphapha</sup> kwaye wathi ufuna ukuba ngo danta wakhe kugala.  
Uhindokuhle wayomamele enyaya kuthi.

Baya

- Babayela lona uhindokuhle baze bayilithya amaphapha wangena  
lukuphiswano honobuhle Uhindokuhle. Futhi bakhantela nabazali bakhe.  
Ngemini yokuphiswano uhindokuhle wayomhle waze waza lukuphiswano.  
Uhindokuhle wayaphamela ukuphiswano engawo kugala. wafumana inkaso  
yamali. Futhi wayeka nokusokola. Bayeka kua ubukhala kulondlu  
indako bakhala kwintaba entle. Azange basvele nto.  
Athele phelo nganobuhle

Uyilo lokugqibela

Ngaminazana ithile kwakukho imbizo yezilwanyana  
zonke. Engu-Ingonyama, Ungonyama wayesilwanyane  
esikhulu kunazo zonke izilwanyana. Ngamhla uthile  
Ungonyama wama entabeni wathi ndicela zonke  
izilwanyana zize kwimbizo yezi lwanyana zizokugqithisa  
ngomsila waze, ~~Udyakalashi~~ Udyakalashi esatho  
ukubaleka esya ukubaleka ukuya kwimbila  
bezakuhamba bayogqithisa ngo-msila yabo. Wathi  
Udyakalashi esakubona ~~Udyakalashi~~ impila isitya  
emayhinyayhinye ngalo mini kwaku shushu ngayo  
wa beyena. Imbila ichakamele fanga Umkhunzi  
ngasemthini. Emveni koko wabuza ~~Udyakalashi~~ Udyakalashi  
mbila uhamba nini ukuyokugqithisa ngomsila.  
Wathi imbila ukuba ndiyongena ukuhamba  
nam ndicela usoske Udyakalashiela umsila  
wam kwingonyama. Ayani ke Udyakalashi  
wahamba waya kwimbizo yokugqithisa  
ngomsila wayo. Yenza njalo ingonyama  
Umnika Udyakalashi kuba yayisezi ukube  
ithunyehwe Uimbila.

Emva kwemini wathi gqhi Udyakalashi  
enesigxhwepelele ngomsila omhle.

Umbila oko yayilinde kuUdyakalashi umsila  
wayo. Wathi gqhi Udyakalashi esithi Umsila

ndiwuthethile ke ndawenza obam kuba

berdisongene ukunibamba naliye ndagonda

ukuba mandibfaka kum. Ke wena uyawuthi xa

kuphinda xa kugqithisa ngomsila.

Inani lamagams?

## I tshomi eziva nayo

Kudala dala kwakukho USiya owayeyi hagu  
no xhanti owayeyi mfene kunye na ukho owayeyi  
lisele abantwana zabe zitshomi ezidibenayo  
Ukhanti no siya zabe funda kwibanga lesi ntandathu  
kunye no ukho USiya no xhanti zabe funda kwiklasi  
enye yena ukho efunda kwenye.

USiya kunye noxhanti bebe se klasini be bhala  
izibalo Umisi owaye bafundisa zayingu (miss) Vukubi  
Umisi Vukubi wayeyi nkomo kafuneka be khrayoni  
she USiya wakhupha eyakhe into ye khrayoni wakhrayoni-  
sha usiya, Ukhanti, wacela usiya ikhrayoni em khwaza  
ebe ngekhoyena umisi kunye lento eya bangela Ukhanti  
akhwaze kukuba Ukhanti uhlala ku de ku Siya, USiya  
wamura Ukhanti qha usiya (wa zulisa) waphinda  
wam khwaza Ukhanti usiya USiya wap mkhoya  
Ukhanti wacela ikhrayoni kusiya USiya wam nika  
Ukhanti wafuna ezinye. USiya wathi akafuni  
kwa khala <sup>intsimba</sup> injimbi yoku phuma esikalweni ba-  
phuma abantwana baya kwi ndawo yokucula.

Baya cula oxhanti kunye nabanye abantwana kunye  
nam No siya bacula bacula kwade kwabetha u03:30  
USiya noxhanti kunye na ukho baya emva kwezi  
thayilethi banca kala Ukhanti wachazela ukho  
ho lento (biyenze kile) e klasini Ukhanti waga  
ba utheba waza ku Siya baxobana nge nge

Nge ngomsa zayi ngu 23 Eyemdumba 2019 USiya  
no xhanti bengc thethi kengo nge xkhesha lodlala  
elikhulu badlala kamnandi.

no ukho wadlala nathi kengoku ngo kuya bebe  
ggabile udlala ukho wa babuza ukuba ba dibene  
kanjani kadwa bebe lwilwe izola bababini  
Ukhanti no siya bathi abayazi bayo thenga into  
yo kutya abanta baba biza babazi mafi ggabona  
bebe ngaba wayi kuba bayayazi bazange  
bazi khethela uku bazi mafi. Phela-phela ngantsos

Umbhali: Siya bonga Ntlabathi

*ngantsomi*

kwati ke kalokhu kwaye kuko uyakalashhe, imbila,  
igoyama ne zilwayana.

Le bizo yayibizwa yokuba gumuphati wezilwayana,  
ingonyama kwaveta ukuba yayifuna ukuzipa imisila  
babe. fuya kakulu izilwayana.

Uyakalashhe uyogqitha kimbila wati imbila andizukwazi  
mana kuba ndiyayika ilaga. Wati uyakalashhe okeyi  
ndiyakuva mbila wahumba uyakalashhe Zanikezwa izilwayana  
imisila wati uyakalashhe makoniki no kimbila umsila  
igoyama wamunika umusila.

Zapuma izilwayana zadibuna nembila Zamugayisela  
wnektimba ukuba uyakalashhe uyeza nowake wati  
qiyakalashhe enamusila omukulu yena yedwara. Wati xa  
efika eakwambila wabona esanbleni ba atukonto  
akapethaganto misila walhe wati uzoyeka ukutumela  
umutu funeka uyozithathela into eyiphinayo  
oyiphinayo.

Wacaca ukuba imbila ayinamusila kulle kubnamhlangje.  
Wkathazeka ebenetamba kuyakalashhe imbila uzoyeka  
ukutumela ziyete gokwako leatweni.

## APPENDIX B

### Student information letter

Dear Student,

*Masters Research: 'HETEROGLOSSIA IN ISIXHOSA/ENGLISH BILINGUAL CHILDREN'S WRITING: A CASE STUDY OF GRADE 6 ISIXHOSA HOME LANGUAGE IN A TOWNSHIP SCHOOL'*

I, **Samkelo Matutu**, a Masters Student in the School of Education at the University of Cape Town, would like to invite you to take part in my research on the different kinds of isiXhosa students' use in their writing in formal assessment and non-assessed writing. In doing so, I will need your permission.

My research aims to look at the different kinds of isiXhosa students use in their writing, the feelings, values and thoughts attached to these different kinds of isiXhosa that they use in completing their Formal Assessment Tasks (i.e. FAT's), as well as how students show the language resources available in their linguistic repertoire. The children will not be identified in the research – I will use different names (pseudonyms) for all participants. The name and exact location of the school will also not be identified.

Data collection is expected to commence on Friday, April 26 to Friday, May 10. I would like to generate data by collecting your isiXhosa home language Formal Assessment Tasks (FAT 1 & 2), your written explanation about your portraits; as well as your coloured in language body portrait – which will be completed during class.

Please note that your participation is voluntary and that you can withdraw permission at any time. If you agree to participate, please see the attached consent form which is to be completed and returned to me before Friday, April 26. You are welcome to ask any questions regarding this research by telephone or email Samkelo Matutu on [mttsam007@myuct.ac.za](mailto:mttsam007@myuct.ac.za), 0818863778.

Yours sincerely,

Samkelo Matutu

## Consent form for the student

### (Ifomu yemvume yomfundi)

Please indicate if you agree to be part of the research by ticking **yes** or **no** to each aspect of the fieldwork and sign your name below. Remember you do not have to participate and you can stop being part of the research at any time. **(Nceda utikishe kuEWE okanye uHAYI wecandelo ngalinye lolu hlohisiso ukuba uyavuma ukuthabatha inxaxheba kulo, wandule ukutyikitya igama lakho. Khumbula ukuba akunyanzelekanga ukuba uthabathe inxaxheba kwaye ungarhoxa nangasiphi na isigaba soluhlolisiso.**

Name (Igama): \_\_\_\_\_ (Print/Bhala)

Signature (Tyikitya):

Date (Umhla):

| <b>I agree to (Ndiyakunika imvume ukuba):</b>   | <b>Yes (Ewe)</b> | <b>No (Hayi)</b> |
|---|------------------|------------------|
| 1. Being observed (Ndihlolwe)   |                  |                  |
| 2. Having my written work submitted for a review to the researcher (umsebenzi wam ungeniswe kwaye uhlolwe ngumphengululi) |                  |                  |

## APPENDIX C

### Parent information letter

Dear Parent/Guardian

*Masters Research: 'HETEROGLOSSIA IN ISIXHOSA/ENGLISH BILINGUAL CHILDREN'S WRITING: A CASE STUDY OF GRADE 6 ISIXHOSA HOME LANGUAGE IN A TOWNSHIP SCHOOL'*

I, *Samkelo Matutu*, a Masters Student in the School of Education at the University of Cape Town, would like to invite your child to take part in my research on the different kinds of isiXhosa students' use in their writing in formal assessment and non-assessed writing. In order for me to research these kinds of isiXhosa evident in their writing I will need your permission as a parent/guardian of the child.

My research aims to look at the different kinds of isiXhosa students use in their writing, the feelings, values and thoughts attached to these different kinds of isiXhosa that they use in completing their Formal Assessment Tasks (i.e. FAT's), as well as how students show the language resources available in their linguistic repertoire. The children will not be identified in the research – I will use different names (pseudonyms) for all participants. The name and exact location of the school will also not be identified.

Data collection is expected to commence on Friday, April 26 to Friday, May 10. I would like to generate data by collecting students writing of isiXhosa home language Formal Assessment Tasks (FAT 1 & 2), their written explanation about their portraits; as well as their coloured in language body portrait.

Please note that their participation is voluntary and that they can withdraw permission at any time. If you agree to participate, please see the attached consent forms to be completed and returned to me before Friday, April 26. You are welcome to ask any questions regarding this research by telephone or email Samkelo Matutu on [mttsam007@myuct.ac.za](mailto:mttsam007@myuct.ac.za), 0818863778. Yours sincerely,

Samkelo Matutu

## **Consent form for the parent/guardian**

I (Name) \_\_\_\_\_ agree to my child taking part in this research. I understand that their participation in this study is voluntary and that they are welcome to withdraw participation at any time. I am aware that their involvement might result in research which may be published, but their name(s) will not be used as pseudonyms (different names) will be used and no information will be given that would enable the reader to identify the child. The child may also refuse to answer any questions that they do not want to answer.

**Date:**

**Child's name:**

**Parent/Guardian name:**

**Parent Signature:**

**Researcher name:** Samkelo Matutu

**Researcher Signature:**

For further questions of concerns about the research, please call or whatsapp Samkelo Matutu on 0818863778 or my supervisors Associate Professor: Carolyn McKinney at [carolynmckinney@uct.ac.za](mailto:carolynmckinney@uct.ac.za) and co-supervisor xolisaguzula@uct.ac.za

## **APPENDIX D**

### **Information Letter to the principal**

Dear Mr Head Master,

**Application to conduct research:** Mr Samkelo Matutu

**Research title:** *'HETEROGLOSSIA IN ISIXHOSA/ENGLISH BILINGUAL CHILDREN'S WRITING: A CASE STUDY OF GRADE 6 ISIXHOSA HOME LANGUAGE IN A TOWNSHIP SCHOOL'*

As I am completing my Masters research project at the University of Cape Town, I would like to apply to conduct my research at your school.

My research proposal has been approved by my supervisors: Associate Professor Carolyn McKinney and co-supervisor Ms Xolisa Guzula, and by the University of Cape Town, School of Education.

Briefly, my research aims to explore the language varieties used by the Grade 6 isiXhosa home language students as evident in their writings. This project seeks to understand the written varieties and discourses (ways of being, feeling, thinking, doing, believing and valuing) the students use in completing their isiXhosa home language formal task assessments (FAT's), as well as written varieties and discourse they use in translating an extract of a graphic novel that I shall issue to them in the course of data collection.

In order for me to collect my data, I will need your permission. After that, during the course of the 22 and 24 April 2019 I will issue the learners and their parents with information letters that will outline my research intentions. I will further have consent forms ready for them and their parents (approved by the UCT School of Education) to be completed and returned to me by Friday, April 26 2019. I plan to collect data from the 26 April 2019 until the 10 May 2019. Data collection will be through students' written work (FAT's and translated extract), observation, group interview. The group interviews will be audio recorded.

Please note that the school and the children will not be identified in the research – I will use pseudonyms (different names), as well as the exact location of the school. You are welcome to ask any questions regarding this research by telephone or email Samkelo Matutu on [mttsam007@myuct.ac.za](mailto:mttsam007@myuct.ac.za), 0818863778.

Thank you in anticipation.

Regards,

S. Matutu