Multilingual Selves: Exploring Language Ideologies and Linguistic Repertoires among Young People in Cape Town

Imrah Adams

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Supervisor: Professor Ana Deumert

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: Signed by candidate Date: 4 January 2023

Abstract

Against the backdrop of a (provincial) language policy that includes Afrikaans, English, and isiXhosa, this project investigates the language ideologies and language practices of a group of young people who live in a historically Afrikaans-speaking area in the Northern Suburbs of Cape Town. More broadly, this study seeks to understand the multilingualism of individual speakers within their social location while, at the same time, giving recognition to their personal experiences with language.

The data collected is qualitative in nature, consisting of in-depth interviews, language portraits, and focus group discussions. In total, eleven different participants were involved in this study and were recruited via school visits and through word of mouth. Six of these participants, namely, Jaco, Claire, Farzahna, Rachel, Zene, and Kayla participated in all three data collection activities. Jason, Porcia, Mikayla participated with the interviews and the language portrait. Zonita participated in the focus group and the language portrait. Finally, Jake participated in the focus group, but did not complete the task and left the research process.

The results confirm the expected high esteem of English, with ideologies focused on global communication, its lingua franca nature within South Africa, and the ways in which English is linked to travel prospects and globalization. Yet, all participants are all multilingual, and also speak or encounter Afrikaans in the home. They describe Afrikaans as having many varieties, standard and non-standard. Standard Afrikaans is associated mostly with negative experiences, including cases of judgment and unease. In contrast, non-standard varieties, referred to as Kaaps in the recent scholarly literature, are discussed as constituting a linguistic home, and as establishing a connection to family and friends. The results from the interviews and focus groups also indicate that isiXhosa and other indigenous African languages are frequently erased, both discursively and practically. At times, the languages within the participants' repertoires were racialized: English is portrayed as a language for all, Standard Afrikaans is associated with whiteness, non-standard Afrikaans with coloured identities, and isiXhosa with black African speakers. Furthermore, participants articulate a desire for foreign languages such as French, Japanese, and Russian. This was explored through language portraits, which helped to foreground participants' lived experiences, and which also brought African languages more strongly into focus

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Transcription Conventions

The list below provides the transcription conventions used to transcribe the focus groups, in-depth interviews, and language portrait interviews. I take some of my conventions from Meyerhoff, Schleef, and Mackenzie (2015). Others, such as the smiley are my own conventions.

☺ Laughter

... trailing off speech

[…] omitted speech

= overlapping speech/simultaneous speech

(Decimals in brackets) pauses and length in seconds

Capital letters emphasized/loud speech

Italics for any language other than English

A further note on inverted commas: I used ‘’ to indicate words I place emphasis on, and “” for direct quotations from references or participants speech.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis explores the multilingual ideologies of a group of youth in a suburb in Cape Town. Particularly, I focus on their overall experiences and thoughts about their linguistic repertoires. In multilingual societies scholars seek to understand how people relate to language/s within their environments. This is especially important when considering language's historical significance in South Africa. Due to the non-recognition of extensive multilingualism in the past, the country is still struggling to move forward, even though current policies strongly support multilingualism. The challenge is to ensure that all languages are equally recognized in public spaces and institutions, and that individuals can freely draw on linguistic repertoires. However, the inequalities of the past and present influence how people view and access the value a certain language affords them. This thesis shows that these past injustices shape contemporary language ideologies and that young people negotiate a complex multilingual terrain in their everyday communication practices.

1.2 Conceptualization of project

The motivation for this project stems from my personal experiences of living in a community where Afrikaans remains dominant among the older generation, while younger people gradually shift to English. Looking at myself and close friends, English has become a dominant language for all of us, even though we grew up as bilinguals (sometimes even Afrikaans-dominant). Based on this interest, the aim is to understand what is happening in Cape Town, regarding Afrikaans, and multilingualism more generally. My personal experience is not unique and has been documented by scholars such as Anthonissen (2013) who studies language maintenance and shift in Afrikaans-English bilingual coloured families.[1]

The area where I conducted my research is similar to the one I grew up in. It is an Afrikaans-dominant area, yet it is also linguistically mixed. There are is a sizeable number of residents whose home language is English, and others who speak isiXhosa or other African languages. Considering people's thoughts and ideologies surrounding the languages they identify with is important when attempting to understand how multilingualism is viewed and negotiated. Initially, this project originated from my observations of the young people during a visit to the area. I observed the dominance of English in their speech. For this reason, this

[1] In my use of lowercase 'black', 'coloured', and 'white' I follow Kessi, Marks, & Ramugondo (2020: 280).

thesis focuses on young people in grade 11 at a school that uses a dual-medium of instruction in an Afrikaans dominant area. This investigation aims to add some insight into the multilingual nature of the Cape Town and how linguistic identities are discussed among the youth.

Even though motivated, in the first instance, by a wish to understand the shift from Afrikaans to English, I eventually decided to look at multilingualism more broadly. I am thus also including experiences with, and attitudes, towards Indigenous African languages such as isiXhosa and foreign languages such as French.

1.3 Multilingualism in South Africa- Past and Present

When looking at South Africa, the question of language is salient. English, Afrikaans, isiXhosa, isiZulu, Sepedi (Sesotho sa Leboa), Sesotho, Setswana, SiSwati, isiNdebele, Tshivenda, and Xitsonga are recognized by the South African Constitution as official languages of the Republic of South Africa (Orman, 2008). The Western Cape has a language policy that mentions three official languages: English, Afrikaans, and isiXhosa (Western Cape Language Policy, 2001 cited in Deumert, Inder, & Maitra, 2005). These three languages cover over 90 % of the population in the Western Cape (ibid.).

In the Western Cape, in 2011, 49.7% of the population indicated Afrikaans as their first language, with 46.6% reporting the same in 2016. Considering isiXhosa in the Western Cape, 24.7% of the population used it as a first language in 2011, with 31.1% reporting the same in 2016. English in the Western Cape was used as a home language by 20% of the population in 2011, with 19.6% reporting the same in 2016. Looking at these statistics, one can notice that within the Western Cape there exists a three-way language dynamic. Between 2011 and 2016, the percentage of English and Afrikaans first-language speakers declined slightly, while the percentage of isiXhosa increased. This trend is not limited to the recent past but started post-apartheid, i.e., in the 1990s (Deumert & Mabandla, 2009).

Chetty and Mwepu (2008) looked at how multilingual language planning and practice have been addressed in post-apartheid South Africa. Chetty and Mwepu (2008) argue that while African languages are being supported, English occupies much more space, especially when considering institutions such as parliament and government institutions (see also Mhlongo, 2021). Similarly, Mesthrie (2015) shows that English was still used to conduct formal sessions

in parliament two decades after the end of apartheid. The assumed 'lingua franca' nature of English may be seen as a way to communicate with a wider audience, in parliament and the public arena. Moreover, English is strongly associated with upward social mobility (Álvarez-Mosquera, 2015; Rudwick, 2021). Khokhlova (2015: 985) discusses that while English is seen as prestigious, it is also diverse and exists in many different varieties.

For this thesis, the concept of linguistic repertoires is important and will be discussed within the literature review. With this notion, the idea is that achieving a complete command of a language is impossible. Therefore, while individuals may not be fully fluent in every language they have within their immediate environment, they have access to certain linguistic resources (such as words or phrases) which can become communicatively useful in specific situations. In this thesis, I will explore how young people discuss their linguistic repertoires within an area that, as noted above, is multilingual yet maintains a strong Afrikaans presence and identity.

The end of Apartheid brought about new legislation regarding the rights of the people in South Africa and, as noted above, the Constitution recognizes eleven official languages (Khokhlova, 2015). Hornberger and Vaish (2009) discuss South Africa's struggles with implementing its inclusive language policy. Khokhlova (2015) looked at how language can be seen as a profitable resource, while Hornberger and Vaish (2009) looked at how the multilingual policy of South Africa was affected by the global influence of countries that are considered 'developed'. Moreover, Madiba (2010) discusses the University of Cape Town's language policy which focuses on implementing multilingual education, and decolonization to combat past inequalities (also Botes 2021). Similarly, Antia (2015) considers the idea of a multilingual language policy and its implementation at the University of the Western Cape along with the many challenges the university still faces regarding inclusion and language practice.

The shape multilingualism takes in a country such as South Africa – and a city such as Cape Town – is directly affected by how individuals view language. As noted above, languages such as English often command a higher social prestige due to global communication practices, trade and economic industries, and the colonial history of the language within South Africa. On the other hand, the Indigenous African languages tend to have higher numbers of speakers. Moreover, the presence of multilingualism varies, based on the social setting the language is found in.

In this context, it is important to understand the importance of language ideologies. Language ideologies are understood as perceptions and beliefs about languages within the lives and the linguistic environments in which people live. Individuals hold language ideologies. These are shaped by society, and are multiple, diverse and context-dependent. One of the aims of this thesis is to explore the experiences that inform such language ideologies and how ideologies such as, for example, English-as-a-lingua-franca remain in circulation. In addition, I want to explore how questions of desire inform our language ideologies and allow us to hold views about languages we do not speak.

1.4 Aims and Research Question

As noted above, the research originally aimed at studying language ideologies pertaining only to Afrikaans. However, after collecting the data, it became clear that students engage ideologically with their entire linguistic repertoire. Consequently, the focus of the discussion now goes beyond Afrikaans. It shifted to understanding multilingualism more broadly. The aim of this research is to answer the following main question: How do young people in an Afrikaans-dominant Cape Town suburb talk about their linguistic repertoires and express their linguistic ideologies?

I conducted in-depth interviews and focus group sessions with 11 participants to answer this question. I also asked them to complete language portraits. These tools were used to investigate the role different languages play in their lives, and how the participants talk about them. Regarding communicative domains, the research focuses on the home (family) environment, school and public spaces where the participants may find themselves. The pseudonym for the neighbourhood is *Carrionsville;* and the pseudonym for the school is *Tribute High.*

1.5 Thesis outline

The thesis is structured as follows:

Chapter 2 focuses on the literature on language ideologies and linguistic repertoires. Overall, I work from the assumption that language ideologies affect language use and shape linguistic identities. I argue that both linguistic repertoires and language ideologies are shaped by one's experience with language and can shift over time.

Chapter 3 outlines the research methodology. The qualitative nature of this study is discussed, and the data collection tools (interviews, focus groups, language portraits) are outlined. I also introduce the research site and the 11 participants. Finally, I discuss the ethical considerations relevant to the study and my positionality.

Chapter 4 explores the role of English in two participants' lives, Rachel, and Zene. Based on their interviews, I especially describe their beliefs and thoughts about English. I then turn to the other participants and their views towards English. The chapter contributes to a better understanding of the English-is-a-lingua-franca discourse in South Africa.

Chapter 5 draws on the focus group data. I look at Afrikaans' role in participants' lives and their perceptions of the language. Among the topics discussed are (i) varieties of Afrikaans; (ii) the erasure of African languages; and (iii) participants' emotional experiences when speaking different varieties of Afrikaans. These experiences include anxiety, judgment (for Standard Afrikaans), and feelings of belonging (for local varieties of Afrikaans). In this chapter, I argue that the experiences surrounding Afrikaans might be one of the driving forces behind the shift away from the language.

Chapter 6 draws attention to the language portraits and individual interview data. The chapter aims to discuss the languages that form part of participants' repertoires, and how these are represented using the language-portrait methodology. Furthermore, the portraits by Claire and Porcia are discussed in-depth, looking at both positive and negative experiences with different languages.

Chapter 7 summarizes the study's findings regarding participants' multilingual linguistic repertoires. The chapter emphasizes how social experiences and interactions shape both repertoires and language ideologies. I further discuss recommendations for future studies and the current study's limitations.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the literature that informs this study. I focus on two key terms: (i) language ideologies; and (ii) linguistic repertoires. I outline how these two concepts have been discussed within sociolinguistics and align them to my study.

The chapter is structured as follows; Section 2.2 discusses language ideologies, focusing on the work of scholars who argue that ideologies are multiple, socially driven and shed light upon language change and the attitudes of speakers (Silverstein, 1979; Irvine, 1989, Kroskrity, 2004; 2010). Section 2.3 looks at the idea of the linguistic resources and repertoires, drawing especially on the work of Busch (2012; 2017) and Blommaert and Backus (2011). Section 2.4 builds on the concept of linguistic resources and repertoires by looking at the biographical aspect of language. Following Blommaert and Backus (2011), I argue that language learning is on-going throughout one's life and is affected by one's experiences. A biographical perspective is also helpful when looking at ideologies. Like linguistic repertoires, ideologies can change across time and are shaped by one's experiences. Section 2.5 examines the link between language ideologies, agency, and personal experiences. It argues that ideologies are intertwined with repertoires because they assign value (or lack thereof) to specific linguistic resources. Finally, Section 2.6 concludes the chapter, summarizing the main points discussed in the chapter.

2.2 Language Ideologies: Research Overview

Language ideologies are a core topic in contemporary sociolinguistics. Woolard and Schieffelin's (1994) edited book, titled *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory,* is a seminal text. They draw on Silverstein's (1979: 193) description of language ideologies as "sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use". Silverstein (1979) discusses how speakers of a language make sense of, or critically think about, the languages they speak and hear. He also looks at how they use these meta-discursive 'rationalizations' to account for how they and others speak, feel, and see the social position of a language. This, in turn, can influence how, for example, multilingual individuals make linguistic choices, such as whether to speak a given language in a given situation or not. Ideologies about language are articulated through discourses and practices.

Irvine (1989: 255) emphasizes that aspects of culture and politics can shape language ideologies. She notes that "the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests" (*ibid*.) influences language ideologies. For example, an evaluation that a language, such as English, is 'globally known' or 'universal' expresses a linguistic ideology that assumes that knowledge of English exemplifies a certain type of "global success" and mobility (Piller, 2015: 5). However, Piller (*ibid*.) cautions that while knowing English is often seen to be a sign of educational and economic success, this applies only to certain varieties of the language.

Kroskrity (2004; 2010) argues that the study of language ideologies is complex because people hold varying language ideologies. Kroskrity's (2004) contribution towards understanding language ideologies has been important and focuses on what he calls "the five levels of organization" of language ideologies (Kroskrity, 2004: 501). The scholar discusses the five levels as "partially overlapping but analytically distinguishable layers of significance" (*ibid.*). Considering the first level, Kroskrity (*ibid*.) argues that "language ideologies represent the perception of language and discourse constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group". Like Irvine (1989), he looks at how language ideologies are influenced by political, social, and economic factors. These can create local hegemonies which shape people's experiences with language(s) and their beliefs about them. Thus, the views of the dominant and hegemonic group can influence others' views of a language.

For example, Piller (2015) discusses language ideologies in the USA. She comments on the ideology surrounding Standard American English. Many North Americans believe that Standard American English offers better opportunities for social advancement, while other varieties – such as African American English (AAE) – are stigmatized and negatively evaluated. This suggest that the hegemony of Standard American English expresses the interests of white supremacy and is grounded in beliefs about the close relationship between language and nation.

Considering the South African context, Afrikaans, and English – both in their white varieties – were sole official languages during apartheid (Johnson, 2007). The apartheid system perpetuated the white (apartheid) government's ideology of Afrikaans and English dominance and superiority. African languages were only granted official status within the Bantustans regions (Brand, 2011: 175). Thus, the language policy of the apartheid era was strongly influenced by racist language ideologies that the white minority group maintained. This

language ideology stems from a history of colonialism. European languages such as English and Dutch (later Afrikaans) were positioned as prestigious and granted power above the Indigenous African languages (Plüddemann, 2015: 188).

Kroskrity (2004: 503) then discusses the second level, and states that "language ideologies are profitably conceived as multiple". In other words, language ideologies should not be understood as uniform for a group of individuals (or a society). Essentially, ideologies are ever-shifting and can differ according to social factors such as age, gender, class, and race. This is illustrated, for example, by Curdt-Christiansen (2016). She conducted a study in Singapore and found that within one Chinese family, there exist different ideologies regarding the linguistic situation. This family is trilingual speaking Hokkien, Mandarin and English. However, the dominance of English heavily influenced the parents in Singapore's corporate world. This shaped their interactions with their son, who they brought up English-dominant, with some knowledge of Mandarin and Hokkien (via his aunt, uncle, and grandmother in the home). The choice for Mandarin above Hokkien is directly affected by the bilingual education policy in Singapore that prioritizes Mandarin over other Chinese languages (Bokhorst-Heng & Silver, 2017: 1). The grandmother and the aunt, however, valued Hokkien as highly important for heritage purposes and disagreed with the parents' language choices in the home. Moreover, language ideologies are diverse and can change with time. For example, the father now regrets that he did not provide Hokkien input for his son. The mother, in contrast, still values Mandarin over Hokkien, and is happy that her son has acquired some knowledge of the former.

The third level identified by Kroskrity (2004: 505) involves the idea that "members may display varying degrees of awareness of local language ideologies". Therefore, how individuals relate to languages, may not be a decision or view they are conscious of. Leeman (2012) discusses language ideologies and awareness. She describes cases where ideologies can be understood as "naturalized ... as common sense" (Leeman, 2012: 46). Ideologies underline how speakers talk about languages and their varieties in everyday contexts, accepting certain ideologies as "authoritative". To illustrate, Leeman (2012: 46) mentions the example of Peninsular Spanish which is commonly positioned above other varieties "on the basis of Spain being the *Madre patria"*. In the Hispanic world, this ideology is seen by some as reflecting "common-sense"; it is embodied and enacted in everyday practices such as ascribing "educated standard[s]" associated with capital city varieties of Spanish "Madrid for Spain, Bogotá for Colombia, Lima for Peru" (Leeman, 2012: 49).

The fourth level discusses how "language ideologies mediate between social structures and forms of talk" (Kroskrity, 2004: 507). Therefore, an ideology can guide how speakers make use of language. Importantly, language ideologies can shape linguistic form and structure. Deumert (2015), for example, looks at the history of the double negation in Afrikaans. She shows how the double negation, as a structural-grammatical feature, was ideologically disassociated from the Afrikaans spoken by people of colour and was positioned as representative of white people's speech. Deumert (2015: 9) draws on the idea of iconicity, that is, the idea that a linguistic form can be constructed as being representative of the "intrinsic qualities" of a specific group (following Gal & Irvine, 2000). Deumert (2015) uses the concept of iconicity to show how the double negation became discursively linked to the ideology of Afrikanerdom and the persona of the straight-talking Afrikaner *boer* as a central political character. The double negation represented this identity iconically. Thus, double negation – which at that time was rare in white varieties of Afrikaans - became part and parcel of performing an Afrikaner identity, leading to the spread of this feature in white varieties.

Kroskrity's (2004: 509) fifth level explores the multiple ways in which language enables people to construct and negotiate their identities. Significantly, just like language ideologies, identities are multiple and are constantly evolving. Language ideologies affect identity: it is through language that one makes distinctions and claims about certain identities. Jaspal and Coyle (2010) examine language's role in identity construction among Second Generation Asians in Britain. Within their study, they discuss one participant who is identified as a member of the Punjabi community in Britain. This participant uses Punjabi and English regularly. When in Britain, he purposefully chooses to disassociate from his British identity by speaking more Punjabi. In India, on the other hand, he seeks to disassociate from his Punjabi-speaking identity and emphasizes his British identity by speaking English. This individual constructs and negotiates his dual identities through this choice of language use.

In a recent study, Kroskrity (2018: 142) reflects on how language ideologies affect ideas about multilingualism, language shift and revitalization. This work also shows that different communities of speakers can hold radically different language ideologies. Kroskrity discussion draws on his work among the Western Mono and the Tewa, two Indigenous speech communities in North America. He shows that multilingualism (the acquisition of new languages and language mixing) is evaluated positively in one community (Western Mono). In

contrast, the other community (Tewa) is engaged in practices of linguistic purism, grounded in an ideology that can be summarized as “my language is my life”.

Consequently, members of the Western Mono community are more open to sharing their culture and language with non-Mono individuals and acquiring other languages. Kroskrity (2018: 10) writes that identity can be “distributed across several languages” for the Western Mono. The Tewa community, on the other hand, is resistant to learning new languages and to sharing their linguistic-cultural heritage with others. For them speaking Tewa is symbolic of being Tewa. The latter is a version of the one-community-one-language ideology. As linguists devise interventions to support Indigenous languages, they need to be aware of such different ideologies.

The scholars discussed in this section have contributed to understanding the different social factors involved in forming language ideologies. It is important to highlight that those ideologies are socially driven; larger socio-political ideologies shape them in the diverse social settings the individual/s find themselves in. Ideologies can be maintained and passed down from generation to generation; or they can change over time, sometimes rapidly.

2.3 Sociolinguistic Repertoires and Resources

This section focuses on the work by Blommaert and Backus (2011) as well as Busch (2012, 2017). Blommaert and Backus (2011) discuss the notion of competence and the various ways individuals learn and acquire language. Busch (2012; 2017) looks at how speakers experience language and language use in daily life. In this context the notion of the linguistic repertoire is central. It refers to the totality of an individual’s language resources. The concept of linguistic repertoire has been explored within sociolinguistics by many scholars (Blommaert & Backus, 2011; Gumperz, 1986; Li Wei, 2011). The linguistic resources that make up one’s repertoire are multiple, ever-expanding and their use is shaped by language ideologies. Blommaert (2010:102) explains that ‘languages’ can be understood as sets of resources rather than as the fixed ideological construct of ‘a language’ (also Pennycook & Makoni, 2012).

In other words, when we communicate, we do not speak ‘a language’, but rather use our diverse linguistic resources. Viewing linguistic signs as resources allows us to understand how one may have bits of languages within one’s repertoire, which allows us to interrogate the concept of ‘competence’. Thus, one might not be seen as ‘fully competent’ in certain languages. However, one can still use the linguistic resources associated with these ‘named

languages' for purposes such as, greetings or saying, 'thank you'. An example of this is the use of Arabic in Cape Town. In the discussion below, I draw on my personal experience as a Cape Town's Muslim community member.

In Cape Town, children and adults are taught Arabic to a basic level to read religious scriptures. Knowledge of Arabic beyond this point is minimal and few people have conversational skills. For example, one would greet others, thank them in spoken Arabic and engage with written Arabic by reading the Qur'an (see also Sadan, forthcoming). Thus, despite limited 'competence' individuals regularly use Arabic in conversation to index their Muslim identity.

In sum, linguistic repertoires – and the resources that constitute them – shape how people communicate using various linguistic forms, rather than speaking specific 'language(s)'. Historically, Gumperz (1986), who had introduced the term 'repertoire' to the literature in the 1980s, has focused on speech communities, rather than individuals. This was critiqued by Busch (2017), who moves away from a concern with speech communities. She focuses instead on the "biographical perspective that ties the repertoire more to an individual's life trajectory" (Busch, 2017: 346). There is an emphasis the lived experience of the individual's language and the location of language within "the speaking subject". The immediate face-to-face context remains important to lived experiences, yet – at the same time – recent advances in information and communication technologies have provided individuals with opportunities for interactions beyond the local context (such as, for example, showing one's association to the Muslim community by using Arabic in global online spaces). Thus, linguistic repertoires are increasingly shaped by trans-local and global spaces. This includes a range of linguistic experiences that may have not been possible without access to technology – and access to other countries, people, and languages.

2. 4 Language and Biography

Busch (2017) discusses research within sociolinguistics as moving towards a perspective that looks at the linguistic repertoire from a biographical point of view. This draws on the work by Blommaert and Backus (2011) who maintain that linguistic repertoires are constantly evolving and shaped by experiences and exposure to new social settings. These interactions can expand how one can communicate and interact, or they can lead to a contraction of one's repertoire. The biographical aspect of repertoires explores the idea that, as one is socialized, social

interactions call for certain forms of talk at specific times in one's life. For example, the forms of language found within the repertoire of the university student, will change once moving into the world of work, where industry specific jargon may take preference. Moreover, one may move to a new location and acquire new locally grounded ways of speaking. As new forms are learnt, older linguistic resources may become less relevant but are not necessarily completely lost, rather, they become part of a larger and more diverse linguistic repertoire.

According to Blommaert and Backus (2011), the linguistic repertoire develops in four different ways. These range from formal learning and interaction (e.g., at school) to informal settings (e.g., with friends and family). The four ways of acquiring linguistic skills identified by Blommaert and Backus (2011) are: "comprehensive language learning" (10), "specialized language learning" (10-11), "encounters with language" (11), and "embedded language learning" (14).

Blommaert and Backus (2011: 10) first discuss the notion of "comprehensive language learning". It involves both formal and informal language learning environments, allowing for a full expansion of one's linguistic knowledge. Their focus is on the link between formal and informal language learning situations. They maintain that there is no fundamental difference between formal and informal learning. However, they suggest that "formal learning is often more effective when accompanied by informal learning" (Blommaert and Backus, 2011: 10). Thus, formal language learning at school can be improved if there is also interpersonal interaction within informal learning situations (and vice versa). This would mean, for example, that if the language spoken at home is also studied at school, a greater range of linguistic resources would become available to the speaker.[2] It should also be mentioned that many South Africans do not have the opportunity to study and learn through the language they speak at home; this is especially true for African languages (reflecting the long history of apartheid in the school system; cf. Banda, 2018).

Blommaert and Backus (2011) then discuss the idea of "specialized language learning". An example of this would be learning the academic register. 'Register' is a well-known concept within sociolinguistics, where it is traditionally understood as a 'variety' of speech (and also writing) that is context-based and used for specific purposes (Trudgill, 1999: 121). For

[2] I use the term 'home language' in line with the way it is used in the South African context. Stein (2017: 207) defines home language as "the language the learner knows best, and is most comfortable reading, writing and speaking".

example, the registers of law and mathematics (among others) are learnt and used within associated occupations and contexts (Trudgill, 1999: 121). These "specialized" forms of language can form part of individual's broad linguistic repertoire and are usually acquired through formal educational contexts.

The third form of learning discussed by Blommaert and Backus (2011) is "encounters with language". This describes the acquisition of linguistic resources that are "restricted" in some ways and that may not be as "fixed" as the first two competencies. From Blommaert and Backus' list (2011: 12-14), I focus on the encounters (and associated forms of speech) that apply to the current study:

- Age-group slang: understood as language forms which relate to group membership and usually identify a certain age group (Blommaert & Backus, 2011: 11). Sometimes, these forms remain part of one's linguistic repertoire, but as one ventures through life certain forms might be used less frequently (see also, Labov 1994, on age-grading).
- Single word learning: individual words of a language, or short phrases, can also be learnt through travel, and exposure to specific communities or practices. For example, people may learn how to say that they do not speak the local language (*No parlo Italiano*, 'I don't speak Italian', *ek praat nie Afrikaans nie*, 'I don't speak Afrikaans'), or learn how to say give thanks (*grazie, dankie*). The more salient or common a word or phrase is, the higher the chance of it being learnt by people who normally do not speak the language. Single word/phrase learning does not necessarily require face-to-face interaction, and online spaces have become important for language acquisition.
- Recognizing language: in certain cases, one might be able to recognize a language even though one cannot speak or understand the language. Exposure to a language can assist with developing such recognition skills. These skills can be based on the sound of a language or its written form. What is important here is that language recognition speaks to the social contexts that are associated with that language. Blommaert and Backus (2011: 13), for example, discuss the idea that "recognizing Hebrew writing, for instance, can make one realize that one has entered a Jewish neighbourhood". Once a language has been recognized, a multitude of perceptions and ideologies can manifest such as that certain foods will be available in shops, that there will be synagogues, that one might hear Yiddish being spoken, and so forth. Similarly, in Cape Town, many residents would be able to recognize Arabic writing on social media or flags, even though they might not be Muslim themselves.

The final form of learning is "embedded language learning" (Blommaert & Backus, 2011: 14). With embedded language learning, one learns parts of a language while using another. Blommaert and Backus (2011: 14) describe embedded language learning as learning how "to perform code-switching in an appropriate way". Consider the following example. When taking part in an Italian cooking class in an English-speaking country, code-switching into Italian would be considered appropriate and understood as part of the overall discourse. The practice represents the socially embedded nature of this type of competence.

Blommaert and Backus' (2011) typology enables us to understand how the linguistic resources within one's linguistic repertoire are shaped by one's experiences, involving both formal and informal situations. Blommaert and Backus (2011) call traditional understandings of competence into question: they argue that not having full competence is normal. Language learning, they suggest, is not necessarily motivated by a desire for full competence, but often by a desire to be able to participate in a range of social interactions.

I would like to expand on their – and Busch's (2017) – argument and suggest that, in addition to linguistic resources, people acquire their language ideologies through various encounters and, thus, biographically. Language ideologies are linked to biographies and experiences; just like repertoires, they have a temporal and experiential dimension. In other words, language ideologies are influenced by our social environment and our personal histories. Moreover, environments can change, thereby leading to shifts in ideologies. This means that while an existing ideology might be maintained in its essence, it can be altered and modified, following new experiences and encounters. Through such experiences and encounters, new 'bits of language' are added to existing ones, and these are then coupled with new ideologies which can change, or reinforce, perceptions and beliefs surrounding language, society, and the people one interacts with daily (or occasionally).

Thus, just like linguistic repertoires, language ideologies are complex and multiple, temporal, spatial, and interactional. This line of reasoning expands existing work on repertoires and emphasizes the importance of personal biography in forming one's knowledge of, and relationship to, language.

2. 5 Language Ideology as a Personal Experience

Linking the notion of ideology to personal experience and biography, is an addition this project makes to work on language ideologies. I maintain that language ideologies can be seen as

biographical in the same way linguistic repertoires are linked to one's biography. By positioning ideologies as biographical, personal experiences matter in forming such ideologies, sometimes leading to a special 'personal interest' regarding languages. Such personal interests emerge in dialogue with the larger social context, including ideologies held by the larger community as well as ideologies held by various micro-communities.

The concept of 'agency' is important in this context. While social factors such as schools, friendship groups, and so forth are important to consider when looking at language ideologies, our ideologies are not simply the necessary outcome of these broader social experiences. In other words, sometimes we do make choices. For example, if a friend starts learning a particular language, this may reflect their interest and perhaps the norms of their socialization. My affective bonds with this person might lead me to wish to learn this language, in a conscious act of alignment and solidarity with another person. I will discuss such processes in more detail in Chapter Six.

In developing my approach to language ideologies as biographical and experiential, I draw on Yang and Wang (2016) who argue that individuals hold social and individual language ideologies. According to Yang and Wang (2016: 53), social language ideologies include "all sorts of language ideologies in the given society". These are ideologies to which we are exposed when participating in social life. On the other hand, an individual ideology is understood as "a complex consisting of different sub-systems which are always conflicting and compromising with each other". While social language ideologies guide our actions within a certain social context, the biographical aspect of ideologies shapes our individual ideologies. It can position them in conflict with larger, widely accepted social ideologies.

Thus, the biographical aspect of language ideologies allows us to account for the unique experiences with language that separate one person from another in the same community and some cases, the same family. It contributes to refining Kroskrity's (2018) insight (discussed above) that language ideologies are multiple and helps us to understand individual 'choices' regarding language learning and use. Thus, while a wish to learn French might tap into broader social ideas of French as a desirable 'romantic language', my wish to learn French might be motivated by my circumstances, my embeddedness in particular friendship groups, and not solely by broader social ideologies.

In this context Busch's (2010; 2012) work with language portraits is important. Through this research tool, speakers can describe their 'learnt' resources and talk about those

linguistic resources they wish to acquire. In doing so they also articulate social and individual language ideologies. Busch (2010; 2012) uses language portraits – art and drawing – to allow speakers to express their connections to their linguistic resources beyond the narrative and discursive data that dominates in interviews. The language portrait method discussed by Busch (2010; 2012) was used by researchers Krumm and Jenkins (2001) to investigate language use among young children. Busch (2012: 9) then introduced the method to sociolinguistics. Language portraits allow for more intimate discussions about the link between language, identity, and biography (Chapter 3 offers a detailed discussion of the methodology). Busch (2012) provides a close discussion of one language portrait and draws links between the languages described, and the emotional connections the individual has to these languages. Her work emphasizes how the languages discussed by participants should be understood as forming a whole (a *Gestalt*), rather than being separate entities (Busch, 2012: 16). The language portrait also helps us understand that language ideologies can be strongly influenced by experiences such as travel and being immersed within a multilingual setting for a certain period in what is called "global mobility" (Busch, 2012: 17). This links back to my argument that language ideologies are social and biographical for individuals.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter outlined the main theoretical concepts that inform this thesis. Core concepts discussed were language ideologies and how they are linked to broader social factors; linguistic resources and repertoires; language ideologies both as social concept and, as I would emphasize, an individual reality, reflecting a personal set of beliefs that is shaped by one's biography. A wide range of unique experiences occur during the learning process, resulting in individualized linguistic repertoires and associated ideologies. Both are constantly interacting with broader community repertoires and social ideologies. Moreover, sometimes language ideologies and repertoires can result from personal choice. The amount of freedom one has when 'choosing' an ideology or a linguistic resource is, however, always constrained by social factors: sometimes we wish for a language, but have no access to it, or we might not have time to learn it. I further explored the concept of 'linguistic resources'. Here I drew on, especially, the work of Blommaert and Backus (2011). Blommaert and Backus (2011) argue that linguistic resources are ever adapting and increasing through 'learning', a process that happens throughout one's life. This line of thought links to Busch's (2017) work on language and

biography, shaped by her use of language portraits as a research methodology. I will expand further on this in the next chapter.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the methodology used in the research project. The project uses a qualitative approach and explores how participants talk about their linguistic repertoires and resources; thereby articulating their language ideologies.

In Section 3.2, I describe the research area and compare the neighbourhood to the greater Cape Town area. I further outline the area's history and provide population statistics, focusing on race, age, income, and languages spoken. Section 3.3 focuses on Tribute High, the school that participants attended. I discuss it as an example of an Ex-Model C school and locate it in the broader educational landscape in South Africa.

In Section 3.4, I explain how I gained access to the participants and was able to establish rapport. In Section 3.5, I look at the participants, and provide background information on each participant. Section 3.6 outlines the ethical considerations and my responsibilities as a researcher to my study and participants. The collaborative nature of my study is the focus here. I explain how I informed the parents of the participants, as well as the participants, about the project, and how I obtained both their consent.

In Section 3.7, I discuss the data collection tools used in my study: focus group discussions, language portrait activities, and in-depth interviews. In the final section, 3.8, I describe the method of analysis that was used for this study, namely, qualitative content analysis. I provide information on the coding system used as well as the process of analyzing the data.

3.2 The Research Area, Carrionsville

Carrionsville (a pseudonym noted in Chapter 1) is located in the northern suburbs of Cape Town, Western Cape. The area can be described as having pockets of 'middle classness', while other parts of the area could be described as (upper) 'working class' (following the typology established by Deumert 2010: 21). Different housing types exist in the neighbourhood. There are free-standing homes with large yard spaces as well as apartment buildings and newly built townhouses. Four main shopping centers service the area, catering to retail, household, and

health needs. Table 3.1 summarizes core statistical information for the Carrionsville and greater Cape Town area.

Category	Carrionsville	Cape Town Metropolitan
Sex	50.2% female 49.8% male	51% female 49% male
First language[3]	45.4% Afrikaans, 33.4% isiXhosa, 14% English 2.5% Sesotho 0.5% Setswana 0.4% isiZulu 0.3% isiNdebele 0.2% Sepedi 0.2% Xitsonga 0.1% Tshivenda 0.1% SiSwati 2.6% other	34.9% Afrikaans, 29.2% isiXhosa, 27.8% English 1% Sesotho 0.5% isiZulu 0.4% Setswana 0.3% isiNdebele 0.2% Sepedi 0.2% Xitsonga 0.1% Tshivenda 0.1% SiSwati 1.4% other
Race	40.2% coloured, 43.3% black African, 14.4% white, 0.4% indian/asian, 1.7% other	42.39% coloured, 38.63% black African, 15.66% white, 1.38% indian/asian, 3.53% other
Age range	26% young (0-14), 70.4% working age (15-64), 3.6% elderly (65+)	24.82% young (0-14), 69.18% working age (15-64), 3.53% elderly (65+)
Household income	18.9% less than R19, 601 monthly 63.8% R19,601 and above monthly, 17.3% no income	17.3% less than R19, 601 monthly, 69.1% more than R19, 601 monthly, 13.7% no income

Table 3.1: Statistics for Carrionsville and Cape Town Metropolitan (Census 2011)

Table 3.1 shows that Carrionsville has population statistics that are broadly similar to the greater Cape Town area. The main difference is concerning language use in the home: Carrionsville is an Afrikaans-dominant area, which also shows a strong presence of isiXhosa. Only 14% of the population speaks English as a home language – a percentage that is considerably lower than what is reported for the greater Cape Town area. Furthermore, Carrionsville, while having pockets of 'middle classness', has an overall higher unemployment rate when compared to the greater Cape Town area.

[3] The use of 'first language' according to Statistics South Africa (Lehohla, 2012) refers to the language that speakers identify as the language most commonly spoken within the home.

3.3 Model C Schools and Tribute High

Tribute High, which participants attended in 2017, is categorized as an Ex-model C school. Model C schools were white-only schools during Apartheid (for a detailed discussion of Model-C schools, see Christie & McKinney, 2017). These schools were semi-private, well-resourced, and maintained white privilege and dominance. After 1994, these schools became multi-racial, but continued to privilege white students and whiteness through admission processes and policies as well as the hiring of mostly white staff. In terms of language, education was conducted through the media of English and Afrikaans. Webb, Lafon, and Pare (2010) mention that post-apartheid, Ex-Model C schools showed a preference for English as medium of instruction, with much fewer schools using Afrikaans. African languages are only available as additional languages.

Tribute High is a dual medium school. This means that learners can choose between English and Afrikaans as the medium of teaching and learning. In 2016, in grade 10, there were 120 English home language learners and 76 Afrikaans home language learners. When the data was collected in 2017, these learners were in Grade 11, and 11 participants were drawn from this grade. All participants in this study were taught through the medium of English and studied Afrikaans as a first additional language. Nine of them reported English as their home language. One participant had Afrikaans as her home language, and another had chiShona as her home language. No students from the Afrikaans-medium class showed interest in participating in this study. It is important to mention that based on my experience at school events and the attendance of the 2018 valedictory, the Afrikaans-medium classes seem to be dominated by white students, with only a small number of coloured and black students. The English classes are more mixed, with students from various racial and linguistic backgrounds.

3.4 Gaining Entry

The school, Tribute High (a pseudonym), was the entry point for the research. I chose to conduct my research among students in Grade 11 class because they were nearing school-leaving age. Due to this, they may reflect more on the role that languages play in their lives, especially regarding future study and work opportunities. I had become familiar with the school by spending time with my niece (who was 17 at the time) at school events, such as rugby days and other extra-mural activities. After being introduced to a few students by my niece, I had casual chats with them about the languages spoken within their immediate environments. They

showed interest in the topic and indicated that they would be happy to participate in the research. I consulted the principal about the possibility of using the school grounds to conduct my research. While supportive of the project, the principal had concerns about the impact the research may have on students' class time. It became clear that it was best to conduct the research outside of school hours and off school grounds.

3.5 The Participants

A total of 11 participants took part in this study. At the commencement of the data collection period, 10 participants resided within the larger Carrionsville area, and one had lived in the area before moving to another suburb. There were eight female participants and three male participants.

Although all participants mentioned Afrikaans and English as part of their language repertoire, their exposure to Afrikaans and English presented biographical differences. There are many ways in which one could describe the participants as bilingual or multilingual. Such a description could be based on the schools they attended and/or the communities in which they have lived, as well as the families in which they grew up. The participants' backgrounds are given in Table 3.2, which summarizes the basic demographic information provided by each participant. For ethical reasons, all names are pseudonyms (see subsection 3.6).

Table 3.2 highlights the demographic profile of participants. This includes the age ranges, sex/gender, race (all these were self-identified by the participants). In addition, the table shows reported home language, dominant language/s in the home, medium of instruction, and first additional language at school. It also indicates (via the key) the data collection activities in which each participant took part

Name	Age	Gender	Race	Home language (current language/s spoken in the home)	Dominant language (as indicated by participants)[4]	Medium of teaching and learning	First additional language learnt at school	Data collected
Zene	17	F	W	Afrikaans	Afrikaans/English	English	Afrikaans	FG/LP/II
Jason	17	M	C	Afrikaans/English	English/Afrikaans	English	Afrikaans	LP/II
Mikayla	15	F	C	Afrikaans/English	English	English	Afrikaans	LP/II
Claire	15	F	C	Afrikaans/ English	English/Afrikaans	English	Afrikaans	FG/LP/II
Rachel	17	F	W	English	English	English	Afrikaans	FG/LP/II
Kayla	17	F	C	Afrikaans/ English	English	English	Afrikaans	FG
Zonita	17	F	C	Afrikaans/English	English	English	Afrikaans	FG
Jake	17	M	W	English/Afrikaans	English	English	Afrikaans	FG
Porcia[5]	17	F	B	chiShona	chiShona/English	English	Afrikaans	LP/II
Farzahna	17	F	CM	Afrikaans/English	English	English	Afrikaans	FG/LP/II
Jaco	17	M	W	Flemish/English/ Afrikaans	English	English	Afrikaans	FG/LP/II

Table 3.2. Demographic information for each participant

**Key*: F-Female, M-Male; W-white, C-coloured, B-black, CM-Cape Malay; FG-Focus Group, LP-Language Portrait; II-In-depth interview

[4] This column is organized according to how each participant describes their daily language use. For certain participants who describe two languages used daily, the language mentioned first is more dominant than the other.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

As a researcher, I must keep ethical considerations in mind, especially since my participants were under the age of 18. They were between 15 and 17 years old at the time of data collection. The data collected was anonymized using pseudonyms to protect the students' identities. To further protect the participants' identities, a pseudonym was assigned to the school and the suburb (see above).

To ensure compliance with the University of Cape Town's (UCT) ethics protocols, I drew up letters to inform and ask permission from the parents of participants (Appendix 2). In the letter, I explained who I am, what I do and what part their teenage child would play within the research process. The ethical principle of informed consent is essential in research; all participants and their guardians signed the consent forms. In the letter I also explained the criteria for being a participant: they needed to be in grade eleven and have been exposed to English and Afrikaans in some form (at school, home, and/or community). I also explained that participants may terminate the interview at any time (e.g., if they felt distressed or uncomfortable). The same information was repeated to participants, who consented independently of their caregivers.

The interviews, focus groups and language portrait activity (see Section 3.7 for further discussion) were conducted at my sister's house, with one participant selecting to have the interview at their home. I understand that conducting research in private spaces poses issues such as altering family routines. A researcher must consider those family routines when discussing when and how the research will be conducted. Moreover, if the research is conducted in a space familiar to the researcher, this can amplify the power held by the researcher. It is for this reason that I asked each participant where they felt most comfortable, and they had the option of having the interview at a place of their choice. I also understand that my position as a researcher may influence participants' sense of comfortability. While some of the participants had no real interactions with me before the research process, I had encountered others, before my study, in the neighbourhood and at the school. My position as a researcher had to be clearly articulated for those who knew me before. With those who only encountered me as part of the research, it was important to establish rapport and ensure that participants felt comfortable.

The approach I took was collaborative. The aim was to have both the researcher and

participants guide the data collection and production process. This was achieved by establishing a dialogue and allowing the participants to share their thoughts and experiences. Frank (2005) draws on the work by Bakhtin (1984) in emphasizing the move away from researcher-driven analysis to a collaborative research environment.

3.7 Data collection

I conducted two focus groups to encourage discussion and interaction around participants' experiences with language. The focus-group space allows individuals to share their thoughts, perceptions, and feelings with their peers. After conducting the focus groups, participants were invited to participate in the language portrait activity. In addition, I conducted eight in-depth individual interviews. Three participants did not participate in the focus group but agreed to participate in the other two activities (language portrait and interviews).

3.7.1 Focus groups

Table 3.3 shows the eight participants involved in the two focus groups and the duration of each group.

Focus group 1	Duration	Focus Group 2	Duration
Jaco Jake Rachel Zonita	56m:05s	Zene Farzahna Claire Kayla	72m:06s

Table 3.3: Participants and duration of the focus groups

As noted above, the focus group discussions took place at my sister's house. Privacy was maintained by keeping the door closed. The living room had enough seating for six people. Before starting the focus group discussion, we had refreshments as we all got to know each other. The option to conduct the focus group in Afrikaans was offered; however, each group unanimously decided on English. At the beginning, I showed three YouTube videos representing different varieties of Afrikaans.[5] The videos are discussed further in Chapter 5.

[5] Batavosphere. 5 July 2016. Charlize Theron speaking Afrikaans with Dutch speaking Belgian reporter. Accessed on the 16th of January 2017 via: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aAz8MCO8fg8

Coffeebeans Routes. 4 May 2007. Goemerati Presents BLAQ PEARL- Ignorance by Devious. Accessed on the 16th of January 2017 via:

After watching the videos, the discussion began and I audio-recorded those interactions, using my cell phone (an iPhone 6). Initially, the focus of this study was to engage, especially, with the youth's experiences with Afrikaans (see Chapter 1). This original interest prompted the selection of the three videos. They were used as examples to illustrate various ways of speaking Afrikaans. The intent was to elicit meta-pragmatic discussions about these varieties along with follow-up questions and comments by the participants. The focus group data is discussed in Chapter 5.

3.7.2 Language Portraits

10 of the 11 participants completed the language portrait activity and the subsequent interview. I drew on Busch's (2012; 2017) language portrait methodology, an activity in which participants colour in the silhouette of a human body, exploring aspects of language and bodily experience. In doing so they reflect not only on their linguistic practices, but also articulate language ideologies. Jake was the only participant who did not complete the portrait, since he had to leave early. Participants were given an empty silhouette and were asked to insert their languages on the body shape.

Figure 3.1.: Blank language portrait

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nx8z3zsaiPs

Soren, T. 20 March 2015. Cape Town's "Passion Gap". Accessed on the 16th of January 2017. Via: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BksrAlBMGS4

In the context of this research, the participants were given coloured pencils, comprising twenty-four different colours. This activity was done after the focus groups were completed. Some portraits were completed on the same afternoon as the focus group; some were completed on another day (arranged between me and the participant). Most portraits were completed in the same location as the focus groups.

The participants engaged with the portraits in different ways. I asked them to indicate where they felt language existed within their bodies. They took the idea of 'bodies' to extend to their overall lives and experiences with language, not limiting their views and drawings to the physical body alone. After completing their portraits, they discussed them briefly, and I recorded the interaction. The portrait descriptions were short, ranging from 1 minute and 20 seconds (shortest; Kayla/Appendix 10, Figure 7) to 4 minutes and 20 seconds (longest; Mikayla/Appendix 10, Figure 8). The portraits were useful as they allowed for a deeper understanding of participants' language repertoires (see Chapter 6).

3.7.3 In-Depth Interviews

Five of the focus group participants were interested in a follow-up interview. In addition, I interviewed three participants who were meant to be part of a focus group but had been unable to attend (Porcia, Mikayla, and Jason). Table 3.4 summarizes the information about the interviews.

Participant	Duration
Zene	43:45
Jaco	44:11
Rachel	36:52
Farzahna	42:34
Jason	40:54
Claire	41:06
Porcia	44:16
Mikayla	47:16

Table 3.4: Participants and duration of the in-depth interviews

Due to the nature of the interview (being one-on-one), I offered that they could be conducted in their homes. One participant chose this option, while the other seven preferred to have the

interview at my sister's house. The interviews focused on the participants' experiences with language(s), eliciting personal narratives about language(s). Participants appeared to feel at liberty to discuss their personal feelings and perceptions about language more in-depth than they did in the focus group setting. In most cases, the in-depth interviews had links to the focus group discussions, yet participants elaborated more in the interviews, possibly encouraged by the more private setup.

3.8 Method of Analysis

After concluding the data collection period, I listened to and transcribed all recordings. In working with the data, the following core themes were identified; they were highlighted and coded:

- Identity and language;
- Appreciation of certain languages focusing on affective and evaluative terms such as "love", "strong", "better for communication".
- Lack of appreciation for certain languages focusing on affective and evaluative terms such as "useless", "struggle" and "weird".

This method allowed me to highlight similarities and differences within the data and further enabled me to identify sub-themes and keywords. The approach is usually called "qualitative content analysis". Hsieh and Shannon (2005: 1278) describe qualitative content analysis as "a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns". Thus, the researcher identifies themes grounded in the participants' meanings to the social world. It is seen as a process whereby exploration and explanation surface based on the themes, which emerge from a dataset.

In their discussion of qualitative content analysis, de Wet and Erasmus (2005) suggest that it can be helpful for researchers to do repeated readings of the transcripts. The initial reading and re-reading phase allowed me to identify the above-noted core themes. This is also referred to as "first-level coding" (de Wet & Erasmus, 2005:30). As they explain, one's codes evolve as the coding and re-reading of the dataset grows interactively, with an increase in linkages between ideas and themes. Level-2 coding refers to the process whereby the original codes (Level-1) are explored in more depth and additional categories are developed (Hahn,

2008:7). Thus, as one reads, broader themes can be refined for the analysis.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter focused on outlining the methodology used in this thesis. The first section (3.2) discussed the research area, providing an overview of the urban area where the school is located. I further introduced the school and located it in South Africa's education landscape. The second section (3.3) described the means of gaining entry and establishing rapport with my participants. The third section (3.4) introduced the participants of this study. The fourth section (3.5) outlined and discussed the qualitative nature of this study and then focused on the ethical considerations that needed to be adhered to by the researcher. The fifth section (3.6) was dedicated to the data collection methods used. It names and discusses three methods: focus group sessions, in-depth interviews, and language portrait activity (and an interview surrounding this activity). The final section (3.7) explained the use of qualitative content analysis and identified the main themes that guided my interpretation of the data: identity and language; appreciation of certain languages (some of the terms used as descriptors were "*love*", "*strong*", "*better for communication*"); lack of appreciation for certain languages (some descriptors used were "*useless*", "*struggle*" and "*weird*"). With this in mind, we will see these themes discussed in more depth in the following three data analysis chapters.

Chapter 4: Being Bilingual

4.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at the role English plays in the lives of some of the participants, generally focusing on Zene and Rachel (and their in-depth interviews). I explore how English forms part of Cape Town's multilingual landscape and often dominates in an individual's repertoire. The chapter describes the home environment of both participants, exploring the distinction between an Afrikaans-dominant home, and an English-dominant home. The aim is to reflect on the linguistic influences both have had, and how linguistic practices that are common at home are maintained, or are not maintained, outside of the home.

To explore this biographical angle further, Jason's and Farzahna's interviews are also discussed, looking at their linguistic experiences and backgrounds, highlighting the idea of intergenerational language use (with particular attention to Afrikaans). The chapter further documents how Zene and Rachel – as well as Jason and Farzahna – construct their identities through language use and language choices. I show that, for Zene, her identity construction is fluid outside the home; yet, it is rather fixed within the home. At home she is Afrikaans, and beyond the home, she gravitates towards English, combining it with Afrikaans. Rachel does not have similar experiences. Her identity appears relatively stable across all domains (home, school, etc.), and she predominantly uses English. The chapter also discusses Rachel and Zene's ideologies about English and Afrikaans. Both participants position speaking English as an expectation and norm within their social world. Afrikaans is where they differ: Afrikaans is an everyday language for Zene, yet a second language, mainly used in school, for Rachel. The chapter also looks at the role of language in the schooling setting, further indicating a strong presence of English. The chapter then explores the idea that English is often seen as a lingua franca in South Africa. This also applies to the metropolitan area of Cape Town, even to an Afrikaans-dominant suburb such as Carrionsville.

Language in the Home: Zene and Rachel

4.2.1 Zene

Zene's childhood was Afrikaans-dominant, with English being introduced in school. All family members speak Afrikaans across all situations. Beyond the home, Zene uses English at school

and within various social settings, but she can and does use Afrikaans, comfortably if she needs to. Consider the example (1), an extract from Zene's interview.

(1) Imrah: Which languages are you able to speak?
Zene: Afrikaans and English.
Imrah: How did you learn to speak these languages?
Zene: I grew up as Afrikaans home language and through school, English.
Imrah: So, English not so much at home?
Zene: No.
Imrah: And then which of these languages do you consider your home language?
Zene: Afrikaans.
Imrah: So, if you think about your home situation, do you hear more Afrikaans than English?
Zene: Yes, yes.
Imrah: So, if you had to put it into a percentage?
Zene: Like 90/10.
Imrah: Do your parents speak Afrikaans to each other?
Zene: Yes.
Imrah: And then to you?
Zene: Afrikaans too.
Imrah: And your siblings?
Zene: My brother, he comes home, and he speaks Afrikaans and English mixed. So, he picks up different languages at school.
Imrah: So, what do you think will be his home language?
Zene: English. I think English.
Imrah: And when he speaks to you, he speaks English?
Zene: He speaks mixed, but my parents said they are going to put him in an English class.

Afrikaans dominates Zene's home experience, and it has been her first language from a young age. When asked about the languages she can speak, Zene commented: "*Afrikaans and English".* Mentioning Afrikaans first could be interpreted as reflecting its centrality in her life. She states that every member of her family speaks Afrikaans. In this context, her language practices were, and are, strongly related to the linguistic values and norms within her family. Considering her siblings, Zene has one sibling who is younger and who, like her, has been exposed to Afrikaans and English due to his schooling. However, according to her, he seems to be English dominant (on the role of schools in supporting the shift to English, see Anthonissen, 2013: 33).

Zene was initially placed in the Afrikaans stream at high school. However, from age 15 (Grade 10), she has been in the English stream at school, with Afrikaans as her first additional language. Of significance is the influence that her teacher had on this decision. During her interview, Zene stated, *"I only chose English at the end of ninth grade, because my English teacher called me in and told me that I read, write and talk like an English home language*

person, so wouldn't I be interested to change to English home language". Zene did not elaborate on her or her parents' reaction to this suggestion. I then asked Zene whether she would have remained within the Afrikaans stream had this not happened and she said, "*I think so, yes*". Thus, her move to the English stream was initiated by her teacher, rather than her own interests.

Based on the discussion above, Zene is comfortable in English and Afrikaans and can adjust easily to different communicative demands. In the interview, Zene discusses the idea of comfort and language, and explains that despite her strong emotional attachment to Afrikaans, she would readily use English as the default language in interactions with strangers:

(2) Imrah: If you think about yourself and you are at a social gathering and you need to introduce yourself to some people do you think you would describe yourself best in English or Afrikaans?
Zene: English. And if the person was Afrikaans I would repeat what I just said in Afrikaans.
Imrah: But you'd go for English first?
Zene: Yes. I think I'm just more comfortable in English.
Imrah: Okay and the language you most identify with?
Zene: English. I don't know, I'm very comfortable in English.

4.2.2 Rachel

Although English is currently dominant in her repertoire, Rachel's childhood exposed her to English and Afrikaans. Her parents would speak English to one another, and with her and her siblings. Yet, Afrikaans maintains a context-specific role within this family. That is, it is reserved for friends and clients of her parents as shown in (3).

(3) Imrah: Which languages are you able to speak?
Rachel: English fluently and Afrikaans, I suck, but okay.
Imrah: Which of these languages do you consider your home language?
Rachel: English.
Imrah: So, if you think about your home, right? Which languages do you hear the most?
Rachel: English.
Imrah: English mainly. And any Afrikaans?
Rachel: My mommy when she talks to clients, or my stepfather when he talks to clients, or their friends because their friends are Afrikaans.
Imrah: And then do your parents speak to each other in English and Afrikaans?
Rachel: English and to me they speak English.
Imrah: And you and your siblings?
Rachel: English.

When asked about the languages she can speak, she names them and comments on her proficiency in them: "*English fluently and Afrikaans, I suck, but okay".* Using the colloquialism "suck" devalues her competence in Afrikaans. Through her descriptive language, her ideologies towards each language become visible: English is claimed and cherished, but there is a distance towards Afrikaans, an experienced lack of fluency.

In the interview, Rachel discusses English from a biographical angle (Blommaert and Backus, 2011; Busch, 2017). English takes preference for her, and she repeatedly mentions English in a generally positive light. From a young age, Rachel remembers her home as an English-dominant space where "*[she] wasn't brought up in [Afrikaans]*". Rachel's identity is strongly seated within the realm of an English speaker. However, even though her parents conversed with her in English, the larger context goes beyond these interactions, with Afrikaans being heard regularly at home. She further describes her parents as bilinguals comfortable in English and Afrikaans. The latter with Afrikaans speaking business associates and friends.

Considering Rachel's schooling environment, she attended two primary schools, and one high school (Tribute High). She described these environments:

(4) Rachel: Valley View Primary [a pseudonym] was a posh school. The Afrikaans children spoke proper Afrikaans and the English children spoke proper English. It wouldn't be mixed, and they wouldn't say, like they wouldn't speak "gham" Afrikaans. At this school (Tribute High) they speak "gham" Afrikaans the Afrikaans people don't even speak Afrikaans.

Looking at these comments about her schooling, Rachel distinguishes between (i) English and Afrikaans, and (ii) between different varieties of these languages ("*proper*" and its opposite). She states that at her high school, if Afrikaans is spoken, it is the "*gham*" variety, which she links to a "*mixed*" variety of Afrikaans, thus othering it when considering what is deemed "*proper*". *Gham* is a pejorative term, used to describe people historically classified as 'coloured' who are 'typically' from areas in Cape Town, ridden with socioeconomic issues. Becker (2017:254) discusses the negative connotations of 'gamtaal' as "embracing drunkenness, immorality, impurity and untrustworthiness". Based on the above discussion, it is clear that one's biography and experiences can and do inform our ideologies and perceptions of what we assume language to be. In Rachel's case, it is the idea that Afrikaans is one thing (described as 'proper'), and that other ways of speaking Afrikaans are equivalent to not "even [to] speak Afrikaans".

Based on the above discussions (in Section 4.2.1), one could say that Zene feels that English provides her comfort and Afrikaans provides her with a family identity. An important point to remember is that, unlike Rachel, Zene has a positive attachment to both English and Afrikaans. This is a consequence of her biography and experiences.

4.2.3 Language in the home: Jason and Farzahna

In the following section, I discuss the homes and home languages of two participants, Jason and Farzahna. They both come from bilingual Afrikaans-English homes; however, there are also differences between them based on biographical and geographical aspects. Moreover, Rachel and Zene are self-identified as white, while Jason and Farzahna are coloured. There seems to be a patterning of language shift for all participants discussed here, excluding Zene. The pattern shows a loss of Afrikaans in the younger generation. Anthonissen (2013) describes similar language shift patterns for coloured communities in the Western Cape.

In (5), Jason describes the linguistic practices in his home.

(5) Imrah: Which languages are you able to speak?
Jason: English and just Afrikaans and English.
Imrah: Okay. Afrikaans and English. How did you learn to speak those languages? English and Afrikaans.
Jason: Those languages (0.1) English I just grew up [with] my parents speaking English. Afrikaans [was spoken by] my grandparents, my mother's parents, I speak English and Afrikaans. I went to an Afrikaans crèche.
Imrah: And your primary school was English?
Jason: Ja.
Imrah: Okay. So which of those languages do you consider your home language?
Jason: English.
Imrah: English. Definitely. Okay. So if you think about your home situation, what languages do you hear in the house most of the time?
Jason: English between my siblings and myself and my parents and my parents speak Afrikaans together.
Imrah: To each other. Okay. And they don't speak Afrikaans to any of your siblings? They just speak English.
Jason: They just speak English, ja.

Jason's experience directly talks to the intergenerational shift away from Afrikaans, where the grandparents have a strong affiliation to Afrikaans, and continue to use it with other family members. However, one generation later, his parents spoke English to him and his siblings, while continuing to speak Afrikaans to the grandparents. This, again, is similar to Rachel's

experience. His life thus began with both English and Afrikaans. Afrikaans had a strong presence in his early life via his initial education; as he says, "*I went to an Afrikaans crèche.*

In (5), Farzahna describes her home as a space that Afrikaans and English share, even she refers to English as her home language.

(6) Imrah: Which languages are you able to speak?
Farzahna: English, occasionally Afrikaans.
Imrah: Okay. How did you learn to speak these languages?
Farzahna: English. I was raised speaking English. Afrikaans got taught to speak it at school but [I] still have not fully learnt [it].
Imrah: Okay. Which one of the languages you just mentioned would you consider your home language?
Farzahna: English.
Imrah: Okay. So if you think about your home, which languages do you hear the most?
Farzahna: Afrikaans.
Imrah: Okay. No English?
Farzahna: You do hear it sometimes like when my mom speaks to me but […] sometimes she will even speak to me in Afrikaans and I'll reply in English and then my mom and dad speak Afrikaans to each other.
Imrah: Okay and you and your sister?
Farzahna: We speak English. But sometimes she speaks Afrikaans to me

As a point of clarification, participants such as Farzahna make a distinction between the languages present within the home ('home' language/s), and the language they consider their most dominant language. Thus, Farzahna's home includes Afrikaans and English, but she considers English her dominant language. Farzahna comes from a similar home to that of Jason and Rachel, where Afrikaans is spoken by the older generation, her parents. Still, English is almost exclusively used when her parents speak to her. She further clarified that she and her sister use mostly English when interacting with each other, with some instances where her sister would speak Afrikaans to her. I relate to Farzahna's description of her home as someone who was raised in a similar home with similar experiences, Afrikaans-dominant parents, but English-dominant children. This suggests that language shift occurring within some families, from Afrikaans dominance to English dominance with the younger generations. Anthonissen (2013) describes this as common for coloured families. Yet, we see a similar pattern emerging with Rachel. With Zene, we see her younger brother showing signs of bilingualism, and English presence within their Afrikaans-dominant space. His use of an Afrikaans-English mix when speaking could indicate language shift.

4.3 Language at School

Given Zene's strong Afrikaans identity, I wanted to find out how she feels about conducting her schooling in English. During the interview, Zene and I discussed this in detail in (6).

(7) Imrah: If you think about those subjects, what do you think it would have been like if you chose to do them in Afrikaans?
Zene: I think that it would have been really difficult, because some English terms, you would have heard about on the news or somewhere, because I think especially the business world is more English than Afrikaans or other languages, and some terms are easier to understand in English than they are to understand in Afrikaans.
Imrah: Okay. So, at your school because it is dual medium of instruction, are you able to do some of them in Afrikaans even though you chose English, for example?
Zene: Yes, we are allowed to.
Imrah: Okay and why did you not choose to do that then?
Zene: Because I say I stick with Afrikaans home language and say I take for example business in English, I would have gotten way more confused because then I would have to do Afrikaans then English then Afrikaans then English and our dance teacher is English so she teaches us in English anyway, so I think it's easier to stick with one language than having some Afrikaans and some English.

Zene explains that she decided to study all subjects – except for Afrikaans home language – in English. In this extract, she articulates a language ideology that argues for the importance of keeping languages separate. Grosjean (1989) discusses the monolingual bias as an issue in research and educational spaces. The monolingual bias views bilinguals as being made up of "two separate and isolable language competencies" (Grosjean, 1989: 4). Auer (2007) argues that viewing languages as separate entities restricts our research and overlooks the linguistic practices present within bilingual communities. Yet, in educational settings, bilinguals are often encouraged not to combine their languages, but to try and remain in a monolingual language mode. This relates directly to Zene, who prefers not to move back-and-forth between languages and has thus internalized the monolingual bias when it comes to school. She emphasizes this by saying, "*I would have gotten way more confused*" if she had decided to take some subjects in English, others in Afrikaans. Zene thereby positions models of bilingual education as problematic and has internalized dominant educational ideologies such as a strict separation of languages.

Rachel also discussed educational bilingualism in the interview. Even though she speaks Afrikaans and comes from a home where Afrikaans is present, she does not think that she could ever study through the medium of Afrikaans. Rachel has certain classes,

Mathematics, Physics, and Life Sciences where teachers practice code-switching (on code-switching in the classroom, see the discussion on Uys & Van Dulm, 2011, and footnote 8). Rachel does not necessarily oppose the use of Afrikaans in class, her issues stem from her limited competence, especially in technical subjects such as mathematics. For her, the presence of code-switching increases the difficulty she experiences when trying to understand the content. Like Zene, Rachel also maintains a monolingual bias when considering her schooling. Yet, their reasons for their preference differ. Zene's rejection stems from a sense that switching between languages impedes academic progress and would "*confuse*" her; Rachel's stems from her lack of competence in Afrikaans, which makes it impossible for her to study through Afrikaans. The need to comprehend the content of the subjects remains a deciding factor for her. Thus, to be successful at school means to be taught in the language she understands well and for her, that is English.

4.4 Language Practices, Identity, and English

As noted in Chapter 3, some participants (7 in total) self-identified as bilingual in English and Afrikaans. The nature of their self-identified bilingualism was however diverse. In the previous sections, I focused on the different kinds of bilingualism that shape the lifeworlds of Rachel and Zene. While Rachel is English dominant, Zene described herself as fluent in English and Afrikaans. Moreover, even though she speaks both languages fluently, she identifies more strongly with Afrikaans.

(8) Imrah: When you are speaking Afrikaans, do you feel that you are being true to yourself?
Zene: Yes, I think so. Like I'm like sticking to my roots like where I came from, and I grew up like that and it's like what my family wanted as well so it's like I'm honouring them as well.
Imrah: And you would say that Afrikaans comes naturally to you?
Zene: Yes, definitely.
Imrah: English as well?
Zene: Yes. Definitely too.
Imrah: Wow. So, do you ever feel you [are] being judged when you speak English?
Zene: I think a lot of people don't expect me to do as well in English because, I can remember like last year was my first year in English and the whole class, when they saw I was second in our class, I had like in the 80%, and everyone was like 'WHAT Zene's there' and it's because they don't expect me to do as well because I am Afrikaans.
Imrah: And then when you are speaking Afrikaans what type of feelings do you experience?
Zene: Definitely pride because I grew up like that.

Zene identifies with multiple ways of speaking and is comfortable with both languages. She discusses how she negotiates her linguistic identities, allowing her to distance herself from a stereotypical Afrikaner-identity, on the one hand, and embracing an English identity, on the other. Both identities matter to her, yet, in some ways, Afrikaans is central. This is evident when she says: *"I am Afrikaans"*. This phrase marks a sense of belonging and relates directly to her family, her "*roots*". At the same time, being proficient in English is important to her too. It is not just a language, but speaking Afrikaans allows her to challenge stereotypes about Afrikaans-speakers and to articulate a more complex South African identity. Thus, being known as an Afrikaans-speaker who can equally make use of English, and who is equally at home in English, is important to her.

Later in the interview, she describes how she habitually switches between English and Afrikaans:

(9) Zene: I will be like 'no but you guys must… bly net stil [just stay quite], so I'll just switch without thinking.

It is noticeable that Zene adapts linguistically to different environments. As stated before, her home is Afrikaans-dominant. Still, her educational environment is mainly English; her friends are either English dominant (usually bilingual with Afrikaans) or Afrikaans dominant (bilingual with English). She describes her friendship groups as follows: "*most of my friends are Afrikaans and I speak Afrikaans to them*", and "*either English or Afrikaans I have both (types of friends)*". In Zene's reflections, we see a complex negotiation of identities and associated linguistic practices, inside the home and outside of it.

Rachel, as noted above, struggles with Afrikaans, and identifies English as her dominant language. In (10), I asked her how she usually introduces herself.

(10) Imrah: If you need to describe yourself to someone, maybe you meet a stranger in a mall which language is best for you to do that?
Rachel: English.
Imrah: And if it were an Afrikaans situation?
Rachel: I'd really attempt but then apologize and switch to English.

Later in the interview, we discussed her communication practices with Afrikaans-speaking friends. Rachel's short narrative shows her struggle with, and insecurity about, speaking Afrikaans.

(11) Rachel: And I do speak English to them [Afrikaans friends] but then their parents say, 'oh you know you can attempt to speak Afrikaans hey' and then I try and then they laugh at how I pronounce the words.

Rachel explains that English allows her to "*always express myself better than Afrikaans*" and she thus avoids speaking Afrikaans, even with Afrikaans-speaking friends, because she gets "*laugh[ed] at*". Unlike Zene, Rachel struggles to shift between the languages within her linguistic repertoire, and English is dominant for her, at home and outside of the home. Her need to communicate in a way that is comfortable and non-threatening to her overshadows her wish to perhaps relate to someone in a different language.

4.5 English as a Lingua Franca

Many participants see English as integral to how they present themselves to others. When asked about language use within social settings, such as with friends, church, and parties, they all mentioned English as the language they felt most comfortable with. Most of this reflected the idea of English-as-a-lingua-franca. Rudwick (2018: 419) discusses the idea that within South Africa, English is described and thought of as "one of their important lingua francas for international as well as domestic communication". The discussion below looks at Zene and Rachel's interactions with English and the reasons for choosing English above other languages within their repertoires.

During the interview, Zene expanded on the benefit that learning in English has for her. She elaborated:

(12) Zene: I think so yes because obviously there won't just be white people in my workplace, they are from different races. So maybe they would be a Xhosa who might be able to speak English but not Afrikaans, then I think in such a case English would be more beneficial to have to communicate better with everyone.

Zene focuses on the idea that English might be the only common language in a group comprising various individuals with different home languages. Implicit in her statement is a belief that certain languages are associated with specific racial groups, a process sociolinguists refer to as 'linguistic racialization' (Gonzalez-Sobrino and Goss**,** 2019**,** Hochman, 2019, and Omi and Winant, 2015). Moreover, there remains a sense of apartheid linguistic hierarchy here. In the extract above Zene portrays English as "beneficial" for communication in diverse contexts.

Rachel then emphasised the communicative benefits of English, and in her interview, we discussed the use of English in different contexts. She narrates a memory of meeting a group of singers, from America, would visit their school, and assist them with choir singing. Rachel and her friends usually spoke English to the American visitors but used Afrikaans as an in-group language for topics they wanted to conceal from the visitors. She recalls the memory in (13).

(13) Imrah: In which contexts do you speak more English?
Rachel: Most contexts.
Imrah: Have there ever been cases where you felt that English was just the most appropriate language for that context?
Rachel: Yes. Like there are Americans here, they didn't understand. That's why if we shouted at other children, we would shout it in Afrikaans so that they [the Americans] wouldn't know that we are shouting at those children. Like we would say 'hou jou bek!' ['shut up!'], they wouldn't know what that means. So basically, we are not disrespecting them [the Americans] and then they won't know. If you want to talk to them, you would speak English because they would understand exactly what you are saying when you speak English and they find it fascinating when we talk because it's different to them. Like when we find it fascinating when they talk to us.

Rachel's comments on using Afrikaans can be described as a "small story" (Bamberg, 2006; Schachter, 2011), and her perspective is interesting. Afrikaans is the language that allowed her to camouflage her use of harsh colloquial language from the visitors, who – in turn – will not feel "*disrespect[ed]*" or uncomfortable because they would not know what was being said. It is clear that while she often feels insecure when speaking Afrikaans, it still belongs to her linguistic repertoire and is used in everyday contexts. In this extract, English is positioned as a lingua franca to be used with foreigners and visitors. Kamwangamalu and Tovares (2016:430) discuss the idea that English serves an interpersonal function within both South Africa and Kenya, thus as "a link between speakers of various languages in a multilingual society". Kamwangamalu and Tovares (2016:430) further state that "as an international language English allows people from all over the world, including Kenyans and South Africans, to communicate and engage in business and foreign relations".

Rachel further comments on the status of English in South Africa as follows: "*everyone speaks English. Like EVERYONE ... if you want to talk to them you would speak English because they would understand exactly what you are saying when you speak English*." In this extract, Rachel positions English again as a lingua franca, indeed as a universal language. Rachel's comments reflect Kroskrity's (2004) argument that ideologies about language are

often located in common-sense discourses. In this case she articulates the often heard argument that, if one wishes to communicate effectively across various contexts, English is an important lingua franca, both nationally and internationally.

4.6 Conclusion

Within this chapter, the discussion focused on how English and Afrikaans form part of the lives of the two participants, Zene and Rachel. While their backgrounds differed, overlaps existed concerning some of their attitudes towards English. However, the school and its emphasis on English can shift patterns of language use. Zene is from an Afrikaans-dominant home, yet she is English-dominant when in public spaces, such as at school. On the other hand, Rachel comes from a home where Afrikaans is used only among the parent generation. This results in a strong preference for English and extensive linguistic insecurity about Afrikaans.

In addition, I discussed some of the interview data by Jason and Farzahna looking at language use in their bilingual homes. While bilingual, English serves as the dominant language in the lives of Jason and Farzahna. This is important to mention because they both went on to clarify that the older generation, parents in Farzahna's case and parents/grandparents in Jason's case, maintain Afrikaans as their home language (see also Reynolds, 2013 on intergenerational language practices in bilingual families). Thus, Afrikaans-English bilingualism at home comes in many shapes in South Africa. Some are Afrikaans-dominant across all generations; in others, Afrikaans is used predominantly in the parent/grandparent generation. It has further been clarified in this chapter that it is important to keep the following in mind: depending on who is involved in the interaction/conversation, the language used may shift. Thus, if one speaks to the older generation, Afrikaans is more dominant, among the younger generations English dominates. It should be noted that Farzahna does not respond in Afrikaans when her sister and mother use Afrikaans, she still speaks English. Jason, however, responds in Afrikaans if spoken to in Afrikaans. Thus, while one might be seeing language shift in both contexts, the associated practices are variable.

All participants in this study share a particular ideology: English is a lingua franca in South Africa. For Zene and Rachel, English functions as a lingua franca as they claim that everyone speaks it, and it, therefore, is a default language. They argue that it is needed to effectively communicate with others, especially within the school setting. Another ideology that emerged from this chapter is that a monolingual bias is being maintained within the

schooling setting. Both Rachel and Zene believe that languages should be kept separate, and that – for them – bilingual education is not conducive to learning. In Rachel's case this was motivated by her insecurity when speaking Afrikaans; in Zene's case it reflects a belief that mixing languages in an educational context would be *"confusing"*.

Chapter 5: Conflicted Ideologies: Afrikaans

5.1 Introduction

As shown in Chapter 3, Afrikaans plays an important role in Cape Town and, especially, in Carrionsville where it is the home language of almost 50% of the population. However, as indicated in the previous chapter, in some families there might be language shift in the younger generation, and the status of Afrikaans thus seems to be in flux. This chapter draws on focus group data. As I have argued in Chapter 2, the social and individual experiences of individuals can influence the ways in which a language such as Afrikaans may be viewed. In this chapter, I discuss the presence of multiple and often contradicting ideologies about Afrikaans that emerge from the data. The chapter comprises of four distinct sections focusing on the role Afrikaans plays in the life of participants.

Firstly, Section 5.2 outlines and discusses the ways in which Afrikaans is understood by the participants. This section also provides an overview of the varieties that sociolinguists have identified in South Africa. Section 5.3 then shows how a focus on Afrikaans can, at times, lead to the erasure of African languages within the discourses of participants. Section 5.4 looks at individual participants and explores the participants' ideas surrounding Afrikaans. The section also focuses on the racialization of Afrikaans as a language and how people are racialised as perceived speakers.

Finally, Section 5.5 touches on the notion that there exists a sense of comfort and ease when communicating in non-standard varieties of Afrikaans (which scholars increasing refer to as 'Kaaps' in the sociolinguistic literature, see Banda & Peck, 2016, Dyers, 2008, Dyers, 2015, & Williams & Stroud, 2015). Section 5.6 concludes the chapter, drawing on all aspects discussed throughout. This chapter adds to our understanding of multilingualism by extending multilingualism to include and explore varieties beyond the 'standard'. The chapter shows that attitudes towards Afrikaans are diverse and thus contrast with the uniformly positive appreciation of English that was discussed in the previous chapter.

5.2 Categorizing Afrikaans and its Varieties

Within South Africa, there exists different historical varieties of Afrikaans. Dyers (2015:57) discusses three varieties of Afrikaans namely, "Oosgrens Afrikaans, Oranjerivier Afrikaans and Kaapse Afrikaans also called Kaaps/Afrikaaps". Of these varieties, Oosgrens Afrikaans is

sometimes also described as 'suiwer' or Standard Afrikaans. Oranjerivier Afrikaans is a variety that is spoken within the North-Western and Western regions of South Africa. It is highly influenced by various Khoisan languages. Kaaps is a variety that is spoken by coloured communities in Cape Town (Banda & Peck, 2016, Dyers, 2008, Williams & Stroud, 2015).

To set the scene for the discussion, three videos were played in the focus groups. Each video discussed different topics, yet all were in Afrikaans. The first video discussed the notion of the 'passion gap' within the coloured community in the Western Cape[6]. In this video, the variety of Afrikaans spoken can be classified as Kaaps. This classification is based upon the fact that some individuals in the video use code switching between Afrikaans and English. High levels of code-switching are salient in Kaaps (Dyers, 2015). The second video included a short dialogue between a Belgian reporter and Charlize Theron, a white South African actor born in Gauteng. In this video, Charlize Theron speaks a variety of Afrikaans that is close to the 'standard' variety, and that incorporates very few English words. The final video is of a performance by the spoken-word poet and coloured hip-hop artist, *Blaq Pearl*. The variety used in this performance can, again, be classified as Kaaps, based on the active mixing of English and Afrikaans.

The following extract (14) was taken from the first focus group and draws attention to participants' understanding of what Afrikaans is:

(14) Imrah: Would you say that the language that you heard in the three videos was Afrikaans?
Jake: Yes, but not fluent.
Imrah: Okay, so not fluent, so what about it makes it not fluent or what you would associate [this form of] Afrikaans with?
Jake: Like maybe it's the pronunciation of the words that affects people sometimes and they pronounciate their words different to ours and we think 'oh they are speaking wrong'.
Imrah: Okay.
Zonita: And the emphasis on some accents…
Rachel: I think that the fact that they have fewer teeth [referring to the first video] also affects the way they speak because say now you have a tongue ring you'll also talk differently.
Zonita: Uhm the mixing of English and Afrikaans makes Afrikaans less dominant if you speak it that way.
Imrah: Okay… do you think it's Afrikaans? (question directed at Jaco)

[6] The idea of a 'passion gap' refers to the process of removing (in most cases) perfectly healthy incisors. For a discussion of this practice see Freidling (2003).

Jaco: Its… I would say in a sense, yes because the words are Afrikaans…but I wouldn't say it's completely Afrikaans, to me it's not really Afrikaans, it's more like slang.

Imrah: Okay and the Charlize Theron video?

Rachel: She uh spoke Afrikaans to them and the Dutch guy could understand what she was saying because they kind of have the same type of words a little bit. So, she could understand him and he could understand her.

Imrah: So, would you say that that one would be the 'best' example of Afrikaans?

All agree: Yes.

Zonita: More Afrikaans=

Rachel: =Yes more Afrikaans.

Participants in both groups agreed that Afrikaans was spoken in the videos, yet a clear distinction was made by everyone between what they viewed as "*more Afrikaans"* (the Charlize Theron video) and what they viewed as "*more like slang*" (the other two videos). In turns 2 and 4, Jake commented on the first video and expressed his idea of what 'fluent' means to him: it is primarily about some pronunciations creating the expression of "*speaking it wrong*". The use of the word "*ours*" shows that he disassociates himself from the speech presented in some of the videos. It is likely that the fact that he is white contributes to his ideological positioning of the Afrikaans spoken in two of the videos as "*wrong*", i.e., not representing the white standard Afrikaans that, in turn, is used in the Charlize Theron video.

Zonita shifted the discussion away from pronunciation to differences in the lexicon, i.e., she notes the frequent use of code-switching that characterizes some varieties of Afrikaans. She also notes how the use of English words diminishes the dominance of Afrikaans. Like Zonita, Jaco mentioned that the language used in the first video could be classified as Afrikaans, but "*not completely*". He chose to describe the variety within the first video as "*slang*". While he agrees that the words are Afrikaans, he still sees it as a distinct variety. Later during the focus group session, he discusses the area to where his family has moved to recently. He describes that he is now hearing "*high-class*" Afrikaans around him rather than "*slang"*. Jaco argues that there is "*Afrikaans*" (of the Charlize-Theron-type), and then there are other varieties which are "*not really*" Afrikaans. What is quite apparent here is the idea that unlike English (chapter 4), Afrikaans is described and recognised as having two distinct types: one standard-like/Theron, and then slang/Kaaps.

Following the discussion of the videos, the two groups talked about the different terms they use to describe Afrikaans, as well as how and when these varieties present within their lives.

Participants used terms such as "*kombuistaal", "gham(taal)", "slang", "mengels"* as well as what they call "*actual*" or *"proper"* Afrikaans. The terms listed in Table 5 show that participants – as noted above – are aware that Afrikaans comes in many forms. It is noticeable that standard Afrikaans is characterized by using adjectives, whereas non-standard Afrikaans is described using nouns.

Terms for standard Afrikaans	**Focus group 1**	**Focus group 2**	**Terms for non-standard Afrikaans**	**Focus Group 1**	**Focus Group 2**
High	1	9	Ghamtaal/Gham	2	9
Standard	0	1	Kombuistaal	1	2
Actual	1	0	Kaaps	0	1
Suiwer	3	1	Mengels	0	1
Proper	5	4	Slang	12	0

Table 5: Terms used for Afrikaans Varieties (number of occurrences per focus group)

Not all terms were used in both groups. Focusing on the terms for 'standard' Afrikaans, "*standard*" only occurred once in Focus Group Two; "*actual"* occurred only once in Focus Group Two. Other terms are used by both groups, but more frequently by one than the other (e.g., *"high"* Afrikaans). Both groups also used the terms *"proper"* and *"suiwer"* Afrikaans.

Moving on to the terms for non-standard varieties of Afrikaans, participants in Focus Group Two mostly used the term "*ghamtaal/gham*" (see Chapter 4 for a discussion of the term); whereas participants in Focus Group One used mostly the term "*slang*". "*Kombuistaal*" was used only by Farzahna and Rachel, who both have connections to the Muslim community in Cape Town. "*Kombuistaal"* is a term (often derogatory, Dyers, 2016) that is used to describe a variety of Afrikaans, that incorporates English lexicon into an Afrikaans syntax (McCormick, 2002: 223). "*Kombuistaal*" may also include Cape Malay words which are used by the local Muslim population. Finally, "*Kaaps*" and "*Mengels*" occurred once each and were used by Kayla ("*Kaaps"*) and Zene ("*Mengels"*) respectively. All these terms refer to a variety of Afrikaans that is mixed (extensively sometimes) with English (Dyers, 2016). Thus, non-standard Afrikaans is mostly defined as a way of speaking that relies heavily on code-switching

or translanguaging[7]. To elaborate on translanguaging, Li Wei (2011: 2) refers to the idea of "translanguaging" as a space that "generates new identities, values, and practices". He argues that when engaging in social interaction an individual critically assesses a given situation and adjusts their linguistic resources to accommodate that situation. Dyers (2015) and van der Rheede (2016) elaborate on the fact that historically many of these terms for non-standard forms of Afrikaans have existed, and typically with negative connotations (see Chapter 4 for this discussion).

During the interview process, Mikayla mentioned that for her, the non-standard variety of Afrikaans is associated with, "*the people that lives in the Cape Flats, that speaks flat Afrikaans, the gham one*". Thus, certain varieties are seen as a marker of in-group status and identity, particularly within the coloured community. This idea can be related to indexicality (Johnstone and Kiesling, 2008: 7), i.e. certain ways of speaking "become semiotically associated with particular ways of being and acting". Coloured speakers of Kaaps often view the variety as part-and-parcel of their racio-cultural identities and social representation. Dyers (2008:67), discussing Kaaps within the larger Cape Flats community, notes that there exists "a powerful sentimental attachment to the language as a badge of individual and group identity". Dyers (2008:57) also makes it explicit that, at the same time as speakers value these varieties as markers of in-group status, they also view them as inferior to standard Afrikaans.

In some, one can identify two core ideologies about Afrikaans : (a) non-standard Afrikaans is 'wrong' Afrikaans (when compared to standard Afrikaans), (b) non-standard Afrikaans, while seen as 'wrong', is a language of belonging and is highly expressive (see section 5.5). Moreover, it is important to discuss the fact that the participants use a variety of terms to discuss Afrikaans, that can be seen as standard Afrikaans and Kaaps by scholars. Moreover, *Kaaps* is a new term introduced to the academic debate, and is linked to language-political initiatives[8]. Importantly, the terms discussed here, i.e., *Kaaps* is not used by the participants within this study.

[7] Lewis, Jones & Baker (2012: 659) argue that there is "much overlap" between these two terms. There is a distinction in that code-switching tends to separate languages, while translanguaging tries to move away from this, and towards a space of fluidity in language use as well as fostering a holistic learning environment (classrooms).

[8] See discussion on Afrikaaps in 5.5, another term introduced into the debate, named after a theatre production.

5.3 Celebrating Afrikaans, Erasing African languages

When asked about how they would describe Afrikaans to those unfamiliar with Afrikaans, Claire (in Focus Group 2) commented that: "*It's the only thing that our country has…Afrikaans is ours"*. For her, Afrikaans forms an important part of what South Africa is. Importantly, however, this comment also reveals a sense of 'erasure' (as discussed Irvine and Gal, 2000: 38). Erasure according to Irvine and Gal (2000: 38) is understood as the way in which ideologies and discourses "[render] some persons or activities invisible". Consequently, experiences and linguistic practices that go beyond the "sociolinguistic field" (understood by me as the space in which language is used, recognized, and studied) are erased as they do not suit the collective "ideological scheme". By positioning Afrikaans as *"the only thing that our country has"*, Claire implicitly erases the importance of others languages to South Africa's language ecology. This reflects a discriminatory practice that has been evident throughout our colonial and postcolonial history where such erasures were widespread (Dangbégnon, 2021).

Erasure is also implicit in a comment made by Zonita (Focus Group 1). She mentioned the pride people at school feel when singing the National Anthem. In a post-apartheid South Africa, the anthem embodies a multilingual approach, focusing on unity and including isiXhosa, Sesotho, Afrikaans, and English (in that order; Khan, 2010). Zonita states that "*at my school it is the part [Afrikaans section] that we all sing the LOUDEST"*. This comment made by Zonita highlights the practice of emphasizing the Afrikaans section of the anthem. This silences and marginalizes African languages which are central to the anthem. Jaco further comments on the erasure of African languages. He states that "*like even at school they [isiXhosa-speaking students] aren't allowed to speak it [isiXhosa]*" and further emphasizes how teachers would say: "*no, no, English or Afrikaans*" (Farzahna and Zene made similar comments).

The lack of discussion and mention of isiXhosa – a major language in Cape Town (see Chapter 2) – and other African languages might be indicative of the racial discourses at play within the northern suburbs of Cape Town, and perhaps Cape Town more broadly. In 2020, a school with a similar background to Tribute High came under fire as allegations of racism. These allegations were sparked by a private matric farewell party, which allegedly excluded students of colour (Evans, 2020). Hiss and Peck (2020: 38-39) discuss the code of conduct of San Souci Girls' High School (in 2015). At the school, home language speakers of African

languages were evidently barred from using their home languages in or around the school and when in school uniform. This echoes Stroud and Williams (2017:174), who mention that speakers of African languages are made to feel "out-of-place" by "invisiblize [ing] and silence[ing]" their voices within Stellenbosch University, Western Cape. Similarly, Dowling (2012) discusses the ways in which public signage in the City of Cape Town long erased isiXhosa within public spaces. Dowling (2012: 245) summarizes her findings as follows: "[Y]ou might be forgiven for thinking that the city's inhabitants were overwhelmingly monolingual English speakers". Dowling, McCormick & Dyers (2019: 141) further elaborate on this and describe cases where in townships with large numbers of speakers of African languages, English is still "fetishised" and used for advertising, while within the same space, African languages are not. It is important to mention that English is used purposefully to communicate to a larger audience (customer base). Dowling et al (2019) further comment that within the city space, the linguistic landscape of Cape Town, continues to render isiXhosa and other Indigenous South African languages invisible to a certain extent. It has thus been the aim of this section to comment on the idea that within certain spaces, such as Carrionsville, an Afrikaans and to a lesser degree, English dominant-area, African languages are rendered invisible. Based on my experience within the area most signs, storefronts, and other forms of written communication are predominantly in Afrikaans and English. African languages are hardly visible within the area.

5.4 Racializing Afrikaans

The relation between racialization and language forms the basis of this section. Scholars in the social sciences debate what racialization is and how it is defined (Omi and Winant, 2015 and Hochman, 2019). I follow Gonzalez-Sobrino and Goss (2019:507) who define racialization as: "how meanings are attached to a series of experiences. Racialization cannot be understood as static; it involves change and ongoing practices that attach racial meanings to people. It is thus born out of social dominance and power". I argue that participants in this study, discuss racialized concepts, some explicitly, others in passing. Rosa and Flores (2017: 623) further describe the idea that through colonization and the 'formation of modernity', languages were created as "bounded and separate objects associated with particular racial groups". Essentially, non-European languages were subjected to racialized ideologies that, for example, saw these languages as not being capable to be used for technological or scientific communication. Rosa and Flores (2017) further comment that certain accents were stigmatized as speech associated

with racialized subjects, when compared to white speaking (and listening) subjects. The 'standard' language, on the other hand, is historically grounded in white speaking voices.

Racialized discourses are apparent in the data. Zonita, for example, states that: "*I feel like each race speaks a language. Like Afrikaans would be affiliated with white people. Slang [with] coloureds, and English also, and Zulu, Xhosa with Africans. So, for me again it's ethnicity and where you come from*". Zonita thus attaches certain languages and varieties directly to racialized bodies. Similar comments were made by other participants: Afrikaans was typically associated with white South Africans and, sometimes, coloured South Africans; isiXhosa with black South Africans; and English was often seen as a uniting language (see also the discussion in Chapter 4).

During his interview, Jaco narrated the following memory:

> "Uh when I first moved here in 2013, I was like new at the school and I didn't know anyone, so these random guys came up to me and was like 'hos djy, wies djy?' ['hey, you, who are you?'] and I was like sorry 'what?', 'jy whitey' ['you, white person']. So, like I knew Afrikaans but like KZN Afrikaans, like proper Afrikaans, and I was like 'uhm okay'"

Thus, when Jaco was greeted in Kaaps he did not understand the greeting. The linguistic markers, signalling that it is Kaaps, are words pronunciations such as '*djy*' as opposed to '*jy*' in standard Afrikaans. Moreover, there is a contraction of the phrase '*wie is*' as '*wies*', which again, is common in Kaaps (Hendricks, 2016: 13-14, discusses these two features as "enclisis of is" and "/j/ affricatisation"). It is important to understand the subversive nature of this interaction. This group of boys were trying to establish the 'kind' of person Jaco was, English or Afrikaans-speaking, white or coloured. Bearing in mind the perceived inferiority of Kaaps, it is remarkable how this group used Kaaps in a way that directly questions this notion of the "inability to understand or appreciate complexity" (Willemse, 2016: 75). By using Kaaps, in this particular manner, they illustrate the complexity of Afrikaans within the space, and more broadly, the importance of Kaaps within the Cape. Moreover, their usage of Kaaps, in this case, placed Jaco in a position of inferiority based on his failure to grasp the appropriate way to comprehend this interaction and to respond to it appropriately. He was identified as a *"whitey"*; that is, a typical white person who can only speak standard Afrikaans.

The extract (15) discusses cases of judgement relating to language abilities that are made on appearance. Zonita and Rachel comment as follows:

(15) Imrah : Okay so uhm have you ever had a case where somebody came up to you and they assumed that you were more comfortable speaking Afrikaans?

Jaco: [laughs] yes.

Zonita: YES. And they assumed that I am Afrikaans."

Rachel: Yes. This is not racist, again I've had, I think it was last week, a few black girls came up to me and they asked me if I could translate something into Afrikaans and I said I'm not Afrikaans and they said but you look Afrikaans= ... I'm really not Afrikaans.

Based on her appearance, Zonita was assumed to be a (standard) Afrikaans speaker. This contests her own racialized ideologies cited in this section, that is, that (standard) Afrikaans is associated with white people. She is coloured, and still, was racialized as an Afrikaans-speaker. Yet, she identities as an English speaker, and then as a speaker of non-standard Afrikaans (which she calls "slang"). She does not identify as a standard Afrikaans speaker.

Rachel also describes an instance where she was assumed to be Afrikaans speaking - possibly due to her being white (appearance) and living in an Afrikaans dominant area. In this moment, she contests how they view her by emphatically stating her frustration at not being "*Afrikaans*", but being seen as such. Further, she then specifically and racially describes them as "*a few black girls*". It is important to consider Rachel's initial comment, "*this is not racist*". It is a disclaimer like those discussed by Van Dijk (1992) and Chiang (2010). With a disclaimer such as "*this is not racist*", Rachel felt that it was acceptable for her to describe those who approached her as "*a few black girls*" – thus racializing them without wanting herself to be racialized by them.

5.5 Feeling Comfortable in Language

Many of the participants have experienced cases where their proficiency in Afrikaans had been judged as incorrect when speaking the stigmatized non-standard variety ("*they correct you*"; Zonita). Some participants discussed and foregrounded cases of being judged by family members for their usage of Afrikaans. This kind of treatment is also discussed by Anthonissen (2009:71). For example, a participant in Anthonissen's study reports that her father judged her negatively for speaking "Kaapse Afrikaans".

Kayla and Claire discuss similar experiences. Kayla discusses cases of judgement by older family members for not being able to articulate herself in the variety which she labels

"*high*" Afrikaans. She said:

> Kayla: when I speak to my aunts and uncles and then when I speak to my cousins it's like totally different. When I speak to my aunts and uncles the Afrikaans gets like 'higher' and then I feel like the way that they look at me is like 'just stick to English, don't even try.

She emphasizes that she had made attempts to communicate at the expected level, but was met with judgement. What is interesting here is that the stares ('looks') she receives carry meaning without any real verbal comment (see Castle Bell and Hastings, 2011, regarding facework and judgement through stares). When she feels judged, it discourages her, and she converses in English instead. Her variable proficiency in different varieties causes instances of acceptance, and then cases where judgement is apparent (with her cousins, she is not judged for her Afrikaans, thus making her feel accepted). Claire describes a similar case yet focuses on explicit verbal judgements and corrections. Claire discusses an instance where she had attempted to convey a story in Afrikaans, and how she was corrected and ridiculed by family. Being corrected caused her to lose confidence in her abilities: rather than switching to English, or continuing in Afrikaans, she would just end her story altogether. For Claire, Afrikaans has become a language which she is judged for, which in turn, leaves her feeling quite self-conscious. These negative experiences continue to increase her distance from Afrikaans and strengthen her preference for English.

While all participants acknowledge Afrikaans as forming part of their linguistic resources, there are conflicting emotions surrounding Afrikaans. Some varieties are negatively experienced, with the opposite discussed for others. When asked about the emotions that they attach to the different forms of Afrikaans within their repertoires, the following discussion occurred in Focus Group 2 (16):

> (16) Kayla: The 'kombuis' Afrikaans and then I feel most comfortable. Then the "higher" Afrikaans makes me feel like belittled or something.
>
> Claire: To me it depends on the context. Like if it's the "gham" […] I feel SO comfortable like at peace with what I'm saying like the people around me understands. Like even though most of it doesn't make sense they get what I'm saying.

In this extract, Kayla describes a sense of comfort when speaking the "*kombuistaal*" version of Afrikaans, again exemplifying the significance between experience, ideologies, and attitudes. The "*higher*" variety has the opposite effect and is accompanied by feeling

"*belittled*". Claire shares similar sentiments in that she also describes her emotions toward Afrikaans and specifically, "*gham*", non-standard varieties, as comfort. She went on to specifically use the word "*peace*". Her experience of peace is related to the fact that she is understood by those around her.

Moreover, the discussion surrounding the ability to express oneself through language surfaced again. In Focus Group 2, I asked them which variety of Afrikaans they can speak, and Farzahna commented: "*Kombuistaal one because, like, you mos know if you feel the need to express yourself in a certain way, English can't take you that far."* Here, Farzahna establishes a new sense of what "*kombuistaal*" can mean for certain speakers, emphasizing belonging and expressiveness; as well as the need to transcend English monolingualism

As discussed previously, certain varieties of Afrikaans, usually the non-standard varieties are met with judgement, and an overall inferior status. The idea of an inferior status of non-standard varieties is contested by Stroud and Williams (2017:184) who contend that "*Afrikaaps* gestures towards a way of doing and thinking language 'otherwise'". Importantly, Afrikaaps has not been mentioned or discussed by the participants within this study, but form part of the larger linguistic debate surrounding what Afrikaans is and its various varieties. It is important to state that in my view, *Afrikaaps* and *Kaaps* are similar, but relate to different aspects of representation. *Afrikaaps* is a movement, a celebration of the all non-standard Afrikaans varieties. *Afrikaaps* is also the title of a hip-hop opera that protests the idea that 'non-standard' varieties of Afrikaans are illegitimate (Becker, 2017:3). It should also be mentioned that colleagues at the Center for Multilingualism and Diversities Research (CMDR), and other stakeholders are working on the *Trilingual Dictionary of Kaaps*, that aims to "transform prevailing negative attitudes and perceptions of Kaaps and its speakers" (CMDR, 2021). While this shift in thinking surrounding Kaaps has begun, there needs to be a stronger focus on the transformation, practices and further research conducted on the perceptions held by speakers themselves. I make this comment based on some of the comments and experiences discussed within this chapter.

5.6 Conclusion

Within this chapter, the focus was on the role of Afrikaans in the lives of those participants who were involved in the focus groups, discussing categories and varieties, racialized discourses, and their overall experiences with Afrikaans. Section 5.2 focused on the way

participants categorized Afrikaans and its varieties. They make distinctions between varieties that they view as "*actual*" and "*suiwer*" Afrikaans, and those which they view as "*slang*" or "*gham*". It is also within this section that it is clarified that while within academia, terms such as 'Kaaps' form part of the larger debate, the participants within this study, make use of the term infrequently, and rather have their own names for the varieties they speak and are aware of. In Section 5.3 the focus was on the sense of erasure of African languages, within the school, but also Cape Town more broadly. Section 5.4 focuses on how languages are racialized, by and through the experiences of the participants. Section 5.5 focuses on those cases where Afrikaans was met with positive experiences, leaving them feeling comfortable with certain varieties of Afrikaans, "*kombuistaal*" or 'slang', and uncomfortable with others such as the standard variety used at school. The experiences of these youths influence how they view Afrikaans and its position within their lives. Even though most participants identify as English-speaking, Afrikaans nevertheless plays an important role in their lives – a role that is not always positive. Whereas Afrikaans often makes them feel anxious and inadequate, English makes them feel confident and part of the world (as discussed in Chapter 4 with a focus on four participants). In their metapragmatic reflections there is a sharp distinction between what is seen as standard Afrikaans, and what is seen as non-standard Afrikaans. In most cases, it is the standard form that is met with negativity due to the anxiousness and judgements that they have faced when they were not able to produce it. Non-standard Afrikaans is seen as much more attainable and accepted, even though this non-standard variety is judged harshly by older family. This judgement causes them, at times, to avoid speaking Afrikaans, shifting to English instead.

Chapter 6: Insights into Multilingualism

6.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the language portraits of ten participants. The language portrait has been used in sociolinguistic research on multilingualism to elicit information on complex repertoires and speaker/writer experiences (see Chapter Two, Section 2.5). While there is usually an accompanying interview, the creative expression stimulated by the portrait can assist with transcending a focus on 'known' languages, allowing participants to imagine and desire other languages. The latter is one of the topics of this chapter, and I will discuss the idea that we can imagine, and desire, languages we are (as yet) unable to speak. Busch (2010:291), for example, comments on work with school children who discuss their interest in languages that they cannot speak. These reflections, she argues, are central to their thinking about languages. In this study, the participants' portraits show a variety of languages, both indigenous to South Africa and foreign. Thus, they transcend the English/Afrikaans bilingualism that was the focus of the previous two chapters, and also counter the erasure of African languages that is pervasive in discourse.

This chapter consists of four sections. Section 6.2 looks at how participants represented languages 'on the body' and their use of colour to index different languages. Section 6.3 discusses Claire's portrait, focusing on her personal language experience with Afrikaans, Italian, isiXhosa, English, and Dutch. Section 6.4 looks at particular languages mentioned within the portraits, with a special focus on Porcia's portrait highlighting isiXhosa, English, French, Afrikaans, Tshivenda, and chiShona. Moreover, the section also focuses on cases where certain languages are linked to aspirations, friendship, and mobility. I focus on how participants discuss cases where friendship relations are strengthened through showing an interest in languages the friend likes and appreciates. Also, in terms of mobility, and travel aspirations beyond South Africa languages such as Swedish are discussed in more detail. The final section, 6.5, concludes the chapter, highlighting the main discussion points.

6.2 The language portraits: bodily presence and colours

The language portrait draws a link between experience and language. With the language portrait, the focus falls upon the bodily presence and language experience. Ten participants

completed language portraits with each representing the experience of language differently. However, there are also broad commonalities, which I will explore in this section.

In discussing bodily representation, I look at both similarities and differences between the ten portraits. Table 6.1 shows the various languages mentioned and their respective bodily locations for all participants. Table 6.2 looks at the external accessories that are associated with certain languages, and that participants added to the portrait.

Body part	Languages
Heart	Arabic, English, French, Portuguese, Spanish, Setswana, Tshivenda
Head and eyes	Afrikaans, Dutch, English, French, German, isiXhosa, Spanish
Hands and arms	Afrikaans, Dutch, French, English, Italian, isiXhosa, Japanese, Latin, Sesotho, Setswana, SiSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga
Stomach	Afrikaans, English, chiShona, Italian, Japanese, Spanish
Legs and feet	Afrikaans, chiShona, Dutch, English, French, Italian, isiNdebele, isiXhosa, Mandarin, SiSwati, Spanish, Swedish, Tshivenda
Neck and shoulders	Afrikaans, English, German
Mouth	Italian, Tshivenda

Table 6.1 Body parts and languages (listed in alphabetical order)

Accessory	Language
Headscarf	Arabic
Headband	Japanese
Bracelet	Russian

Table 6.2: Accessories and languages

When looking at Table 6.1, it is important to understand that while various languages were mentioned, their connection to specific physical locations was different. For example, in some cases, the heart was used for English, but others located English in the neck, shoulders, feet, stomach, hands, arms, and head. Coetzee-Van Rooy and Peters (2021: 12, 20) discuss a similar case for English and its location on the upper body area and heart. The reasons for these locations are thus specific to the participants.

Importantly, there was more discussion and visibility of African languages compared to the focus groups and interviews (see, Section 5.3). The language portrait seems to offer a

different perspective on how people engage and discuss language, moving beyond the 'realities' of communication and into broader spaces of recognition and imagination. Thus, the language portrait offers participants an opportunity to go beyond the linguistic resources they have within their repertoires, and beyond dominant ideologies (see also Coetzee-Van Rooy and Peters, 2020).

Locating a language within the heart might suggest feelings of love, and sometimes this is love for more than one language. This was mentioned by Porcia who stated that: "*French I drew a heart there (the chest area) because I love it with red".* Along with French, she also placed Tshivenda in her heart (see Coetzee-Van Rooy & Peters', 2021: 7, discussion of African languages as "languages of the heart"). Another body part discussed in the short interviews were the feet and these were discussed in two different ways. Zene, for example, commented that: "*the feet for Afrikaans, symbolizing that brown are my roots and it's what keeps me grounded*". Thus, for Zene the feet are associated with feeling "*grounded*". Another mention of the feet was made by Rachel, stating that the feet should be left blank as one should not "*walk on something*" (in this case, language).

Looking at Table 6.2, there were also cases where language was represented as an accessory, something one may 'put' on (see also Botsis & Bradbury, 2018). The accessories mentioned were headbands, headscarves, and a bracelet. In some cases, the relationship between a material object and a language was to be expected. For example, when Zonita used the hijab (headscarf) to represent Arabic. At other times, the relationship was unexpected. For example, when Farzahna drew a bracelet to represent Russian. She explained that her interest in Russian was because of her friend's passion for the language. This is an interest emerging "via association" (Botsis & Bradbury, 2018: 7). The bracelet thus represents a friendship bracelet.

The language portrait does not only link language and body, but it also encourages participants to link the languages they mention to specific colours. Table 6.3 provides an overview of the colours that participants used to index individual languages.

Colours	Languages
Blue	Afrikaans, Sepedi, Dutch, Mandarin, English, Japanese, French, Swedish
Red	English, Japanese, Spanish, Setswana, Dutch, Portuguese, French
Green	Arabic, Afrikaans, Tshivenda, isiNdebele, Sesotho, Italian, isiXhosa

Purple	Italian, English, chiShona, Afrikaans, Spanish, siSwati
Yellow	French, English, German, Tshivenda
Orange	Spanish, isiXhosa, Russian, Latin, English, German, Italian, Afrikaans, French
Pink	Spanish, isiXhosa, Afrikaans, English, Xitsonga
Brown	isiXhosa, Arabic, German, Afrikaans, isiZulu
Grey	Japanese, isiXhosa
Black	Afrikaans, Arabic
Turquoise	English

Table 6.3: Colours and languages used by the participants (listed in alphabetical order)

The colours that were used most often were orange (9), blue (8), red (7), and green (7). Botsis and Bradbury (2018:12) argue that although colour choices are "personal", they "represent aesthetic attitude and affective relations to language". Thus, in certain cases, colours carry expressive significance and in others, they do not. An example of the former is Mikayla's use of blue for French. She explained that she associates French with "*the ocean and boat cruises*". The latter was motivated by her belief that French chefs often work on cruise ships. Another representation of water and language was discussed by Zonita as follows: "*I wrote it in blue because I was thinking of farmers and the drought we have now, the farmers now and lack of water*". She linked the colour blue to Afrikaans. Her link was that at the time of data collection, a drought was present within Cape Town, and water was scarce. The choice of colour was thus rooted in a lived experience (Soares, Duarte & Günther-van der Meji, 2021).

In some cases, participants used their (or others) favourite colours to represent their favourite language(s) (see also Soares, Duarte & Günther-van der Meji, 2021:33, for similar data). Farzahna, for example, used her favourite colour blue to represent English, her dominant language. Farzahna further used green to represent Afrikaans, stating: "*Afrikaans on my left hand...green because green is like the eww colour; I'm sorry because I just, I just don't like Afrikaans*". In other cases, participants used the favourite colours of people they are close to. For example, Kayla commented:

> (17) Kayla: I'm starting with English, I did that on my right hand. Purple. Purple's my favourite colour, because I use the language a lot and then I wrote Afrikaans on my left hand. Blue it's the second one because it's, my sister's favourite colour is blue so I did that. Then isiXhosa is on my left foot that's my baby sister's favourite colour, I did it in pink because I'd like to learn that language.

This confirms the idea that colour choices can be related to "affective relations to language" (Botsis & Bradbury, 2018:12). The next two sections focus on the portraits by Claire and Porcia.

6.3 Claire's portrait

Claire discusses five languages in her language portrait, namely: English, Afrikaans, Dutch, and Italian. Her portrait is reproduced here, with a legend for the written text below the portrait in Figure 6.1.

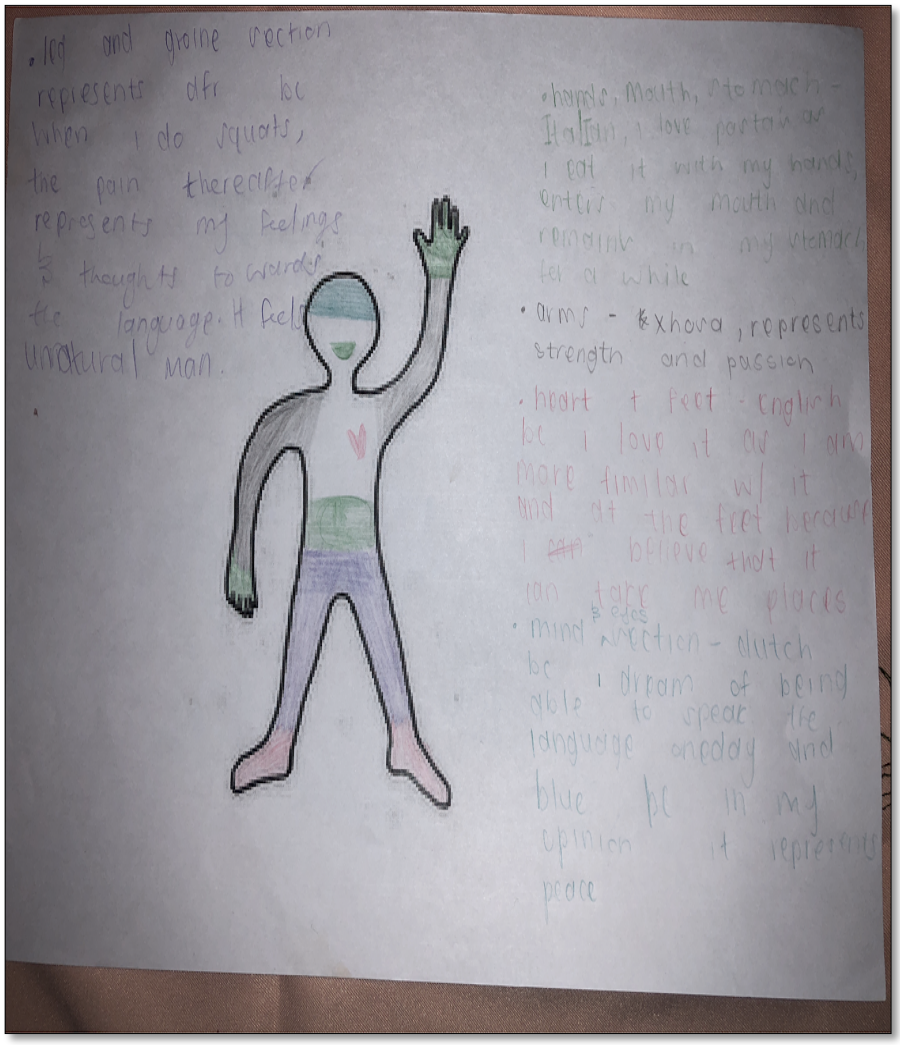

Figure 6.1.: Claire's language portrait.

Text in portrait:

Legs and groin section represent Afrikaans because when I do squats, the pain thereafter represents my feelings and thoughts towards the language. It feels unnatural man.

Hands, mouth, and stomach – Italian, I love pastas as I eat it with my hands, enters my mouth and remains in my stomach for a while.
Arms – Xhosa represents strength and passion.
Heart + feet – English because I love it as I am more familiar with it and at the feet because that it will take me places.
Mind & eyes section – Dutch because I dream of being able to speak the language one day and blue because in my opinion it represents peace.

When discussing the portrait during her follow-up interview, Claire made a direct link between "*the hands, mouth and the stomach*" and the Italian language. For her, Italian has a direct link to food, and the pleasures thereof. Interestingly, however, she has no desire to learn Italian – yet it is a part of her world due to her appreciation of Italian cuisine. She then moved on and discussed isiXhosa, and its placement within the "*arms section*" and "*in black": "it represents Xhosa and arms because [of] strength and when you've got biceps, triceps you feel passionate, you just wanna show it off*." Thus, she relates the strength we have within our arms to the strength of the language. For her, being able to speak isiXhosa would be something to "*show off*". The "*show off*" comment is interesting: isiXhosa can become something that signals the political and cultural virtue of the speaker (see McIntosh 2014; 2018). This talks to the link between language and self-esteem and the esteem attached to isiXhosa post-apartheid.

Claire then discusses English and places it – using the colour red – within the heart and feet. For her, English has two meanings, firstly, the familiarity it offers her (visualized by the location in the heart). Secondly, the mobility it affords (visualized by the location on the feet). She says, "*I like English because I'm more familiar with it and it's more easier for me and because English can take me places*". The latter links up with the way she imagines her future: "*yes because I am going to study overseas like, for example, America*". Botsis and Bradbury (2018:7) comment on the "offer[ing] of upward mobility" associated with the English language. This has been a theme that was also discussed in section 4.5.

Considering Dutch, Claire discussed the language as one, even though she does not speak it, that gives her peace. She does not elaborate on the link between peace and the Dutch language, but there exists a familial link between the language and her family (on language and family ties, see also Man Chu Lau, 2016: 159). In her interview, she commented: "*my grandfather is Dutch*". This suggests that one can desire a language to the point that it becomes a dream, or goal one can aspire to. The final language discussed was Afrikaans. Afrikaans is located in the "*legs and the groin area [...] because when I do squats the pain thereafter feels unnatural"* . This is a strong statement: Claire finds Afrikaans to be an unnatural and painful

experience for her, a counter experience to English, and her imagination of isiXhosa and Dutch. Claire commented in her interview that:

> (18) Claire: It [English] comes easier to me, it comes more naturally. Afrikaans, I have to think what I have to say and then it might still come out wrong. So, I just end up looking like a fool. To prevent that, I just prefer to speak English.

The idea that language is experienced viscerally, is evident in Claire's portrait. It illustrates some of the discourses that were discussed in chapters 5 and 6, making them visible

6.4 Interest and experience with language: Porcia and Others

This section looks at languages that are included in the portrait because they are associated with peer networks and friends. I discuss English, Russian, Swedish, Portuguese, Japanese, French, chiShona, Tshivenda, and isiXhosa. I draw on Busch (2012:18) who discusses the notion that the linguistic repertoire and by extension the language portrait [my emphasis], provides a space for one to "point backwards and forwards". It does this by encouraging participants to reflect not only on the present but also on the past and the future.

Of the languages mentioned above, isiXhosa was mentioned by Jaco, Porcia, Claire, Farzahna, Jason, Kayla, and Zene, each time in reference to communication with others. One participant who will be the focus here is Porcia. She placed six languages on her portrait, namely, chiShona, English, French, isiXhosa, Afrikaans, and Tshivenda (Figure 6.2). The focus here will be on her experiences with English, Afrikaans, and chiShona.

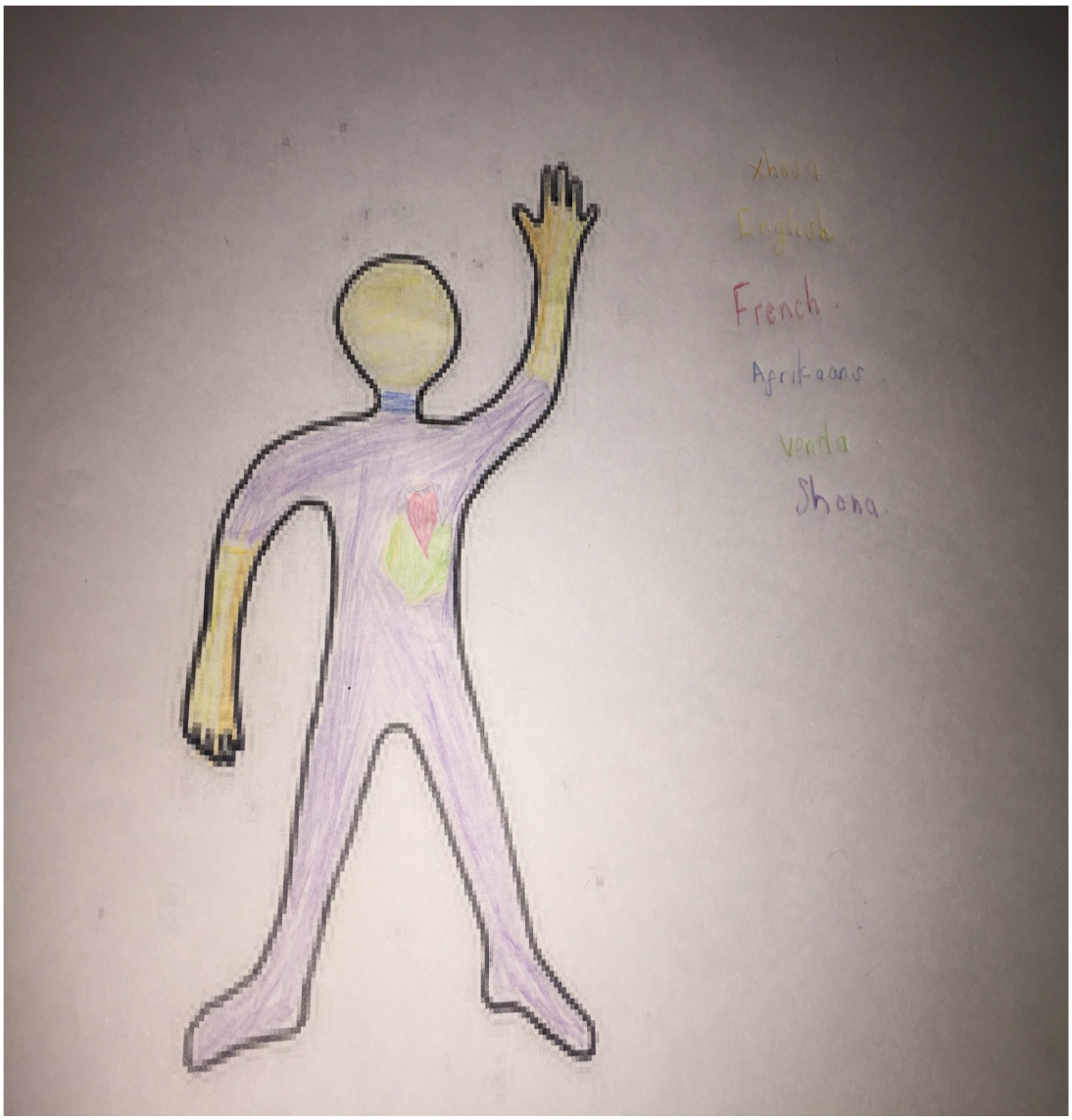

Figure 6.2: Porcia's language portrait.

Porcia included English and isiXhosa in her portrait by "*colouring [her] hands with yellow and orange*" (discussed in the language portrait interview). She explained this as follows: "*English and Xhosa for my hands, I feel like I can grab more opportunities with those two languages especially here in South Africa, but especially English, yes".* By using the word "*opportunity*", Porcia focuses on the prospects that these two languages offer her within South Africa. Such opportunities can be economically driven but can also include communicative opportunities (Kroskrity, 2004: 501). However, Porcia's reflections on *"opportunity"* do not overshadow her feelings for, and her identification with, her first language, chiShona, which she located all over the portrait in purple. She elaborated on this as follows: "*because my language [chiShona] is who I am so it should tell people who I am, what I am made of*". With this, we see that

regardless of her context and the perceived prestige and utility of English and isiXhosa, Porcia has an unwavering attachment to her identity as a chiShona speaker.

The language portraits helped participants to talk about the languages they have and desire, but also about negative experiences that they had with languages. Of those who mentioned negative experiences, Porcia explicitly discussed her feelings towards Afrikaans. Based on the classification suggested by Blommaert and Backus (2011; see also Chapter Two), one could say that Porcia has acquired Afrikaans in a *specialized learning* context because she uses the language exclusively at school.

Like Claire, Porcia described her relationship to Afrikaans with a direct link to the body. She mentioned that Afrikaans sits: "*by my neck Afrikaans...because...like it's choking me*". Porcia is the only participant who did not have exposure to Afrikaans from birth. As mentioned in Chapter Three, Porcia is a Zimbabwean national whose family migrated to the Western Cape. Though there is an Afrikaans-speaking community in Zimbabwe, it remains a foreign language for Porcia. In her interview, the sense of suffocation or restriction when speaking Afrikaans was emphasized by facial expressions and hand gestures around her neck, further emphasizing this bodily experience. She elaborated on her experiences with Afrikaans in her interview, where she discussed her emotions and insecurities when speaking it. Porcia relates the following memory:

(18) Porcia: I'm SO nervous. Like this one time at school, we had to do this oral in front of the class and then obviously my pronunciation is not right and then I'm like one word and I'm already like and then they already started laughing.

Further in her interview, she talks about the emotions she feels when needing to speak Afrikaans at school. She states that she feels "*embarrassed, ashamed I'm always upset and depressed, especially in front of people.*" She mainly has issues when speaking the language and having to do so in front of others who may judge her negatively and then ridicule her. Her sense of choking can be linked to her abilities, or the lack thereof, when speaking, thus causing her to choke up and hindering her thoughts process. Drawing on the aspect of being laughed at, this negative experience does not allow her to express herself in Afrikaans in a way that would be beneficial to her. While other participants can move into "Kaaps" and experience a sense of 'home' there (as discussed in Chapter 5), which Porcia cannot do so; her only experience is that of standard Afrikaans.

She further explains that "*it would be nice for me to speak it, but I can't have a time where I can speak it without people making comments*". When people laugh, rather than encouraging her, Porcia becomes conscious of her limited competence in Afrikaans, causing her to withdraw and resent the language. Drawing on Dewaele (2011:33-34), "the context of acquisition resonates for years after the end of the active 'learning phase'". Thus, if in the acquisition phase, negative experiences are common, these effects will remain active, influencing the speaker and thus forming the basis of their negative outlook towards a language. These negative experiences can be maintained and perpetuated by a reluctance to use the language. This is the case for Porcia. The environment, and one's experience with language within that environment is a pivotal factor when considering how we interact and perceive a language; our experiences with language shape language ideologies.

Foreign languages and their usefulness were mentioned by several participants. In what follows I focus on Swedish and Japanese. These are desired languages for Farzahna (Swedish) and Zene (Japanese) and they have not (yet) been learned in any depth. With regards to Swedish, Farzahna's interest comes from within and in her discussion of the portrait she mentions the colours of the country's flag and the idea of the foot representing movement. For Farzahna, Swedish is discussed as:

> (19) Farzahna: My left foot is light blue and it's Swedish and it's light blue because the Swedish flag is light blue and yellow, and I feel that I put Swedish on my foot because it's like a steppingstone out of the country, so I feel like I'll be going somewhere so I put it on the foot.

There are two aspects to consider here: Swedish symbolizes mobility ("*Swedish on my foot because it's like a steppingstone out of the country so I feel like I'll be going somewhere*") and Swedish is represented through the colour of its flag(see also Soares, Duarte & Günther-van der Meji, 202:32, for similar findings). Farzahna says "*I feel like I'll be going somewhere*" which needs to be understood as an aspiration, not necessarily an outcome. She has never been to Sweden yet, and has no concrete plans to travel there.

Japanese was mentioned by three different participants, Zene, Zonita, and Farzahna . Zene narrates how she was introduced to Japanese by a friend and how this motivated her choice of colour: "*Japanese, it's one of my best friend's favourite colours [blue] and she absolutely loves Japanese, and it would make her happy if I can do that*". Again, we see how language ideologies are shaped by peers and friendship networks: in this case a positive attitude

towards, and interest in, Japanese. While Zene is not actively learning Japanese, there is certainly interest. It is pivotal to acknowledge the various yet overlapping ideas of friendship and connection to others through language being presented here. An important point discussed here is the fact that the mention of these languages is mainly of a social nature.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter focused on the language portraits as well as the interviews. Ten participants' responses were analyzed. Section 6.2 provided an overview of the data collected through language portraits. The section had two main focal points: (i) language and its positioning on the body, and (ii) language and choice of colour. I found that different body parts could be associated with the same language, i.e., English was sometimes within the head, heart, or hands. Colours were chosen for different reasons: some personal (i.e., one's favourite colour), some based on the colours available. Accessories, while few, were present and mentioned based on individual associations and experiences in life, or symbolism.

Section 6.3 focused on exploring the language portrait in some detail. For this section, Claire's portrait was used. It allowed for links to be made between language, colour, and body parts. From this, we see how language can be linked and discussed as significant for certain colours and body parts. Furthermore, the portrait also allows for the visceral experience between language and the body. Feelings of 'strength' via the arms for isiXhosa, pain and 'unnatural' feelings within the legs for Afrikaans, or the sensation of certain cuisines such as Italian foods within the stomach. For this reason, as a tool allows for creativity, and thus provides the space to explore language differently, and beyond the simple discussion surrounding: 'which languages can you speak?'

Section 6.4 looked at Porcia's language portrait, and the positive and negative feelings that she has towards languages.. The section then also looked at desired languages. I show that attitudes towards languages can be influenced by friends, cultural practices (i.e. Italian food) and an imagined wish for mobility. The language portrait offers a way to move beyond the 'realities' of communication, and into a space where recognition and imagination matter too. It thus allows for the discussion of language ideologies and linguistic resources that may have previously been silenced.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

The aim of this thesis was to explore the ideologies and overall experiences with language among a small group of youth within an area of Cape Town (Carrionsville, a pseudonym). All participants live or lived in the Carrionsville area and attended a high school located within the area at the time of data collection. The qualitative research project provides insights into the linguistic lives of the participants through the collection of focus group data, interviews, and language portraits.

7.2 Main Findings

The core argument of this thesis is that lived experiences influence how language is used and how it is perceived; that is, experience shapes both linguistics practice and ideologies about language. Chapter 2 provided a literature review, focusing on language ideologies and biographical approaches to language learning. Chapter 2 outlined the methodology and discussed the ethical implications. Below, I summarize the main findings of the data analysis chapters.

The main findings of Chapter 4 can be summarized as follows:

1. For most participants English is the dominant language, and there is evidence for an intergenerational language shift away from Afrikaans. This was illustrated through the discussion of Rachel, Farzahna and Jason. Zene presented a different case, with a sense of bilingualism with Afrikaans.
2. Within the schooling space, all participants, including Zene and Rachel, belong to the English stream at school. Within this space, English is seen as the main language to communicate and navigate their schooling curriculum.
3. The chapter also explored the ideology of English-as-a-lingua-franca (in South Africa). Participants believed that English serves as a language that is easily used and understood within most contexts in South Africa. In addition, it is seen as a language that allows for international relations and communication.

Chapter 5 looked at the status of Afrikaans and discussed the following:

4. One of the main findings is that, unlike English (which is seen as homogenous), Afrikaans is identified and discussed by participants as being composed of two main varieties: a standard, 'proper' Afrikaans variety, and then non-standard Afrikaans. Terms such as "gham", "slang", "kombuistaal", "mengels" etc. are used to refer to the latter.
5. The chapter also highlights the erasure of indigenous African languages in the interview and focus group data, especially in spaces where Afrikaans and English are dominant, such as in Carrionsville and the school setting.
6. Another focal point of this chapter is the idea that languages are racialized, and are assumed to be part-and-parcel with certain individuals within Cape Town. The main ideas that surfaced was that standard Afrikaans is associated with white South Africans, "slang" was associated with coloured South Africans, with African languages such as isiXhosa with black South Africans. English, on the other hand, is seen as a language for all, and thus not racialized.
7. Continued from Chapter 4, English is seen as a "global language" and a "lingua franca" in South Africa, with the opposite perception is maintained for Afrikaans.
8. The non-standard varieties of Afrikaans are described as a linguistic homes by several participants. The standard variety, on the other hand, is perceived as alienating, leading to cases of judgement and insecurity for some of the participants.

The findings of Chapter 6 can be highlighted as follows

9. The focus of this chapter was on the broader multilingualism present within participants' linguistic repertoires. The language portrait allowed participants to reflect on their experiences with language.
10. Importantly, indigenous African South African languages such as isiXhosa and Tshivenda are mentioned by several participants. This contrasts with the focus group and interview data (Chapters 4 and 5), where African languages were rarely mentioned.
11. A range of foreign languages were also discussed , such as Japanese, Russian, Italian, Dutch etc. More so, foreign languages are desired due to motivations such as career opportunities, travelling, friendship, etc.
12. Languages are represented as occupying different 'locations' on the body related to emotions such as love (linked to the heart), heritage and family within the feet, with one case arguing that feet should not be used as it can be seen as a sign of disrespect.

Moreover, certain accessories such as bracelets for friendship. Colours were also used to represent languages in unique ways drawing links between favourite colours of the participants themselves, or family members close to them. Moreover, colours that represent certain flags of countries were drawn on as well. Other relations between colours and languages were used for religious links as well (green for Arabic).

13. The chapter then focused on two portraits, Claire and Porcia's, to explore the ways in which languages are experienced, discussed and represented. It is here where one can see the useful nature of the language portrait, to move beyond words, and into a realm of bodily experience. In the case of Porcia, English presents within the head and within the hands, representing English as a language that is associated with thought and school. Moreover, Afrikaans is described by her in visceral ways: it is associated with pain or suffering. Important here is the idea of identity and its link to language. For her, this is chiShona, and is displayed as covering the entire body. For Claire, language transcends the idea of being able to speak a language, and into a space where language represents experiences. Of these experiences, Claire discusses the ideas of food (Italian), physical strength (isiXhosa), and 'unnatural' sensations within the legs (Afrikaans).
14. Other participants' voices are also explored in this chapter, with particular attention to the motivations for including of other foreign languages. This happened, for example, because of aspirations to travel and to connect with friends.

Overall, there is a strong presence of English in all repertoires. English, according to the participants forms part of a global market, and it is by having the command of English that they will be able to be part of this larger global setting. They also believe that through their English use, they will achieve other goals such as travelling ventures, greater prospects for career opportunities, and tertiary education. Afrikaans, by contrast, is seen as much too limiting. Several participants describe Afrikaans in a 'local' [my emphasis] manner, rather than as a tool that will allow for greater communication, networking, or self-expression outside of South Africa.

7.3 Limitations and Direction for Future Research

Further research could include a larger number of participants and would thereby yield more in-depth insights regarding the study of multilingualism in the Western Cape. The amount of data collected for this study, while useful and quite compelling, was limited to make more

generalized claims about the varied presence of multilingualism and the language ideologies that underpin these. In terms of the tools and methodology used, while successful, it would have been better to include a longer period of time spent with each participant. The constraints regarding time needed to complete this thesis became a major limitation when trying to understand the complexity of language ideologies and overall language experience.

Another important limitation which must be addressed is the fact that while the study included youth from different backgrounds (racially, socio-economically, and so forth), a larger sample might have surfaced additional perspectives on the multilingual experience. Importantly, this study included mostly English home language speakers (and medium of instruction learners) and lacked the complexity that Afrikaans home language speakers (and medium of instruction learners) could have brought to the discussion. Moreover, participants volunteering mostly came from Afrikaans/English bilingual homes. Only one participant came from a home where an African language was spoken (chiShona). IsiXhosa home language speakers could also have been included in this study, adding a better view of the language and use of the language within the Western Cape, especially considering the stark cases of erasure that were presented.

Further research could also include a greater variety of youth in and around the Western Cape. The current study focused on a small group of youth residing within a similar area and all attending the same high school. A more in-depth study could, for example, compare different areas that are Afrikaans dominant to those who are not, looking at how they differ in terms of ideologies pertaining to Afrikaans, English, indigenous African languages, and foreign languages. It would also be advisable to emphasize naturalistic data collection where the researcher observes the participants within different social domains. Youth of different ages, including first year university students, could be used for further comparison, discussing multilingualism post-high school life and the impact it has within a predominantly English space.

7.4 Recommendations

While the Western Cape language policy makes mention of Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa as the official languages, there exist large differences regarding the visibility of each language. All three languages should be made available within education, government policy and social spaces. I am not naïve to the fact that this is extremely difficult and costly but it should be

discussed more intensely. The marginalization attached to different languages should be dealt with seriously based upon the fact that when a certain language is assigned power economically, those who struggle to attain proficiency within that language will always have feelings of inferiority which may lead to feelings of anxiety and overall social displacement The ideas surrounding what is seen as ‘proper’ ‘educated’ or ‘sophisticated’ should be critiqued to level the playing field for each official and non-official language within the Western Cape.

Multilingualism should be encouraged from within the home to those greater social spaces. The more languages that share a space, the greater the chance for increased positivity in terms of ideologies and feelings surrounding different languages. Multilingualism should be practiced fairly, giving people the freedom to speak a language or languages that they ultimately wish to improve on or express themselves in. As stated before, while implementing multilingual education can be expensive, the consideration within this regard is pivotal. More so is the fact that different varieties and dialects of a language should be acceptable across social domains. While it is an extreme ideal, the idea of education, policy and social spaces affording for many varieties and many languages would be a positive push into the right direction for an inclusive nation.

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Appendix A

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Date: January/February 2017

Study Topic: Multilingual Selves: Exploring Language Ideologies and Linguistic Repertoires among Young People in Cape Town.

Researcher: Imrah Adams, MA candidate, African Studies and Linguistics, University of Cape Town (UCT).

Data Collection Method: Focus group discussions, Language portraits and in-depth interviews

Purpose of the research:

I, Imrah Adams, am a Masters student in the Department of African Studies and Linguistics, at the University of Cape Town, South Africa.

For this degree, I am investigating the experiences of multilingual youth living within a predominantly Afrikaans area, and the intersection of language ideologies and linguistic repertories.

Focus will be on highlighting the total experience the youth find with the languages within their lives, looking at their trajectory, linguistically, thus far. As an additional aim, the study aims to determine the underlying experiences and influences involved in their perceptions towards the languages they have learnt, and been exposed to. Finally, this research will explore the notion of identity formation, looking at the idea of what it means to be a multilingual, and exploring desired languages and an extended multilingual experience.

My supervisor is Ana Deumert in the African Studies and Linguistics section, University of Cape Town, South Africa.

My contact details are as follows:

Imrah Adams

African Studies and Linguistics section, UCT

Email: [redacted]008@myuct.ac.za

I would therefore like to request that you form part of my research study. If this permission is granted, as a participant, you will be required to be part of a focus group discussion and complete a language portrait.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you may refuse to answer any question or choose to stop participating at any time.

Withdrawal from the study: You can stop participating in the study at any time, for any reason, if you so decide. Should you decide to withdraw from the study; all data generated as a consequence of your participation will be destroyed.

Confidentiality: All information you supply during the research will be held in confidence. Your anonymity is guaranteed. Your name will not appear in any report or publication of the research. Your data will be safely stored and only the researcher will have access to this information.

Signatures:

My signature (participant) below indicates my consent

_____

Parental signature (1) below indicates consent

_____

Parental signature (2) below indicates consent

_____

Appendix B

LETTER TO PARENTS

Dear Parents

I am a Master's student from UCT, specialising in Linguistics. The focus of my work surrounds the experiences learners have with Afrikaans. For this thesis I will be conducting my research within the [redacted] area. This research will require the participation of 20 learners in grade 11 (2017) who consider themselves bilingual/multilingual (multiple languages). The research will consist of focus group discussions, an in-depth interview as well as a short activity in which language is further explored through a language portrait. If your child falls within this category and they (along with your permission) are interested, please contact me on [redacted] or via email at XXX@gmail.com as soon as you are able to.

Thank You

Imrah Adams

Appendix C

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Background

What is your age?

How do you self-identify in terms of gender?

Which languages are you able to speak?

How did you learn to speak these languages? Let's explore this idea in some more detail.

Which of these languages do you consider you 'home language'?

Thinking about your home situation what languages do you hear in your home? Do different family members have language preferences? For example mother? Father? Brothers and sisters?

Do you live in Windsor Park Estate, if you do, how many years?

Bilingualism

What type of household (in terms of languages spoken) were you brought up in? Describe the speaking environment.

Would you say that your home is an Afrikaans-only speaking environment? How so? And if not, how would you describe it?

Does the situation you find yourself in guide your language patterns? That is, how much English and how much Afrikaans you speak?

Do you feel that it is beneficial to be bilingual (even multilingual) in South Africa?

Do you consider yourself to be multilingual or monolingual?

If multilingual: are you able to easily speak either language? Would you say that you have a dominant language that you speak? If so, what is it? What makes it so dominant? If not, why not.

Do you make use of English or any ‘other’ language while speaking Afrikaans? Can you explain this?

Does the same happen when you are speaking the ‘other’ language? Do you mix in Afrikaans?

Educational Information

Was your primary school here in Windsor Park Estate? If not, where was it located?

How did it happen that you are now attending Monument Park High School? Was it your choice? Was this your parent’s choice?

Is Monument Park High School similar to your primary school? If not, in which ways was it different, especially with regard to language? Are different languages heard or spoken?

Which medium of instruction stream have you chosen? why?

Which subjects do you take at this school? (Besides English and Afrikaans) Which ones do you enjoy? And which ones don’t you enjoy?

Are you able to choose whether to do a subject in English or Afrikaans? How does it work?

Space and Context of Languages

How often do you speak the following languages: English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa? Think about the person you talk to, the context or area you are in at the time of talking as well when you are in a conversation surrounding a certain topic? Based on the previous question, in which spaces (school, home and in any social gatherings) do you speak either language?

When you think about yourself, what language do you feel you most identify with?

When needing to express yourself, which language allows best for this? Why?

Are all of your friends (at school and home) from a similar language background? If yes or no, why do you think that this is the case?

Would you say that you use the same ‘type’ of Afrikaans all the time? When do you use, according to yourself, different forms of language? Could you give some examples?

Language Attitudes towards Afrikaans

Let's shift our thoughts for a bit. Based on the fact that Afrikaans not just one thing, which type of people come to mind when you think about the many varieties of Afrikaans? Have some imaginative fun at this point.

Are there some varieties of Afrikaans you would like to speak or do speak? Why or why not?

Would you say that you prefer to speak a specific variety of Afrikaans in all situations? Why or why not?

If you heard someone speaking Afrikaans in a way that is very different from the way you speak it, would that bother you? If it does or doesn't, why does it or doesn't it? Can you give examples?

Do you find that knowing Afrikaans increases your ability to talk to others? How or when has this happened?

Experiences surrounding Afrikaans

Have you experienced cases where your way of speaking Afrikaans was noted by others? If so, what types of comments were made?

How do you feel when you speak Afrikaans? Why does it make you feel this way?

When I first came to Kraaifontein, being from the City, I experienced the awkward feeling of being disorientated with all the Afrikaans. This was an interesting experience. Have you had any similar cases like this? What happened?

Have you ever imagined having another language; instead of Afrikaans; as your home language or first additional language? How would that make you feel?

Feelings towards Afrikaans

Do you feel that you can express yourself better in another language, other than Afrikaans? If so, why would you say that this is the case?

Do you feel that speaking Afrikaans says something about your personality? Why?

If you are speaking Afrikaans, do you feel that you are being true to yourself? Does it feel like a performance on stage? Or is it completely natAnd is it different from English, your 'other' language?

Do you ever feel that you are being judged when speaking any language other than your home language (English or Afrikaans)? Which languages and in which spaces?

What type of feelings do you experience when you speak Afrikaans? Explain why you feel these feelings.

How do you feel when you are reading poems, novels and so forth when it is written in Afrikaans? Do you feel that Afrikaans expresses thoughts and emotions well? Why or why not?

Do you feel any changes within yourself when you speak Afrikaans? Describe these experiences while thinking about how you change when speaking the other languages that you are able to speak.

<u>The Future and Afrikaans</u>

Share your thoughts on what you think will happen to Afrikaans within the future (in the Western Cape)? Elaborate.

<u>Attitudes and Experiences Surrounding English and isiXhosa</u>

<u>English</u>

How important is English today (in South Africa)? why?

Does English appeal to you? in which ways?

Do you feel that English is encouraged by the community in which you live? How so?

In which contexts do you choose to speak more English? Why?

Have there ever been cases where you felt that English was more appropriate than another language? How so?

Do you feel that English will be more beneficial to speak when in an environment of employment? Why or why not?

isiXhosa

Are you able to speak isiXhosa? Any other language apart from English and Afrikaans?

Where did you learn to speak isiXhosa? why? how?

Were there any difficulties when you were learning the language? Describe these difficulties.

In which situations and contexts do you speak isiXhosa?

When you do speak isiXhosa, how does it make you feel?

Do you feel that you are encouraged to speak isiXhosa? By whom?

Do you feel that isiXhosa is represented enough within your area (where you live)? If yes how so?

Based on the previous question, within the Western Cape, do you feel that isiXhosa is represented enough? Why or why not?

Do you feel that having the ability to speak isiXhosa will benefit your environment of employment in the future? How so?

Appendix D

PROBES FOR FOCUS GROUP INTERACTION

The two videos will serve as the ice-breaker for the focus groups. Thereafter discussions will begin with the following as discussion points:

Response to the video

Would you say that the language in the videos we watched is what you would call Afrikaans? If not, what would you call it, and why?

How would you describe Afrikaans? Or what you think Afrikaans is?

Language within social contexts and situations

What are your thoughts on Afrikaans and the other languages such as English, isiXhosa (and any others you can think of) you find within the Western Cape?

If you were to speak to an individual who spoke to you in this variety (found in the video) of Afrikaans, what would your response be? Describe yourself in that situation.

Are there varieties of Afrikaans that you have heard of? Can you relate to them in anyway? Why or why not?

Provide some examples showing how and why they are different to what you are used to.

What kinds of Afrikaans do you hear around you? Give examples of these varieties you hear around you.

Based on the previous question, where do you hear these varieties the most?

The Afrikaans used at home, does it differ from that which you use at school? Why is that the case?

When you are interacting with people on a daily basis, in your everyday life, do you use Afrikaans? And what kind of Afrikaans do you use? And why

When you are out in public; and someone asks you for directions, do you speak Afrikaans? Why or why not?

Do you use Afrikaans on social media? If yes, why and what type of Afrikaans? If no, why n

Within this area (Windsor Park Estate) do you see Afrikaans on signage, street names, notices and so on? If yes, how often? If not, which languages are used?

Does everyone in this area or at your school speak the same type of Afrikaans? How do you feel about this, that is, about the types of Afrikaans that are being used? Are there some you really like? Or maybe others you don't like?

Feelings surrounding Afrikaans

If you had to describe Afrikaans (whatever variety you think of or that you are familiar with) to someone unfamiliar with the language, how would you describe it to them?

What feelings arise within you when you are speaking Afrikaans? How does it feel in the mind, the body and so on?

I was once asked about my experience with Afrikaans. I explained that I found Afrikaans to be both within my left and my right hand. What I meant by this was, within the left hand was what the 'Standard' variety offered me, a way to communicate but with much difficulty; while the 'Kaaps' variety I felt was within my right hand. Why the right hand? That is my 'strong' hand. I feel more at ease with this variety in the same way that I feel more at ease to write with my right hand. With a scenario like this, share your ideas with us as a group.

Where and what is your experience/s with Afrikaans and the varieties you are exposed to?

If you are speaking Afrikaans, do you feel that you are being true to yourself? Does it feel like a performance on stage? O completely natural? And is it different from English, your 'other' language?

How do you feel when speaking Afrikaans to a stranger who is speaking to you in a type of Afrikaans which differs from your own variety?

How do you feel when you are speaking different varieties of Afrikaans? Do different varieties 'feel' different?

What language/s do you feel that you dream in? If different languages, what were these experiences?

Attitudes towards Afrikaans

Have you ever had cases where you felt that you were being judged by others based on the variety of Afrikaans you speak? Can you tell us about it?

Do you sometimes find that people would assume that you are more comfortable speaking Afrikaans (than English)? Why would you say that this is the case?

Do you feel that Afrikaans is useful? Why or why not?

Is it easier for you to understand your school work when it is Afrikaans or in English? Why or why not?

What do you think Afrikaans means to those who cannot speak Afrikaans?

Does having Afrikaans as a language you can speak add value to your life? Why or why not?

Does having to speak Afrikaans ever made you feel uncomfortable? What happened? How did you feel?

Choose an emotion to describe what Afrikaans means to you. What made you choose that emotion?

About English and isiXhosa

How does having English/isiXhosa at your disposal benefit your life?

Tell us about a scenario where English/ isiXhosa was more useful for the context than Afrikaans or isiXhosa (or any other languages), what happened?

Can you express some things better in English or isiXhosa than in Afrikaans? Give some examples of this.

What kind of feelings do you experience when using English? How does the English language make you feel? Why?

When you are speaking isiXhosa, what kind of feeling does it give you? Why?

Are there any other languages you wish that you could speak? What are these languages?

Based on the previous question, in which ways would being able to speak the languages mentioned, change the experience of communicating with others for you? Provide some examples.

Are you planning to learn these languages? If yes, what is it about these languages that make you want to learn them?