

**Monolingualism and its Meaning
in Two KwaZulu-Natal
High Schools**

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of

Master of Arts
of
Rhodes University

by
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May 2016

Abstract

This study reports on the identity and attitudes of monolingual English speakers (MES) at two high schools in Durban, South Africa, in relation particularly to the role and meaning of monolingualism. Two bodies of data are used to investigate the attitudes of MES and are oriented towards four variables: English, African languages (particularly Zulu), monolingualism and plurilingualism. The attitudes to these variables reveal the impact on identity of language usage in Durban, and negotiations of the participants in trying to mitigate or justify attitudes that are counter to the embracing of diversity encouraged in modern South Africa. First, an attitude questionnaire provides quantitative data that is subjected to analysis, including a chi-squared test. Second, a narrative elicitation interview provides qualitative narrative data that is analysed in relation to APPRAISAL theory. Both analysis types are used to ascertain the presence of a monolingual mindset in the scholars' responses, as well as to capture the ideological forces to which they are subjected as monolingual English speakers in the unique multilingual setting of Durban. In essence, the data points to a discourse of compromise and unease on the part of the participants – as they juggle with the effects of an English-centric monolingual mindset, and a more pervasive pluralism that embraces the Rainbowism of 'the new South Africa'. This discourse of compromise is characterized on one side by insecurity and dissatisfaction with the language in education policy, and well as the monolingual upbringing of MES in Durban, and a lack of Language other than English (LOTE), in particular, Zulu. This side of the compromise also portrays a pro-plurilingual orientation, a positive valuation of knowing a LOTE and of plurilingual people. Here, however, the manifestation of the 'other side' of the compromise appears as the MES characterize plurilingualism as exceptional and too difficult, and language learning at school as having a negative impact on academic success. Alongside this is a normalization of English and othering of African languages in practical situation. English is also promoted as the language of unity and economic and academic progress or success, while the material value of African languages is questioned.

Dedications

To Him through whom all things are possible. Even those you are convinced are not.

To my husband and best friend, Heiko, who went from boyfriend to spouse during the course of this work. To you belong my heart and my future, and this thesis.

To my family, Mom, Dad, Jo, Al, Samantha and Matthew. Thank you for making me laugh, and for believing in me and loving me, even when I did not. To the Ganes, Heilgendorffs, and Heaneys, thank you for your support and the love of a family.

Acknowledgements

Supervisor Ralph Adendorff, and the Linguistics Department at Rhodes University: Thank you for your patience, guidance, care and expertise. Thank you too to the staff and students at the UKZN Department of Linguistics, for my grounding in Linguistics and your continued interest. I must acknowledge Prof Elizabeth Ellis who willingly shared her knowledge, papers and enthusiasm with a young masters student interested in monolingualism.

I acknowledge the financial assistance from the Andrew Mellon Foundation Postgraduate Scholarship, for funding my first year (full time, in attendance) at Rhodes University. Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at, are those of myself and are not necessarily to be attributed to Rhodes University or the donor. I would like to acknowledge with gratitude the Director of Research award (organised by Mr Gilliam of the post-graduate financial aid office) that covered half the fees for my first year part time (not in attendance).

Unless specifically indicated to the contrary in the text, this thesis is my own original work. It has not been submitted for a degree at any other university.

Jacqueline Michelle Carlyle

List of Acronyms:

ANC	: African National Congress
CAPS	: Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement
FAL	: First Additional Language
KZN	: KwaZulu Natal
LiEP	: Language in Education Policy
LL	: Language Learning
LOTE	: Language Other Than English
LOTL	: Language of Teaching and Learning
MES	: Monolingual English Speaker
MESeS	: Monolingual English Speakers
MOI	: Medium of Instruction
RNCS	: Revised National Curriculum Statement
SAE	: South African English

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	Page i
Dedication and Acknowledgements	ii
List of Acronyms	iii
 1. Introduction	 1
1.1 Motivation for Research	1
1.2 Background to Research	2
1.2.1 The language situation in South Africa	3
1.2.2 An overview of research into monolingualism	4
1.2.3 Identity	6
1.2.4 Ideology	7
1.3 Aims and Research Questions	9
1.4 Special Considerations of the Research Environment	10
1.5 Research Design and Methodology	11
1.5.1 Data Body 1: Attitude Questionnaire and analysis	12
1.5.2 Data Body 2: Narrative Elicitation Interview and analysis	12
1.6 Review of the Chapters to Follow	13
 2. Literature Review	 14
2.1 Introduction	14
2.2 Language in South Africa – An Historical Perspective	14
2.2.1 The colonial era	15
2.2.2 Indian migration	16
2.2.3 The Apartheid era	17
2.2.3.1 Language in education policy	21
2.2.4 Post-Apartheid South Africa	23
2.2.4.1 The political atmosphere post 1994	24
2.2.4.2 Language policy	25
2.2.4.3 Policy versus practice mismatch	28
2.3 Monolingualism	32
2.3.1 An overview of research into monolingualism	32
2.3.1.1 Defining monolingualism	33
2.3.1.2 Three orientations towards monolingualism	34
2.3.2 The monolingual mindset	36
2.4 Identity in South Africa	39
2.4.1 Individual and group identity	39
2.4.2 National identity in South Africa	42
2.5 Conclusion	44
 3. Methodology	 46
3.1 Introduction	46
3.2 Pilot Study	46
3.3 Data Collection: Two Durban Private Schools	48

3.3.1	KwaZulu-Natal	48
3.3.2	The schools	49
3.3.3	The participants	51
3.3.4	Sequence of data collection	52
3.4	Data Collection Instruments	53
3.4.1	Data body 1: Attitude questionnaire	53
3.4.2	Data body 2: Narrative elicitation interview	54
3.5	Frameworks for Analysis	56
3.5.1	Quantitative analysis: Chi-Squared test for independence	56
3.5.2	Qualitative analysis: The APPRAISAL framework	59
3.5.2.1	Attitude	61
3.5.2.2	Graduation	64
3.5.2.3	Engagement	67
3.5.2.4	Inscribed and evoked APPRAISAL	69
3.5.2.5	Selection, coding and analysis of narrative data	71
3.6	Conclusion	80
4.	Findings and Interpretation	81
4.1	Introduction	81
4.2	Attitude Questionnaire Responses	81
4.2.1	Self-reporting of bilingual status	81
4.2.1.1	Description	82
4.2.1.2	Interpretation	83
4.2.1.3	Explanation	83
4.2.2	Whether self-reporting of bilingual status on the part of the participants indicates a difference in attitude	84
4.2.2.1	Description and interpretation	84
4.2.2.2	Explanation	89
4.2.3	Whether different race and gender groups hold different language attitudes	89
4.2.3.1	Description and interpretation	89
4.2.3.2	Analysis of items that show significance for gender	90
4.2.4	Overall frequencies and response profile for MESes	92
4.2.4.1	The monolingual mindset in the questionnaire	92
4.2.4.2	Interpretation of frequencies of items relating to the monolingual mindset	93
4.2.4.3	Interpretation of frequencies of items relating to English and African languages	96
4.2.5	The Profile of a MES revealed through the attitude questionnaire	97
4.3	APPRAISAL Analysis of Narrative Elicitation Interview Responses	98
4.3.1	Distribution of Attitude choices in questions 1-6	99
4.3.1.1	Description of figures and appraised	99
4.3.1.2	Patterns of [-Security], [-Satisfaction] and [+/-Propriety]	107
4.3.1.3	Patterns of [+/-Capacity] and [+/-Normality]	111
4.3.1.4	Patterns of [+/-Valuation]	113
4.3.2	Graduation	117
4.3.2.1	Description of figures and appraised	117
4.3.2.2	Patterns of upscaling and downscaling	120

4.3.3	Engagement	124
4.3.3.1	Description of figures and appraised	124
4.3.3.2	Patterns of Counter and Deny	126
4.3.3.3	Patterns of Expansion and Contraction	127
4.3.4	The Profile of a MES revealed through the Narrative Elicitation Interview	133
4.4	A Comparison of the MES Profiles Revealed by the Two Bodies of Data	136
4.5	Conclusion	137
5.	Conclusion	139
5.1	Introduction	139
5.2	Nature of the Research and its Uniqueness	139
5.3	Answering the Research Questions	140
5.4	Limitations of the Study and Potential for Future Research	143
5.4.1	Gender	143
5.4.2	Language planning and policy	146
5.4.3	Plurilingualism as respect	146
5.4.4	The effect of different socio-economic groups and schools (including teachers)	147
5.4.5	Critical Discourse Analysis	147
5.4.6	Analysis of stimulus article	147
5.5	Conclusion	148
6.	References	149
7.	List of Appendices	155
Appendix 1:	Letters of Consent	157
1.1	Letter of Consent from School A	157
1.2	Letter of Consent from School B	158
Appendix 2:	Census Data 1996 and 2011	159
Appendix 3:	Maps	161
	Figure 3.1 Map of the Provincial Boundaries of the Republic of South Africa	
	Figure 3.2 Map of the former 'Homelands' of South Africa	
Appendix 4 :	Pilot Questionnaire	162
Appendix 5 :	Attitude Questionnaire	164
Appendix 6 :	Samples of Answered Questionnaires	166
Appendix 7 :	Chapter 1, Section 6, of the 1996 Constitution of South Africa	175
Appendix 8:	Questionnaire Responses Indicating Familial Use of LOTE.	176
Appendix 9:	Tables of Results for section 4.2 (Tables 9.1-9.8)	177
	Table 9.1 Reason for 'Yes' responses to self-reporting of bilingual status	177
	Table 9.2a Reason for 'No' responses to female self-reporting of bilingual status	178
	Table 9.2b Reason for 'No' responses to male self-reporting of bilingual status	179

Table 9.3	All questions with p values $\leq .05$ for both race and gender	180
Table 9.4	Items reflecting significance for gender	181
Table 9.5	Frequencies of all 38 items in the Attitude Questionnaire	182
Table 9.6	Frequencies of items relating to monolingualism and plurilingualism that reflect a monolingual mindset	183
Table 9.7	Frequencies of items relating to monolingualism and plurilingualism that reflect a lack of a monolingual mindset	184
Table 9.8	Items relating to English and African languages (Zulu in particular)	185
Appendix 10:	Transcription Conventions	186
Appendix 11:	Final Edited Stimulus Article Used in Interviews	187
Appendix 12:	Generic Participant Interview Question Schedule	188
Appendix 13:	Transcription Sample (Q6) of Selected Cases for Analysis	190
Appendix 14:	Interview Responses Indicating Familial Use of LOTE	192
Appendix 15:	Sample APPRAISAL Analysis	194
15.1	Table showing a sample of the process of APPRAISAL analysis (Attitude) taken from Question 4, participants F1 and F2	194
15.2	Table showing a sample of the process of APPRAISAL analysis (Graduation) taken from Question 4, participants F1 and F2	195
15.3	Table showing a sample of the process of APPRAISAL analysis (Engagement) taken from Question 1, participants F1 and F2.	196
Appendix 16:	Responses to Question: What percentage of South Africans do you think can speak or communicate in English?	197
Appendix 17:	Graphs of Attitude Responses for Questions 1-6	199
17.1:	Bar graph indicating overall instantiations of Attitude choices for Q1-6	199
17.2:	Line graph indicating instantiations of Affect choices per Question (Q1-6)	199
17.3:	Line graph indicating instantiations of Judgement choices per Question (Q1-6)	200
17.4:	Line graph indicating instantiations of Appreciation choices per Question (Q1-6)	200
Appendix 18:	Graphs of Graduation Responses for Questions 1-6	201
18.1:	Bar graph indicating overall instantiations of Graduation choices for Q1-6	201
18.2:	Line graph indicating instantiations of Focus (Intensification and Quantification) choices per Question (Q1-6)	201
18.3:	Line graph indicating instantiations of Force choices per Question (Q1-6)	202
Appendix 19:	Graphs of Engagement Responses for Questions 1-6	203
19.1:	Bar graph indicating overall instantiations of Graduation choices for Q1-6	203

19.2: Line graph indicating instantiations of Contraction choices per Question (Q1-6)	203
19.3: Line graph indicating instantiations of Expansion choices per Question (Q1-6)	204
Appendix 20: Extracts from Question 4b	205
Appendix 21: Further Examples from Section 4.3	206

8. List of Electronic Appendices

E-Appendix 1: Transcripts of Selected Cases for the 6 Analysed Questions

E-Appendix 2: Stimulus Article

2.1 Original unedited stimulus article from *Mail and Guardian Online*

2.2 Original length stimulus article annotated with deletions

9. List of Figures, Tables and Graphs

Figure 1.1	Map of concentration of English speakers in South Africa	1
Figure 2.1	Map of the Provincial boundaries of the Union of South Africa	19
Table 3.1	Items reworked as a result of the pilot run	47
Table 3.2	Items added to the Attitude Questionnaire after the pilot run	47
Table 3.3	The sequence of data collection: Pilot and main studies	48
Table 3.4	Outline of the two data types collected and where they are reported on	48
Table 3.5	Breakdown of the top 4 languages in the top 3 English provinces, according to number of speakers	48
Table 3.6	Racial and gender breakdown of participants	52
Table 3.7	Example of questions from and layout of the Attitude Questionnaire	54
Table 3.8	Coding used in quantitative data	57
Table 3.9	Example of coding of example participant	57
Figure 3.1	Variable view on SPSS 21	57
Figure 3.2	Data view on SPSS 21	58
Figure 3.3	Screen shot of the output of a chi-squared test run on data in SPSS 21	59
Figure 3.4	Diagram of the basic APPRAISAL system	61
Figure 3.5	The Attitude sub-system	62
Figure 3.6	The Graduation sub-system	65
Figure 3.7	The Engagement sub-system	67
Table 3.10	Full list of interview questions indicating which are used as Questions 1-6 for APPRAISAL analysis	72

Table 3.11	Cases used per interview question for APPRAISAL analysis	73
Table 4.1	Self reporting of bilingual status by race	82
Table 4.2	Self reporting of bilingual status by gender	82
Graph 4.1	Bar graphs indicating number of Y/N responses by gender and race	82
Table 4.3	Pearson chi-squared p values for race and gender	83
Graph 4.2	Bar charts reflecting chi-squared test responses to questionnaire questions 6 (left) and 9 (right)	85
Table 4.4	Distribution of Attitude choices in questions 1-6	99
Table 4.5	Distribution of Graduation choices in questions 1-6	118
Table 4.6	Distribution of Engagement choices in questions 1-6	124

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Motivation for Research

South Africa today is a diverse country, with a multicultural and plurilingual society that appears to have moved past the spectre of racial discrimination and oppressive minority rule. In contrast to the prescribed and divisive national identity of the Apartheid era (Eaton 2002), the new identity of the ‘Rainbow Nation’ places emphasis on the plurality of its existence, and embraces the ‘South African’ as an inclusive, accepting citizen. However, it is widely recognised that this is an idealised view, necessary for the successful functioning of a democratic state (Eaton 2002) and that a unanimous, cohesive sense of national identity in South Africa is still waiting to be achieved (Eaton 2002). It is in this situation that I seek to investigate the position of mother-tongue English speakers in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal (KZN). I look into the linguistic lives, attitudes and identities of a group of monolingual English speakers (MES) in Durban, KZN. My aim is to characterise English monolingualism in Durban and understand the MES’ feelings toward and justifications of their limited linguistic repertoire in a plurilingual country.

The site of my research, Durban, is of particular relevance, within South Africa, to the issue of English and monolingualism (this is discussed in detail in Section 3.3.1). As is to be expected, the main cities of South Africa (Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban) are areas where the presence and influence of English can be most strongly felt (as can be seen in Figure 1.1 below, the darker red areas indicate areas of higher concentration of English speakers). However, of the three cities it is Durban (or KZN) that has the most ‘simplified’ linguistic make up, with 77.8% of the KZN population speaking Zulu, followed by 13.2 % who speak English (Census 2011). No other language group is numerically significant. Thus for me, growing up in Durban, English has always had a very strong presence, and as an English speaker, no other language was necessary for daily living, and the economy, media, education and all formal aspects of life were available (potentially exclusively) in English.



Figure 1.1. Map showing the density of English speakers across South Africa.

In my honours year at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) the issue of monolingualism was brought to my attention through the work of Ellis (2006). It is not an area of linguistics that is very

well researched or often focussed on, as attention is usually paid to bilingualism (Ellis 2006). As I engaged with the reading and recognition that bilingualism is the norm world wide – and not monolingualism – I realised that I am one of these monolinguals. I am a monolingual speaker of the most widely spoken (although not the largest in terms of L1 speakers) language in the world, namely, English (Ethnologue), yet, also, part of an under investigated linguistic minority. I thus engaged in honours-level research at UKZN (Carlyle 2008). In my research I tentatively explored attitudes towards English in Durban, interviewing 10 White English speakers at UKZN. The results of the study yielded a clear contrast between the language ideology of the individuals investigated and their language practices. All respondents had positive attitudes towards multilingualism and saw their monolingualism as unfortunate and undesirable. Yet, in practice, they only spoke English and considered learning an African language, for instance, desirable but unnecessary, as English is the language of power and intergroup communication. These research findings serve as the starting point for my Master's thesis. This thesis expands upon that small-scale project and reports on my investigation of the attitudes both of White and Indian monolingual English speakers (MESes) to English, Afrikaans and Zulu. In addition, it reports on my investigation of the macro (historical, constitutional, socio-political) as well as the micro (attitudinal and narrative) forces impacting upon MESes both provincially and nationally, and the participants' attitudes towards their monolingualism.

By way of an overview of the rest of this chapter, section 1.2 provides a literary contextualisation of the research conducted. Section 1.3 provides the research questions that have guided the study and explains the overarching goals of the work. Section 1.4 draws attention to special considerations relating to the research environment in which I operated and deals with terminological considerations. Section 1.5 provides a brief account of the methods used to conduct the research, and is followed (in 1.6) by an explanation of the structure of the thesis as a whole.

1.2 Background of Research

As this thesis falls into the 'critical' category of sociolinguistic study, it deals with issues of ideology and identity, particularly in relation to issues of power and dominance. It focuses on language use and ideology in relation to issues of identity and language attitudes as well as language policy. The literature reviewed in this thesis falls into three main fields, which situate the study in the South African context and inform the understanding of monolingualism and identity engaged with in the thesis. The first field is the social and political history of South Africa, including its language policies (through colonialism, into Apartheid and then into the anticipated new political dispensation post-1994) focusing, in particular, on factors leading to the post 1994 mismatch between language policy and practice. The second field is monolingual research, drawing on Ellis' (2006) work on the three main orientations in the literature towards monolingualism. The third and

final field is the work done on identities, particularly that on the discursive construction of national identity (Wodak 1999).

1.2.1 The language situation in South Africa

This research seeks to understand the position of the monolingual in the current South African context. However, in order for this to be significant, a historical review of the social and political situations within the country – particularly where they concern language – is necessary. The history of language use in the country is fraught with ideological manipulation and inequality, especially in relation to language planning and policy. It is my view that the effects of much of this manipulation have been allowed to continue relatively unchanged since 1994, especially in relation to education. It is important to look at the historical context of the present study in order to trace the factors responsible for developing the relevant language attitudes under investigation. The attitudes of concern in this research are those towards plurilingualism (the use of many languages at an individual level.) and its antithesis, monolingualism, and well as attitudes towards English and African languages (especially Zulu). I employ a historical perspective in this study as I believe it assists in understanding the influences on the lives of the group of ‘born free’ (the term given to South Africans born post 1994) monolingual English speakers who are the focus of the study.

The concept of South Africa and its history, starts with the arrival of European settlers in the Cape in 1652 and their immediate ideological and physical domination of the indigenous groups already living in the country. In section 2.2.1, I detail the development of language use and policy under the colonial powers, both the Dutch and the British. The ideologies dominant during colonisation (such as the British policy of Anglicisation (Smit 1996, Bekker 2003) and the power struggle between English and Dutch (later Afrikaans)) went a long way to entrenching the idea of the superiority of European languages and culture, and the inferiority of the indigenous African languages (Bekker 2003). Furthermore, peculiar to colonialism in South Africa is the beginning of the *taalstryd* (language struggle) between English and Dutch (later Afrikaans), which saw the Dutch settlers (Voortrekkers) and the new British rulers constantly at odds, and ultimately resulting in the birth of the Afrikaner nation itself. Language was seen as of intrinsic importance to both groups (through Anglicisation as a tool of rule for the British, and with the Boer belief in their ‘God given’ *taal* (i.e. language, namely Afrikaans) as fundamental to the Afrikaner identity), and thus became a site for struggle that was magnified by Apartheid.

Under the Apartheid policy of separate development, detailed in section 2.2.2, social engineering was implemented with the goal of ensuring that sections of the population existed autonomously. Not only were the different racial groups separated, but racial groups themselves were divided along ethnic lines, with language taken as the main marker for ethnicity (Kamwangamalu 2001).

The ideal of separate development was not limited to race, in fact, ethnicity, alongside race, was fundamental to the construction of the Apartheid state (Kamwangamalu 2001). The use of language as a tool of separation, was especially evident in Language in Education Policy (or LiEP which is discussed in section 2.2.3.1). This vital aspect of the regime's linguistic engineering was a source of particular contention. Ideological manipulations of the language in education policies can be seen as the basis of much of today's common sense assumptions regarding language and language use in education (such as the insistence by many on English only education) (Johnson 1982), as people seek to counteract their effects. The effects of ideologies perpetuated in the education system have far-reaching effects (Johnson 1982), thus when Apartheid officially ended, a concerted effort was needed (especially in language policy and practice) to counter, resist and replace these ideologies. The desire by the Afrikaner to promote the role, influence and esteem of Afrikaans in relation to English coupled with the implementation of 'Bantu Education' seemingly resulted in the inadvertent promotion of English as the route to African emancipation and development (De Klerk 2000).

In 1994, with the euphoria of the first democratic election and the watershed movement to majority rule, much was expected of the new democratic dispensation. The political atmosphere in the country at this stage and the ideologies it espoused are discussed in section 2.2.3.1. With the new constitution in 1996 hailed as one of the most enlightened in the world (Ngugi 2003), particularly in terms of its language policy, much was expected as regards real linguistic change in South Africa. Focusing on language policy (see section 2.2.4.2), the constitution included an extensive, restorative and liberal language clause naming 11 official languages, and calling for the protection and restoration of the previously neglected languages (Constitution 1996). Likewise, the new Language in Education Policy (LiEP) and National Language Framework (NLF) promised an era of grassroots change and ideological renovation. It is into this post-1994 world that the participants in this study were born. However, 20 years on, an apparent mismatch exists between the country's linguistic policies and the general practices of government, business, education and general society (Kamwangamalu 2000, Heugh 2009). This is the focus of section 2.2.4.3. Thus, while officially the linguistic landscape has changed, it could be said that, sociolinguistically, the situation is not much different from the situation under Apartheid. This study seeks to contextualise the participants against this backdrop, with its various ideologies, and to investigate their identity and positioning as monolinguals in terms of it.

1.2.2 An overview of research into monolingualism

As this study focuses on the issue of a monolingual identity, it is important to understand the characteristics associated with the concept of monolingualism and monolingual individuals and societies. The phenomenon of monolingualism, as discussed in section 2.3, is generally not

considered by large sections of the world's population to be unusual: it is the norm. It is also not well researched (Ellis 2006, 2008). The majority of the world's population in fact however is plurilingual, making monolingualism a marked case (Ellis 2006, 2008) amongst human societies. The emphasis in the sociolinguistic literature endorses this, since it focuses largely on issues surrounding bilingualism and other contact phenomena. Ellis (2006) summarises the nascent literature on monolingualism in terms of three overarching theoretical perspectives, which are investigated in more detail in section 2.3.1.2. Firstly, that monolingualism is 'natural', secondly that it is a 'deficiency' and thirdly that it is a 'pathology'. My original honours study hinted at a fourth perspective, namely, that monolingualism for these individuals is 'inevitable', yet seems to be a marked case to them, and is acknowledged as undesirable. Such speakers desire not to be monolingual yet perceive themselves as having no alternative. This is a position I propose is seen in the MES participant in my study. Since there is no research to date focusing on MES in South Africa, mine is, I believe, the first – of the meaning of monolingualism – and of the unique multicultural setting in which it has been conducted.

Monolingualism (like bilingualism) exists on a continuum, with proficiency levels ranging from knowledge of a few words in a second language, to having studied one or more language yet being unable to communicate effectively in them (Ellis 2006, 2008). Such a person therefore has a limited linguistic repertoire with which to express themselves (Ellis 2008). A more detailed discussion of a working definition of monolingualism for the purposes of this thesis is found in section 2.3.1.1.

The literature on monolingualism (Clyne 2008, Ellis 2008, Park 2008) originates from, and, currently focuses on, countries where the focal language is the majority language both numerically and in terms of its 'linguistic capital', or power, in the linguistic marketplace (Bourdieu 1991). The differences between these research contexts and that of my study – which has an anachronistic linguistic situation regarding English in relation to being a majority language – compared with those mentioned above, is discussed in both 2.2.4.3 and 5.2. In many places worldwide – South Africa included - English commands the greatest market value and so endows those who speak it with more linguistic capital than do other languages (De Klerk 2000). English in South Africa receives authority from forces external to it (Bourdieu 1991) such as constitutional provisions (despite the 11 official language policy, see section 2.2.4.2), education and economic policies and the positive attitudes towards it from non-mother-tongue speakers of English, boosting its hegemony. Its standing is not due to properties inherent in the language itself, but, rather, to the functions that it performs both locally and globally (Kachru 1982, Bourdieu 1991, De Klerk 2000). This is discussed in greater depth in 2.2.4.3 and 2.3.1.1

The *monolingual mindset* is a concept developed by Clyne (extrapolated from Christ's (1997) translation of Gogolin's (1994) 'monolingual habitus' as a 'monolingual mindset') to describe the attitude or 'mindset' that is held by individuals, communities or governments, in monolingual countries or from monolingual backgrounds. This concept is examined in section 2.3.2. of this thesis. Referring to Australia and its language policies, Clyne (2005) states that "We are very fortunate that our national language and lingua franca, English, is also the most widespread international lingua franca. However, we disadvantage ourselves if we believe that one language is sufficient" (Clyne 2005: x). A monolingual mindset is one that has a range of effects on those manifesting it and their community, which are discussed further in 2.3.2.

In understanding the characteristics of a monolingual mindset, one can investigate (as I do) whether such a mindset is present (and to what extent) in South African language policy, practice and in the individuals under investigation.

1.2.3 Identity

Important to this study is the concept of identity. I investigate how the participants' monolingual status in a plurilingual country affects their identity, specifically their sense of group and national identity. For this I draw on the work of Wodak et al (1999), Van Dijk (1995, 1998, 2001, 2005, 2008) as well as on Anderson's (1991) concept of 'imagined communities'. Language, especially through its role in discourse, is fundamental to identity (Wodak 1999, Fairclough 1989). The ideology of language as a defining element of both group and individual identity, and thus segregation, that was promoted under Apartheid, still affects society today. The ideological frameworks employed to perpetuate separate development have not been wholly removed. Any attempt to create a new sense of national identity needs to counter the fact that Apartheid effectively created two (conflicting) nations – one White, one Black – within South Africa's physical border (Baines 1998). This thesis also addresses the concept of group identity, specifically in terms of identification as 'English speakers' who share certain ideologies and common sense assumptions, as well as the particulars of the construction of national identity. Focus is placed on the measures taken post 1994 South Africa to, amongst others, construct the 'Rainbow Nation', and how MESes relate to and conceive of the concept of the term 'South African'.

This study further shows that the remnants of Apartheid ideology entrenched in the education system – supported by a lack of active improvement to the situation of the majority of the nation by the government – is undermining the identity being constructed for a post-Apartheid South Africa. Thus, this thesis reflects on whether, by remaining monolingual in English, MESes are unable truly to identify with those who were separated from them under Apartheid, and whether they are unable to share in any meaningful 'South African' experience. While they are part of the

rainbow nation, they remain distinct and ‘alien’. If all South Africans do not acquire the skills to share in another’s culture that has for so long been held as *other*, then the lack of any practical implementation or embracing of the ‘Rainbow Nation’ (or Rainbowism) identity in the everyday life of MESes means that it will remain an ephemeral part of their identity, but not motivating them to change the status quo in South Africa. In this study the effects of this – a clash between a monolingual mindset and Rainbowism - has been termed a ‘discourse of compromise’ in its manifestation in the participants’ responses in the two data sets.

1.2.4 Ideology

As indicated in the previous sections, one gains insight from the historical and current context of an utterance, or the institution in which it appears, to perceive and appreciate the ideological underpinnings of the society under investigation (Fairclough 1989, Wodak et al 1999). What follows clarifies the notion of ‘ideology’, while section 3.5.2.1 situates it in relation to discourse and so the purposes and methodological frameworks of this study.

The concept of ideology is one that is fundamental to studies of society. Over time the definition and understanding of the term has evolved, and is multifaceted. However, in general it can be taken to mean "the mental frameworks - the languages, the concepts, categories, imagery of thought, and the systems of representation, different classes and social groups deploy in order to make sense of, figure out and render intelligible the way society works" (Hall 1996: 26). Ideologies are the social representations of socially shared beliefs that groups, societies or institutions use to order, function in, and construe the social world they occupy. Ideologies operate at the macro (and meso) level (Voloshinov 1973), namely the societal and institutional level, expressing what is and is not true, acceptable or permitted in that particular society or institution. However, ideology also functions at the micro or behavioural level, where ideologies can be seen to operate in the lives of individuals and permeate their common sense knowledge and beliefs about the world (Voloshinov 1973). These micro or personal ideologies are influenced, constructed and perpetuated by those ideologies promoted at the macro level (Pachler et al 2008). In this way the wider ideologies of society become part of our ‘habitus’ (Bourdieu 1990), that is our habitual ways of being (Pachler et al 2008, Lim 2012) – of thinking, doing, expecting and judging. The home environment (or the ‘local pedagogic context’ as it is termed by Bernstein (1990)) provides the norms and assumptions which parents assimilate their children into, i.e. their habitus (Lim 2012). This is continued in the extended pedagogic institutions such as schools. The effect of this is further discussed in section 2.4.1. It is argued that a monolingual habitus (Gogolin 1994) has been (or is being) created, in particular for the MES in this study, by the education policies adopted post-Apartheid to counter Apartheid education. This monolingual habitus is hindering our chances of long-term success in fostering multilingualism, due to the short-term compromises made upon the move to democracy (Alexander

2000). The notion of habitus is revisited in section 2.2.4.3 in relation to the role of policy change in challenging the ideologies forming this monolingual habitus, and the apparent mismatch between the policies and their implementation in modern South Africa.

The many conflicting and conflated ideologies experienced by an individual, mean that one's identity – constructed and mediated by the macro and micro ideologies surrounding one – is held, in this modern, post-structural society, to be fragmented and fluid. This is discussed further in section 2.4. This nature of ideology has bearing on the work in this thesis as I seek (as indicated by research question 2 in section 1.3) to extract a picture (through the use of discourse, see chapter 3) of the conflicted identity of MES in modern South Africa. As such chapter 2 seeks to consider and explore what macro forces allow for the maintenance of a monolingual population in a plurilingual and diverse society, and in doing so, create this conflicted identity.

Important for a critical view of ideology and a critical approach to discourse analysis is the notion that “ideologies are representations of aspects of the world” (Fairclough 2003: 9) that are involved in the creation and maintenance of relations of power and domination. However, ideologies, in the right circumstances, can also serve to challenge and even change the status quo (van Dijk 1998, Fairclough & Wodak 1998, Fairclough 2003). Pennycook (2001:72) highlights a need within Critical Linguistics to have “a view of language as productive as well as reflective of social relations”. By being affected by social relations, language can also then be seen as a site for producing change in social relations. Using language is the “commonest form of social behaviour” (Fairclough 1989: 2), and as such it is through language that we learn the rules of the social world around us and express our identity. Thus a change in the micro ideologies of individuals, expressed through discourse, can plausibly affect change in the macro ideologies of society. As van Dijk (1998: 5) highlights, “Ideologies are undoubtedly social, and often (though not always) associated with group interests, conflicts or struggle. They may be used to legitimate or oppose power and dominance, or symbolize social problems and contradictions”. This reinforces how, in the opposing of the common sense ideologies perpetuated at a societal level, the status quo can be challenged and even changed.

The ideological assumptions expressed in discourse generally concern the naturalised or common sense beliefs of society that a group hold (van Dijk 1998, Pennycook 2001). These beliefs are often not consciously held - that is, they are “not the product of conscious thought” (van Dijk 1998:20). While these beliefs may not be objectively true (such as a belief that males are better at mathematics than females), they are true for the members of the group that hold them, and so they become part of their common sense assumptions about the world (their habitus), with this knowledge being presupposed in interactions with members of the same group (van Dijk 1998). Thus they will use

these assumptions as the basis upon which they interact with the world and society, and these assumptions will affect how they experience the world (van Dijk 1998). Thus many of the attitudes and opinions held by the participants in my study will be heavily influenced by the general ideologies perpetuated by the elite in their society, and by their own social group (if these groups are not one and the same). Likewise, as adolescents, they are likely still to reproduce and be heavily influenced by the attitudes and ideological assumptions of their parents (Banaji & Heiphetz 2010). In his social-cognitive approach to the study of ideology, van Dijk (1998, 2001, 2005, 2008) investigates the construction of ideologies as group-based beliefs, and how they manifest in the individual members of a group. He emphasises that ideologies are the base for social representation, shared by a group (van Dijk 1995), that produce naturalised beliefs that influence the attitudes of group members, but at the same time are used by group members in their individual, personalised practices (van Dijk 1998). Thus, these ideologies also serve to ‘monitor’ and influence, through attitudes and personal mental models, the way members of a group act and interpret the world around them, contributing to their sense of social identity (van Dijk 1998)

From the above one can see that ideology, and, importantly, the ideological constructs supported and perpetuated in a society and in education, are foundational to this study if one wishes to understand the identity and attitudes of young MESEs. The ideological constructs promoted and perpetuated by colonialism and Apartheid (as mentioned earlier in this chapter, and expanded upon in sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2) form the basis for the common sense beliefs held by the MESEs as well as their wider social group. It is these beliefs that inform the attitudes evident in the analysis of the quantitative and qualitative data (see chapter 4), and the sense of identity reflected by these attitudes. Section 1.2 has thus provided an overview of the literature which has a bearing on the thesis’s answering of the research questions – which are proposed in section 1.3 below.

1.3 Aims and Research Questions

My overarching goal is, through exploring attitudinal and narrative data, to understand the lives of two groups of middle-upper income MESEs and how their status as monolinguals affects their identity in a multilingual country. My research investigates the macro (local, national, and constitutional) and micro (attitudinal and narrative) forces that impact on their daily lives and assesses what implications my findings have for language planning and policy in South Africa and for monolingual research more generally. The specific questions that guided this study are:

1. What are the attitudes of the MESEs towards:
 - a. the role of English and of African languages in South Africa?
 - b. their own status as monolinguals and their perception of bilingualism?
 - c. their feelings as monolinguals?
2. What do the attitudes in 1. reveal about the MESEs’ personal linguistic ideologies and how they

negotiate their identity in relation to any contradictions in these ideologies?

3. Are there attitudinal differences among the MESEs associated with gender and racial affiliations (male/female; White/Indian) and, if so, what are they? (This is something of a 'sub-question' in that it is not explored quite as fully as other questions are.)
4. How do the insights gained from the 2 groups of South African MESEs add to the emerging field of monolingual research wherein this research falls?

1.4 Special Considerations of the Research Environment

The research was conducted in two private schools in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal. School A, is a private girls' day school and School B, a private boys' day school. Both schools cater for pre-school to matric (i.e. children aged 4 - 18). Further information regarding the schooling environments of the participants in this study can be found in chapter 3 (section 3.3). As the data was collected in a school environment, there are certain features about it which one must be cognisant of. In such an environment one is subject to the demands of the school day and the educational commitments required of the students at any point in it. The researcher must remain flexible and work around obstacles and with the sometimes changing timelines provided by the school. In allowing one to conduct research in their school, principals and staff are doing one a favour, and as such any strictures placed upon the researcher need to be abided by. The times and manner of data collection were different at each school, depending on how the teacher in charge organised my contact with the learners. Likewise, due to the nature of adolescents and schools, there were sometimes unanticipated absences (whether due to illness, forgetfulness, or sudden alternative commitments) which affected the number of students available for the different data collections. This is detailed in chapter 3.

Likewise, as one is dealing with human subjects, and, specifically, ones ranging in age from 15-17, there are certain ethical obligations one has, and considerations one must take into account. Both schools were approached about the possibility of my conducting my study with some of their learners. As both were private independent schools, they informed me that final authority regarding permission rested with them and not the Department of Education, and they were happy for me to proceed. I met with the principal of the boys' school and the vice principal of the girls' school, as well as with the teachers with whom I would be liaising in each school. I explained the aim of my research in detail and explained the methods I would be using to collect data. Both schools were interested in the research and were both willing to participate and assist me with my data collection. Each school provided me with a letter of consent (Appendix 1). I showed them the consent forms I had intended to give all the participants, but was assured that the letter given to me by the school was sufficient. I did however go through the aim of my thesis with all participating learners and informed them of their right to anonymity as well as to withdraw at any stage if they decided they

did not wish to participate. They understood that participation was voluntary, and that they could ask me any question at any time.

The last ‘ethical’ consideration is the use of racial terminology in this thesis. Race is obviously a very sensitive topic in South Africa. This means that when dealing with issues relating to culture, language or race, sensitive attention must be paid to political correctness in terminology. Even though the government still require the old style (race-based) classification on most documents, many people shy away from racial classification and from being stereotyped within a group. Likewise, there is contention regarding the use of the term ‘African’ i.e. to refer only to the indigenous ‘Black’ populations within the country, and furthermore to what ‘Black’ embraces. While this thesis takes the stance that all born in South Africa, especially second or third generation are African (i.e. I am a ‘White African’), the term ‘African’ will, for ease of reference, be used to refer to the ‘black African’ sectors of the population, who generally (and historically) speak one or more Bantu languages. Furthermore, the term ‘White’ will be used to refer to participants of European descent, and the term ‘Indian’ will be used to refer to all participants of (Southern) Asian descent. These labels are the ones most often used by the respective population groups to characterise themselves. When referring to those who were oppressed under Apartheid, I will be referring to Africans, Indians (those of Indian descent), Coloureds (mixed race individuals including those of Malay descent) and Asians (such as the Chinese), i.e. Whites are not included.

1.5 Research Design and Methodology

In order to answer the research questions and build on the review of literature that I have done (see chapter 2), I have collected two bodies of empirical data. This data is amenable to two forms of analysis, one is quantitative, and one is qualitative. The details of these are found in chapter 3, particularly sections 3.4 and 3.5. Using both types of data allows for a richer analysis than simply one or the other, as the two forms complement one another and offset what could be perceived as oversights or weaknesses in each.

Empirical data has allowed me to ‘get inside the heads’ of ‘born free’ MESeS and to find out their attitudes and feelings towards both their monolingual status and towards plurilingualism. This is far preferable to relying on my own assumptions and experiences, as well as on what the literature suggests. The target population consists of a group of 15-17-year-old (Grade 10 and 11) male and female learners, from both the White and Indian race groups. All are monolingual mother-tongue English speakers (according to the working definition of the term ‘monolingual’ set out in section 2.4.2.1), attending the two private schools in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal, mentioned earlier. My motivation for choosing this particular group, as well as the details of their schooling environment, can be found in chapter 3 (sections 2.4.1 and 3.3.3).

1.5.1 Data Body 1: Attitude Questionnaire and analysis

The first type of data used is quantitative data gathered by means of an attitude questionnaire following the style of Baker (1992) (See Appendix 4.2). An in depth explanation of the rationale behind using an attitude questionnaire, as well as details of the questionnaire and the specific purposes of the different sections can be found in section 3.4.1. In brief, the questionnaire consists of two sections, the first eliciting biographical information, while the second contains attitude questions which participants were required to answer using a 5 point Likert scale. Each of the items relates in some way to the issues of monolingualism, plurilingualism, English and African languages (specifically Zulu). The responses were coded and captured into SPSS 21 for statistical analysis (see section 3.4.1).

This data body provides a quantitative perspective to what is an otherwise qualitative study, and allows for some statistical insight. The statistical analysis (specifically a chi-square test for independence) is applied to see if there is a gender or race bias to how the participants answered the items. Doing so allows me to answer research question 3, and is best done with a larger sample group than the quantities for my discourse analysis (which I describe shortly). Using the statistical analysis, and an analysis of how items were answered, reveals a wider assessment of the greater complexity and conflict of the monolingual identity of the participants than is possible from the narrative data. The analysis of the narrative data looks more in depth at certain key issues, while the statistical analysis involves a wider range of questions at a more surface level.

1.5.2 Data Body 2: Narrative Elicitation Interview and analysis

This second type of data provides the qualitative aspect to the study, and the analysis of this data is in itself two-fold. It involved conducting a narrative elicitation interview with a subsection (15) of the questionnaire participants. Participants were given an article to read to serve as a talking point and stimulus for the discussion (Appendix 11). Participants were then first asked a few general background information questions, followed by a series of questions surrounding the issues of plurilingualism, English and African languages (specifically Zulu) (Appendix 5.2.1). I had a list of questions to prompt conversation that I used with all the participants. The purpose of this interview is to engage with the MES and allow them to talk about their linguistic experience. This information helps to characterise what it is to be a MES in South Africa and allows for an analysis of the ideologies at play in what they say. The details of the narrative elicitation interview, and how it was conducted can be found in section 3.4.2. The data for the APPRAISAL analysis is participant answers to certain questions asked in the narrative elicitation interview (see section 3.5.2).

As an evaluative framework, APPRAISAL allowed me to investigate how the MES feels about the factors under investigation. As a part of the interpersonal metafunction of Systemic Functional

Grammar, APPRAISAL is concerned with how the choices made in a text indicate the producer's feelings, judgements and orientations or positioning towards the subject of the narrative (Martin and White 2005:1). Using APPRAISAL analysis, I look at how they try to align both me (as the receiver of what they say) and themselves, with certain opinions, attitudes and ideologies in response to the stimulus article. Likewise, APPRAISAL analysis illuminates how the participants justify (or do not justify) their status as monolinguals in a plurilingual context, and how they engage with, for example, the ideology of the 'Rainbow Nation', or Rainbowism. A full explanation of and investigation into Systemic Functional Grammar and APPRAISAL analysis, as well as details of how it is applied to the data in this study, is provided in section 3.5.2.1.

1.6 Overview of the Chapters to Follow

There are four chapters that follow this introduction. Chapter 2 is a literature review containing interpretive accounts of pertinent theories and literature related to my study. It is made up of three sections. Section 2.1 covers relevant social, political and linguistic history of South Africa. Section 2.2 provides a broad view of the issues surrounding monolingualism and the monolingual mindset, and section 2.3 details relevant theories of identity.

Chapter 3 is concerned with methodological matters. It first deals with the particulars of a pilot study I conducted and insights gained from it. In section 3.2 I explain the data collection process and the sequence of steps I followed during that collection. Section 3.3 outlines the instruments used to collect data (the questionnaire and interview). Section 3.4 overviews the frameworks used for analysis and how each was applied to the data.

Chapter 4 goes through the analysis done on the two data types and highlights and summarises the main findings. Section 4.2 deals with the quantitative analysis of the attitude questionnaire, while section 4.3 details and discusses the APPRAISAL analysis done on the selected responses to the elicitation interview.

Chapter 5 concludes the study and draws the results together. This chapter formally answers the research questions outlined earlier in section 1.3. The conclusion also includes reflection on the limitations of this study and on potential directions for future research.

The appendices follow. These include copies of the consent forms, questionnaires, interview schedule, transcriptions of the sections of interviews that I analysed, and tables/illustrations not included in the main body of the thesis but referred to. The 'e-Appendices' cover content that is too large to print – such as full transcriptions of interviews and excel spreadsheets of the analysis.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to engage with the relevant literature that informs my study, bearing in mind that the thesis seeks to approach the issue of language in South Africa (SA) by investigating the disparity between the putative embracing of diversity at a macro level and the monolingual micro and macro level experience of many English speakers in KwaZulu-Natal. In section 2.2 this chapter sketches the linguistic landscape of South Africa from its early days of colonialism (2.2.1) to the Apartheid period (2.2.2), through to post-Apartheid South Africa (2.2.3). Thereafter section 2.3 addresses the issues of monolingualism and the monolingual mindset (Clyne 2005). Lastly, section 2.4 deals with the issue of identity in modern South Africa, focussing on monolingual English speakers (MESEs) and the construction of a national identity in post-Apartheid SA

2.2 Language in South Africa – An Historical Perspective

The traumatic history of the country has ensured that language – with its close relationship to culture – is an issue close to the hearts of most South Africans. It has been the site of much oppression and struggle through the years (Webb 1996). This section highlights this socio-political history. As indicated in the previous chapter, it is important to look at the historical context in order to make sense of current policy and attitudes. St Clair (1982:164) explains that “to fully understand how language attitudes develop, it may be necessary to reach back into the past and investigate the social and political forces operating within the history of a nation”. There are many threads leading to the current hegemonic status of English in South Africa and the following sections touch on the most salient of these. Tracking the ideological constructions and effects of these elements into present day South Africa is fundamental to illuminating the challenges facing both the country and those of English speakers in an attempt to achieve a unified ‘South Africa’. Therefore, this section is important to understanding participant responses in the analysis to be carried out, particularly in relation to research questions 1 and 2.

As van Dijk (1998: 5) highlights, “Ideologies are undoubtedly social, and often (though not always) associated with group interests, conflicts or struggle. They may be used to legitimate or oppose power and dominance, or symbolize social problems and contradictions”. Thus an investigation of the course of the history of the current South African society will provide an insight into the ideologies in effect in the attitudes and opinions of the participants in this study, as well as their negotiation of identity. The notion of ideology, and its application in this thesis has been discussed in section 1.2.4.

2.2.1 The colonial era

A brief outline of the political and social history of South Africa is provided in chapter one (1.2.1). The following sections serve to investigate this history, and the ideologies present, in greater depth in order to discern their effect upon the participants of this study.

The area of southern Africa, incorporated into the modern Republic of South Africa, was first colonised by the Dutch, becoming a Dutch Cape Colony in 1652. In this period of Dutch colonisation, the beginnings of ‘valorisation’ of both Western language and culture began (Bekker 2003). Dutch settlers displayed negative attitudes towards the languages of the Khoi peoples and there was a systematic attempt to “educate and civilise” both the indigenous peoples and the slave population (Bekker 2003: 68). Thus the history of an ideology promoting the superiority of Western language and culture, plus a degrading of ‘African’ or ‘non-Western’ culture and language is a long one in South Africa (as with most colonies). This colonisation of the mind (Ngugi 1994, Bekker 2003) experienced by the African population has been perpetuated by each subsequent system of governance, as we shall see. In 1795 the British took control of the Cape, and the battle for dominance of the area continued. During the British colonial era, the British administration engaged in a policy of ‘Anglicisation’, as they did in all colonies, which involved educating the local population in English and enforcing its use in all official and public spheres. Education for the indigenous peoples was mainly the preserve of missionary schools that employed a policy of Anglicisation in order to bring the gospel and ‘Christian culture’ to the unchurched natives (Bekker 2003). Anglicisation was seen to “bring civilisation to natives” and to be “geared towards the cultivation of a small elite among the indigenous population” (Bekker 2003: 69). This elite would see to the promotion and maintenance of British rule and its policies. Anglicisation in relation to indigenous populations was also intended to promote only enough English for the cheap labour pool to communicate with their British masters (Alexander 1989). Signs of a positive attitude towards English, particularly in relation to prestige and instrumental superiority versus the indigenous languages, appear in the members of the earliest resistance movement in South Africa, partly as these individuals were largely the products of the missionary school system (Bekker 2003).

Anglicisation was also aimed at the Dutch settlers, and this was a cause of much grievance. The settlers began moving out of the Cape colony to escape British rule and the British attempts to Anglicise the non-British groups in the Cape. This opposition to English can be seen as the genesis of the determination of the Afrikaner people to ensure ‘self-rule’ and the promotion of an Afrikaner state. The settlers established the Boer republics of The Orange Free State (Oranje-Vrystaat) in 1854 and the South African Republic (ZAR) in 1856. The short lived Boer Republic of Natalia (established 1839) was annexed by the British in 1843, becoming the Colony of Natal. Here the

Dutch settlers established their own governments and society, and created their own language and culture, ‘free’ from British interference.

The Kingdom of Zululand (the traditional home area of the Zulu nation (established under Shaka Zulu in the early 1800s), and those of related language groups with mutual ancestry) existed alongside the Colony of Natal for many years, but was annexed into Natal in 1897. This is the site of my research, with Durban being the ‘British’ port city of the Colony, with the province’s current capital, Pietermaritzburg, being the former ‘Dutch’ stronghold. Linguistic autonomy and the view of Afrikaans as being a divine gift were pillars upon which the Afrikaner *volk* built their culture. Thus one can see the roots of what becomes an ideology of promoting Afrikaans as superior to English (and the African languages), and also the desire to ensure its usage and centrality in the Apartheid state. This is the beginning of the *taalstryd* (language struggle, mentioned in section 1.2.1) - the antagonism between English and Dutch (later Afrikaans) that has characterised much of the linguistic and political history of South Africa, and is discussed further in section 2.2.2.

The fight for governance of the two republics (Oranje-Vrystaat and ZAR) and colonies (Cape and Natal) continued back and forth until the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910. Dutch and English were the official languages of the Union, and the following Republic, with Afrikaans replacing Dutch in 1925. In 1948 the National Party, who were now the ruling party in South Africa, started to introduce the legislation that underpinned the Apartheid system of governance. This initiated a new era of minority rule, and the entrenchment of the policy of separate development. This is the focus of section 2.2.2, as I discuss the politics, ideology and language policy that prevailed under Apartheid.

2.2.2 Indian migration

The Indian population in KwaZulu-Natal can be traced to 1860 when the first ship of indentured labourers was bought to the colony by the British to supply cheap labour. The population continued to grow with indentured labourers and, later, passenger Indians (traders who, from 1875, paid their own way) being bought to the area (Mesthrie 2002). The last ship of indentured labourers arrived in 1911. By that time approximately 152,000 migrants had been brought to South Africa – specifically to the colony of Natal – through the indenture system. While the aim of the government had been to repatriate the labourers after their contract was over, most opted to stay, and by 1886 there were more ‘free’ Indians than indentured Indians in South Africa (Desai 1996). The Indian population continued to grow as the Indian immigrants married within their social group. Today KwaZulu-Natal is said to play host to the largest population of Indians outside of India (Rudwick 2004). The labourers from India mostly had no knowledge of English and came from both the north and the south, bringing with them many languages. The migrants from the south spoke Dravidian

languages – especially Tamil and Telegu. From the north came dialects of Hindi, as well as Bhojpuri, Awadhi (Mesthrie 1996). This led to a problem of communication as these languages were not all mutually intelligible. From 1860 the acquisition of English by the Indian population was hindered and mediated by the racial divisions prevalent in the country, which left very little room for contact with the L1 English-speaking White population, and therefore limited contact with the target language (Wiebesiek et al 2011). This left education as the domain in which acquisition of English was facilitated. While formal education for the children of these labourers was weak and not well supported at first, resulting in poor conditions for suitable acquisition of standard English, by the 1950s it had improved dramatically and so increased the exposure of Indian children to English partly due to increased enrolment figures (Wiebesiek et al 2011). This had the effect of introducing English as a common language. Children who were taught English at school in turn taught it to their younger siblings and parents which reinforced the use of English. The shift of the Indian community to English can be seen to have begun in the 1960s (Mesthrie 1996), and can be seen to be complete according to census data. Data from Census 2011, indicates 86% of the Indian population use English as their home language.

The Indian population makes up only 2.5% of the South African population (Census 2001), with the vast majority residing in KwaZulu-Natal, specifically Durban and surrounds. Many of the younger generation appear to be able to speak only English (though the variety of English spoken is specifically South African Indian English (SAIE), and may not be deemed ‘standard’. This, however, is a broad topic in itself, and does not fall within the scope of this thesis). The Indian population is not homogenous, however, due to “religious, class and educational differences” (Wiebesiek 2011: 254). Likewise, many of the older generations (the grandparents of those under 40) are still able to speak or have a knowledge of their ancestral languages. Many of the Indian population are either Hindu or Muslim, both religions that have ancestral languages used for religious practices and purposes, meaning that despite the high rate of English language usage amongst the younger generations, those with surviving grandparents, or who belong to religious families, will have a certain exposure to ancestral languages, whether they can speak them or not. This exposure could result in a certain affinity for these languages that could conflict with their identity as English speakers, that the White English population do not have. Fifty-nine percent of the South African Indian community live in KZN’s urban areas (mainly Durban and surrounds). Their identity as mother-tongue English speakers alongside the White population of British descent, is discussed in section 2.4.

2.2.3 The Apartheid era

The ‘Apartheid era’ began with the voting into power of the Afrikaner National Party in 1948. In 1961, 13 years after the introduction of Apartheid, the National Party proposed that the Union

become a republic, and so no longer be considered a dominion of the British Empire. It is important to highlight Natal's reaction to this proposal in order to understand the specific social situation in Durban. In the referendum on the republic, the colony of Natal was the only one of the four members of the Union to vote unanimously against a republic, and threatened to secede from the Union if it left the Empire. The referendum ended with a very close 'yes' vote in favour of becoming a republic. South Africa's membership to the commonwealth lapsed upon becoming a republic due to the unpopularity of Apartheid among the other member nations and appeals by anti-Apartheid activists to boycott the country. Thus the British loyalists in Natal, focused in Durban's urban areas, were left 'cut off' from their Empire. This could be seen as a big contributing factor to the continuation of British nationalism in this area as South Africans – particularly of British descent – resisted cultural control of Afrikaner Nationalism. For most of its existence, the area of the former colony of Natal – particularly Durban and surrounds – has been referred to as 'The Last Outpost of the British Empire', and continues to be seen as the most 'English' area of the country (as evident in my interviews, for example e-Appendix 1, Q1, Participant F2, and chapter 4). This can be attributed not only to the White English-speaking population, but also to the substantial English-speaking Indian population in the area (as detailed in section 2.2.1.1). In what follows, the focus falls on the Apartheid state, looking at the policies and laws that were fundamental to the policy of separate development, and, in particular, at those dealing with language.



Figure 1.1: Map of the provincial boundaries of the Union of South Africa

The Apartheid system was one based upon the notion of 'separate development', that is, the political and cultural segregation of different groups. For the Apartheid architects, this was first based upon race, and then ethnicity (often represented by language). Thus 'Whites' and 'non-Whites' were kept separate, and were to have their own educational, political (to a degree) and cultural institutions. Thus, different groups of those oppressed by Apartheid were separated into distinct categories, as were English and Afrikaans speakers of European descent, though not to the same extent (Baines 1998). The European notion of White superiority over the 'uncivilised' Africans, and their subsequent 'responsibility' to look after and govern the African and other populations perpetuated an ideology of inferiority regarding African languages and their cultures. This also served to extend the control of the mind sought by the White minority rulers over the

disadvantaged (particularly African) populations (Ngugi 1994). English and Afrikaans were the only official languages of the Republic and were used together in all official functions, all signage and official documentation. Thus knowing one, or both, of these languages was imperative for a 'non-White' South African if they wished to engage in any way with the formal economy, or even institutionalised or mainstream politics. The role of language in segregating the country, and the effect of the bilingual policies, which are examined in more detail in section 2.2.2.1, was strongly seen in the education sector. This is of particular relevance to my study, since it is school-based. The policies of Bantu education and language in education policy (LiEP) in general are discussed in 2.2.2.1.

Under Apartheid's policy of separate development, the regional hegemony of the main African languages was entrenched and used ideologically to construct 'different nations' within the Republic. This policy, which promoted societal multilingualism in its insistence on citizens studying both English and Afrikaans, as well as its official bilingual policy mentioned earlier, was done in order to give an appearance of 'empowerment' and self-determination on the part of the oppressed peoples, instead of a direct statement of oppression and the enforcement of a national language (Broom 2004:507). In doing this the Apartheid government was able to use a 'divide and rule' strategy in separating different ethnicities. The effect of this policy on the indigenous African languages was disempowerment – the languages became associated with social and economic disadvantage and oppression (Broom 2004: 507). This is discussed further in section 2.2.3, when reviewing the lasting effects of Apartheid upon the new South Africa. Thus ideologies promoting the superiority of the European languages and cultures in South Africa were promoted and bolstered by the creation of homelands in line with traditional ethnic strongholds. A brief review of the creation and significance of the homelands now follows.

In 1951 the Bantu Authorities Act created the ten 'Bantustans' or homelands. These homelands, followed on from the Group Areas Act (1950) in which different areas were designated for different race groups, resulting in a massive relocation of all races. The creation of the Bantustans went much further than mere area designation in a city, and set apart areas in South Africa (only 13 % of the country's landmass) that were to be autonomous homelands for each of the major Black African ethnic groups. The end goal was for the Bantustans to become independent states, with those living there losing South African citizenship. The relevant Bantu language in each homeland was given co-official status with English and Afrikaans in the homeland, the effect of which is related below. KwaZulu, the homeland that was designated for the Zulu nation, was a fragmented homeland spread in often isolated areas throughout the then province of Natal. The borders of the present province of KZN include both of these areas (Natal and Kwa-Zulu) and is the site of my research. Due to this arrangement, the nine main Bantu languages (Zulu, Xhosa, Ndebele, Swazi, Venda,

Sotho, Northern Sotho, Tswana, Tsonga) had to be codified (to a degree) in order to be used to a certain extent in education and official functions. The effect of these languages being used by the Apartheid government as part of the enforcing of separate development was emphasised when, in drawing up the new constitution, policy makers had to decide which languages were to be considered official, as are discussed in section 2.2.3.

The use of these African languages in education was exacerbated by the poor quality of and support for Apartheid era education for the oppressed groups, which is discussed in section 2.2.2.1. All of this meant that the use of African languages in schooling was distrusted and viewed negatively. It also resulted in English garnering support as the only language suitable for education. As Bekker explains (2003: 75), “The experience of Bantu education as a divisive force and the associations created between the use of the L1 and the goals of Bantu education, have however been instrumental in producing a residual perception of English as a language of unity and the use of the mother-tongues (in general and in the domain of education) as a possible source of division”. The impact of these attitudes and perceptions on the current education system and apparent mismatch between language policy and practice in modern South Africa is addressed in section 2.2.3.

When considering politics under Apartheid, attention should be paid to the mechanisms used by the groups seen to be at the forefront of opposing Apartheid, as well as the characteristics of the individuals spearheading these movements. Focus will be given here to the linguistic choices – particularly the role played by English in the anti-Apartheid movement, as it has great bearing on my thesis. Parties such as the African National Congress (ANC), South African Indian Congress and the South African Congress of Democrats (to name a few) used English as the language in which they resisted Apartheid, and appealed for international boycotts. English suited this purpose as it was seen to be a language that avoided racial and ethnic divisions, and it was a language of power internationally. The support of various countries internationally was needed to pressurise the government into ending Apartheid, and English, given its global status, was the language in which this support was garnered. The use of English by anti-Apartheid campaigners was also due to the fact that many were educated men and women (doctors, lawyers, teachers), who had received tertiary education, which was not the norm at the time. Their education, as mentioned in section 2.2.1, was, in many cases, begun in English mission schools and colleges. Others, such as Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo attended the English medium University of Fort Hare in the Eastern Cape. Furthermore, English’s role as the ‘antithesis’ to Afrikaans, as Afrikaner nationalism had set Afrikaans up in opposition to English through the *taalstryd*, (which is explored further in the following section) meant that English had gathered positive ideological associations for those disadvantaged by Apartheid.

2.2.3.1 Language in education policy

This section of the chapter focuses on the Language in Education Policy (LiEP) in the Apartheid years of South Africa. The "(e)ffects of language policy in the past have massive continuity in the present in how they construct particular views of language" (Pennycook 2000: 3). As such, the Apartheid era education policies are fundamental to understanding the language attitudes and identity of the participants in this study, as education was fundamental to the goals of the Apartheid system. Furthermore, Research Question 4 calls for a consideration of what implications the results of this thesis have on Language in Education Policy (LiEP) in South Africa.

It is in the area of education that some of the most enduring ideologies of Apartheid exist, as education plays a fundamental role in the construction and maintenance of language ideologies (Johnson 1982). The Apartheid government supported bilingual policies – but only English/Afrikaans bilingualism (Martin 1997). Education was also seen, as mentioned before, as an important battleground in the *taalstryd* (language struggle) with English, as the National Party sought to eradicate the influence of English in the country (Banda 2000). Thus the divisive ideologies of Apartheid education were not only focused on the children of the oppressed groups. The ideologies of Christian National Education (CNE) and the Afrikaners' protection of their *taal* (language) and *volk* (people) meant that mother-tongue education was enforced within the republic.

Christian National Education has its roots in the fears of the Dutch-speaking settlers, after defeat by the British in the Anglo-Boer war. They feared that with the loss of the Republics and rule by the British, the policy of anglicisation would cause them to lose their language and nationality, and so lose their distinct identity as a *volk* (MacMillan 1967). To counter this "[p]rivate Christian National schools were therefore set up in opposition to the state schools" (MacMillan 1967: 43). These schools insisted on Dutch MOI, Christian educators and included parental influence in the running of the school (MacMillan 1967). The form of CNE strengthened over the years, and found a place at the centre of Afrikanerdom. It became fundamental to the cause of Afrikaans nationalism and became "the orthodox Afrikaner's interpretation of the Calvinist theory of education" (MacMillan 1967: 45), and served to carve out a separate, God-ordained culture and society for the Afrikaans people. The Christian National Education Manifesto of 1948, with its principle tenet of "the separate cultural identity of each section of South Africa's plural society" (Lavin 1965) (i.e. separate development) underpinned the National Party's education policies once they gained power that year. Due to the belief that each race group had a God-ordained role in society, CNE paved the way for education to be used to enforce this separate determination for the races, as different roles called for different levels of education. Unfortunately for the disadvantaged race groups, CNE advocated that White people were superior to Black people, and were thus also to be 'in charge' of the Christianisation, education and governing of these inferior peoples (Msila 2006). This also

resulted in Afrikaans and English learners being educated separately (Lavin 1965). Learners were taught all their subjects in their mother-tongue, with their First Additional Language (FAL) being the other official language. Due to this feature of segregation, education policies under Apartheid were not only destructive to Black students, though the situation was naturally much worse for Black students, as will be explained in what follows.

The education policies detrimentally affected White students by forcing social division and segregation between English and Afrikaans students in the pursuit of total separate development and self-determination for the Afrikaans people (Lavin 1965, Msila 2007). However, the situation was stacked against the children of the disadvantaged groups. Education for 'non-White' students was systematically underfunded and of poorer quality (Martin 1997: 130). As mentioned before, English and Afrikaans White children were usually educated separately, however, both groups received a high standard of education. Thus damage was done to children of all races on an ideological level, in terms of personal and national identity, and a sense of social cohesion. However, the impact on children of oppressed groups was material as well as psychological. The Bantu Education Act of 1953 started with the implementation of Bantu Education in 1955, followed by Coloured and Indian education in 1964 and 1962 respectively (Soudien 2002). With this Act, the process of controlling the population through education – something employed often informally in the colonial era – was institutionalised. Language was vital to this process, as under Apartheid the LiEP (CNE) education was designed to educate the masses to be a cheap, 'docile' workforce and construct certain identities for the different race groups (Msila 2007). Furthermore, it was designed to prohibit upward mobility of the Black masses (Abdi 2003, Soudien 2002) by restricting access to education in the official languages. How this was achieved is discussed below.

The choice and implementation of Medium of Instruction (MOI) in schools for the learners in the oppressed groups has an effect on the ideological rise of English as the language of liberation and unity under Apartheid. This is discussed in section 2.2.3. For the black African child, mother-tongue education was to take place until Grade 5 (with poor language teaching in the official languages as subjects), with English or Afrikaans taking over completely as medium of instruction thereafter (Soudien 2002). In 1974 the Afrikaans medium decree made it compulsory for Afrikaans to be used to the same extent as English at all 'native' schools (i.e. schools attended by those classified as 'non-White' children). These schools had previously used English as their medium of instruction due to the association between Afrikaans and Apartheid. The sole use of English and the absence of Afrikaans was an untenable situation for the National Party Government. The equal use of the two languages as the Languages of Teaching and Learning (LOTL) was to be implemented from Standard 5 (Grade 7), the start of the 'Secondary school' phase (Hlongwane 2007). This meant that the LOTL kept changing throughout a child's education. This move proved

unpopular, and resulted in the 1976 Soweto uprisings where learners in Soweto, Johannesburg, went on strike and marched against the forced use of Afrikaans as a language of teaching, culminating with the events of 16 June 1976, namely, the clashes between school children and police. These uprisings resulted in over 60 fatalities (Hlongwane 2007, Banda 2013). The policy of the Afrikaans medium decree was ended by the 1979 Education Act (Broom, 2004). Thus by trying to extend the use and functions of Afrikaans, the Apartheid government succeeded in pushing the masses towards embracing English, and set it up in an ideologically strong position within the country (i.e. as that of the language of liberation). This position was only further strengthened by English's global stature.

Aside from all of this, Bantu education was plagued by a lack of experienced or sufficiently trained teachers, as, due to separate development and the group areas act, White teachers could not teach at Black schools. Thus Black learners learnt English from teachers who themselves were not mother-tongue English speakers. As a result, their English acquisition was imperfect as the teachers themselves were products of a system that did not provide for adequate English acquisition. This served partly to the attempt to further the role, influence and status of Afrikaans over English. Under Apartheid the two biggest complaints against the Bantu Education system could be seen to be that, firstly, it used mother-tongue education to prevent black Africans from progressing and achieving in education (and so improving their lot), and secondly, that it prevented black Africans from sufficiently acquiring English – the language seen as the route to freedom and advancement. By the time Apartheid officially ended in 1994, there was a situation in the education system with advanced curriculums in English and Afrikaans, and weak, stigmatised education in the nine main Bantu languages, coupled with an association with English as the desirable medium of instruction. Thus Apartheid had successfully constructed an ideological distrust of Bantu languages as suitable languages for learning. It had also assisted (unintentionally) in positioning English as the language of liberation, unity and the route to modernisation in the minds of the majority of South Africans.

2.2.4 Post-Apartheid South Africa

The shift in this section is to the post-Apartheid years and the macro and micro ideologies that have influenced the development of the 'Rainbow Nation'. First, I look at the political atmosphere in the years immediately post-Apartheid (2.2.4.1), followed by a breakdown of language policies whose implications are of relevance to the research questions of this thesis (2.2.4.2). Lastly, I deal with the apparent mismatch between the policies mentioned and the linguistic and educational practices of modern day South Africa. Looking at the ideologies and political and policy developments in this era is particularly important when doing a study on participants such as the ones in this study, as they were born at the beginning of this transition era. As such, they have grown up with the ideologies and issues reflected in this section as their immediate social environments, which will

have had an impact on their ideologies, and issues of group membership. These considerations are of course important when answering research questions 1 and 2. This section also provides a social and ideological backdrop to my investigation into the presence of a monolingual mindset, and any particulars of this situation will have a bearing on answering research question 3.

2.2.4.1 The political atmosphere post 1994

This section reviews the socio-political atmosphere in South Africa in the era immediately pre and post 1994. By the time the first democratic elections were held in April 1994, South Africa had been in a state of emergency and high tension for decades. The society experienced both interracial, and intra-racial tension and thus very delicate hands were needed to navigate the process of offsetting the effects of the Apartheid state. This navigation was spearheaded by President Nelson Mandela, amongst many others. There was an obvious need to redress the injustices of Apartheid, yet there was much fear of reprisals from both the extreme right and left political wings. The new political leaders fostered the ideal of forgiveness and *Ubuntu*, coupled with that of the notion of Rainbow Nation.

The concept of *Ubuntu* is an Nguni, Bantu term that can be roughly summarised as "human kindness". The term 'Rainbow Nation' was coined by Archbishop Desmond Tutu in 1994 and embraces the concept of South Africa belonging to all her citizens. This ideology promoted the acceptance of others and their cultures (and so languages). This acceptance, it was hoped, (along with the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in bringing the truth behind Apartheid era crimes perpetuated by the establishment to light) would lead to healing and to a sense of unity in a country that has many different cultures. On both sides of the race line, not all members found this appealing. During the 1990s when negotiations for the new nation were underway, not all of the Black majority wanted the White 'settlers' to have a place in their new country (Bond 2006), and not all of the former beneficiaries of Apartheid thought that the previous regime was wrong, or that it had anything to be forgiven for. Likewise, many felt that efforts to increase African and other participation and ownership in the economy were not entirely justified or fair.

With all of this simmering tension, the need for unity – and a new sense of national identity - was paramount. The intricacies of the construction of national identity in South Africa are discussed further in section 2.4.2. English was seen to be a neutral tool to achieving the aim of unity in diversity in society, as well as for achieving personal advancement by those previously disadvantaged by the Apartheid state. There were a few reasons for this, largely stemming from the role English had played in the struggle against minority rule, as well as its opposing relationship with Afrikaans, and its role as an international language (Silva 1998, Banda 2013). These are addressed in section 2.2.3.3 which deals with the apparent mismatch between language policy and

practice in modern South Africa. The section below reports on what language policy decisions were made and implemented in the years post-1994 in order to counter the policies of Apartheid and to foster a new, inclusive and ‘healing’ linguistic dispensation in South Africa.

2.2.4.2 Language policy

It is necessary to review the policy changes made under the new democratic dispensation in order to gather insight into what policy issues may be underpinning in the creation of the attitudes held by the MES in this study. After the first democratic elections in 1994, the policy makers were tasked with creating a new constitution. As mentioned in section 1.2.1, when the constitution was finalised in 1996 it was said to be one of the most democratic, enlightened and ‘uniquely progressive’ constitutions, especially in terms of its language policy, in the world (Chisanga 2002, Ngugi 2003, Perry 2004, Ndhlovu 2008). The language framework created is one that embraces multiculturalism and plurilingualism at both individual and societal levels (Kamwendo 2006). It appears to place the policies of the new South Africa at odds with the promotion of a monolingual mindset (see section 2.3.2) and attempts to resist the previous status quo of official English and Afrikaans bilingualism only. As is to be expected of a document drawn up in the euphoria of the new era in South Africa’s life, Chapter 1, Section 6, of the 1996 Constitution of South Africa (which deals specifically with the languages of the country, see Appendix 7) is dominated by idealism and an embracing of diversity (Ridge 2004). As Ridge (2004: 200) states, “Idealist discourse is dominant in the language sections, making them less readily implementable than they might have been, but some parts are carefully crafted with practical implications in mind. All in all, the intentions are generous, and scope is provided for some bold and innovative thinking”. The observation that they are not immediately implementable is important, as the following 20 years have been fraught with repeated calls to have practical applications of the language clause in schools (Heugh 1999, 2009).

The very liberal language rights framework makes provision for eleven official languages – a compromise between economic and political sense, and a means to correct the linguistic injustices of the past. However, the previous official languages of English and Afrikaans are maintained (English was very clearly favoured by the new government and policy makers over Afrikaans (Mesthrie 2006)), and the nine Bantu languages of the homelands, namely Zulu, Xhosa, Ndebele, Swati, Sotho, Pedi, Venda, Tswana, Tsonga, are promoted to official status. Together, these languages account for the first languages of 98% of the country’s population (Department of Arts and Culture 2003b).

In order to ensure the enforcement of the provisions of section 6 of the constitution, it contained the provision for the creation of the Pan South African Language Board (PANSALB). This board

was set up to be a 'linguistic watchdog', tasked with ensuring that the provisions of the constitution regarding the development, promotion and respect of the different languages, are upheld in practice. It is a judicial body called to arbitrate on cases concerning language issues. It is called upon, further, "to provide the recognition, implementation and furtherance of multilingualism in the Republic of South Africa" (PANSALB Act 1995). In its earliest days, it was deemed to be a "toothless watch dog" (Perry 2004) as, while it is juristic in nature, it did not have the power to enforce any of its decisions.

Thus the constitution tasked with being the guiding light to the fledgling nation is one that is progressive and promotes plurilingualism in the population. However, when it comes to implementing these provisions, South Africa appears to have fallen short as the influence of English spreads, while African languages remain community or home languages (to be discussed in section 2.2.3.3). This increasing hegemony of English can be seen in the attitudes and assumptions of the MESes in my study as they labour under the belief that English is understood to a degree by South Africans, and see no need to learn another African language (see chapters 4 and 5).

The National Language Policy Framework (2003a), and its following Implementation Plan (2003b) were a blueprint for how to implement the provisions in Section 6 of the constitution, and aimed to "bind(s) all government structures to a multilingual mode of operation" (Mesthrie 2006: 153). Previously the new government had no clearly defined and coherent language policy incorporating the use of the African languages at a national, institutionalised level. As such the linguistic diversity of South Africa was not being utilised. This led to a continuance of the use of English and Afrikaans in the upper and more formal domains of the new South African society (Department of Arts and Culture 2003a: 5). Thus the National Language Policy Framework (NFLP) took, "cognisance of the fact that the value of our languages is largely determined by their economic, social and political usage" (2003a: 5) and that when a language is not seen to be of benefit to an individual or group in these areas, there will be a loss of status (Department of Arts and Culture 2003a: 3) as there is a loss of prestige, which can affect motivation to acquire or maintain the language.

Alongside the constitution and the NLF, the Language in Education Policies (LiEP) were amended to reflect the will of the new nation, and to counter the linguistic ideologies of the previous eras. Education is an institution that can both reinforce the status quo and socialise children into the main ideologies of their society, or it can challenge them and be a catalyst for social and ideological change (Pennycook 2001, Msila 2007). Post 1994 there were various policies and acts passed to try and encourage a mother-tongue-based education scheme (Edwards 2011), as well as to promote multilingualism. The South African Schools Act of 1996 (Act 84 of 1996) was the first step away from the old Apartheid era schooling system, and amongst other things, it lays out the language

policy for public schools. It does not lay down any specific language policy, however it provided the Minister of Education with the power to decide the norms and standards concerning language at public schools, and allowed governing bodies to determine the specific language policies of their schools – subject to the Constitution and the Act (Act 84 of 1996 (Ch 2 (SS 6 (1))). This is important to note as it is possible to see that a Minister of Education charged with fostering multilingualism may be at odds with a monolingual English-speaking governing body at a former Whites-only government, or private school in Durban. This would be especially relevant for Private schools, as they are self-governing. This act provided a first, positive step towards implementing policy that would aim to change the ideological effect of Apartheid era schooling, through an encouragement of plurilingualism and mother-tongue education. This act was followed by the Language in Education Policy of 1997, which, to quote from it, “stresses multilingualism as an extension of cultural diversity and an integral part of building a non-racial South Africa. The underlying principle is to retain the learner’s home language for learning and teaching, but to encourage learners to acquire additional languages as well” (Department of Arts and Culture 2003: 8). It thus had as its focus the facilitation of additive bilingualism in South African schools.

A series of curricula have been implemented over the years in an attempt to refine the education system’s response to redressing the challenges presented by the ramifications of Apartheid era LiEP. The first main curriculum statement dealing with the democratic era was Curriculum 2005, implemented in 1997. It introduced Outcomes Based Education (OBE) as the “pedagogical route out of Apartheid education” (Chisholm 2003: 3). While much support was shown for a curriculum that focused on a non-prescriptive approach to teaching and learning (unlike the Apartheid era CNE), there were many issues with its implementation. This meant that a revision of the curriculum to assist in providing the new curriculum with the necessary momentum was called for. The Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) of 2001 that became policy in 2002 was the result of the aforementioned revision process. There was a strong promotion in it for what is termed ‘mother-tongue-based bilingual education’ (Alexander 2003 in Edwards et al 2011), in that it claims to encourage, “amongst all learners an awareness and understanding of the rich diversity of cultures, beliefs and world views within which the unity of South Africa is manifested” (Department of Basic Education 2002). The statement stresses the importance that all learners acquire a high level of proficiency in at least two languages, and a communicative ability in others, especially while developing their mother-tongue (Department of Education 2002). This is a curriculum statement that shows a theoretical commitment to plurilingualism and to promoting national unity. However, the allowance for learning any two official languages (including the mother-tongue) left the door open for mother-tongue English speakers to retain Afrikaans as their first additional language and so maintain the status quo. This has been the choice of English children in KZN since 1994, bolstered by the fact that Apartheid Education had provided Afrikaans

with a well-developed curriculum and material for acquiring Afrikaans as a FAL. Such provision was superior to that for African languages. Thus, the acquisition of Afrikaans as FAL was already entrenched in the English speaking population, post-Apartheid, and the lack of instrumental or integrative motivation to learn Zulu has impeded its development as a genuine option as a FAL.

In September 2011 the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (known as CAPS), a policy statement to amend the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS), was approved as national policy. CAPS was introduced incrementally from 2012 to 2014 (Department of Basic Education 2011). In particular, this curriculum contained implications for the issue of language teaching. In essence, the provisions of the CAPS curriculum meant that during the most critical language learning phase – when it would be easiest for children to acquire functional use of a FAL – there is very little provision for it. Where the MES in my study is concerned, parents who are unable to provide any support for their children in Zulu will see their children struggling to do Zulu in grades 4-7. As a result, they would feasibly encourage them to take Afrikaans as it will be less detrimental to their marks, as, with Zulu being the more ‘difficult’ and less familiar option, it is likely that they will struggle more to get good marks in the subject, affecting their academic performance at the end of the year, with implications for averages and, eventually, university entrance. There is little to no real environmental support for English speakers to acquire an African language in Durban, due to the continuing effects of separate development and English’s privileged role, something which came out strongly in my interviews. Furthermore, CAPS includes the directive that children must choose only one language other than their MOI to study. This choice will now be made at the beginning of Grade 4, rather than at the end of Grade 6, as had been the previous policy. In 2013 the Department of Basic Education amended the language policy further, making it compulsory to take a third, African language from Grade 1.

2.2.4.3 Policy versus practice mismatch

From the above one can see that constitutionally and in terms of language policies, the mindset of post-Apartheid South Africa is one of embracing plurilingualism (Gough 1999). There is also prominence given to the development of the African languages and mother-tongue education. However, there seems to be a mismatch between the abstract and conceptual desires of those in charge of policy reform, and the linguistic practices of the general population in South Africa. Specifically, there seems to be a problem with successful implementation of the language policies, “a lack of political will on the part of the current government to have our progressive language policy work” (Alexander 2003). In fact, Heugh (2009: 99) has drawn attention to the fact that theorists, “have shown – through discussion of hegemony and habitus – that changes of policy are seldom accompanied by corresponding changes in practice.” What makes the South African case peculiar is that a change of practice has been effected – however it is a change contrary to the aims

of the policy. Through lack of implementation of policy, English has gained currency and prestige due to its socio-economic and socio-cultural positioning (Heugh 2009). The section to follow looks at what may be causing this mismatch.

When South Africa emerged from Apartheid, it did not have the typical power relations of a post-colonial country (Silva 1998, Abdi 2003). In 1948, though SA went from being a colony to a Republic, the oppression of the indigenous peoples (usually ‘liberated’ upon colonial withdrawal) did not end. It is this second oppressive force that can be seen to have led (in part) to the dominant position of English in South Africa today, as compared to its perception in other post-colonial countries. Silva (1998: 4) highlights the effect of Apartheid on South Africa’s linguistic situation when she states, “Whereas in other post-colonial societies English has often been viewed as an interloper, imposed from outside and thus politically suspect, in South African society Afrikaans shielded SAE [South African English] from this stigma in the period 1948-94”. Thus, due to the role English played under Apartheid, as well as the damage done to the use of the African languages in official functions, English has gained an unprecedented position in the ‘new’ South Africa.

According to Census 2011, only 9.6% of the population speak English as a home language. It is only the 4th largest language in the country, with the larger three languages all having far greater numbers of speakers, as one can see from the statistics in Appendix 2. Despite the small number of mother-tongue speakers, around 60 % of the population claim a level of proficiency in English (Ridge 2004). In contrast, the majority of South Africans, almost 80% of the population, use an African language as their home language” (Beukes 2004). However, despite this, English today, is seen as the language in which South Africa functions. Speakers of the other minoritised languages are generally expected to be able to communicate in English when engaging in any communication with the wider society or in any official situation. However, in opposition to this claim is a fact reflected in the NLFP Implementation plan that “a national sociolinguistic survey commissioned by PANSALB in 2000 shows that more than 40% of the people in South Africa often do not understand what is being communicated in English” (Department of Arts and Culture 2003: 1.5, p.10). Studies on monolingualism to date focus on the monolingual language use of the middle to upper income groups, a variable that I maintain in my study. As indicated above, English is far from being a majority language in numerical terms, so will be called the ‘dominant’ language.

The elevated status of English as the language of unity and progress at the end of Apartheid has led to it gaining control of many spheres of life in modern South Africa, especially in the higher institutions of education, the economy and politics (Silva 1998, Rudwick 2004, Kamwangamalu 2001; 2003; 2007, Heugh 2009). As one of the two former official languages and the one with positive connotations to it (Kamwangamalu 2007), it has become the preferred linguistic option.

As Phaswana (In Kamwangamalu 2007: 268) states, “it is convenient, it is easy and it is cheap; it is a *lingua franca*”. As introduced briefly in 1.2.1 English is the language commanding the greatest market value and so endows those who speak it with more linguistic capital than speakers of other languages (Bourdieu 1991). When a linguistic exchange occurs, particularly in a formal or cross linguistic setting (with English and another language) speakers with access to English usually hold the most symbolic power, and thus benefit from the power and status accorded to the language. This concept of the “linguistic market place” (Bourdieu 1991) is an important concept when investigating the issue of monolingual English speakers in a multilingual society. The greater the competence of the speaker, the more favourable the market is towards them (Bourdieu 1991), and as such, people viewed as mother-tongue (first language) speakers of English will logically be in a very strong position. Proficiency in English also affords greater success in education in South Africa (Taylor & Coetzee 2013). Proficiency in English also appears to offer direct benefits in the labour market itself (Casale & Posel 2011). For Black South Africans, there is a significant wage benefit associated with being literate and fluent in English (Casale & Posel 2011). All of the above factors taken together increase the attractiveness of English as a form of human capital. Thus, due to the current linguistic marketplace in South Africa, mother-tongue speakers of English do not need to speak another language in order to succeed, or to hold power (be it economic or social). The hegemonic role of English in the country almost ensures their monolingual status.

The use of English by the ‘Black elite’ and ‘Black middle class’ and its strengthened position as the sole language suitable for use in the formal functions of society has led many South Africans to warn against “a policy of de facto monolingualism, promoting English as the only language of power for use in high status functions, (which) excludes the vast majority of the ‘common people’ from important decision making” (Alexander 2002: 92), a feature of modern societies noted by Tollefson (1991). While there are calls for the genuine promotion and development of the African languages in modern South Africa, these come mainly for the educated elite, not the rural communities (Ridge 2000). These individuals, through their education, already have access to English, and will be plurilingual with at least one African language and English. While the calls are made for the benefit of the rural communities, and with their economic benefit in mind, these communities are still, for the most part, labouring under the effects of the Apartheid language policies which, as already illustrated, resulted in suspicion towards the use of African languages in education and formal domain, and a veneration of English (McDermott, L 1998, Bekker 2003, Kamwangamalu 2003, Banda 2013).

In promoting mother-tongue education, the new policies ignore the attitudes and beliefs of the majority of those worst affected by Apartheid. In contrast to the multilingual and mother-tongue education promoted by the language policies, African students (and their parents) want English

medium education (Barkhuizen 2002, Banda 2013). The African languages for the most part were – and still are – seen as ‘cultural’ languages and languages for the private domain of home and community. They are not seen to be languages that are suitable for use in the domains previously reserved for English and Afrikaans, namely education, politics, and the running of the economy (de Klerk 2000). Thus, while they had served official functions in the homelands, they were not seen as viable as the main means for communication with the rest of the world, and even between different ethnicities within South Africa. Further to this is the negative association they have gained in relation to official functions by being used in the Bantustans, as mentioned earlier in section 2.2.2. Due to this they were seen to be tools of oppression if used for governance (Broom 2004). English, because it is the ‘international lingua franca’, was seen to be the only appropriate avenue to international success.

Further to the problem of the perception of the use of the African languages, are the apparent ‘loopholes’ for avoiding a need to implement a language other than English or Afrikaans in some of the provisions in the constitution. There were also many concessions given by the new ruling party in order to ensure a peaceful transition to democracy. Section 6, Number 3 (a & b) of the Constitution provide for the language usage at the National Government level. These sections state that any two official languages may be used “taking into account usage, practicality, expense, regional circumstances” (Constitution 1996). This meant that in the first years post-Apartheid, there was very little effort and momentum put into getting the African languages into a position where they could be used in all spheres of the national government. Continuing to use English and Afrikaans fulfilled the provision, and was definitely the most inexpensive and feasible option. This has allowed the position of English to consolidate and for its influence within the country to increase, as the fortunes of Afrikaans – at least in official spheres – have waned (Heugh 2009). In the arena of education, lack of finance and constraints on qualified and proficient staff (specifically teachers) have meant that the implementation of the provisions of the language in education policies is almost impossible, and so the status quo from Apartheid has, for the most part, continued. While the Apartheid education system is to blame for many of our present educational woes (Johnson 1982), so are the current government and society for not changing attitudes towards education, especially language education (Heugh 2002).

In allowing English-medium education to become the standard, expected and desired form of education, the ANC government has fallen into the trap warned against by Joe Slovo (Alexander 2000). As mentioned earlier, certain compromises were made in 1993 by those negotiating the way to the first democratic elections. When speaking of these, Slovo commented that these compromises were not unlimited nor given lightly as, “we should not do anything in the short term that would make it impossible for us to attain our long-term goals” (Alexander 2002: 22). One

could claim that this consolidation of English mentioned earlier is a result of one such short-term policy that could potentially be risking the long-term goal of South Africa truly becoming the multilingual ‘Rainbow Nation’ that it claims to be. Further, the longer English MOI continues (despite plummeting pass rates and standards of Education), the more money and time is wasted that could be spent on developing effective mother-tongue programmes, and working to change the perceptions, ideologies and attitudes that are upholding the English MOI system. Alexander (2002) claims that English MOI is causing the creation of a ‘monolingual habitus’ in South Africa that could become difficult to dislodge. The notion of the monolingual habitus is one coined by Gogolin (1994), as mentioned in section 1.2.2, and refers to those who take monolingualism as the norm, and as natural, and plurilingualism as the exception (Edwards 1994, Ellis et al 2010). This is discussed in greater detail in the following section, 2.3, as this monolingual habitus is the first of 3 overarching perceptions towards monolingualism that this thesis investigates (mentioned in 1.2.2). Furthermore, this habitus heralds or foreshadows the phenomenon discussed in 2.3.2 of the ‘monolingual mindset’, which can be seen to underlie and support a monolingual habitus in a country. This mindset manifests itself in the national discourse of those countries where plurilingualism is discouraged in the face of monolingualism in a majority (or dominant) language (often English) (Clyne 2010).

2.3 Monolingualism

In the following section, I look at different factors relating to the issue of monolingualism. First, in 2.3.1, I provide an overview of what research there currently is into monolingualism. This account is broken down into two sections. Section 2.3.1.1 provides a working definition for the term ‘monolingualism’ used in this thesis. The second part, 2.3.1.2, looks at the three main orientations towards monolingualism found in literature relating to the topic, already introduced briefly in section 1.2.2. Section 2.3.2 focuses on the concept of a ‘monolingual mindset’ (as introduced in 1.2.2), a term used to refer to attitudes or opinions held by communities or societies that view the use of one language as both the norm and as beneficial. This section provides important frameworks which impact upon not only research questions 1 and 2 (see section 1.3), but also on how this study is situated in the field of monolingual research and adds to it.

2.3.1 An overview of research into monolingualism

Fundamental to this thesis is the notion of the monolingual. The preceding section reviewed the linguistic history and situation in South Africa with the aim of illuminating the macro forces of history and the constitutional environment that have shaped the context in which my study is conducted. These forces have helped mould the attitudes of South Africans, and particularly, those of my participants, towards English, African languages, monolingualism and plurilingualism (i.e. being bi- or multilingual). The section which follows first provides a working definition of the term

monolingual and its application in the site of my study, Durban, in 2.3.1.1. Then, in 2.3.2.1, the three general orientations towards monolingualism (Ellis 2006, 2008) are detailed. Section 2.3.2, in its turn, explores Clyne's (2005) concept of the 'monolingual mindset' and how this relates to the South African situation, again, focusing specifically on Durban.

2.3.1.1 Defining monolingualism

It is important to know what is meant by the term 'monolingual' and to set a definition for its use in this study in order to be able to ascertain its causes and effects (Ellis 2008), rather than interpreting it as 'the opposite to plurilingualism'. There is no consensus about what the term 'monolingual' entails, especially when it comes to English monolinguals. However, it is generally accepted that there is a continuum of *bilingualism* along which different speakers and situations can be placed (Ellis 2006, 2008, Rothman 2008). On one end of this bilingual spectrum are those who are barely functionally communicative in more than one language, with those who speak (and use) two (or more) languages acquired simultaneously from birth as first language input, on the other end. Ellis (2006, 2008), working from the definition that monolinguals are individuals who do, "not have access to more than one linguistic code as a means of social communication" (using Hamers and Blanc's 2006 definition of bilingualism as a starting point), posits that *monolingualism*, too, can be seen as a continuum. The monolingual continuum however, ranges from those who have absolutely no knowledge of a second language (L2), to those who can use standard greetings in an L2, to those who have studied one or more additional language but are not quite able to use the languages as a means of social communication (if this were possible, they would be considered bilingual). Such a person therefore has a limited linguistic repertoire with which to express him/herself (Ellis 2008).

Much of the literature on monolingualism (Clyne 2008, Ellis 2008, Park 2008) originates from, and, currently, focuses on; either countries where the focal language is the majority language both numerically and in terms of its 'linguistic capital' (or power) in the linguistic marketplace, or countries where a language such as English has no mother-tongue presence in the country, however is used for official or academic purposes. South Africa provides an anachronistic situation (as mentioned in 1.2.2) in that English has a small, yet entrenched, mother-tongue population and so is not a majority language in numerical terms. Thus an appearance of a monolingual population (and a monolingual mindset – see 2.3.2), in such a multilingual setting as South Africa, would provide a new perspective to the study of monolingualism. Many links are highlighted between monolingualism and the spread of the English language and the commonly experienced effects thereof, such as cultural assimilation and language shift (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas 1996, Phillipson 1997, Pennycook 2000, Lee & Norton 2009), and as such this study provides insight into these phenomenon (or a resistance to them) in a unique setting.

Because the FAL (Afrikaans) of the English speakers in KZN is rarely spoken in Durban, these individuals (i.e. the MES in this study) would be placed very low down on a scale of bilingualism as, without practice (generally after leaving school) due to a lack of instrumental need, the individuals' communicative competence in the language will atrophy. However, this research concentrates on how language is *used* in South Africa. In this thesis I adopt the standpoint that use is fundamental to determining monolingual status, and as such this was a deciding characteristic when verifying the monolingual status of the participants used in this study. In my questionnaire (see Appendix 5) I also included a question that required the participants to self-report on whether they considered themselves bilingual and why. The results of this are covered in section 4.2.1.1 and provide insight into the perceived status of the linguistic repertoire of the MES, from their own perspective.

In Durban (and the other provinces) there is a unidirectional bilingualism, generally in the direction of English. English speakers do not often use, and are rarely required to use another language. This is discussed in more detail in chapter 4. Due to this lack of communicative necessity, along with all the factors mentioned in the preceding sections of this chapter, in comparison with non-mother-tongue speakers of English in South Africa, MESes are monolingual. In the South African context and for the purposes of this study, I will be using the term 'monolingual' to refer to an individual who does not regularly use a language other than their own native or mother-tongue for communication or learning. According to this definition, English speakers for whom English is a mother-tongue (i.e. they are not Afrikaans-English or Zulu-English bilingual), and who do not regularly employ either the First or Second additional language they learnt at school in contact situations, are regarded as functionally monolingual. Because of the specific linguistic landscape of Durban and the hegemony of the English language nationwide, it is expected that it is very rarely the case that an English speaker in KZN would converge towards another language, resulting in them being considered monolingual.

2.3.1.2 Three orientations towards monolingualism

The phenomenon of monolingualism, as I indicated in the section 1.2.2, is generally not considered by large sections of the world's population to be unusual, and as such is under-researched (Ellis 2006, 2008). The majority of the world's population however is multilingual, making monolingualism a marked case (Ellis 2006, 2008) amongst human societies. Since the development of modernity and the European notion of 'the nation state', the idea of having one language that unifies a country or signals citizenship and common culture, has grown. Thus in certain instances monolingual societies have become seen to be the 'natural state' of a unified country, whereas a lack of linguistic harmony signals disunity and conflict (Blommaert & Verschueren, 1998,

Blommaert 2006, Ellis et al 2010). This is despite the fact that most of the world's population is thought to be plurilingual (Hamers & Blanc 2000, Ellis 2008) and that, before the days of fast travel and electronic communication, language variability was the norm, and pluralism common.

The emphasis in 'Western' sociolinguistic literature focuses largely on issues surrounding bilingualism and other contact phenomena such as language education for minoritised languages, language planning, language shift, language maintenance and the like. The issue of monolingualism is overshadowed by the global issue of the powerful post-colonial hegemony of English, and as such it is rarely addressed directly. This is why I feel the current study is important – there is so much focus on the 'problem' of English in relation to less powerful languages, that the fact that monolingualism is not the norm has for a long time gone 'unnoticed' often because the monolinguals themselves go unnoticed. Thus as the 'marked' phenomenon, monolingualism should be investigated to assess its causes and features and effects. Ellis, in a foundational entry into the monolingual debate, outlines three perspectives on monolingualism (introduced in 1.2.2) that can be gained from the literature surrounding it. It is to these three perspectives that I now turn.

Firstly, there is the commonly held view that monolingualism is the 'unmarked' case: the normal situation that is taken for granted. This was identified in section 2.2.4.3. as the 'monolingual habitus' (Gogolin 1994). This perspective claims that monolinguals view their situation as natural and the spread of English as normal and desirable. They also feel that speakers of other languages must 'simply adjust' (Ellis 2006, Rothman 2008). The second perspective is that, monolingualism is some sort of disability, a lack of skills which would be desirable to have (Ellis 2006). Thus monolingualism is a "limitation of cognitive, communicative, social and vocational potential" (Clyne 2008: 349). Proponents of this view, are (usually) people involved in second or foreign language education. They point towards the benefits (both socially and cognitively) of being bilingual as something that the monolingual is missing out on and must try to correct. Ellis (2006: 181) states that this is an 'encouraging tradition' that does not set out to condemn monolinguals. However, others take a harder line towards the issue of the monolingual's lack of skills and see it as hypocritical that, for instance in South Africa, monolinguals enjoy the benefits of English, while passing judgement on FAL speakers, yet lack the "complex grammar system that multilingual speakers must have acquired" (McDermott 1998: 115).

The third perspective is a very negative and emotional one – monolingualism is a pathology. The supporters of this view see English as a killer language that suffocates and destroys less powerful, indigenous languages. To this school of thought, English (and so those monolinguals who speak it) is a virus that infects and kills the languages and cultures it comes into contact with, and so dominates all others. It is therefore considered dangerous. The concept of 'Linguistic Ecology' falls

within this perspective, and as such equates languages with living organisms that can be killed in ‘linguicide’ (Pennycook 1997). Monolingualism is also seen to violate the linguistic human rights of minority and minoritised language groups through assimilation education into English or whatever language is dominant, rather than plurilingual education. In this tradition there is a section of the academic community that purports that plurilingualism is a human right for minority or minoritised peoples (Skutnabb Kangas & Phillipson 1994). By association with this pathology, those individuals who themselves are monolingual become perceived as dangerous and as harbingers of language death due to their unaccommodating attitudes. This emotive and ‘hard-line’ stance is not without its detractors. Lucko (2003) warns against treating languages as living entities, and against claiming that English remains a foreign language in all situations where it has been chosen or is used as a medium of education. To do this would be to negate how English is internalised to some extent and appropriated by a variety of communities other than the South Africans of British (or European) descent (such as the South African Indian population). Thus to say to these groups that English is alien and a pathology could be perceived as insulting their chosen variety.

2.3.2 The monolingual mindset

Much research has been done in Australia on the phenomenon of bilingualism and especially its place within the education system (Clyne 2005). However, hand in hand with this has come a focus on, or highlighting of, the monolingual status of the country and the majority of its inhabitants. Clyne (2005), a proponent of plurilingualism and the values of plurilingualism for individuals, especially children, developed the term ‘the monolingual mindset’ (as I mentioned earlier in chapter 1.2.2). A monolingual mindset is one in which certain attitudes or opinions are held regarding a benefit to using one language both personally and in society. This ‘mindset’ can be held by individuals, communities or governments, and is, according to Clyne, common particularly in ‘monolingual’ countries or with people from monolingual backgrounds.

Clyne (2005: xi) claims that a persistent monolingual mindset is, “the greatest impediment to recognising, valuing and utilising our language potential”. There is no denying that South Africa has a huge language potential that has been hampered by the legacy of Apartheid. As shown thus far South Africa is a country that embraces plurilingualism at a constitutional level. However, I propose that we are a nation that holds a monolingual mindset. This mindset is apparent when it comes to education and language policy and planning (particularly the application thereof), and it is definitely apparent in my study of Durban’s MES (see chapter 4).

One of the aims of this study is to add to the field of monolingualism through a study of the South African MES population (as per research question 4). Further to this it also seeks to reveal to what

extent South Africa has managed to avoid or encourage a ‘monolingual mindset’ towards English. This study focuses on those who would be at the centre of that mindset i.e. those who are functionally monolingual speakers of English in what is lauded as a multilingual society. Has the environment in Durban in particular, and SA in general (at both a macro and micro level) created a peculiar situation whereby a monolingual mindset towards English has flourished or is flourishing in a society where English is not a majority language, and there is no illusion of cultural homogeneity? In order to investigate this, we must look now at what characterises a monolingual mindset.

Clyne (2005) lays out a framework to characterise the features that contribute to, or make up, a monolingual mindset. The three overarching categories into which the features of a monolingual mindset may fall, have been specified in the previous chapter (see 1.2.2). We now look in closer detail at the features, that, if evident the participants of this study, and in the greater social consciousness, indicates that South Africa ‘suffers’ from this mindset. The overarching features of a monolingual mindset are as follows, with extracts from my data to exemplify (Clyne 2005: 348):

1. Regarding monolingualism as the norm and plurilingualism as exceptional, deviant, unnecessary, dangerous or undesirable.
Eg: (Q2:F7:1-2) ‘the majority of the people now know English as first language’
Eg: (Q5:F4:12) ‘I think it's very admirable when someone can speak more than one language’
2. Not understanding the links between skills in one language and others.
Eg: (Q5:F2:21-23) ‘I don't want them to get too confused or because also if they getting if they being taught in Zulu for geography and all their homework and everything's going to be in geography it's going to be very hard to help them’
3. Reflecting such thinking in social and educational planning.

The first category concerning the functioning of a monolingual mindset, relates to monolingualism being seen as the norm for a country, despite there being linguistic diversity within the country. A feature of this is discounting the fact (potentially in ignorance) that there are more plurilingual people in the world than there are monolingual people. Because of this position, especially ‘elites’, problematise plurilingualism and plurilingual education in order to find something wrong with it – whether it be, for example, that it is expensive or confusing (Clyne 2005). Due to this stance on plurilingualism and the anticipation that monolingualism in or knowledge of the dominant language (henceforth taken to be English) is the norm, if a person is not speaking in English, s/he is taken to be a person being ‘difficult’ and being unwilling to speak English, or else that they simply are unable to. The possibility that the person is choosing to speak another language with which they identify does not enter the equation.

The second category relates to educational and language acquisition features of a monolingual mindset. People who or systems which manifest a monolingual mindset often see plurilingualism as something that is too hard for the average citizen and view it as unobtainable. This is often characterised in the argument that ‘I’m just not good at languages’ or ‘I’m not a language person’. There is also a fundamental misunderstanding or unwillingness to acknowledge research findings that indicate there is a strong, well supported, link between first and second language education and that the acquisition of a second language will be aided by skills development in the first language – and vice versa (Mesthrie et al 2000, Cummins 1979). Thus there is a negative attitude towards bilingual education. The view that one can only claim to speak a language if one has a perfect, ‘uncontaminated’ command of a language, also arises from a monolingual mindset and discourages plurilingualism as it may seem ‘impossible’ to obtain perfect command of an L2 learnt at school.

The third and final category concerns the overflowing of the above-mentioned features into language planning efforts – especially in education. Clyne purports that the monolingual mindset is the origin of the belief that the school curriculum should focus on maths, science, English and other beneficial subjects, with other languages not figuring. Thus in countries with a monolingual mindset influencing school policy, the curriculum is said to be too full to accommodate acquisition programmes for Languages other than English (LOTE). This promotes an ideology that LOTEs are inferior in the education environment and potentially detrimental to education. Associated with this is the oft-repeated assertion that learning other languages detracts from English language proficiency. This thinking manifests a belief that minority or minoritised children (and any L2 learners of English) would benefit more by becoming monolingual speakers of English. This view is supported by many English second language (ESL) programmes which disregard the mother-tongue. (Ellis 2008, Ellis, Gogolin, & Clyne 2010).

It is obvious from the outset that at a surface and policy level, South Africa does not appear to be a nation with a monolingual mindset. As shown, South Africa’s constitution and LiEP account for the nation’s multicultural status and embrace it. Minoritised languages are protected in the constitution and there is a commitment (at certain levels) to develop them. However, it is fitting here to draw attention to Kachru’s (1982) notion of the concentric circles countries in relation to their English usage. The thinking, attitudes and reasoning of many of the MESes’ responses to the data sets, seem to fit in well with the thinking of countries (and their citizens) that are typically seen to be the ‘inner circle’ – US, UK, Australia, New Zealand. The participants in my study are ‘inner circle’ English speakers in an outer circle country – and they vacillate in their knowledge/recognition of this fact. South Africa is regarded as a multicultural country (and constitutionally and socially ‘outer circle’). Its constitution is inclusive of all cultures and languages, and is seen as quite progressive. But it still remains divided – racially, economically,

politically. There are many reasons for this, but the aim of this research is to examine a group that characterises this dichotomy: monolingual English speaking school children. However, when one looks at the actual practices of the country in terms of institutions and the economy etc. as illustrated in section 2.2.2 and 2.2.3, a different picture emerges. This thesis investigates how strongly this mindset manifests in the MES population in Durban. It explores how the micro level expression of a monolingual mindset through narrative analysis can be linked to macro ideological forces (such as have been identified in this chapter), with particular focus on identity negotiation.

2.4 Identity in South Africa

Fundamental to this thesis is the notion of identity, particularly how it is socially constructed, and how it manifests in discourse. Thus an analysis of the social and institutional forces impacting upon text producers and the discursive construction of society and self in narrative texts must be undertaken. The following sections consider issues of identity: the construction of personal, group and national identity.

2.4.1 Individual and group identity

Norton (1997: 410) uses the term identity “to refer to how people understand their relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how people understand their possibilities for the future”. Language is the medium through which we create the link between our internal self and the world around us (Bishop 2008), allowing us to understand and negotiate society. Theorists agree that ‘a linguistic act is an act of identity’ (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). Language both constructs and signals identity (Gumperz 1982, Tabouret-Keller 1997, De Kadt, 2005), and language is the means through which we express our identity – both communal and personal. According to West (1992) identity is concerned with our desires: for recognition, affiliation, safety and security. We use language consciously to signal an affiliation to a group or community or indicate group membership, and the language we use also unconsciously signals or provides markers of group membership; “Language is used to maintain, construct, project and negotiate social identities” (Kamwangamalu 2007). Along these lines, a lack of desire or social incentive to associate with a particular group can therefore have a negative impact upon motivation for language acquisition (Gardiner 2001, Bekker 2003) Thus, understanding the construction of identity is vital to the purposes of this study, one of the main aims of which is to investigate what the attitudes of MESes are towards language (along the lines of the four variables mentioned in the opening paragraph of section 2.4), what they reveal about their personal micro linguistic ideologies.

The postmodern concept of identity is one in which identity is dynamic and multifaceted (as mentioned in section 1.2.4), and is being continually constructed socially. Any individual will belong to many different groups and can assume many identities depending on their social situation,

however, there is generally a sense of unity of identity and continuity within an individual (de Kadt 2005, McKinney & Van Peltzen 2007). According to Weedon (1997, 87) “[I]dentity is produced over time in discourse, and thus is socially and historically embedded. It is always a process, multiple, and neither ‘unified’ or fixed”. Identity is formed and shaped depending on the social and historical context individuals find themselves in, the discourses surrounding them (through which the dominant ideologies are manifest) and that they engage with, as well as the affiliations they may have at different points in their lives. These group identities may not always be applicable as one grows over time. Even affiliations such as one’s regional and ethnic origins may become unimportant to the individual or be abandoned deliberately in order to adopt a preferred affiliation (Wodak 1999). In his social-cognitive approach to the study of ideology, van Dijk (1998, 2001, 2006, 2008) investigates the construction of ideologies as group-based beliefs, and how they manifest in the individual members of a group. He emphasises that ideologies are the base for social representation shared by a group (van Dijk 1995), that produce naturalised beliefs that influence the attitudes of group members, (van Dijk 1998). Thus, these ideologies also serve to ‘monitor’ and influence, through attitudes and personal mental models. They encode the way members of a group act and interpret the world around them, and contribute to their sense of social identity (van Dijk 1998).

In this thesis I characterise both White and Indian English speakers as belonging to a single group, and so as having a shared identity. Under Apartheid these groups were separated, and could not have been considered to be members of the same social group. However, changes to the social structure since Apartheid, have allowed a shift in affiliation due to commonalities of these two groups in terms of schooling, economic status, etc. In particular, both groups occupy positions of relative ambiguity in a country that is trying to redress the imbalances of the past, focussing on the indigenous Black population. Both the White and Indian populations are ‘immigrants’ and as such can be excluded, alienated and potentially feel threatened by any restoration of the identity and culture of Black South Africans or Africanist discourses present since the introduction of democracy (Baines 1998). Part of efforts to redress economic imbalance had been the implementation of the policies of Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) and Affirmative Action (AA). These aim at promoting representative quotas in business and other areas where Africans were previously forbidden. Initially all those who were considered Black under Apartheid were to have benefitted, including the Indian population. Yet as time has progressed, these policies have become aimed more at Africans in particular, with other groups such as Indians no longer being considered Black or ‘Black enough’. These policies are unpopular with many sections of the population and are a source of injury and alienation. Therefore, as English speaking ‘foreigners’, who generally occupy similar economic positions (especially in Durban) and entertain the same education ideals, the White and Indian populations in Durban can be seen, for the purposes of this

study, to belong to the same group within modern South Africa. This is a big claim to make with the historical considerations of the two groups, thus I emphasise that this grouping is based primarily on educational environments and the linguistic situating of these two groups in South Africa in relation to English, within the context of this study.

In South Africa, linguistic identity is one of the cornerstones of identity constructions. “South Africa has a long history of equating language with identity. This uni-dimensional and static equation is, of course, becoming less appropriate, worldwide” (De Kadt 2005: 22). The language you speak and so your ‘ethnic’ identity is taken to be a significant part of ‘who you are’ and society will generally stereotype an individual according to the associations made with that linguistic group. For the most part, even within urban areas, the South African populations do not socialise beyond their stereotyped language group, and remain within their social habitus. In the case of the participants in this study, this is of particular relevance, as the environment that they are exposed to in school, due to the concerns of their middle/upper class parents for their children’s educational and future economic success, would lead them to choosing a school that reflects their own ideals and habitus (Lim 2012). This is significant when studying the attitudes of MES and their common sense assumptions. Those raised in a monolingual habitus (as spoken about in 1.2.2 and 2.2.4.3), which is experienced in school and social settings (even if it is anachronistic with the wider social experience), will not encounter many situations which challenge their common-sense assumptions of the world, and so the ideologies underlying them. This is because it is in cross-cultural settings, where members of a different group might have different ideological orientations and common sense beliefs, that realisations of the ideological basis of one’s knowledge, can be made (van Djik 1998). Thus a lack of any meaningful cross cultural contact, allows for a continuation of certain beliefs and a perpetuation of certain ideologies within a group. As social identity is linked to ideology, the interaction with, and possible understanding of another culture would, reasonably, highlight some aspects of identity that may be the product of beliefs that do not hold true outside of one’s in-group. Throughout the narrative elicitation interview, participants indicate that they do not really communicate with members of other language groups, and that any contact they do have is superficial (see Section 4.3.1.4). Due to this the social identity of the MES is quite isolated from the realities of their non-English mother-tongue compatriots. Thus English speakers in South Africa, and KZN in particular, have a more restricted, monolingual experience, due to a higher ‘saturation’ of English usage in the area, and the continuous social separation from the Zulu speaking population, most of whom will attempt to speak English in a superficial cross-cultural contact situation (as discussed in previous sections).

Plurilingualism is said to open up a world where the dynamic nature of identity is more obvious, as plurilinguals are used to understanding and incorporating different world views, and

acknowledging different linguistic identities – both within themselves and society (Clyne 2005, Bishop 2008). A monolingual mindset limits this awareness of differing linguistic identities and sees them only in terms of how they differ from the monolingual (the norm). Language tuition can help one to understand one's culture as a distinctive world view, not just as traditions and norms compared to other languages (Bishop 2008). This in turn gives an individual a more secure sense of their linguistic identity and its dynamic nature. However, the effectiveness of language tuition is caught up in the investment an individual has in learning the target language, as learning another language is investing in the learner's linguistic identity. The motivation (or investment) to do this will be affected by the learners' social and historical relationship with the target language (Norton 1997). If an individual has a purely instrumental interest in learning a particular language, i.e. if they want to learn it purely as a tool or approach it solely as an academic subject, then the chances of them succeeding in learning the language and becoming proficient and actually using the language, are lower (Gardiner 2001). However, if an individual has an integrative interest, that is wanting to acquire the language so as to identify with the target group in some way, then their success in, enjoyment of and end proficiency in a language is likely to be higher (Gardiner 2001). This is because the acquisition of a new language often means the acquisition of a new social identity. Thus in the South African context, one must look at the relative social positions associated with the languages involved (English, Zulu and Afrikaans) in order to see why the learning of languages at school (by English speakers) is not translating in to plurilingualism.

2.4.2 National identity in South Africa

The modern concept of a 'nation', is one that follows from the rise of the eighteenth century's 'nation states' (Wodak 1999). One of the main tenets of this concept of nation is unity through culture, of which language is seen to be a vital element. Language is important to citizenship (Wodak 1999) and as such being viewed as speaking a 'foreign' language can have a negative effect on how majority citizens view the authenticity of another's citizenship. However, in the ANC-produced document *Nation-Formation and Nation Building*, "the question of allegiance is raised, thereby implying that citizenship is not enough to identify 'true' South Africans." (Baines 1997). In South Africa, there are 11 official languages and many more unofficial. The focal group of this thesis are English speakers – a language that is not originally native to South Africa, but is seen as a vital tool for achieving national unity. Furthermore, the Apartheid system "effectively created two nations; one White, the other Black. South Africa became two political communities in a single national territory." (Baines 1998). This provides a very complicated situation when attempting to create a new nation, post-Apartheid, out of previously conflicting sub nations. Thus while the democratic state adopts and promotes multiculturalism, they have to deal with a continuous tension between this, and the realities of nation building (Baines 1998). This tension derives from the fact that embracing multiculturalism can be seen to be at odds with the usual

construction of national identities which emphasise “intra-national uniformity, and largely tend to ignore intra-national difference (the discourse of sameness)” (Wodak et al 1999: 186). This thesis investigates, as part of research question 2, whether this sense of an unstable or alienated position, or a sense of exclusion from the status of a ‘true’ South African, is evident in the attitudes held by the MES participants towards their English monolingualism.

Another tenet of the construction of national identity, particularly through discourse, is a ‘common sense of past, present and future’ (Wodak et al 1999). National rhetoric in the immediately post-Apartheid era during President Mandela’s term of office emphasised a shared present and future of the Rainbow Nation. However, the Mbeki era drew attention to the social and economic imbalances still present in the country, and chose to follow the ideology of an ‘African Renaissance’, which had been said to exclude those of non-native African heritage (i.e. the White, Indian and Coloured race groups) (Eaton 2002, 45). Shared history is an important factor in fostering national unity. In South Africa the experiences of the different racial and linguistic groups in each era of political rule are vastly different. South Africa has such a divisive and traumatic history that it is difficult to use it (i.e. history) as a catalyst for fostering a sense of unity across all groups. Any attempt to try and incorporate the notion of shared history into the rebuilding of the nation will mean that, at some point, the divisive nature of South African history must be embraced. This embracing and disarming of the effect of Apartheid upon the national psyche is what is sought in the notion of the Rainbow Nation.

The concept of the Rainbow Nation is one that encompasses an ideology concerning the national identity of the democratic South Africa. The concept and term, as mentioned earlier, were coined by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, and embraces the idea of ‘unity in diversity’ that has become the official motto of South Africa. Before this South Africa was an ‘economic and political entity, but not an emotional one’ (Adam 1994). The ideology of the Rainbow nation (or Rainbowism) promotes the acceptance of others and their cultures (and so languages). This acceptance should lead to a sense of unity in a country that has many different cultures. In light of this, the Rainbow Nation ideology instils the belief that South Africa ‘belongs to all its peoples’ whether previous oppressor, immigrant, or indigenous. Naturally, for the two groups involved in my study, this is a very appealing ideology and concept of national identity, as both groups can be seen to occupy indistinct identity positions in South Africa. However, there has been much criticism of what some call the ‘myth’ of the Rainbow Nation (Valji 2003) as it is felt by some to provide an unrealistic idea of the nation and to “be a terrible betrayal of the possibilities for real transformation, real reconciliation, and real national unity” (Cronin 1999). This is due to the fact that ignoring the effects and experiences of Apartheid can be seen as a kind of denialism, and in doing so, denying the true fragmented nature of South African society, as well as denying the right to anger felt by

those disadvantaged by Apartheid, and potentially still suffering from its effects in the ideologies perpetuated by modern South Africa.

The concept of the rainbow nation is one that embraces pluralism. However, within this can be seen an element of a discourse of sameness (Wodak et al 1999), i.e. we are all the same – in our differences – as mentioned earlier. Thus the focus of this discourse and its use in the construction of a national identity, such as in the promotion of the Rainbow Nation, is to ignore differences in order to achieve unity and a type of uniformity (Cronin 1999, Valji 2003, van Wyk 2004). However, this is very difficult to do in practice in South Africa, as differences are entrenched as fundamental facets of individual and group identity. Another strong feature of the national identity of the ‘new South Africa’, as can be seen in the very concept Rainbow Nation, is that the notion of ‘the nation’ is imaginary. It is an abstract ideal, constructed to encourage unity within a physical boundary designated to be one country. Anderson’s notion of *Imagined Communities* defines a nation as a political community “imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign” (1991: 6). Anderson (1991: 6) elaborates this notion by saying “it (a nation) is imagined because members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion”. Thus for the notion of the ‘new South Africa’ as imagined by former President Mandela and his peers to move beyond an ideal and towards an actual unity, the concepts need to be firmly rooted and accepted in the minds of all South Africans. The embracing of other cultures and acceptance of all citizens as equals is fundamental to this. Through the analysis of the interviews and questionnaire (chapter 4 and 5), the attitudes and opinions of the participants reveal to what degree this sense of national identity is ‘real’ for them, and to what extent a monolingual mindset keeps it as an imagined ideal, confusing and complicating the MES’s sense of identity.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have used a historical perspective to outline the social, educational and political spheres of South Africa with the aim of providing insight into the ideological forces impacting upon the focus group of my study, MESes. The attitudes of the participants and the ideologies underpinning them, I argue, will not have arisen in isolation, but will be products of prevailing and inherited attitudes and ideological systems within the country.

Starting with the colonial era, I reflected on the promotion of European languages and cultures over African ones, and the beginning of the political, racial and linguistic struggle that characterises much of South Africa’s past. I then explored the social manipulation of society through the Apartheid system of separate development, paying specific attention to language policies, and the role of English under Apartheid. In doing so I gave substance to Pennycook’s contention that the

“Effects of language policy in the past have massive continuity in the present in how they construct particular views of language” (Pennycook 2000). I focused particularly on the use of language in Education under Apartheid as the attitudes towards the use of African languages in education arising from Bantu Education have had far reaching consequences on education in modern South Africa. The political and linguistic situation in South Africa at the beginning of the new democratic dispensation was then highlighted (in section 2.2.3), with focus being given to the seeming mismatch between language policy and practice as the country has developed as a democratic state.

After the historical analysis, this chapter moved (in section 2.3) on to an outline and definition of monolingualism and how it applies to this study. The concept of the monolingual mindset (Clyne 2005) was introduced, in particular looking at the characteristics of this mindset so that they can be identified (or not) in the MES participants in this study. Lastly, the concept of identity, both group (particularly relating to the grouping of White and Indian English speakers together) and individual, was detailed. The creation of national identity and its construction in South Africa was then investigated.

The following chapter outlines the theoretic frameworks of analysis used in analysing the data gathered, and explores an explanation of the various data collections techniques used.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I outline the various methodological considerations and frameworks that inform the data collection and analysis for this study. The focus of section 3.2., is the pilot study undertaken at School A (the girls' school), which was used to test the instruments to be used for data collection. This section deals with my initial vision for the sequence of research and administration of Instruments, the challenges faced, and the required adaptations (both of the questionnaire and interview process) that became apparent on the strength of the pilot study. Thereafter I move on to the actual data collection at both schools, in section 3.3. First I highlight the environment that the schools are situated in (in 3.3.1) and provide a brief characterisation of each school (3.3.2). I then discuss the participants involved in the study (3.3.3), and follow this with an outline of the sequence of data collection at each school (3.3.4). This section also details how I captured, transcribed and ordered the data for its eventual analysis. Section 3.4 provides an explanation and exemplification of the two different data collection instruments used (one quantitative, one qualitative), as well as a motivation for why this strategy was chosen. Section 3.5 addresses the analytical frameworks chosen for the two bodies of data. Section 3.5.1 addresses the use of a chi-squared test for independence on the quantitative data, while 3.5.2 addresses the use of the APPRAISAL system of Systemic Functional Linguistics in the qualitative analysis.

3.2 Pilot Study

In order to answer the research questions and build on my literature review, I collected two bodies of empirical data. This data is amenable to three forms of analysis, one is quantitative, and two qualitative. Using both types of data allows for a richer analysis than simply one or the other, as the two forms complement one another and offset what could be perceived oversights or weaknesses in each. In order to assess the instruments I intended to use to collect this data, I conducted a pilot study a month before the full data collection. The pilot involved both an attitude questionnaire and an interview closely resembling the anticipated final data collection instruments. Though the numbers used were not large enough to produce any statistics to analyse, the procedure revealed a number of things that required changing – both to the questionnaire and in regard to the interview. I was initially given access to six girls from the same class, 3 White and 3 Indian. I administered an attitude questionnaire (Appendix 4) of approximately 30 minutes to them. As everything seemed to run smoothly I then conducted the questionnaire with their entire class the following day. The six pilot girls re-did the questionnaire, however there were no significant changes in their answers. Due to the larger number of responses that I obtained, I was able to run a test for Cronbach's alpha and establish which of the items had a low reliability. Items with a low

reliability were edited to phrase the question more explicitly, either by giving more contextual information or else less. Examples of this would be changes made to the items as seen in Table 3.1.

	Pilot Item	Revised Item
1	Children get confused when learning English and Zulu.	Children get confused when learning two languages at the same time.
2	Zulu cannot be developed to be used in Academics as it is inadequate.	Zulu should not be developed to be used as a language to teach in.
3	I should not like Zulu to take over from English.	I would be happy if Zulu was used more in place of English in public settings.
4	People only need to know one language.	Speaking only one language is fine in South Africa.

Table 3.1: Items reworked as a result of the pilot run

Only one item was removed from the questionnaire as it elicited a vast majority of Neither Agree Nor Disagree (NAND/NN) responses. The pilot questionnaire consisted of 30 items. This was extended to 39 after the pilot study as I decided that more items would offer a greater assessment of the variables under investigation. The extension was also necessary because of potential new lines of inquiry that emerged from comments made by the participants in the pilot interviews. Most of these lines of inquiry centred on the idea of English and Zulu as languages of inclusion and exclusion, as well as further questions on the relative use of/need for more languages than English. The items added can be seen in Table 3.2.

No.	Item
17.	It is easier for Zulu people to learn to speak English fluently than for English people to learn to speak Zulu fluently.
22.	English is a language of unity and inclusion.
28.	I have no need to use Zulu in my day to day life.
31.	English speakers are separated from others because of their language.
32.	Non-English speakers like using English to communicate in social settings.
33.	I do not like it when I cannot respond to another person in their language.
35.	English is used to exclude people.
37.	Zulu speakers use the language to separate themselves.
38.	All South Africans should be able to speak an African language.

Table 3.2: Items added to the Attitude questionnaire after the pilot run

I conducted interviews with four of the original six pilot girls (who had also trialled the questionnaire), with two from each racial group (White and Indian). After transcribing the interview, I was able to see where I needed to change my interview technique. One issue was that I needed to be more encouraging (using more minimal responses, etc.) so that participants felt freer to contribute. Others were that I needed to encourage more reticent participants, and needed to be aware of interrupting respondents while they were talking. I was also able to see which questions did not elicit a response, or where I needed to investigate alternative ways of eliciting narrative data. I did not use the interview responses of the six pilot participants in the final data analysis.

Table 3.3 below provides an overview of the sequence of data collection (from pilot through to the end of the main data collection), to provide clarity as to the stages of research.

Pilot Study (only conducted at school A)	Section 3.2
1. Pilot Attitude Questionnaire with 6 participants.	August 2011
2. Pilot Attitude Questionnaire with entire class of 30.	August 2011
3. Narrative Elicitation Interview with 4 of the 6 participants in point 1.	August 2011
Full Data Collection (School A & B). (See section 3.3.3 for details of participants.)	Section 3.3.4
1. Attitude Questionnaire and Interviews conducted with School A participants. These were conducted in no particular order over a two-week period (see section 3.3.2 for scheduling details).	September 2011
2. Interview conducted with Indian female teacher at school A.	September 2011
3. Interviews conducted with boys from School B.	September 2011
4. Questionnaire conducted with participants from School B.	September 2011
5. Questionnaire conducted with additional Indian participants at school A.	November 2012
6. Interview with White male teacher at school B.	November 2012

Table 3.3: The sequence of data collection: Pilot and main studies

Table 3.4, which follows, provides an outline of what type of data was collected, the instruments used, and where the sections relevant to each data type can be found.

Data Type	Instrument used	Analytical Framework	Data Analysis
One: Quantitative	Attitude Questionnaire (section 3.4.1)	Chi-squared test (section 3.5.1)	Section 4.2 (pg 81)
Two: Qualitative	Narrative Elicitation Interview (3.4.2)	APPRAISAL (section 3.5.2)	Section 4.3 (pg 98)

Table 3.4. Outline of the two data types collected and where they are reported on

3.3 Data Collection: Two Durban Private Schools

This section looks at the particulars of the city, school and participants chosen for this study. Both linguistic and social factors are addressed, as well as the reasoning behind the selection of the particular ages and races of the participant. Furthermore, this section looks at the sequence of data collection followed at each of the schools, and any issues inherent therein.

3.3.1 KwaZulu-Natal

Both of the research sites, School A (a girls' school) and School B (a boys' school) are located in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal. Parts of chapter 2 (viz 2.2 and 2.3) deal with why Durban is a good place to conduct a study involving mother-tongue English-speakers, especially on account of the role and social meaning of English, historically, in the region. What is necessary to add to those accounts is a brief characterisation of the linguistic profile of KZN and how it differs from the other two main provinces (in terms of English speakers and urban population). When looking at the data in Table 3.5, below, one can see that while KZN is not the only province with a 'large' number of English speakers, the population dynamic is different.

	KwaZulu-Natal	Gauteng Province	Western Cape
Afrikaans	161 876	1 502 940	2 820 643
English	1 337 606	1 603 464	1 149 049
Zulu	7 901 932	2 390 036	-
Xhosa	-	-	1 403 233

Table 3.5. Breakdown of the top 4 languages in the top 3 English using provinces, according to number of speakers.

In both Gauteng Province (GP) and the Western Cape (WC) the top three languages are all of similar size. In fact, in Gauteng, six of the official languages have between 1 and 3 million speakers. Likewise, in the Western Cape, Afrikaans, English and Xhosa all have between 1.1 and 2.9 million speakers. In KZN, Zulu is by far the majority language (with over 7 million speakers), with English the only other language with any other numerical importance, with just over 1.3 million. These figures translate as follows: 77.8% of the KZN population speak Zulu, followed by 13.2 % who speak English (Census 2011). A total of 27% of the English population in the country resides in KZN, with the majority concentrated in Durban and surrounds. Zulu, while being the largest language group in the country (22.7% of the total population of South Africa), and having significant numbers in both Gauteng and KZN (see Table 3.5), is not seen by all to be a language that is appropriate of wider communication outside of KZN, with 68.2% of its speakers reside in the province. However, together the Nguni languages of Zulu, Xhosa, Ndebele and Swati account for 43.4% of South Africa's population – almost half. This would make Zulu a useful language to learn for those non-Zulu speakers living in KZN. A development of communicative ability in Zulu, entrenched in the schooling system, specifically aimed at non-mother-tongue speakers, could facilitate communication and foster understanding with the Zulu majority in the province, and its mutual intelligibility with the rest of the Nguni group will open up communication with half the population of the country. As shown, the linguistic situation within in KZN is simpler than in other provinces. Due to this, developing a multilingual language policy within the province, to facilitate English-Zulu bilingualism would be seen to be 'reasonably practicable', as 96% of the province's population speak either of the languages as their L1 (Martin 1997: 132). English has a particular concentration in KZN due to the historical macro ideologies relating to the African languages (as discussed throughout chapter 2), the legacy of separate development, and the current hegemony of English. This English-saturated environment, I argue, hampers the ability of MES to participate in a genuine engagement with the rest of the province and country.

3.3.2 The schools

There are many issues related to working in schools as a research environment that impact on the practical outcome of one's desired research strategies, as one often does not have control over aspects of one's interactions with participants. Some of these considerations are outlined in section 1.4. This section details the particulars of the rationale behind choosing the two schools used, as well as specifics of the difference in how data was collected at each school.

In order to conduct research at Government schools there is a long permission application process. Due to this, and to the fact that I already had contacts at School A, it was decided that Private schools would be used as the sites of my research. Further to this is the fact that many private schools in Durban have a British educational history and so are English medium. According to

Census 2011, 93.1% of South African children attend Public schools, and only 3.8% attend private ones. The income bracket of those attending private schools is usually middle to upper. Basic fees in the schools I used were around R85 000 per annum at School B, while School A's fees start at R51 000 per annum. Thus, those learners attending private schools are expected to be from middle to upper income families. This means that their families are expected to have a certain level of engagement in the formal economy and main-stream society, which in South Africa (as discussed in chapter 2), necessitates a certain level of English fluency.

At School A I was allowed to conduct my research during classes considered 'non-academic' (such as Physical Education, Religious Education, Life Orientation). The teacher with whom I was in contact set up a schedule of when which classes were available in the week. For the interview, the teacher chose girls who fell within the demographics of my study, and those girls met me in an empty classroom in their allotted class. As a result, I had no control over what order the participants did the interview and questionnaire in. Some of the interview participants did the questionnaire before their interview, and some did so afterwards. The bulk of the data was collected over a period of two weeks.

At School B the teacher with whom I was in contact organised for me to interview 10 boys (5 White, 5 Indian) successively on one day. I was provided with an office and the boys came one after the other for their interviews. The following day it was arranged for 25 White and 25 Indian boys to take the questionnaire in the school hall. Unfortunately, most of the White boys I conducted the interview with were not present for the questionnaire, and again there was not an equal distribution of White and Indian respondents, and some of those requested to be there had commitments with other teachers, or forgot. Also, the teacher remained present for the entire duration of the questionnaire which created a different dynamic to what I had had with the female participants. The boys, naturally, probably, directed their questions to their teacher and not me, and the teacher also commented on how to do the questionnaire (telling them to 'go with gut instinct'/'don't over think it', 'just answer'), and told the boys to hurry up. This created a bit of a pressure and opened up the possibility of the boys rushing and not reading the question properly or marking the wrong box. At School B I was introduced to the boys by the teacher, while at the School A, due to the nature of how I was 'receiving' the participants, I introduced myself. This created a different dynamic in the questionnaire sessions. Also, as I had attended School A as a high school student, some of the participants claimed to 'know' me, though they were only in Grade 2 when I was in matric (my final year).

Clearly the data collection process at each school was very different, and so was my contact with the learners. Also, conducting research with teenagers at their school is not an 'ideal' place as there

are many external variables that you cannot control (illness, the restrictions of a school environment, other commitments). I was warned in my first meeting with the teachers facilitating my access to the girls' school that they had problem in the Gr 10 group with the Zulu students being very racially sensitive. As I was not using any Zulu or Black participants in my study, I had to conduct a 'debriefing' with the entire grade after I had finished my data collection in order to explain why I was only using certain participants and not others. The learners were allowed to answer questions, and all expressed interest in the topic and in how 'social science' investigations (as they called them) were conducted.

At School A and School B, Zulu was compulsory from Grade 2 or 3 (age 7-9) until Grade 7 (age 12-13). At this stage a choice between Zulu and Afrikaans was made, and so all the participants had had some Zulu language education (generally considered as a 3rd or second additional language (SAL) – Afrikaans standardly designated the position of first additional language (FAL)). None of my participants in the interviews choose to pursue Zulu as a FAL in high school. This was typical in both schools where most, if not all, of the scholars taking Zulu FAL, are Zulu mother-tongue speakers. Thus, due to compulsory formal language education, all of the participants (and the mother-tongue English speaking population at large) will have had some knowledge of another language (for the majority it is Afrikaans and to a lesser extent Zulu). This exposure to second language learning at school would have made them – at least in psycholinguistic terms – bilingual. By this I mean that cognitively the participant will have been exposed to at least one language other than their mother-tongue (or L1) from a young age. Thus, cognitively, the group under investigation in this study has had a significant amount of consistent exposure and teaching in other languages, and so would be considered bilingual in some sense (see 2.3.1.1 for more on how this issue of defining monolingualism and plurilingualism is dealt with in this thesis.).

3.3.3 The participants

The participants in my research were 15 – 17-year-old learners. All were first language mother-tongue English speakers. I chose 15-17 year olds (Grade 10/11) as they were born in 1994 (or later), and so all of their schooling has taken place under the new language policies (see section 2.2.3.2). Hence they would be barometers of effective policy change. My motivation for focusing on both White and Indian students, as explained in section 2.4.1, is that both social groups are monolingual mother-tongue speakers of English, and, in the South African context, proper consideration of mother-tongue English speakers could not be given with only one group. There was only one black African scholar that was a MES. This individual was adopted and had been raised by an English speaking White family, and was unable to speak Zulu fluently. The rest of the black African scholars were Zulu-English bilingual.

Each participant was assigned a ‘participant number’ to respect anonymity and confidentiality. The girls were assigned a number between 1 and 100, the boys a number between 101 and 160. Table 3.6 summarises the total participant population and provides a breakdown according to race and gender.¹

Variable	Sub-variable	Number of questionnaire responses	Number of interview responses
Female	Indian	17	3
	White	35	4
	Total	52	7
Male	Indian	20	4
	White	25	5
	Total	45	9
Race	Indian	37	8
	White	60	9

Table 3.6: Racial and gender breakdown of participants

A total of 52 female responses to the questionnaire were used. I only conducted 8 interviews with female learners as opposed to the intended 10, as 1 of the pupils chosen for the interview was a German-English bilingual, and another did not arrive for her interview. A total of 45 male responses were used. There are also only 8 interviews with male learners as one participant did not arrive for his interview, and another was excluded as he was born in India and had lived there for some time.

The total numbers represented in the table relate to the participants whose answers were used – not the total population administered. Some questionnaires had to be eliminated due to errors in filling in the table, or because of an abnormal number of NN answers. Likewise, in answering the biographical information in section 1 of the interview, some students answered in such a way that indicated that they were not functionally monolingual and used a second language (usually with extended family) fairly regularly. These students were also excluded in the interest of ensuring that the target population were genuinely functionally monolingual.

3.3.4 Sequence of data collection

The initial data collection took place in 2011 at School A and was carried out over two weeks, while at School B, it took two days. I returned to school A immediately after collecting the schoolgirls’ data and conducted an interview with the teacher with whom I had liaised. I was able to conduct the same interview with the corresponding teacher at school B in November 2012. The information gained from these teacher interviews has been useful in contextualising the schools and assisted in understanding the learners’ academic environment better. In order to improve the

¹ Due to the smaller numbers of students in each grade at Private schools, (about 70 – 90) versus at least 300 in public schools, and the demographics of the two school (which are attended by a majority of White students), there were fewer Indian candidates for participation in my research.

racial balance in the number of Indian participants at the School A, I returned in November 2012 to administer the questionnaire to an additional 8 Indian females. See Table 3.3.

3.4 Data Collection Instruments

In what follows I report on the instruments used to collect the two bodies of data from the participants (see 3.3.3) during the sequence described in 3.3.4 above. First I describe the quantitative data body – i.e. the Attitude questionnaire (see section 4.2 for analysis and results) and its construction and content (3.4.1). In 3.4.2 I describe the construction of instruments used in the narrative elicitation interview (i.e. the stimulus article and question schedule) used to collect data body two – the qualitative data (see 4.3 for analysis and results).

3.4.1 Data body 1: Attitude questionnaire

The first type of data collected is quantitative, gathered from 97 participants by means of an attitude questionnaire. Conducting an attitude questionnaire is relevant and important to this study as, quoting Baker (1992: 9), “A survey of attitudes provides an indicator of current community thought and beliefs, preferences and desires. Attitude surveys provide social indicators of changing beliefs and the chances of success in policy implementation”. An investigation into general attitudes regarding English, African languages and plurilingualism can be undertaken by investigating the attitudes of a larger group of participants. Likewise, a picture of any particularly strong attitudes across the group as a whole, or differences between genders and/or race groups, can be taken. The attitudes of any individual are obviously influenced by the ‘social and cultural milieu’ (Baker 1992) that they grow up in, and the beliefs about language that the community around them transmits to them. The presence of markers typical of a monolingual mindset (see section 2.3.2) in the responses to the questionnaire, could indicate the presence of this mindset in their wider community.

The attitude questionnaire involved two sections. Section one consists of information-seeking items. These were both for biographical information (age, race, grade, etc.) and to determine the respondents’ domains of use of different languages to assess their monolingualism, if applicable (e.g. asking which languages they used with immediate or extended family, with friends, what televisions shows they watched, etc.). Participants were also asked whether they were bilingual, and to explain why they chose to answer the way they did. The purpose of this was to investigate their self-reporting of their linguistic status in relation to mono/plurilingualism. Lastly, a series of situations is listed and participants are asked to indicate what languages they would use in each setting (See Appendix 5). The purpose of this was both to verify the extent of their functional monolingualism, and to investigate their self-reporting of their linguistic status in relation to ‘bilingual’ status.

The second section, of the questionnaire, involved thirty-eight closed answer items which participants were asked to evaluate according to a five point Likert scale. The scale consists of Strongly Agree (1), Agree (2), Neither Agree Nor Disagree (3), Disagree (4) and Strongly Disagree (5). Table 3.7 provides an illustration of the type of items included in the questionnaire. For the full questionnaire, see Appendix 5.

Statement	SA	A	NN	D	SD
2. English is the only language one needs in everyday life.					
3. Children get confused when learning two languages at the same time.					
4. Knowing an African language is essential for living in South Africa.					
5. All schools in South Africa should teach pupils to communicate effectively in an African language like Zulu and in English.					
6. All African language speakers must learn to speak English.					
8. Zulu should not be developed to be used as a language to teach in.					
9. Speaking two languages is not difficult.					
10. English speakers do not need to learn African languages to function in SA.					
11. I sometimes feel excluded because of the language I speak.					
12. English is the only language that should be used in education.					
14. Speaking only one language is fine in South Africa.					
15. Most people in South Africa can speak English.					
16. Speaking an African Language makes you more South African.					
19. People earn more money if they speak both Zulu and English.					

Table 3.7: Example of questions from and layout of the attitude questionnaire

The statements were designed to reflect four variables considered in the study, namely, attitudes to English, Zulu, monolingualism, and bilingualism. More generally, the items ask about attitudes towards monolingualism and bilingualism (with reference to English and Zulu/African languages), the role of English and African languages in South Africa, the future of English in South Africa and the development of African languages. Many of the items, and the overall structure of the questionnaire find their origins in Baker's (1992) bilingualism questionnaire. Details of the statistical procedures used on the results of the attitude questionnaire are found in section 3.5.1

3.4.2 Data body 2: Narrative elicitation interview

The second type of data elicited provides the qualitative aspect to the study, and the analysis of this data is twofold. It involved conducting a narrative elicitation interview with a subsection (15) of the questionnaire participants. Participants were given an article to read which served as a talking point and instigator for the discussion. The original unedited article can be found in e-Appendix 2.1, and the final edited article that was used in the interviews can be found in Appendix 11. Participants were first asked a few general background information questions, to verify that they fell within the scope of the study. These questions enquired about how long their family had resided in Durban, and about their schooling history to ascertain if they had been raised in the particular environment sought in this study. These questions were followed by a series of questions surrounding the issues of plurilingualism, English and African languages (specifically Zulu). I had

a list of questions to prompt conversation, but did not necessarily ask all of the questions of each participant, as sometimes the topics came up naturally. The generic list of interview questions can be found in Appendix 12 – not all questions were asked explicitly of all participants (see section 3.5.2.5 for more detail). One of the main purposes of this interview is to engage with the MES and allow them to talk about their linguistic experience. The empirical data allowed me to ‘get inside the heads’ of ‘born free’ MES and to find out their attitudes and feelings towards both their monolingual status and towards plurilingualism. This is preferable to relying on my own assumptions and experiences, as well as what the literature suggests. This information helps to characterise what it is to be a MES in South Africa and allows for an analysis of the ideologies at play in what they say.

The stimulus article was sourced from the *Mail & Guardian Online* (downloaded 21st April 2011), and is entitled *Masincokole: Talk to me!* by Russell H Kaschula (see Appendices 10 and 11) on the issue of mother-tongue education and the benefits of more people being able to speak an African language. I used this as a base for the stimulus piece for the participants to read in the interview. The article is quite long (over two pages), so I shortened it and changed or added in wording to make it provocative in ways that would relate to the attitudes under investigation. The resulting article is very pro-plurilingualism and equal language rights, as well as being quite critical of English and its monopoly in South Africa while promoting the African languages, especially as a unifying factor. The interviews ranged between 10 and 20 minutes and were conducted one-on-one and recorded with a digital recorder. In total I interviewed 9 boys (one of the male interviews (a White participant) was not used as the participant did not produce many narrative responses) and 7 girls.

I transcribed the interviews using *InQscribe* transcription software which I downloaded from the internet and accessed with a free temporary license. A sample of the transcriptions can be found in Appendix 13. *InQscribe* software allows the user to assign ‘shortcut keys’ to certain desired functions. Thus by pressing particular keys, I could avoid having to type often repeated phrases or functions (see below):

F6 = [00:00:00.00] Interviewer: (indicating the interviewer was speaking and how far into the interview it is.)

F5 = Participant: (indication that the participant was speaking)

TAB = Play/Pause the recording

The transcription conventions used can be found in Appendix 10. The transcriptions were then subjected to a full framework APPRAISAL analysis, which is described in section 3.5.2.

3.5 Frameworks for Analysis

The section that follows addresses the statistical and narrative analytical frameworks used in this thesis to analyse the two data sets discussed in 3.4.1 and 3.4.2.

3.5.1 Quantitative analysis: Chi-squared test for independence

Data body one provides a quantitative aspect to what is otherwise a qualitative study, and allows for some statistical insight. The statistical analysis has been applied to see, in particular, if there is a gender or race bias to how the participants answered the items. This is relevant because it assists in answering research question 3, i.e. ‘Are there attitudinal differences among MES associated with gender and racial affiliations (male/female; White/Indian) and, if so, what are they?’. This is best done with a larger sample group than the quantities that I employ for my discourse analysis (described in 3.5.2). This section first describes how the data was prepared to be used on the statistical analysis software programme SPSS 21. This is followed by an explanation of the statistical test chosen to be performed on the data (a chi-squared test for independence) and how the results were analysed. By using the statistical analysis one can reveal general patterns of attitudes. This enables a wider appreciation (because of the number of participants and question topics) of the conflicted nature of the monolingual identity of the participants, than is possible from the qualitative narrative data only.

In order for the data to be amenable to a statistical analysis, it was coded and entered in to spreadsheet that could be copied across into the data view of SPSS 21. The variable view of SPSS 21 allows one to code and define all the variables necessary to allow the data to be seamlessly entered into the system, and read appropriately by the programme. This must be done before the data is copied into the data view in order for the programme to ‘understand’ the data. Figure 3.1 shows a screenshot of the variable view of SPSS. The variable view for the study incorporated the relevant information responding to the different variables in the attitude questionnaire had been entered into the programme (see Table 3.8 below).

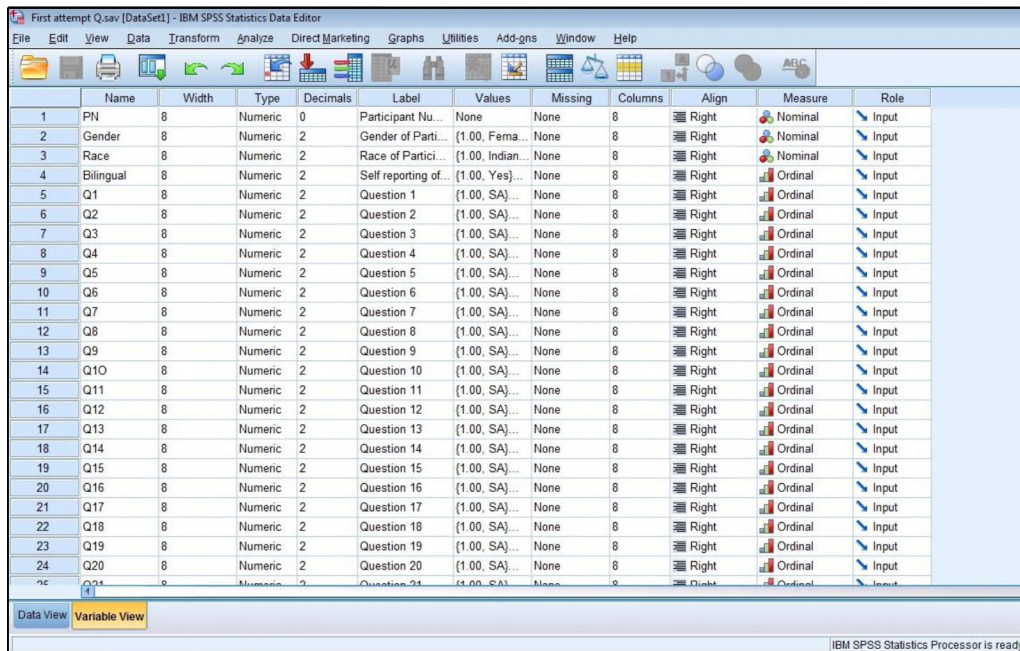


Figure 3.1: Variable View on SPSS 21

All variables such as race, gender and the participants' response regarding their bilingual status, were coded either 1 or 2. A variable view allows one to specify which number corresponds to which option. Table 3.5 shows a breakdown of what each number was coded to represent in the variable view. Likewise, it shows how the Likert scale was coded.

	1	2	3	4	5
Likert	SA	A	NN	D	SD
Race	Indian	White			
Gender	Female	Male			
Are you bilingual?	Yes	No			

Table 3.8: Coding used in quantitative data

Thus if participant '100' was an Indian Male, who reported his bilingual status as 'Yes' and answered 'Disagree' to the first question of the questionnaire, the first 5 columns of his row would look as shown in Table 3.9

Participant No.	Gender	Race	Bilingual	Q1
100	2	1	1	4

Table 3.9: Example coding of participant

Once the variable view was set up, the results from the questionnaire were entered into the data view (see Figure 3.2). From here one chooses which statistical tests to run on the data. An account of this follows.

	PN	Gender	Race	Bilingual	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11
1	1	1.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	4.00	1.00
2	3	1.00	2.00	1.00	3.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	1.00	4.00	5.00	2.00	1.00	1.00
3	4	1.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	5.00	2.00	3.00
4	7	1.00	2.00	2.00	4.00	2.00	4.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	4.00	2.00	2.00	4.00
5	8	1.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	4.00	5.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	2.00
6	13	1.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	4.00	2.00	4.00	4.00	2.00	5.00
7	16	1.00	2.00	1.00	3.00	3.00	4.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	4.00	2.00
8	17	1.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	4.00	2.00	2.00
9	18	1.00	2.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	4.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	4.00	3.00	4.00
10	20	1.00	2.00	2.00	4.00	4.00	2.00	4.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	4.00	5.00	3.00	2.00
11	21	1.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	3.00
12	27	1.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	2.00	2.00
13	30	1.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	5.00
14	31	1.00	2.00	2.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	3.00	3.00	4.00
15	32	1.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	4.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	4.00	2.00	4.00	2.00
16	34	1.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	4.00	5.00
17	35	1.00	2.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	4.00	3.00	4.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	4.00	5.00
18	36	1.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	4.00	3.00	2.00	5.00	2.00	5.00	2.00	3.00	2.00
19	37	1.00	2.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	1.00	2.00	5.00
20	38	1.00	2.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	5.00
21	40	1.00	2.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	4.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	4.00	3.00	4.00
22	43	1.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	4.00	4.00	1.00	4.00	4.00	3.00
23	44	1.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	2.00	4.00	5.00	4.00	2.00	4.00
24	45	1.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	3.00	5.00	5.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	5.00	5.00	4.00	5.00
25	46	1.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	4.00	2.00

Figure 3.2: Data view on SPSS 21

A chi-squared test for independence (a non-parametric test) was run on the data (see section 4.2 for an analysis of the results), in order to reveal any statistical significance to patterns of answering along gender and race lines. A chi-squared test was chosen rather than a T-test as the data from a Likert scale is ordinal, and so is categorical, rather than continuous. Any items showing a p value of $p \leq .05$ indicate a statistical significance. When conducting a statistical test such as the chi-square, one needs a hypothesis about what the data will show. For example, a hypothesis saying that there is a race effect in how participants report their bilingual status (i.e. the Indian students will answer differently to the White students or vice versa). When conducting the test, one is actually testing the *Null Hypothesis*, namely the opposite of the hypothesis (Levron 2010: 69-70). Continuing with our example, this would mean that the null hypothesis states that there is no race effect in self-reporting of bilingual status (see section 4.2.1.1). A p value (the output of a chi-squared test) of $p \leq .05$ means that ‘we are less than 5% sure that the null hypothesis is true’ (Levron 2010: 72), and so can reject the null hypothesis and accept the hypothesis. In this case it would mean that there is, in fact, a race effect upon self-reporting of bilingual status. A test like this is useful in this study as it eliminates the chances that a difference in scores is a result of the different numbers of Indian versus White students, and female versus male, and points rather to a genuine statistical difference, if there is one, regardless of overall numbers (Levron 2010: 70). Figure 3.3 gives an example of what the results of the chi-squared test in the illustration above would look like as output from SPSS 21. The p value has been circled in red.

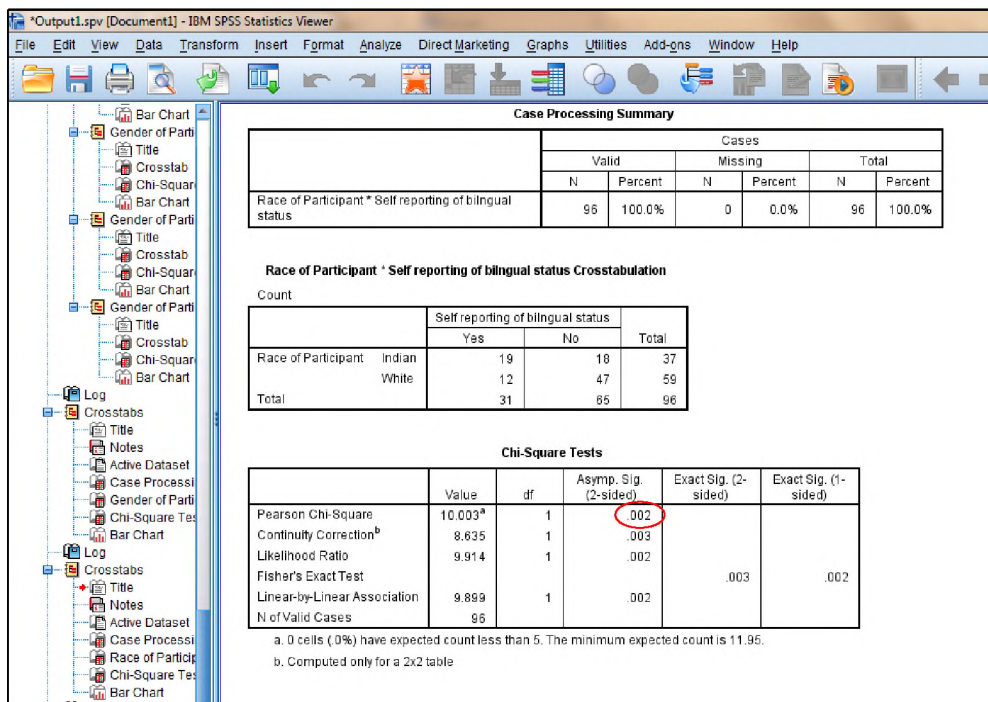


Figure 3.3: Screen shot of the output of a chi-squared test run on data in SPSS 21

A minor technical error in the cross over between capturing the data and coding it into SPSS meant that the first 38 questions of the questionnaire were included in the analysis. In the finalised questionnaire, one question was repeated (under two different item numbers – 32 and 34). This resulted in item 34 being excluded. Items numbered 36-40 remained numbered as such when the data was coded into SPSS (see Appendix 5). When the chi-squared analysis was run on the data, items 1-39 were analysed (remembering that one question was duplicated). However, as item 35 had been omitted with the numbering remaining the same, this resulted in 38 items being analysed (1-34, 36-39). Thus, in all the quantitative analyses run on SPSS, responses to item 40 have been omitted. Throughout the thesis, only the 38 analysed items are referred to.

The analysis of the narrative data looks more in depth at certain key issues, such as the conflict of identity potentially present in the MES while the statistical analysis involves a wider range of questions at a more surface level.

3.5.2 Qualitative analysis: The APPRAISAL framework

In this section I give an overview of the analytical framework used in my research, namely, Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG). The aim of this account is to justify using SFG, and, more specifically, the APPRAISAL framework, which has developed out of it, in order to investigate the MES' attitudes and positioning. I outline what SFG entails, giving an overview the overarching system, and then outline the APPRAISAL subsystems that were applied to my data. I, thereafter, give an account of how the narrative data used for analysis was selected from the interviews, and how the data was coded and analysed.

Systemic Functional Grammar (hereafter SFG) is a multi-perspective model by which to analyse texts (Martin & White 2005). It enables one to study language use in context and to see how people use language to interpret their surroundings and relationships. SFG is a functional - semantic approach to language (Eggins 2004:20) that uses the idea that there are different systems of meaning. It proposes that there are three highly generalised 'metafunctions' that represent these systems of meaning: the ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctions.

The ideational metafunction provides the resources by which people use language to make sense of their reality and the experiences that they have. It basically concerns, "what's going on, including who's doing what to whom, where, when, why and how, and the logical relation of one going-on to another" (Martin & White 2005:7). The expression of the interpersonal metafunction (of which Appraisal is a development), allows people to negotiate and interpret social relationships. It is concerned with the resources people draw upon when interacting with others and how they express feeling, opinions and attitudes. Lastly the textual metafunction is the resource through which the other two metafunctions are realised. It is "concerned with information flow: the ways in which ideational and interpersonal meanings are distributed" (Martin & White 2005: 7). Together these three metafunctions serve as frameworks upon which to build a context-driven analysis of both the grammatical and social/interpersonal aspects of language use. Thus SFG, through the interpersonal metafunction and its APPRAISAL subsystems, is an appropriate choice as an analytical framework for my study as it allows, through an analysis of the lexical and semantic choices made, for the untangling of the attitudes and feelings of the MES against the backdrop of the complicated social history (and current situation) of South Africa. For the purposes of this study only the interpersonal metafunction will be applied through the use of an Appraisal analysis conducted on the transcripts of the narrative elicitation interviews. An outline of the Appraisal system and framework follows.

The APPRAISAL framework is designed as a way to analyse and reflect how people construct their feelings, judgements, attitudes and values in texts i.e. in their speaking and writing. It also looks at how the text producer positions the receiver in relation to these. APPRAISAL is one of the 3 major discourse-semantic subsystems that fall under the interpersonal metafunction, along with 'negotiation' and 'involvement' (Martin and White 2005). For the purposes of this study only the APPRAISAL system will be applied. The interpersonal metafunction concerns the "subjective presence of writers/speakers in texts as they adopt stances towards both the material they present and those with whom they communicate." (Martin & White 2005:1), thus the APPRAISAL system is concerned not only with how the participant constructs his/her feelings and values, but how they position their audience (in this case, the interviewer). APPRAISAL itself consists of 3 subsystems which work together to reveal the interpersonal meaning in any text. These systems are 'Attitude',

‘Graduation’ and ‘Engagement’. Figure 3.4 is a basic diagram of the APPRAISAL system. In what follows in this section, I describe each of the APPRAISAL subsystems, and their use in this study, in more detail. I illustrate the account with examples drawn from my own data. Examples referenced, as (Q1:F1:6-7), are taken from the transcript of selected cases for the 6 analysed questions (seen in full in e-Appendix 1). Examples referenced as (F1:6-7), are taken from the full interview transcripts. The line numbering differs between the two documents and, as such, the examples require differentiation, as the lines referred to in each may not have the same content.

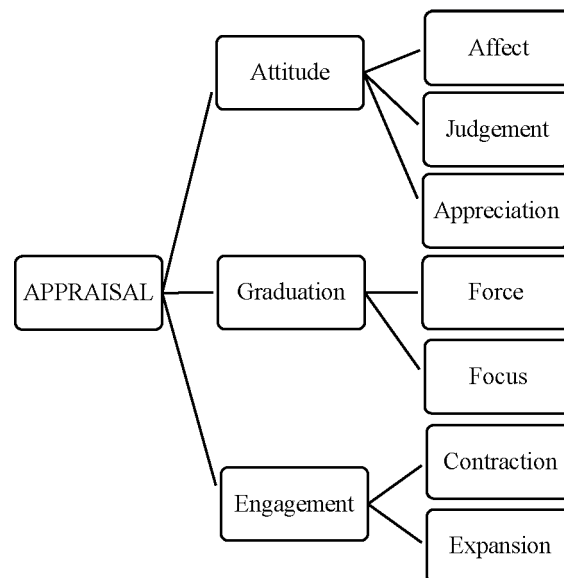


Figure 3.4: Diagram of the basic APPRAISAL system

3.5.2.1 Attitude

Attitude, the first of the three APPRAISAL subsystems, is the one that concerns feelings, and a person’s emotional responses to participants and processes (Martin & White 2005). It reflects different ‘ways of feeling’ and how the textual voice constructs these and attempts to align (or not to align) the addressee with them. As can be expected by its relation to personal feelings and evaluation, Attitude can be seen to be “‘invoked’ by the cultural and ideological situation in which it is expressed” (Gallardo & Ferrari 2010:3174), and as such gives great insight into the macro-forces influencing the participants in my study, such as the prevalent social and educational ideologies concerning English and African languages, the dominant debates around the role of English in South Africa, and the positioning of White and Indian South Africans in terms of identity. There are three main subsystems to Attitude, namely Affect, Judgement and Appreciation as represented in Figure 3 below:

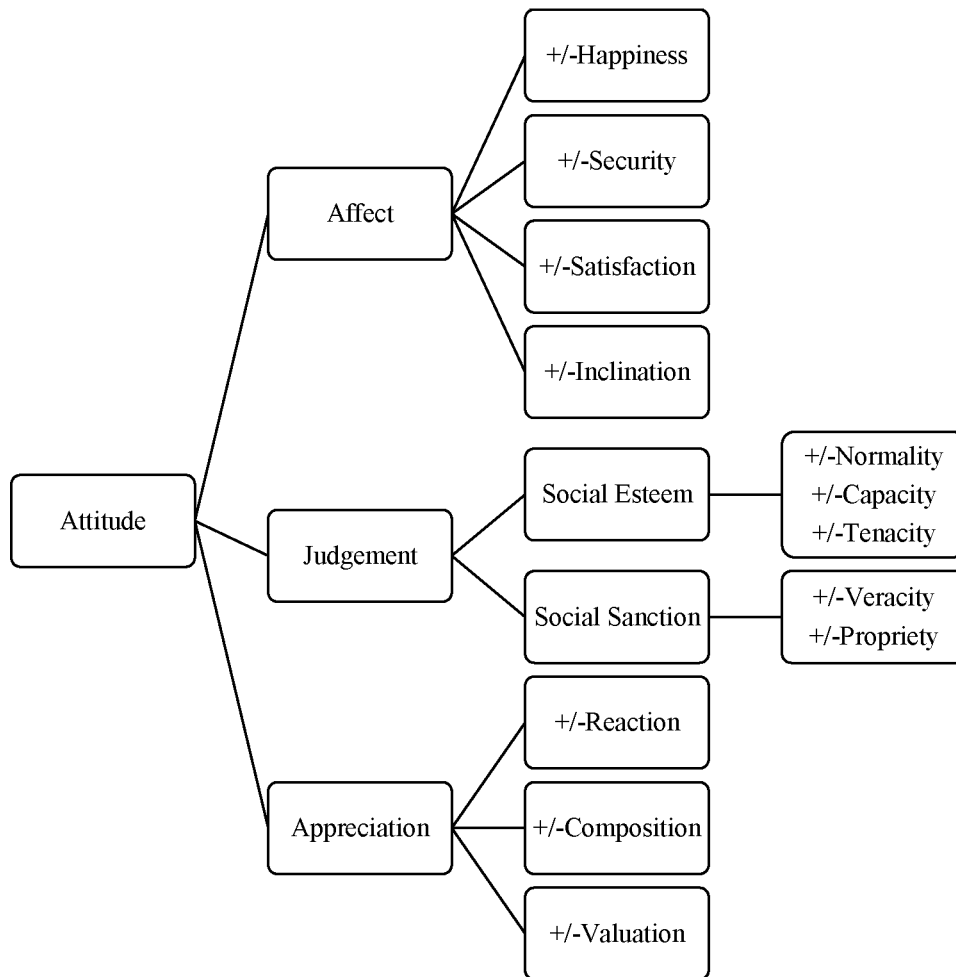


Figure 3.5: The Attitude sub-system

Affect concerns the registering of positive and negative personal feelings towards people, behaviour or processes (Martin and White 2005). Judgement and Appreciation are systems more concerned with institutionalised feelings and shared values (Martin & White 2005). Judgement, thus, concerns “attitudinal evaluation in which human behaviour is negatively or positively assessed by reference to some set of social norms” (White 2004:1). For example (F7:244-245); “okay you have to know English obviously because well you know” expresses [+Normality] in relation to the studying of (and in English) accompanied by Afrikaans as a FAL – the standard situation in Apartheid education and so a social norm. Appreciation concerns evaluations made of “semiotic and natural phenomena” (Martin & White 2005:43), and whether (and how) they are valued or not. An illustration of this can be seen in the statement (Q3:M6:22): “I like the language” [+Reaction: Inscribed]. Here the participant is passing an evaluation on Afrikaans and indicating that he has a positive reaction to it, and therefore that it must have value. Affect, on the other hand, regards expressions of feelings in relation to examples of human behaviour and how it measures up to a system of accepted societal/communal norms and expectations. Each of these three subsystems is discussed in greater detail in the paragraphs below.

Affect, as the most ‘personal’ of the three sub-systems, naturally concerns expressions that reflect emotive valuations. The four overarching areas that contribute to Affect are a series of diametrically opposite feelings; happiness and unhappiness, security and insecurity, satisfaction and dissatisfaction and, inclination and disinclination. Each of these are further broken down into more finely nuanced distinctions of evaluations. However, for the purposes of this study, this level of distinction is not made, as it is not necessary. By this I mean that distinguishing whether [–Security] expressed by a participant is disquiet or surprise, is deemed not to be necessary for the analysis.

To illustrate this subsystem, the following are examples of each of the sub-dimensions to Affect. First, an example of [+Happiness] can be seen in “It would always stay with me” (Q4:F7:6-7) [+Happiness: Evoked]. Here, the participant is reflecting that something said by her grandmother in their ancestral language will remain with her, even though she does not speak the language. She therefore indicates affection and so [Happiness] towards the ancestral language. The next example is one that illustrates [–Security]. The participant states that “people are gonna laugh at us” (F5:153) [–Security: Evoked] when attempting to speak Zulu and mispronouncing words. The sense of disquiet at the potential social embarrassment indicates the [–Security] felt by the participant, pointing to Zulu (or the attempt at speaking it) as a source of insecurity and so a negative emotive valuation. In contrast to this, the statement “I admire their courage” (Q4:F7:21) [+Satisfaction: Inscribed] directly relates the admiration the participant says they have for non-English speakers who speak, or attempt to speak, English. This admiration falls under [Satisfaction], specifically [+Satisfaction]. Lastly, the statement, “I wish I knew how to speak Zulu” (Q2:F5:26) [+Inclination: Inscribed], is a direct expression of [+Inclination] in the desire by the participant to be able to learn Zulu. All four examples above illustrate how Affect is expressed by the participants in the narrative elicitation interview.

Judgement, the subsystem concerning evaluations of behaviour and its social ‘appropriateness’, has two sub-dimensions to it: Social Esteem and Social Sanction. Social Esteem is reflected in wordings, generally, which convey admiration and criticism. This includes judgements on Normality (how special someone is), Capacity (how capable they are), and Tenacity (how dependable or reliable they are), (Martin & White 2005). An example of this sub-system can be seen in the statement “Isn't going to help you economically world wide” (Q1:M1:10-11) [–Capacity: Evoked]. Here the participant is making a negative evaluation of the capacity of African languages as regards their usefulness internationally. An illustration of Normality can be seen in the following example: “My parents don't do it, my friends, you know my social circle” (Q1:F1:17-18) [–Normality: Evoked], by means of which the lack of use or knowledge of Zulu by the participant's social group is lamented.

Social Sanction manifests itself through wordings that convey praise and condemnation in expressing judgement of veracity (how truthful someone is) and propriety (how ethical their actions are), (Martin & White 2005). An example of this would be a participant's evaluation of impropriety (falling under Social Sanction) on behalf of society for a certain policy, action, or lack thereof, such as, "we should know that cultures and languages that we're surrounded by" (Q1:F7:12-13) [-Propriety]: Evoked]. Here the participant is not only positively evaluating African languages, but there is a sense of disapproval that 'we' do not know languages such as Zulu. Likewise, "why do we get the right and not them" (M6: 48-9) [-Propriety: Evoked], indicates a sense of disapproval at the impropriety of English medium education and a lack of mother-tongue education for groups that do not speak English as a first language. To further illustrate this, judgements of 'fairness' also fall within the realm of Social Sanction (this is right and this is wrong), such as M6's assertion that the English medium policy at schools is: "I mean it's quite unfair" (M6: 167) [-Propriety: Inscribed].

Appreciation, in dealing with evaluations of texts and processes (Martin & White 2005), expresses the reaction to the text/process, the composition thereof, and its valuation. Reaction involves whether the text/process 'grabs' the speaker/writer (Impact) and whether s/he liked it (Quality). Composition concerns the balance of the text/process and its complexity. Lastly, Valuation, which is the most institutionally specific subsystem, as our values are formed by society and the institutions around us (such as schooling, government (the law) and religious institutions), expresses whether the text/process has social significance (i.e. whether it is worthwhile) according to the textual voice (the participants in this case). In the statement "I don't know if I'd really like need it as much" (M4: 52), the participant is expressing [-Valuation] of Zulu in questioning whether he would need it in his day-to-day life. Likewise, a positive evaluation of composition is expressed in "Afrikaans would be easier" (M3: 91) when the participants were asked about their FAL choice. Both of these examples are evaluating particular languages and their value/role in their lives, making them expressions of Appreciation.

One can see from the above account that the APPRAISAL system is well suited to the task of eliciting the MESes' responses to questions concerning the language issues in their lives, particularly those that stimulate the emotions, judgements and valuations that they have concerning English, Zulu and their monolingual status. The second sub-system of APPRAISAL is discussed in the next section.

3.5.2.2 Graduation

Graduation concerns the gradable meanings by which speakers/writers raise and lower the force of their propositions, or sharpen and soften the focus of the semantic categories involved (Martin &

White 2005). These graduations involve attempts to scale the expressions made by the textual voice. Figure 4 indicates the Graduation sub-systems.

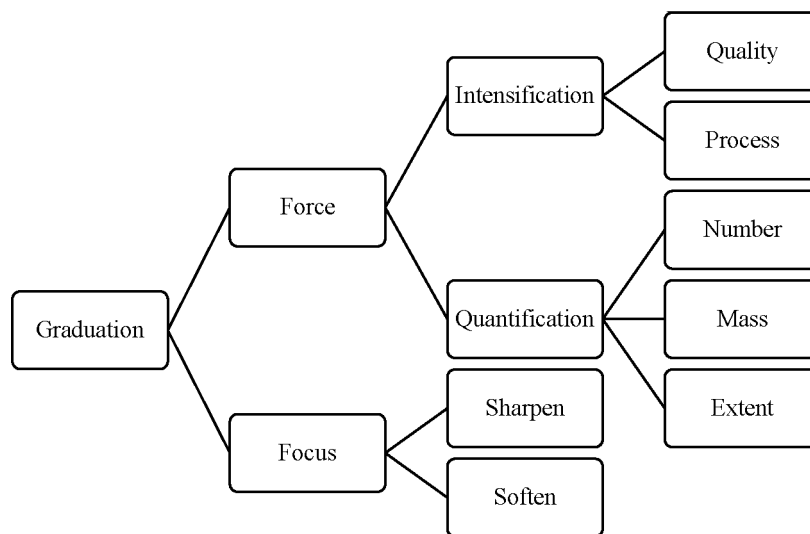


Figure 3.6: The Graduation sub-system

Force involves the intensification and quantification of propositions, working with manifestations of attitude to increase or decrease the ‘volume’ of the attitudes expressed (Martin & White 2005). The intensifications and quantifications can either be up-scaled (raised) or down-scaled (lowered) to change the grading of the meaning. Intensifications grade in terms of Quality and Process. The Upscaling of an attitude usually indicates or expresses a ‘maximal commitment’ to the value position that is being conveyed to the text receiver (in this case the interviewer). In doing this there is a strong attempt to align the receiver with the upscaled value position (Martin & White 2005). On the other hand, the downscaling of an attitude expresses that the producer is portraying a partial or even tenuous affiliation with the value position being put forward (Martin & White 2005). Thus the ‘dialogic space’ is being left open for the receiver, with room for him/her to agree or disagree. This is explored further in the section 4.3.2.2 to follow (page 120). The following are exemplifications of what has been outlined above. The statement, “I’ve always wanted to” (Q1:F1: 17), [Process: Upscaled] is an example of an upscaled process, as the word ‘always’ intensifies the process of wanting. Thus, the producer is fully committed to his/her statement and desire to learn Zulu. An example of an upscaled quality is: “Zulu’s quite important” (Q1:F5: 3), [Quality: Upscaled], as the word ‘quite’ intensifies the quality of Zulu being spoken about; that is, its importance. Quantification involves grading of Amount (both relating to number, and mass), for example (Q2:F6:5) “most people know English” [Number: Amount: Upscale] and Extent (both scope (or distribution) and proximity in time and space) (Martin & White 2005) e.g. (Q2:F6:5-6) “it’s more widely, like, internationally spoken” [Extent: Distribution: Upscale].

The subsystem of Focus concerns how the sharpening or softening of the prototypicality of the semantic categories involved in the text effects the degree of commitment and the value position

expressed by the participant. It also affects how much the participant attempts to align the interviewer with the value position. The Sharpening or ‘up-scaling’ of an item involves increasing the value position’s alignment as the prototypical version of something. Thus the example (Q6:F1:18) “I was a true South African” [Sharpen: Upscale: Positive Attitudinal meaning] indicates that the participant could be the truest form of South African if she could speak more than English. Whereas (Q4:M:6-7) “if you have to talk to anyone in English they’d like sort of understand” [Soften: Downscale] softens or ‘down-scales’ X “so as to characterise an instance as having only marginal membership in the category” (Martin & White 2005: 138), thereby softening the focus of the value position being advanced, namely that anyone you speak to will understand English. The softening of language has been related by theorists (such as Lakoff (1972)), to the use of hedges in language (White 2004, Martin & White 2005) and can be exemplified in the data in instances such: ‘You know’ and ‘I mean’, phenomena discussed in chapter 4.

The effect of such gradings serves to indicate “greater or lesser degrees of positivity or negativity” (Martin & White 2005: 135). The lexical items used to convey these gradings can occur in two forms, namely, Infusing and Isolating. Instances of Isolating involve the use of a separate item which carries the semantic weight (whether solely or primarily) of the graduation (see example from F2 below). Instances of Infusing, by contrast, involve items in which “the sense of up/down-scaling is fused with a meaning which serves some other semantic function.” (Martin & White 2005: 142) (see example from M2 below). Gradings that are termed Isolating are those that have a separate term in which the grading meaning is conveyed, such as “we should in fact do that and it could also unite us more” (Q1:F2: 6-7) [Process: Upscale], where the word “more” conveys all the meaning for the Graduation. Infusing Graduation is when the grading is “they speak fluent English” (Q1:M2:36), [Quality: Upscale: Infusing]

In Focus, when the attitude softened is negative, this is indicative of the authorial voice lessening its commitment to and investment in the value position being put forward. This serves to placate those who might disagree with the negative attitude proffered (Martin & White 2005) and attempt to lessen the impact of the gap between producer and receiver, should there be such a disagreement. This can be seen in the statement made by F5, “We can’t really change a lot” (Q1:F5:10), [Softened: Negative: Isolating], whereby the participant seeks to downplay its commitment to the value position that the LiEP issues (concerning English) in South Africa cannot be changed. The participant is aware that I could possibly disagree with this statement (the stimulus article (Appendix 11) overtly disagrees), and so is offering a conciliatory softening in case this is true, in an attempt to maintain our ‘relationship’. When the attitude being softened is positive, this often indicates that the producer is aware that the statement being made may potentially have a negative impact on his/her relationship with the receiver, and so is seeking to mitigate the value position and their commitment to it (Martin & White 2005): (Q2:F5:5-6) “you can't really use it to exclude or

include people” [Softened: Downscale: Positive]. Likewise, there are implications in the sharpening of positive or negative attitudes. When the graduation is a case of Sharpen (Upscale), particularly of a positive attitude, this indicates “maximal investment by the authorial voice” (Martin & White 2005:139) to the value position conveyed in the text. In doing so the producer is seeking to align the reader strongly with the value position, e.g. (Q5:F1:1) “definitely differently than what my parents did” [Sharpen: Upscale: Positive].

3.5.2.3 Engagement

The Engagement subsystem concerns how speakers adjust their line of argument or propose propositions and, how they negotiate the relationship with the listener (White 2004). It reflects the resources used by a speaker or writer to disregard, deny, acknowledge or agree with different points of view or assertions regarding their subject matter. Texts can be monoglossic or heteroglossic - a monoglossic text is one in which there is no recognition of dialogistic alternatives (i.e. of different points of view or arguments), whereas a heteroglossic text recognises these alternatives to greater or lesser extents (White 2004, Martin & White 2005). The Engagement sub-system enables one to identify these alternative voices in the discourse and to categorise them. According to Engagement, the text producer can either challenge any dialogically alternative positions (through dialogic contraction) or allow for these alternative positions (through dialogic expansion) (Martin & White 2005). A diagram of the Engagement sub-system is seen below in Figure 3.7.

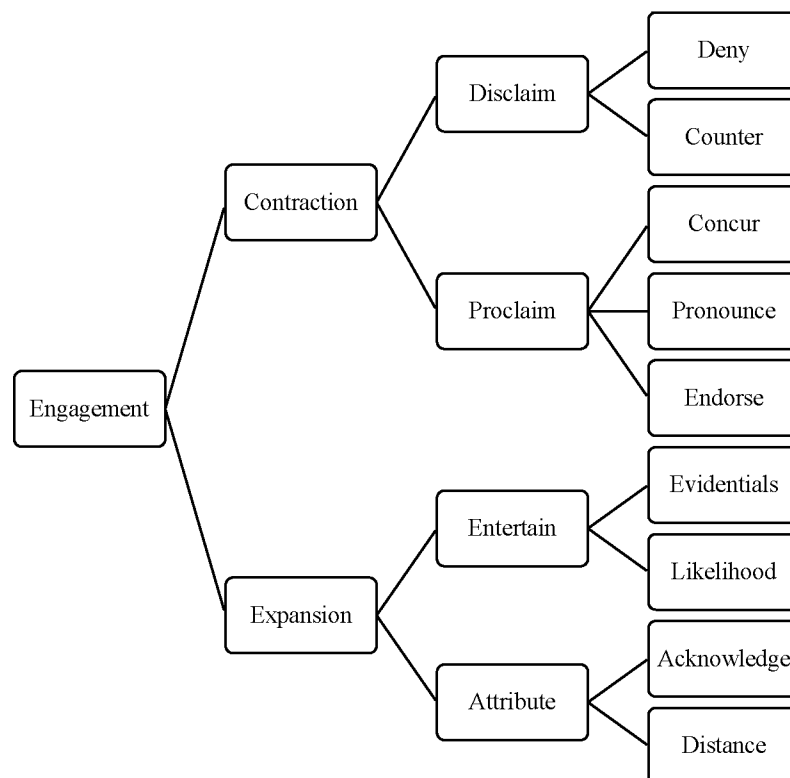


Figure 3.7: The Engagement sub-system

Below are examples from my study of both Contraction and Expansion, in order to illustrate the processes (the + or – at the end of the bracket indicates attitudinal meaning):

- (a) Contraction: (Q1:M7:1-2) “it's unfair that people that do not speak English have to be taught in English” [Pronounce]
- (b) Expansion: (Q1:F2:7) “It could unite us more” [Entertain]

The above illustration of expansion in b is an example of Entertain (with a positive attitudinal meaning). The expansion can either be an instance of Entertain or Attribute, as can be seen from Figure 3.7. To entertain a dialogic alternative in certain wordings, the authorial voice “indicates that its position is but one of a number of possible positions and, thereby, to greater or lesser degrees, makes dialogic space for those possibilities.” (Martin & White 2005:104). This can be done through distinguishing between ‘evidentials’ or through words representing ‘likelihood’ (see Figure 3.7), however this, as with certain cases in 3.5.2.1, was deemed to be an unnecessary distinction for this particular analysis. Consequently, [Entertain] has been used to code anything that is judged to fall under that definition. The following example, (Q6:F1:5-6) “if I was able to speak many languages” [Expand: Entertain], is an illustration of this. In order to expand a text dialogically, one can also employ ‘Attribution’. Attribution concerns those wordings by which the textual voice represents the “proposition as grounded in the subjectivity of an external voice...[and] represents the proposition as but one of a range of possible positions – it thereby entertains or invokes these dialogic alternatives” (Martin & White 2005:98). This can be done through the use of Acknowledging or Distancing, however, this, too, was deemed to be superfluous to the requirements of this analysis. The term [Attribute] is used to code expressions of this kind, such as the following example: (Q3:F2:106) “They said it was hard to cope as well” [Expand: Attribute].

Example (a) (see above) is an example of dialogic contraction through [Pronounce] (with a negative attitudinal meaning). Contractions are realised through two strategies, namely, Disclaim and Proclaim, which “contract the dialogic space rather than opening it up” (Martin & White 2005: 117). Dialogic contractions aim to exclude or disregard other possible voices through a variety of different wordings. Disclaim involves the textual voice positioning itself as rejecting, constraining or opposing a contrary position (White 2004, Martin & White 2005). Strategies to do this include Deny and Counter. Deny is where an alternative positive position is put forward in order to reject it, thereby aligning with the negative. (Q3:F2:53) “I don’t mean this in a racist way” [Contract: Deny]. Counter, on the other hand, is evident when a counter expectation is set up or a concession is made (Q6:M2:25-26) “but for me now I mean I don't really find it useful you know where I'm living” [Contract: Counter], and is the other strategy for dialogic Disclaiming.

The last Engagement resource is Proclaim. Here, the textual voice uses proclamation to contract the dialogic space by setting itself as contrary to, superseding, or ruling out alternative positions by “representing the proposition as highly warrantable” (Martin & White 2005: 98). An illustration of

this is the pronouncement in the example above. There are three sub-systems by which this may be achieved, namely Concur, Pronounce and Endorse, to the first of which we now turn. By using wordings that indicate that the textual voice is agreeing with a certain dialogic alternative, or as having joint knowledge with the addressee, Concurrence is invoked (White 2004, Martin & White 2005). An example of this can be seen in the following (Q5:F4:4) “oh of course English”. Here the participant is conveying that she concurs with the question of the interviewer concerning whether she would want her children to speak English. Pronounce, by far the most common form of Engagement encountered when analysing the interviews (see section 4.3), “covers formulations which involve authorial emphases or explicit authorial interventions or interpolations” (Martin & White 2005: 127). Thus in situations where the authorial voice is making statements or assertions about which there appears to be no room to disagree or to manoeuvre in the dialogic space, a Pronouncement is being made (see example (a) on previous page). Finally, Endorsement refers to the use of wordings whereby the authorial voice validates or ‘approves’ a proposition that it has attributed to an external voice, there were no examples of Proclaim that were coded as [Endorse] in my analysis.

3.5.2.4 Inscribed and evoked APPRAISAL

When coding instances of APPRAISAL, it is important to note that it is not always a straight forward task. APPRAISAL can be realised in two ways – either by direct encoding in the semantics of a word used, or through an implied meaning triggered by a word or set of words (a token) in a text (Martin and White 2005). A meaning that is seen to be directly drawn from the word or expression used is what is called inscribed appraisal. The interpretation of the instantiation is inscribed in its semantics and is explicit in its meaning (Martin and White 2005: 61). Of the examples used to illustrate the different subsystems of APPRAISAL, the following are examples from my data of inscribed appraisal:

- 1) I wish I knew how to speak Zulu (F5: 83)
- 2) I admire their *courage* (F7: 184)
- 3) I like the language (M6: 106)
- 4) Afrikaans would be easier (M3: 89).

However, there are occasions when the response elicited from the reader/listener is done not through the semantics of the word used, but through the overall impression of interpersonal meaning elicited by the token. In such circumstances the meaning is ‘evoked’ (Martin & White 2005:61-62). Examples of this in my data are seen below:

- 1) (F5: 153) “people are gonna laugh at us”. A sense of insecurity ([Security]) or discomfort is evoked by the use of this phrase, as it is clear that the participant is not doing something

with the intention of being funny, and so being laughed at is not a desirable response. Thus the term ‘laugh’ only evokes the intended meaning through its context.

- 2) (Q4:F7:6-7) “It would always stay with me”. Here the participant does not mean that the statement would physically stay with her, nor does she just mean that she would remember the phrase. The evoked meaning is that the content of the statement will always mean more to her because her grandmother chose to express it in their ancestral language and so there must be deeper meaning attached to it. It expresses a tone of affection, and so [+Happiness].
- 3) (M6: 144) “I don't think I would take up the opportunity (*to learn Zulu*)”. Here, the indication that the participant doubts he would learn Zulu if an opportunity presented itself evokes a sense that he does not value Zulu highly enough to expend the extra energy required to learn it. This [-Valuation] is not explicit in the lexical items chosen.
- 4) (Q3:F1: 29-30) “Let’s take this to a real life situation”. In this example, the participant is talking about second language learning methods, particularly her experience with Afrikaans FAL. She states that making language learning about knowing how to function or express yourself in a FAL is more important than learning it ‘purely academically’. Thus, without overtly stating it in this phrase, she is expressing a sense of [+Propriety] in relation to what is termed ‘practical language learning’ (see section 4.3) in this thesis.

Thus an inscribed instantiation is one in which the APPRAISAL realised is explicit and clear from the lexis. Such instances are easier to code than are instances of evoked APPRAISAL, which is often realised through context (Droga & Humphrey 2002). Indeed, the producers themselves (ie the participants) may not be ‘fully aware’ that they are portraying an ideology that they do not promote when speaking explicitly. Thus evoked APPRAISAL is usually ideologically significant and, while seemingly more based on interpretation and not ‘concrete’ analysis, it cannot be ignored.

In my analysis there is a combination of the two forms (inscribed and evoked), however there is far more evoked meaning. This can be seen in Appendix 15 where there is an example of the spreadsheets used to analyse the qualitative data. The full spreadsheets can be found in e-Appendix 1. As language is an emotive topic in South Africa, it results in more indirect expressions of feelings, opinions, and positions about language.

At this point the difficulty in coding in terms of the often multiplicity of meanings layered in a participant response is addressed. The data very often reveals more than one expression within a single subsystem. An example is the statement (Q1:F4:8-9) “You can’t learn because you don’t know what they’re saying” [-Security; -Capacity] where the participant is expressing insecurity about learning in a language one does not understand, while also expressing the lack of capacity involved in not understanding the MOI. Thus double and sometimes even triple coding (Adendorff

& de Klerk 2005) is used in order accurately to analyse all the different elements of APPRAISAL at play in any given utterance.

Thus the APPRAISAL system provides a broad-based framework with which to analyse the attitudes revealed in the narrative elicitation interviews with the participants in my study.

3.5.2.5 Selection, coding and analysis of narrative data

As indicated in the above account of APPRAISAL analysis, by way of the data used illustratively, the data comprise answers to certain of the questions asked in the narrative elicitation interview (described in 3.4.2). The rationale behind the selection of particular questions (which constitute the data) and not others, as well as issues arising with coding the data, and with the analysis process, are provided in this section. The units of data primarily appear in two forms. Form A is an uninterrupted unit of narrative from the respondent. An example is (Q3:M6:9-13) “and they were saying that people the Zulu boys were like laughing at them like 'what are they doing here' like but speaking in Zulu about them but you could sort of pick up that they mocking you for like 'why are you here' sort of thing um but he's finding it okay but I mean Zulu's probably like a really hard language so he must he can't be acing it”. Form B involves units where I may have interjected in some way, usually with minimal responses, but I have not altered the speech of the participant and they have remained topically coherent. An example of this kind of data is (Q4:M4:14-21):

- P: um well to me I I I if they not an English speaker the kind of for some reason feel sorry for them ()
I: okay
P: because I know that I probably can't speak their language and a feel a bit ashamed that I can't really speak what what they can () but they put in the effort to speak what I () speak my language () which ja uh you do get a feel of shame () like
I: oh okay
P: tha that they have put in the effort and you haven't but () other than that ja

When examples provided are of the second kind, I generally exclude the interviewer's responses in order to allow for a better flow of the participants' answer.

In total, 18-20 questions were generally asked of the participants. As mentioned in 3.4.2, I did not always ask all 20 questions of all the participants. The main questions are listed in the table that follows (Table 3.10). Of the responses to the 21 questions, those six that were chosen to be the data for the APPRAISAL analysis were those that elicited the most (and richest) data – particularly form A and form B as described earlier. They are responses to questions that reveal most thought from the participants. This can be seen in the second column of Table 3.10 (The third column of Table 3.10 indicates which research question(s) the analysis question generally seeks to answer).

Question	Analysis Question	Research Question
1. What is the gist of the article and do you think it has a point?	1	1,2
2. Are there any parts of that article that make you feel uncomfortable?		
3. Do you think English (and or Zulu) is inclusive or exclusive?	2	1, 4
4. Do you think knowing Zulu would be useful?	3	1, 2
5. Do you see languages as purely school subjects or life skills?		
6. Why did you choose Afrikaans FAL?		
7. Do you feel that there is no opportunity to develop Zulu as you don't come into contact with it?		
8. What do you think your parents would say if they read this.		
9. What do you think about the quote from Nelson Mandela?	4	1, 2,4
10. Do you think Zulu speakers should be able to be taught in their mother tongue?		
11. Do you think problems could be fixed if more English speakers could speak an African language?		
12. What do you think if/when you come into contact with non-Zulu speakers who can speak Zulu?		
13. In contact situations with a Zulu Speaker, what language do they usually speak in? Why do you think that happens? Do you ever speak Zulu to them? How come?	4	1, 2,4
14. What language(s) would you want your children to speak?	5	2
15. Do you think people are unfair towards English speakers? Especially in the article.		
16. Imagine you were a Zulu child going to an English medium school for the first time. How do you think you would feel?		
17. Would being able to speak more languages make people better South Africans?	6	1,2
18. Do you think being exposed to Zulu media would help you develop a communicative ability in Zulu?		
19. Have you ever been out of Durban and found only English a problem?		
20. What would you think if Julius Malema started to address the population in Zulu only?		
21. What would you make the language policy at schools if you were the Minister of Education		

Table 3.10: Full list of interview questions indicating which are used as Q1-6 for APPRAISAL analysis

All six, as I show in section 4.3, reveal a discourse of compromise due to a conflict of identity at the core of the MES in Durban. Further to this, not all cases ('cases' referring to a participant's response to the question, i.e. F1's response to Q1 is a case, F2's another) for each question were used. Very short cases (in terms of number of lines), and/or cases that were lacking in analysable content (i.e. participants just making minimal responses to questions by the interviewer or not really answering the question asked etc.), were discarded. The aim was for an analysis to be done on between 5 and 10 cases per question, and in the end this was narrowed down to 9 cases per question. These cases were not always distributed evenly between male and female participants, as content was the driving criterion for selection (see 5.3.1 regarding the issue of gender in the analysis). Table 3.11 to follow indicates which cases (participants) were used for each question. The table also reflects the race of each participant below their participant number. The transcripts of these cases can be found in e-Appendix 1.

	F1 (W)	F2 (I)	F3 (I)	F4 (W)	F5 (W)	F6 (W)	F7 (I)	Sub- Total	M1 (W)	M2 (I)	M3 (I)	M4 (W)	M5 (I)	M6 (W)	M7 (I)	M8 (W)	Sub- Total	Total cases
1	X	X		X	X	X	X	6	X	X					X		3	9
2	X	X			X	X	X	5	X	X				X	X		4	9
3	X	X		X		X	X	5		X	X	X		X			4	9
4	X		X	X	X	X	X	6	X			X	X				3	9
5	X	X		X	X		X	5		X		X		X		X	4	9
6	X		X	X		X		4	X	X			X	X		X	5	9
Total cases	6	4	2	5	4	5	5	31	4	5	1	3	2	4	2	2	23	54

Table 3.11: cases used per interview question for APPRAISAL analysis

As an evaluative framework, APPRAISAL allows me to investigate how the MES feel about the factors under investigation (i.e. English, African languages (Zulu), monolingualism and plurilingualism) through how they evaluate them in their narrative interviews and, in the process, how they try to align both me (as the receiver of what they say), and the writer of the article (and the values reflected in it) with specific opinions, attitudes, values and ideologies. An APPRAISAL analysis also illuminates how the participants justify (or do not justify) their status as monolinguals in a plurilingual context, and how they engage with, for example, the ideology of the ‘Rainbow Nation’.

What follows is a breakdown of each of the 6 questions used in the APPRAISAL analysis, details of the participants chosen (see Table 3.11), and an outline of the thinking behind each question and its relevance to the study.

Question 1: What is the gist of the article and do you think it has a point?

This question (Q1) was created as a ‘way in’ to the conversation. It relates directly to the stimulus article (see Appendix 5) as it asks the participants, firstly, what they think the article is about and, secondly, if they think it has a point. As indicated earlier, the article is very pro plurilingualism, the learning of African languages and using African languages in official functions. It promotes plurilingualism in South Africa as a way to social cohesion and progression. It is also quite critical of English and English monolinguals. This question in essence seeks answers to research questions one and two – gathering information regarding the participants’ attitudes towards English, Zulu (and African languages in general), monolingualism and plurilingualism (all of which is touched on in the stimulus article). These attitudes and how the participants attempt to reason with and justify their reactions to the article also provide insight into the state of their ideology and identity, as sought in the second research question. The answers to this question relate to insights from the literature surrounding what ideological remnants from the colonial and Apartheid eras still hold sway within this young MES population. Likewise, markers of a monolingual mindset are also evident (see section 4.3). Interestingly, with these markers there are also indications of a strong attachment to the ‘Rainbow Nation’ ideology, and so a very positive outward association with plurilingualism, African languages and mother-tongue education. This however conflicts with the

monolingual mindset, and points to the fractured and conflicted sense of identity, through a discourse of compromise, that the participants exhibit. For this question the participant breakdown is 6 females and 3 males.

Question 2: Do you think English (and or Zulu) is inclusive or exclusive?

Question two (Q2) was a question designed to ascertain the participant's attitude towards and opinions of English in terms of its position and role in the country. It also serves to judge how widespread and well known participants believe English is, particularly in South Africa. Obviously these matters will highlight any monolingual mindset, and many of the main tenets of a monolingual mindset – such as English's 'normality' and beneficial nature, as well as its naturalisation – and are evident in the responses to this question. Initially the question was only asked regarding English, however, after the pilot, it became evident that many participants felt exclusion on account of girls speaking Zulu at school. Thus the question was extended to inquire whether participants had ever felt excluded due to another language (or Zulu). The exact phrasing of the question varied from interview to interview depending on the immediate context in which it was asked (previous questions or responses as well as the participant's overall attitude so far). Sometimes the issue of exclusion and Zulu came up spontaneously in the interview or in response to the question regarding English. Sometimes it was asked directly. The question was usually phrased as follows: "Do you think that English is ever used to exclude people?". The other main phrasing was "Do you think that English is used to exclude people or do you think it's more of an inclusive language?". Here when I used the term 'more' it was used to elicit a comparison (not exclusive, but inclusive). This relates to responses considered in 4.3.2.2. The original point of departure for this question can be found in the stimulus article (Appendix 5), where there is a quote from Julius Malema concerning South Africa's use of English excluding the majority of people from the formal economy.

Question 3: Why did you choose Afrikaans FAL?

Question 3 (Q3) is a combination of 3 different questions asked of the participants. These three are questions 4, 5 and 6 in the original interview schedule (see Table 3.10). Originally only Question 6 (Why did you take the language (FAL) you took in High School?) was to be used for analysis. Q3, however while 'cleaning' the interview transcriptions to be subjected to the APPRAISAL analysis, it became apparent that the three should be used in combination, as the questions often came up in connection with one another. On occasion the participant naturally covered the content of questions 4 and/or 5 while answering question 6, and sometimes the other topics of 5 and/or 6 came up naturally in discussion of 4 (or vice versa). Not all of the 3 questions were asked explicitly of all of the selected 9 participants (5 females and 4 males), resulting in some responses being longer than others. As with previous questions, the female participants tended to be more verbose

than the male participants, resulting in much longer responses (particularly F2). However, overall, the transcripts of the interviews with the selected participants (see e-Appendix 1) yield relevant insight into the reasoning behind, firstly, the choice of FAL (question 6), secondly, whether the participant sees language as something of a useful life skill, or purely a school subject to be passed (question 5), and, thirdly, whether they think knowing Zulu would be useful (question 4). Each of these three questions is inspired by content in the stimulus article, and as such is seen to be something that the participant would be responding to in some way. Naturally, many of the answers involve anecdotal evidence, explanations or stories. The female participants refer frequently to the issue of ineffective FAL teaching, as their previous Afrikaans teacher is reported to have been not 'very good', with a newly appointed teacher seemingly an improvement. This results in interesting social Judgements and Appreciation expressions, particularly concerning language learning and language teaching. Many of the boys focus on a displeasure with the composition of the Zulu FAL class.

Question 4 What do you think about the quote from Nelson Mandela?

The responses to question 4 (Q4) are generally shorter than to the previous 3 questions. The question is much more 'targeted' to a specific item in the stimulus article. This question centres on whether the participants think former President Nelson Mandela 'had a point' or 'was onto something' in the quote attributed to him in the article. The quote in question is as follows, "[I]f you talk to [a man] in his language, that goes to his heart." A typical example of the way the question was asked is as follows (F1: 164-166):

I: oh I see, cool. um there's a quote in there from Nelson Mandela, um, talk =

P: = if you talk to a man in his language, that goes to his heart?

I: do you think he's got a point there?

In many of the cases I asked participants what their thoughts were of non-English speakers who attempt to speak to them in English (and therefore, by extension of the quote, to 'speak to their heart'). This was focused on more by the males than the females, but produced very interesting results in terms of their characterisation of people who attempt to speak another person's language.

Female responses tended to be longer than male responses in general, resulting in a split of 6 females to 3 males in the cases selected for analysis (see Table 3.10). This bigger difference in the number of males to females has proved useful in certain instances in looking at gender differences, however, the issue of gender is only addressed in 5.3.1. Q4 deals with a hypothetical situation – speaking to people in their mother-tongues, and the participants' evaluations of this scenario. A corresponding question (question 13 in Table 3.10, see Appendix 20 for extracts), deals with the actual practices, experiences and assumptions of participant when faced with an interaction with a speaker of a different language (particularly Zulu). Q4 was chosen as it addresses the issue of the

conflict between the ideological impact of the Rainbow Nation ideology, and how the participants relate to it viz a viz their experience as English speakers. Illustration of this discourse of compromise contributes to the answering of research questions one and two. The continued investigation into any possible differences between male and female responses contributes towards answering research question 3.

Question 5: What language(s) would you want your children to speak?

Question 5 (Q5) is a question that was designed to get the participants to think about the future, and future hypothetical South African children – their own in particular – and how they would want or imagine the linguistic landscape to be. This was intended to reveal: their attitudes towards their own monolingual status (through an assertion as to whether they would want their children to be plurilingual); their attitudes towards the role of African languages in South African society; and their perception of plurilingualism and the effects of language learning at school. Responses to this question provides insight into the conflict between the Rainbow Nation ideology that is established as influencing the participants’ responses (particularly when dealing with abstracts and potentials), as well as the pulls and fears of the monolingual mindset. The participants are presented with a hypothetical future scenario but, because it is referring to their own children, the responses are by necessity grounded in the participants’ own experiences and fear or judgements.

Thus, Q5 does not draw directly on any content of the stimulus article nor does it overtly refer to it. However, the stimulus article speaks a lot about the experiences and situations of school-going South Africans, and in particular the privileged position of English speaking South Africans within the schooling system. It also highlights particular disadvantages that can be read into the position of a MES in South Africa. Their having just read the article, it is practical to assume that these concerns and positioning will in some way impact upon the participants’ responses. The question is phrased in a few slightly different ways depending on the flow of the question. The participants were first asked to ‘imagine’ or ‘pretend’ that it is 10/15/20 years in the future and they have children. The main question posed to them then was what they would want or like their children to speak. The following are four examples (1.1 - 1.4) of the phrasing used:

- 1.1 (F2: 275-277) “um if you could pick any languages for them to be able to speak what would you want them to speak”
- 1.2 (F5: 252- 255) “um would you want them to be bilingual, to be able to speak, if you if you could pick any languages that they would grow up being able to speak fluently - cos kids can speak anything - what would you want them to speak”
- 1.3 (M2177-181) “now imagine it’s now say 15, 20 years down the line (maybe sooner I don’t know?) and you’ve got children now, you’re still in South Africa if you could pick any range of languages so you know kids can learn language like little sponges () what languages would you like your children to be able to speak in South Africa”.
- 1.4 (F4: 179-181) “um so imagine it's 10 to 20 years down the line okay () in the future () and now you've got kids, you're still living in South Africa () um if you could pick any languages for

them to speak um what would you want them to”

Different participants required different amounts of qualification or explanation as to whether they were interpreting the question correctly (some required none), mainly regarding whether they were allowed to pick more than one language. This in itself is revealing as it indicates that plurilingualism is not a naturally assumed possibility for these MESes. For this question 5 female and 4 male participants were selected to provide the cases from which the APPRAISAL analysis was to be done. The female responses – overall – were longer and yielded more Affect responses in particular than male responses did.

Question 6: Would being able to speak more languages make people better South Africans?

Like questions 2 and 4, Q6 is based upon a quote from the stimulus article, which the participants are asked to reflect on and respond to. In this case, the participant’s attention is drawn to the last two lines of the article that state, “Can you imagine if all South Africans were fluent in English, Afrikaans, an Nguni language and a Sotho language? We would all be better citizens.” The participants were then asked if they agreed and thought that speaking other languages would make us better South Africans. As with previous questions, Q6 was asked in slightly different ways depending on how or where in the interview the question came up, as can be seen in examples 1.1-1.5:

- 1.1 (F1: 260-263) “okay cool, um, the last line of that article it says uh, something to the effect of if we could all speak all these different languages we'd be better South Africans. Do you think that's true? Or do you think that's a bit strong.”
- 1.2 (F3:190-193) “okay cool, not really. um okay, there's a a, s, um article ends (obscured aside) article ends with a little thing saying um, can you imagine if we could all speak all these different languages then it says, 'we would all be better South Africans'. What do you think about that statement?”
- 1.3 (M1: 191-193) “oh okay um there's a line at the end of this article in the last little paragraph that says ‘can you imagine () to () better South Africans’ do you think that's a valid statement or do you think it's”
- 1.4 (M2: 256-258) “Okay () um () at the end of that () of this article it says that if we could all speak English and Afrikaans and two African languages we would all be better South Africans () do you think that's a true statement or it's a bit off the mark?”
- 1.5 (M8: 270-273) “oh okay cool. um this article ends of with saying um 'so can you imagine if all South Africans were fluent in English Afrikaans and two African languages we would all be better South Africans' () how do you feel about that statement?”

The question is designed to draw out participants’ feelings on national identity, and their positioning within the notion of ‘South African’. Q6 aims to reveal if they feel threatened, or deny the importance of language in national identity – particularly the importance of LOTE in relation to ‘South Africanness’. This would then relate to how the participants have fore-grounded or portrayed English in the previous 6 questions, and so highlight if a monolingual mindset is present

despite an overt promotion of Rainbowism and plurilingualism. For this question 4 female and 5 male cases were chosen for analysis.

From this review of the details of the six questions analysed in section 4.3, I now turn to some considerations involved in the APPRAISAL coding. I further detail particular points of contention or consideration that occurred during this process.

In order to investigate patterns in the participants' use of Graduation, I broke down the appraised into different 'topic clusters' or groupings. These groups are thematically related, such as the 'Plurilingualism group' which includes any appraised that have to do with an evaluation of plurilingualism, people speaking more than just English, English speakers speaking a LOTE, plurilingualism in education, diversity, speaking another's language, others speaking your language, the use of the mother-tongue, and heritage/ancestral languages. A filter was then used (in Excel) to isolate any uses of Graduation that involve the appraised in any given group (other common groupings include academic success, English and monolingualism, African languages and Zulu). The pattern of positive and negative attitudinal meanings associated with each group was then determined, as well as any patterns in scaling, or differences in how the genders employ the Graduation subsystem in relation to the appraised groupings. What follows is a outline of the most common/largest groupings identified and used in the analysis. It provides the name used for the grouping, and thereafter the different coding of 'appraised' seen in the spreadsheets (see e-Appendix 1), that are generally included under each coding:

Plurilingualism: Plurilingualism, speaking in another's language, another speaking in your language, speaking (or not speaking) one's mother-tongue, mother-tongue, mother-tongue education speaking a LOTE. Language learning (practical/effective i.e. communication based and theoretical/ineffective i.e. rule learning, rote repetition and academic), and diversity are often included under this cluster, as well as choice of FAL and language learning motivation. The linguistic ability of others, as well as a need to develop communicative ability are also subsumed under this cluster, as well as comments regarding bilingual education.

English: English as a language, monolingualism, monolingual upbringing: English speakers, English's dominance, White/English-speaking South Africans, Durban, English as exclusive.

Self: self (i.e. an APPRAISAL of something affecting the participant personally (emotionally, in terms of ability, etc.), lack of LOTE, lack of Zulu, lack of Afrikaans, inability in LOTE, lack of communicative ability, LL, imagined hearer, language learners (both themselves (coded as 'self'), using language/language being used to exclude.

Zulu: Zulu as a language, Zulu speakers, Zulu FAL, Zulu FAL class, Zulu speakers in Zulu FAL class, Zulu girls at school, English speakers in Zulu FAL class, Zulu FAL for Zulu speakers, lack of Zulu teaching, Zulu being used to exclude.

Afrikaans: Afrikaans as a language, Afrikaans FAL, speaking Afrikaans, Afrikaans teaching (new and old teacher at girls school), parent's Afrikaans ability, learning Afrikaans, Afrikaans people ineffective language teaching (cross-over with plurilingualism).

Institutions: South Africa, society, schools, LiEP. I have used the term 'institution' to refer to a body or entity that has certain structure, and rules applied to it, which participants can learn/relate to and also react to.

Non-English speakers: this could fit into multiple categories – such as Plurilingualism, Zulu and even English. Thus it is its own topic, and related to other topics at the discretion of the researcher. Some things are question specific or only occur in relation to a particular question. These are detailed below as they do not always fit into a topic cluster.

Academic Success: LL affecting marks. While academic success is closely related to English (by the participants), it does not fit into the 'English cluster' like the other topics subsumed therein (i.e. it relates variously to English, Zulu and Afrikaans, as well as choosing Sciences over language etc.). Thus it is kept as a separate topic.

Other topics that appear often (but are peculiar to specific questions) include: Exclusion/Inclusion through language; Ancestral languages/heritage: Tamil, Greek, Hindi, Italian; Mandela quote; French/International languages; Apartheid.

Once the expressions of APPRAISAL were coded, the task was to confirm and record what part of the system each instantiation fell under. Difficulties addressed at this stage are mentioned in the outline of the APPRAISAL subsystem above. Below are some 'issues' that arose when trying to classify instantiations that are not clear cut. This highlights the sometimes subjective nature of an analytical framework such as APPRAISAL as the interviewer or researcher's judgment, intuition and contextual knowledge of how best to analyse a certain instantiation can be subjective.

Reaction and Valuation (Affect): Much time was spent deciding whether an instantiation is an expression of [+/-Valuation] or [+/-Reaction]. In the end in the majority of cases, [+/-Valuation] was opted for over [Reaction] as the participants are felt, generally, to be making evaluations on a

large scale (social/institutional) – often regardless of how they may personally feel – which often remains covertly expressed, or mixed in and among conflicting expressions. See 4.3.1.4 for further discussion.

Pronounce and Entertain (Engagement): Evidence of ambiguity and insecurity in relation to the participants' positioning regarding English can be seen in how hard it was to code between Pronounce and Entertain. I relied on subjectivity regarding the greater context of the instantiation, and opinions of others with experience in the field of APPRAISAL analysis. On occasion the participants make a Contraction (through the use of Pronounce), however in the 'middle' of the expression there appears to be an Expansion of the dialogic space (often through the use of the phrase 'You know'), making coding often very difficult.

Attitudinal meaning: It was often difficult to judge the attitudinal meaning of the participant on what was being Expanded or Contracted. Sometimes there was no clear signal (i.e. an overt one) as to whether the participant thought what they had claimed was positive or negative. Context was often employed to infer this, often using backwards prosody (i.e. a later statement with a clear positive or negative attitude to infer attitude in relation to an earlier statement).

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has served to detail the methodological choices and considerations made in the execution of this thesis. It outlines not only the choice of participants (section 3.3), but the choice of data collection instruments (section 3.4) and the analysis frameworks used (section 3.5). I have addressed the thinking behind the schools and participants used, and the sequence of data collection followed in each school. The thinking behind combining a quantitative and qualitative approach to the topic is detailed. Both the choice of an attitude questionnaire and a narrative data elicitation interview are justified and the construction of the instruments used to elicit data from the participants is explained. Lessons learnt from the pilot study are discussed and the steps taken to correct problems are detailed. In this chapter I also describe how I went about employing the chi-squared test and the steps taken on SPSS to generate this statistical analysis. I also explain how the interviews were recorded, transcribed and how the data to be used for analysis was selected. Special considerations or issues of note that became apparent during the process are detailed, and the strategies used to deal with them are explained. I briefly touch on the subjectivity of the APPRAISAL framework, however, this is also dealt with in chapter 4. Section 4.2 provides graphs and further details of the results of the quantitative analysis process, while 4.3 provides tables of results of the APPRAISAL analysis.

Chapter 4: Findings and Interpretation

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a description and interpretation of the data gathered from the two types of analysis described in chapter 3. The findings are used to provide answers to the research questions stated in chapter 1 (section 1.3). The results analysed and detailed in this section trace the features and issues expressed in the research questions, and provide data with which to answer the questions. The research questions are not explicitly mentioned in this chapter, but are rather highlighted in the concluding chapter (chapter 5), as all the data from the study are pulled together. Despite this, one can see that section 4.2 responds to research question 1 and 2 in particular, as well as the ‘sub-question’ regarding gender. Section 4.3, on the other hand, addresses the research questions, and touches on the sub-question, which I deal with directly in section 5.4.1.

4.2 Attitude Questionnaire

My reasons for conducting the statistical analysis on quantitative data are three-fold:

1. The results of the chi-squared test provide support for my decision to include Indian and White learners in the same social group for the purposes of this study.
2. The quantitative answers to the attitude questionnaire provide an overview of attitudes held by the target population.
3. It provides answers to research question 3, namely, “Are there attitudinal differences among MES associated with gender and racial affiliations (male/female; White/Indian) and, if so, what are they?”.

My report of the statistical results falls into two main categories. First I deal with the self-reporting of the participants’ bilingual status (see Appendix 6 for a sample of the participants’ answered questionnaires). This self-reporting is based on information elicited in section one of the questionnaire. Then, secondly, I report on the outcome of my statistical analysis, by race, of the responses of 97 students to the 38 questionnaire questions (see Appendix 6). I report, too, on overall similarities in the pattern of answers. I have, for convenience sake, chosen to report (for the most part) on the above using the 3 steps of Description, Interpretation and Explanation drawn (Fairclough 1989).

4.2.1 Self-reporting of bilingual status

This section deals with the self-reporting of bilingual status in Section one of the attitude questionnaire (see Appendix 6). The first 6 questions gather general biographical information from the participants (age, race, grade, gender etc.). Question 7 of Section 1 (see Appendix 6) asks

participants if they are bilingual, and then asks them to explain why they provide the answer they do. What follows looks at the statistical results of the yes/no answers to the first part of the question (4.2.1.1)

4.2.1.1 Description

The statistical analysis involved using the answers to the question on bilingual status as the basis for investigation. Overall, 31 participants answered ‘Yes’ to the question (“Are you bilingual?”) and 65 answered ‘No’. Thus, just over two thirds of the participants do not self-report their linguistic ability as ‘bilingual’. This was subjected to a chi-squared test (as outlined in 3.5.1) in order to see if there is a statistically significant difference in how males and females, Indians and whites responded. The results are provided in the tables and figures to follow.

		self-reporting of bilingual status		Total
		Yes	No	
Race of Participant	Indian	19	18	37
	White	12	47	59
Total		31	65	96

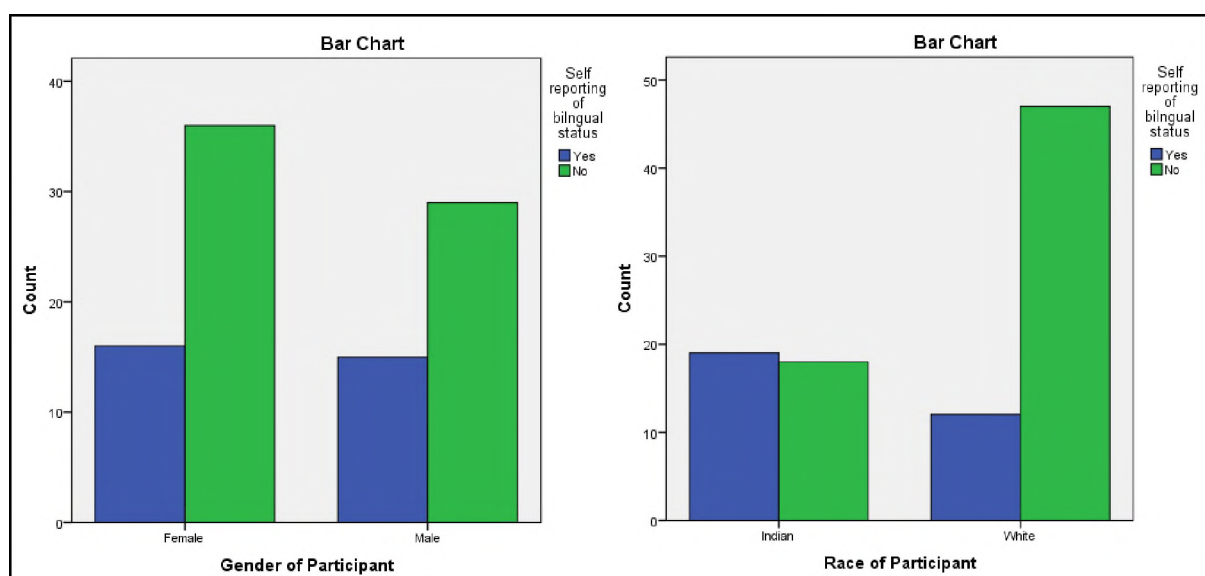
Table 4.1: Self-reporting of bilingual status by race

Table 1, above, shows the breakdown of responses to the Yes/No question by race, while Table 4.2, below, provides the breakdown of responses to the Yes/No question by gender:

		self-reporting of bilingual status		Total
		Yes	No	
Gender of Participant	Female	16	36	52
	Male	15	29	44
Total		31	65	96

Table 4.2: Self-reporting of bilingual status by gender

Graph 4.1 below represents the results in Tables 4.1 and 4.2 above, graphically:



Graph 4.1: Bar graphs indicating number of Yes/No responses by gender and race

As described in 3.5.1, a chi-squared analysis is suitable for an analysis of statistical significance with participant groups of different numbers (i.e. different number of male to female and Indian to white participants). Due to the unequal participant numbers, looking at a surface level comparison of Yes versus No answers does not take into account the percentage of overall population and so will not provide a statistically significant result. The results of the chi-square test performed on the data in Figure 1 can be seen in Table 3, and are discussed thereafter in 4.2.1.2 and 4.2.1.3.

Category	p value
Race	.002
Gender	.729

Table 4.3. Pearson chi-squared test p values for race and gender

4.2.1.2 Interpretation

The p values shown in Table 4.3 indicate that there is no relationship of significance for gender. This means that a null hypothesis that there is no difference between how male and females report their bilingual status, is supported. However, the p value for race of .002, is well under the .05 required for significance, indicating that the null hypothesis can be rejected. This means that the assertion that there is a difference between Indian and White responses can be made. Specifically, the Indian learners are more likely to self-report as bilingual than are the white learners. When one looks at a breakdown of the participants who responded ‘Yes’ (see Table 4.2 in section 4.2.1.1), of the 11 female participants, only 3 of the yes respondents are Indian, and 8 are white. For the 15 males, 12 are Indian and 3 white. This indicates that it is Indian males, in particular, who are most likely to claim bilingual status overall, while white females are more likely to claim bilingual status than white males. However overall, white participants are less likely to claim bilingual status than Indian participants, as indicated by the chi-square results discussed above.

4.2.1.3 Explanation

Explanations for the difference in bilingual self-reporting by race can be seen as likely to be founded in the differing family environments of white and Indian speakers. This is particularly in terms of family members’ bilingualism, and in terms of speaking other languages – in particular an ancestral Indian language (as discussed in 2.2.1). Many grandparents of the generation under investigation speak or have knowledge of an Indian language, as is mentioned a few times in my interviews (see Appendix 14), and is evident in some responses to Section 1 of the questionnaire (see Appendix 8). Likewise, many Indian families are either Hindu or Muslim, with both religions involving an association with a language other than English for religious purposes (see 2.2.1). While all learners who indicated familial use of a LOTE mention in some way that they do not have a working knowledge of or fluency in these languages, the association with and a surrounding environment including these languages could possibly have an effect on how ‘open’ these learners

are to the notion of bilingualism, and how accepting they are of other languages. The differing historical relationship in relation to English, of the South African Indian community and the white South African population, could also be a factor in reporting their status as bilingual. The Indian community is not historically English-speaking, while the white community (particularly in Durban, which is mainly of British descent), has a much longer and pervasive historical relation with the English language, and a longer tradition of English literacy.

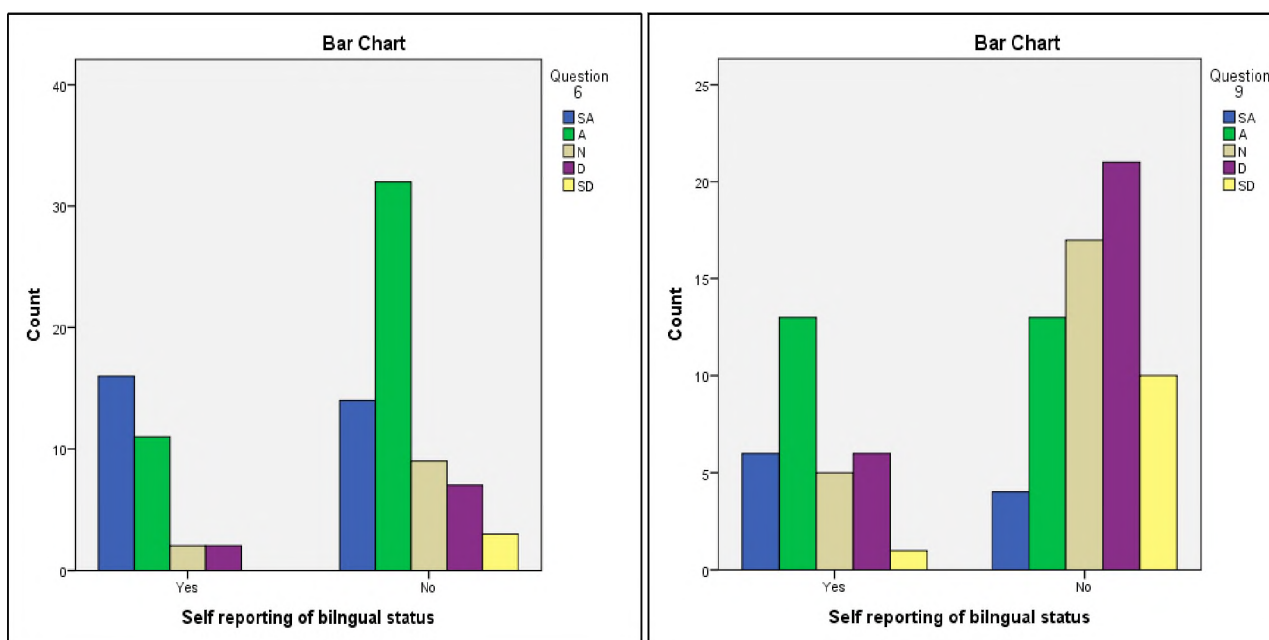
This difference in self-reporting of bilingual status leads to the question of whether the two race groups hold different language attitudes, and so whether they can or cannot be counted within the same social category, as was the case in Chapter 2. A further question is whether those who answered 'Yes' to the Self-reporting question also exhibit a difference in language attitudes throughout the Questionnaire from those who reported 'No'. Section 4.2.2 addresses these two questions.

4.2.2 Whether self-reporting of bilingual status on the part of participants indicates a difference in attitude

The following section first addresses any questions that show a statistical significance in terms of how the 'yes' and 'no' participants answered the 38 items of the questionnaire. Thereafter it provides an investigation into the longer, open-ended justifications/explanations made for the participants' answers, and what they reveal about the participants' relationship with bilingualism and monolingualism.

4.2.2.1 Description and interpretation

This section reports on the attitudes of participants in relation to the fact that though all the participants have the same educational background and academic exposure to learning languages, some participants self-report as bilingual, while the majority do not. In order to investigate where the two groups ('Yes' respondents and 'No' respondents) respond differently to the attitudes investigated in the questionnaire, a chi-squared test for independence was run. 'Yes' and 'No' serve as the independent variables in place of race or gender. The chi-squared test was run against all 38 items in the attitude questionnaire. Of these 38 items, only 2 can be shown to have a p value of $\leq .05$. This means that in these two items only is there a significant difference in how the 'Yes' respondents and 'No' respondents answered. The relevant items are Question 6 and Question 9. Graph 4.2 below represents the responses to these items.



Graph 4.2: Bar charts reflecting chi-squared test responses to questionnaire questions 6 (left) and 9 (right)

Question 6 presents the participant with the statement, ‘All African language speakers must learn to speak English’. In this instance the $p = .044$, which is only slightly under the marker for significance. The answers to this item (seen in the graph above) are overwhelmingly *Strongly Agree* and *Agree*, the difference between them being how strong the agreement is. Overall, the ‘Yes’ respondents responded with slightly more *Strongly Agree* responses (16) than *Agree* responses (11), and the ‘No’ respondents responded with more than double the number of *Agree* responses (32) than *Strongly Agree* responses (14). Graph 4.2 above reflects these responses, as well as those to Question 9 (discussed below).

Question 9 states that ‘Speaking two languages is not difficult’. It is interesting that this item reflects a significant difference, especially when one looks at the pattern of answers for ‘Yes’ and ‘No’ responses. All of the participants have an academic knowledge of at least two languages other than English – Afrikaans and Zulu. Thus the experience of language learning in the classroom is one with which they are familiar, and will have formed their opinions on the basis of the ease of learning an additional language. Those who indicate that yes, they are bilingual, respond more strongly that they agree with the statement that speaking two languages is not difficult (as seen in the right-hand graph above). Those who say they are not bilingual, more strongly indicated that they disagree, or were unsure. While the number of No respondents who responded *Agree* is equal to that of the number of Yes respondents who responded *Agree* with the statement in Question 9, the chi-squared test allows us to see that in terms of statistical significance – taking into account the percentage of the overall number – there is a difference in the responses of the two groups.

Thus the perceived ease or difficulty of the acquisition of a second language seems to play a role in the self-reporting of bilingual status, not necessarily ability in or frequency of use of an additional language. This can be seen in the answers to Question 8 in Section 1 of the attitude questionnaire on language use in different domains. Almost all participants – irrespective of their response to the self-reporting of bilingual status – indicate that they use English in all of the domains listed. The only time a LOTE is indicated in the domain usage question, is when Indian participants (in particular) express a use of an historical language for religious reasons or in relation to extended family (see Appendix 8). However, one can see from responses of participants in the interview section of the data collection that participants state they cannot actually speak these languages; they are more spoken around them. Also, many of the individuals who indicate that they use a LOTE in extended family or religious domains also reply ‘No’ to the question of whether they are bilingual. Further to this the answers to the question ‘Why did you answer the way you did’ (The second part of Question 7 in Section 1 of the questionnaire, see Appendix 6) also provide insight into the participants’ choice of answer and feelings or attitudes regarding additional languages. These responses often reflect a monolingual mindset in their ideology (as we shall discuss). Tables 7.1 and 7.2a and b (see Appendix 9) show a breakdown of these reasons.

Table 7.1 (Appendix 9) shows the reasons given by male and female participants who answered ‘yes’ to the question (question 7, section), ‘Are you bilingual?’. The reasons provided for considering oneself bilingual share much in common. I have grouped them as follows with some of the participant numbers of those responses that are illustrative of the reasoning in each grouping:

1. We have the opportunity to do it (i.e. additional languages) at school as compulsory school subjects (participant numbers: 1, 91, 130, 143).
2. Can speak a LOTE if not fluently/can communicate or have basic communicative ability, can understand LOTE, generally Afrikaans (one or two mention Zulu) or religious languages (participant numbers: 16, 96, 121, 129).
3. I can speak/occasionally speak Afrikaans (participant numbers: 13, 46, 129).
4. I can speak 2 languages fluently (with some communicative ability in others) (participant numbers: 3, 34, 111, 136).
5. Grandparents speak a LOTE (participant number: 108).

In the reasoning reflected above, males are more likely to claim fluency, or an ‘unqualified’ ability’ in a LOTE (see participants 103, 111, 117, 140). By ‘unqualified’ I mean they do not modify or explain their statement by commenting on how well they speak the LOTE. For example, participant 140 states:

- 1.1 (140) ‘I can speak English and Afrikaans’.

Here he does not mention fluency like participants 111 and 117 do, however he does not explain his ability as seen in 1.2:

1.2 (121) ‘I speak English and Afrikaans. I am not fully fluent in Afrikaans’.

This is even less of a qualified explanation than one sees in the female responses. While 3, 34 and 91 express unqualified explanations, the females tend to make statements such as seen in examples 1.3-1.5 below:

1.3 (16) ‘Not fluent in any language but English, but have basic communication skills’

1.4 (46) ‘I know a little bit of Afrikaans but I can’t speak fluently’

1.5 (92) ‘Although not fluently. I am able to understand the languages mentioned’

There is however a commonality in both the qualified and unqualified reasons. The participants are focusing on fluency as a definite factor in whether they are bilingual or not. This is a feature of the monolingual mindset as discussed in Section 2.3.2 whereby the expectation of complete competency in the languages involved is expected in order to apply the tag ‘plurilingual’. This is also seen with those who feel the need to mitigate their fluency and so indicate a sense of ‘concern’ or unease with claiming bilingual status while knowing that they are not fluent in a LOTE and only have basic communicative ability (see participant 16). None of the participants mention whether they actually use their basic communicative ability. Participant 129 comes closest, claiming ‘I speak English and I personally feel that I would be able to communicate at a basic level in Afrikaans’. Whether the ‘No’ responses do this will be addressed in what follows. As mentioned earlier in this section, both ‘Yes’ and ‘No’ respondents indicate a lack of actual usage of a LOTE in different domains. We now address the – more numerous – responses of participants who reply ‘No’ to bilingual status. The ‘No’ responses for female and male participants have been split into two tables (Table 7.2a and 7.2b, Appendix 9) for ease of reading and formatting.

Table 7.2a (see Appendix 9) provides the reasons given by female participants for their ‘No’ responses, while 7.2b, provides male response. The number of female (31) to male (29) ‘No’ responses is roughly equal. Within the reasons given by the ‘No’ respondents for their choice not to classify themselves as bilingual, there are a few main trends, which I have captured in the following summary of statements:

1. I am not a language person/I struggle with languages (participant no. 17, 31, 45).
2. I am not confident in my FAL/Afrikaans and other languages are too hard/ I can’t do Afrikaans (participant no. 28, 47, 71, 110, 113).
3. I am not fluent in a language other than English/ I only speak language fluently/I do not speak more than one language fluently (participant no. 36, 65, 107, 128, 135).
4. I can understand Afrikaans, but not communicate in it (participant no. 8, 98, 151, 138).
5. No one speaks to me in a LOTE/my family only speak English/I don’t have to use it/there is no need to use it (participant no. 43, 60, 62, 106).

Female explanations often fall within summary statements 1 and 3 above, with many combining the two. Many (11) also used the explanation that they were not confident in the FAL or found Afrikaans too difficult (usually because they were not ‘language people’). Responses 1.6-9 exemplify this:

- 1.6 (17) ‘I am not good with languages and can’t make sentences with the vocab I have.’
- 1.7 (18) ‘I am not fluent in any language aside from English.’
- 1.8 (36) ‘I am not fluent in any other language besides English as I find it very difficult to learn them, although I would love to.’
- 1.9 (98) ‘I am confident in only English. I can speak conversational Zulu (hello/goodbye) and can understand Afrikaans fairly well.’

Claiming that one is ‘not a language person’ or someone who has difficulty learning language and so cannot despite inclination is a feature of the monolingual mindset. Response 1.8 above is one of many that claim this lack of capacity as the reason for a lack of plurilingualism. This appeal to [-Capacity] is seen and extrapolated upon in Section 4.3.1.3 of the Qualitative analysis. Interestingly, while the analysis of the attitude questionnaire items (see 4.2.3 and 4.2.4 to come) indicate a stronger presence of the monolingual mindset in the male participants, none of the male participants reason their lack of plurilingualism away by saying that they simply are not a language person. This is only proffered by female participants, and frequently so, with 7 claiming this reason for their lack of plurilingualism. This indicates the presence of a monolingual mindset among the female participants, where it is not overtly obvious in the rest of the attitude questionnaire. Summary Statement 5 is interesting in that females more ‘commonly’ gave the responses within this set – that their family only spoke English, or there was no environmental need to speak a LOTE. Six female participants state this as contributing to their lack of plurilingualism. It is necessary to highlight response 1.12 (68) – ‘Both my parents are English-speaking and have been born and raised in South Africa’ – in light of the discussion in chapter 2 around the role of English in South Africa, as well as its perception as ‘natural’ within the South African landscape for English-speakers and non-English speakers alike. Here, the participant is stating that the reason that she is monolingual is because her parents are South Africans, particularly English-speaking ones. The assumption made here is that English-speaking South Africans are – by default – monolingual. And that being a South African (particularly a white one) makes one an English-speaker.

Eight of the 29 male participants do not provide a reason for their answer. Of the remaining 21 reasons, 16 – or 76% – answer with reasons falling within summary statement 3, often with little qualification on explanation. The response below is an example of this:

- 1.10 (128) “I can only speak English fluently.”

Overall the ‘No’ respondents – particularly the females – tend to mention usage (or lack thereof) of a language in contrast to the ‘Yes respondents, who do not. Response 1.11 (30) ‘I learn Afrikaans

at school now, but don't speak it elsewhere', exemplifies this. Females tend to elaborate on why they cannot speak a LOTE fluently – such as invoking reasons falling within summary statements 1, 2 or 4. If one looks at Table 4.5b (see Appendix 9), one can see that the male answers tend to be short and terse, while the females answers often continue for two lines. This is consistent with findings in the Qualitative section (see Section 5.4.1) that the female participants often provide longer answers, with more negotiations, evaluations and explanations in their answers.

4.2.2.2 Explanation

The chi-squared test reveals that only 2 out of 38 items reflect a difference in response between the 'Yes' and 'No' respondents. This indicates that, despite differences in the reporting of bilingual status, the general attitude responses of the participants, as measured by the chi-squared test for independence in relation to 'Yes' and 'No' responses to bilingual status, are consistent. A difference in self-reporting of bilingual status does not mean that those two groups of participants exhibit differences in responses to the questionnaire and so indicate a difference in language attitude in the individuals. An illustration of this is that the chi-squared test only returns a p value of $\leq .05$ for two questions, and that both 'Yes' and 'No' respondents answer the remaining 36 items in a similar way. Furthermore, an investigation of the reasons given for a 'Yes' or 'No' response indicates a presence of a monolingual mindset amongst both groups.

4.2.3 Whether different race and gender groups hold different language attitudes

This section reports on the results of the two further chi-square tests that were run on all items, one using race as the independent variable, the other, gender. This was to look for any differences in the responses to the 38 item questionnaire between males and females, Indians and white participants.

4.2.3.1 Description and Interpretation

The two chi-squared tests run in this section reveal that, for race, only 3 of the 38 items have a significant p value, while for gender, 18 out of 38 responses are significant. Thus, my decision to include White and Indian learners in the same 'community' or 'social group' for the purposes of this study (see section 2.4.1 and section 3.3.3) is further justified. Table 7.3 (Appendix 9) contains all items that returned a p value of $\leq .05$ for both race and gender. As can be seen, the three items that are statistically significant for race (items 5, 7, 14) are also significant for gender. This could suggest that the items themselves have low reliability, or are particularly polarising and so do not elicit a decisive response from the participants. Of the remaining 15 items that are statistically significant in terms of gender, not all instances are of one gender agreeing and the other disagreeing. Some are cases, where one gender returns more *Strongly Agree* than *Agree* responses and the other

returns more *Agree* than *Strongly Agree* responses. Other cases involve instances where one group returns more *Neither Agrees Nor Disagrees*.

4.2.3.2 Analysis of items that show significance for gender

Table 7.4 (Appendix 9) shows all the items that reflect a significant difference in terms of gender, and indicates what the responses are in order to reveal how the genders answer and where the differences lie. i.e. do they differ completely (females positive and males negative) or are there cases, as mentioned above, where the difference is in the degree of agreement or disagreement with the statement made in the item. The first number in each case refers to female responses, and the second, to male responses. The following 5 items (which can be found in Table 7.4 (Appendix 9) indicate a significant difference between the genders along the line of degree of agreement or disagreement (rather than reflecting opposing responses):

Item 7: ‘Young children learn to speak Zulu and English at the same time with ease.’

Here the majority of males and females agree with the statement, with males fairly split between Agree and Strongly Agree, while females mainly respond with Agree. This indicates that participants are aware of, or agree with, their being an innate ability in younger children to learn languages. This is however contradicted by the fact that many, if not most, state that they cannot learn languages – despite learning LOTE from a young age.

Item 16: ‘Speaking an African Language makes you more South African.’

Here the majority of males and females react negatively to the statement. However, males return more Strongly Disagree responses while the females return more Disagree responses. Thus, males are more explicitly opposed to the notion of linking African languages to South African National identity. This is the subject of Question 6 in the APPRAISAL analysis section.

Item 23: ‘Speaking only one language is normal.’

Here the majority of males and females respond positively by Agreeing with it. However, the majority of positive responses by females are Agree, while the male responses are split between Agree and Strongly Agree. This shows an all-round strong expression of a monolingual mindset through the normalisation of monolingualism, intensified in the males’ responses.

Item 33: ‘I do not like it when I cannot respond to another person in their language.’

Here the majority of female participants agree with the statement. Most of the male participants also agree, however there is a strong response both for the negative (Disagree) and neutral responses (Neither Agree nor Disagree).

Item 35: ‘I would be happy if Zulu was used more in place of English in public settings.’

Here the majority of both males and females respond negatively to this statement by Disagreeing with it. However, a significant number of the female participants also respond using the neutral ‘Neither Agree nor Disagree’ option resulting in the significant p value.

There are 9 items where the male and female responses are different. These are listed below, and are grouped together based on the gender responses:

1. Female positive, male negative:

Item 4: 'Knowing an African language is essential for living in South Africa'.

Here the majority of female participants agree with the statement, while the majority of males disagree. This indicates a lower valuation of African languages in terms of their importance to everyday life in South Africa amongst the male participants than the female participants.

2. Female negative, male positive:

Item 10: 'English speakers do not need to learn African languages to function in SA.'

For this item the bare numbers are not clear-cut as the female participants feature strongly for Positive, Negative and Neutral answers. However, in essence, more female participants disagree with this statement, while more male participants agree. This echoes the result seen in Item 4, where the male participants express a negative valuation of African languages, while the females tend to indicate a positive valuation.

Item 14 'Speaking only one language is fine in South Africa.'

The majority of females disagree with this statement, while the majority of males agree. This indicates an adherence to a monolingual mindset by the males, while the females appear to promote plurilingualism. This response does, however, cause a conflict for the females who, as we saw in item 23 earlier, agreed that monolingualism is 'normal'.

3. Female neutral, male positive

Item 18: 'The Education system in South Africa is producing competent individuals.'

Here the female response of Neutral is in the majority, while a slight majority of males agree with the statements. However, a fair number of males also opt for the Neutral response. This could indicate that the item itself has a low reliability as the participants are unsure what the question is asking. The females more overwhelmingly reflect this in their lack of an answer, while the males, in disagreeing with the statement, are more inclined to 'defend' their education system.

4. Female positive, male split:

Item 5: 'All schools in South Africa should teach pupils to communicate effectively in an African language like Zulu and in English.'

Item 21: 'It is just as important to speak an African language in South Africa as it is to speak English.'

Item 33: 'I do not like it when I cannot respond to another person in their language.'

Here we see three statements that all present a pro-plurilingual proposition and attitude. In all three cases the female participants agree with the statements, while the male participants are split between agreement, disagreement and neutrality. This indicates a readiness by the female participants to promote and adhere to a Rainbowism approach of diversity. The male participants do not reflect a consensus thereby perhaps indicating that there is a deeper level within the MES population where a monolingual mindset perspective resides.

5. Female negative, male split:

Item 12: 'English is the only language that should be used in education.'

In responding to this question the female participants generally disagree with the statement, indicating a commitment to a plurilingual and diverse approach to education. The male participants however are split, with almost equal numbers being for, against and neutral in relation to the issue of English only education.

6. Male negative, female split.

Item 19: 'People earn more money if they speak both Zulu and English.'

Here we see the majority of the male participants disagreeing with this statement which proposes a direct economic benefit to plurilingualism via Zulu. The majority of the female participants are almost equally split between agreement with the statement and a neutral response.

7. Male positive, female split

Item 28: 'I have no need to use Zulu in my day to day life'.

Here we see a continuation of the male lack of valuation of African languages (Zulu) as the majority Agree with this statement. The majority of the female participants, on the other hand, are almost equally split between agreement and disagreement with the statement.

4.2.4 Overall frequencies and response profile for MESes

The following section provides a view of the overall frequencies of the 38 items in the questionnaire, and whether they indicate the presence of a monolingual mindset amongst the participants (section 4.2.4.1). It also constructs a profile of the participants and their attitudes towards the four variables, which is compared later to the MES profile revealed in the APPRAISAL analysis (see sections 4.2.5 and 4.3.7). All 38 items are divided into those investigating the variable monolingualism and plurilingualism (discussed in section 4.2.4.2) and then English and African languages (discussed in section 4.2.4.3).

4.2.4.1 The monolingual mindset in the questionnaire

This section looks at frequencies, and uses them to get a general overview of the answers of the participants and whether their answers indicate the acceptance or rejection of a monolingual mindset, or a lack of consensus of evidence on the topic. Frequencies are simply a percentage reflecting how many participants out of the whole group, selected which of the possible 5 answers in each question (*Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree*). Table 7.5 (see Appendix 9) contains all 38 items that made up the Attitude questionnaire given to the participant.

4.2.4.2 Interpretation of frequencies of items relating to the monolingual mindset

Tables 7.6 and 7.7 (see Appendix 9) reproduce some of the information in Table 7.5, however the items have been split into those whose responses appear to indicate the presence of a monolingual mindset (7.6) and those that either indicate a rejection (or lack of) a monolingual mindset or reflect a lack of consensus – no overwhelming response one way or another (7.7). Items 6, 15, 23, 24, 30 and 37 all have over 60% of the participants responding in a way that indicates the presence of a monolingual mindset. Of these, neither of the other three response options exceeds 20%. In these cases, I have taken the figures to indicate strongly the presence of a monolingual mindset:

- Item 6: ‘All African language speakers must learn to speak English’. Seventy-three percent agree or strongly agree with the statement.
- Item 15: ‘Most people in South Africa can speak English’. Sixty-three percent agree or strongly agree with the statement.
- Item 23: ‘Speaking only one language is normal’. Sixty-four percent agree or strongly agree with the statement.
- Item 24: ‘I admire non-Zulu people who can speak Zulu’. Eighty-eight percent agree or strongly agree with the statement.
- Item 30: ‘I sometimes feel anxious when I cannot understand the language people are using around me’. Sixty-seven percent agree or strongly agree with the statement.
- Item 36: ‘English is used to exclude people’. Eighty-three percent disagree or strongly disagree with the statement.
- Item 37: ‘I admire people who are fluently bilingual in Zulu and English’. Eighty-six percent agree or strongly agree with the statement.

Items 6 and 15 both relate to the issue of speakers of LOTE speaking or learning English. This indicates a view that English is a necessity and is beneficial to all, which can be seen as a feature of a monolingual mindset, particularly in relation to English (and its global dominance as discussed in chapter 2). Responses to item 36, which is one of a few items probing attitudes on exclusion or inclusion through language, indicate that the participants overwhelmingly (83%) feel that English is an exclusive language. This is consistent with the responses to items 6 and 15 since, if the participants view their language as inclusive and beneficial, they would naturally feel others should learn it.

Items 23, 24, 30 and 37 are looked at in relation to the positioning of plurilingualism as exceptional and monolingualism as ‘normal’. Responses to items 24 and 37 are included under the items that reflect the presence of a monolingual mindset. Both of these items pertain to the attitudes of the participants towards individuals who are Zulu/English bilingual, or English speakers who can speak Zulu. This does indicate an inclination towards diversity and plurilingualism, in accordance with the ideology of Rainbowism. However, the fact remains that this opinion is so strongly held (88% for item 24 and 86% for item 37), yet none of the individuals are actively plurilingual – despite being exposed to other languages in school. Thus this is interpreted as a reflection of a feature of the monolingual mindset (as seen in section 2.3.2) whereby plurilingualism is seen as exceptional or deviant. Here the response to plurilingualism is overwhelmingly positive (and so not aligning

plurilingualism as ‘deviant’ which has negative connotations) – yet is clearly placed as the ‘exception’ or ‘exceptional’ and as being an unusual achievement. This reflects a ‘monolingualism is the norm’ attitude, which is reinforced by the responses to items 14 (slightly – see the following paragraph) and 23 (overwhelmingly) which both address the use of only one language. Interestingly, responses to item 14: ‘Speaking only one language is fine in South Africa.’ are only slightly on the side of agreement (43% agree or strongly agree, while 36% disagree). There is also a fair percentage (16%) of participants who choose the ‘neutral’ option. This is in comparison to item 23, which mentions speaking one language, however it does not relate monolingualism to ‘South Africa’, as item 14 does. In item 23 monolingualism is proposed as ‘normal’, and the participants respond much more strongly in favour of agreement (64%). This could be seen as a manifestation of a conflict between Rainbowism – seen in the decrease of agreement with a pro-monolingual statement when mentioned in explicit relation to South Africa – and a monolingual mindset (seen in the responses to item 23). Lastly, from the responses listed above, item 30 could also be seen as a reflection of feeling that individuals using a LOTE to communicate around English speakers is unsettling, and so ‘deviant’.

Responses to items 10, 11, 14, 17, 27, 28, 31 and 32 (listed below) all show a response in which at least 42 % of the participants respond in a way that aligns with the presence of a monolingual mindset. In all these cases the percentage in favour of a monolingual mindset is more than the percentage responses for the other three response options (i.e. those indicating a lack of a monolingual mindset and neutral). Thus they are seen as instances where the indication of a monolingual mindset is slighter, as the percentage of responses indicating the presence of a monolingual mindset is not overwhelming:

- Item 10: ‘English speakers do not need to learn African languages to function in SA.’ Forty-two percent agree or strongly agree with the statement.
- Item 11: ‘I sometimes feel excluded because of the language I speak.’ Fifty-four percent disagree or strongly disagree with the statement.
- Item 14: ‘Speaking only one language is fine in South Africa.’ Forty-three percent agree or strongly agree with the statement.
- Item 17: ‘It is easier for Zulu people to learn to speak English fluently than for English people to learn to speak Zulu fluently.’ Forty-two percent agree or strongly agree with the statement.
- Item 27: ‘People know more if they speak Zulu and English.’ Forty-three percent disagree or strongly disagree with the statement.
- Item 28: ‘I have no need to use Zulu in my day to day life’ Forty-nine percent agree or strongly agree with the statement.
- Item 31: ‘English speakers are separated from others because of their language.’ Forty-four percent disagree or strongly disagree with the statement.
- Item 32: ‘Non-English speakers like using English to communicate in social settings.’ Fifty-seven percent disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. (almost strong). $\frac{1}{4}$ of participants are neutral.

Items 10 and 28 both deal with the use of Zulu (or African languages) by English speakers. Here the small majority of the participants agree that English speakers do not need ‘to learn African languages to function in South Africa’, and further to this, they agree that they, personally, ‘have no need to use Zulu in ‘[their] day to day [lives]’. While these can also be seen as items reflecting an attitude towards Zulu, these responses, coupled with the reasoning behind self-reporting of bilinguals’ status (see section 4.2.2.1), indicate that the English speakers have no need to learn any LOTE to function in South African. In response to item 17 slightly more participants agree than disagree, with almost a quarter choosing the neutral option. This indicates that the participants are potentially unsure about the actual ease or difficulty involved in learning each of the languages, with slightly more falling on the side that would reflect an ‘English monolingual mindset’. Responses to item 32 reveal a monolingual mindset in claiming that English is the preferred language of communication in social settings – for non-English speakers. This is despite the fact that no specification is made about whether the non-English speakers are communicating amongst themselves or with English speakers. From the above one can see an assurance in the prominence of English as a ‘lingua franca’ in communication with those who speak a different mother-tongue from them. In all, responses to 15 of the total of 38 items (around 39%) are interpreted as indicating a monolingual mindset. Two of these (items 17 and 31) are items which reflect a split among the participants between agreement and disagreement, with similar number of participants choosing each option. However, there are, in both cases, slightly more ‘positive’ (agreement) responses than there are negative ones.

Table 7.7 (Appendix 9) shows the items that reflect a lack of, or rejection of, a monolingual mindset, or no consensus either way. Eighteen out of the total 38 items (47%) fall into this category – slightly more than the 39% indicating the presence of a monolingual mindset as discussed above. Item 13 is deemed an unreliable item with reference to multilingualism and what it is asking the participant to evaluate. The participant could have been responding to either a) an inclination or disinclination towards bilingualism, or b) they could have been responding to a disinclination for their child to speak English and Zulu in particular. If the question had said English and German, they might have answered differently, depending on their like or dislike of German. From the responses seen in Table 7.7 (see Appendix 9), one can see that the participants often quite strongly respond with an answer that indicates an embracing of plurilingualism and so a lack of a monolingual mindset. There is, however, a roughly equal number of items that reflect a monolingual mindset (15) and items that reflect a lack thereof (18). Other noteworthy response patterns are discussed below.

Responses to items 11, 30, 31, 33, 35 all contain a strong sense of insecurity. Three (items 11, 30 and 31), listed below, indicate a presence of the monolingual mindset, while responses to items 33 and 35 indicate a lack of a monolingual mindset:

Item 11 I sometimes feel excluded because of the language I speak.

Item 30 I sometimes feel anxious when I cannot understand the language people are using around me.

Item 31 English speakers are separated from others because of their language.

Item 33 I do not like it when I cannot respond to another person in their language.

Item 35 English is used to exclude people

The response to item 29, 'It is beneficial to be able to talk to people in their own language' is intriguing as there is a 95% positive (agreement) response to the statement. This indicates that the participants appreciate the benefits of speaking to someone or being spoken to in one's mother-tongue. This is appreciation (a reflect of Rainbowism) – something analysed further in the APPRAISAL analysis (section 4.3). The participants agree with this statement in and amongst other responses in which they indicate or demonstrate their own monolingualism and lack of drive to learn (or use) a LOTE. It is, however, possible that the participants' response to item 29 is a reflection of them wanting to be addressed in English.

Many of the responses seen in Table 7.7 indicate a misunderstanding or lack of knowledge about the benefits of knowing a LOTE and of being bilingual in terms of the work place. This is pertinent to this study into school-going MESes' language attitudes as the decisions made and attitudes formed at school in relation to language learning and the use of a LOTE will affect the participants' prospects in the work place in a plurilingual country

The last item of the questionnaire, namely, item 39, 'All South Africans should be able to speak an African language' is revealing in its responses. The participants are almost equally split between those in agreement (34), those who disagree (31) and those who choose the neutral option (30). This indicates that the issue of plurilingualism with an African language in South Africa is one that needs further investigation and about which individuals have many opinions. The attitudes behind the issue of African languages in South Africa, particularly in school, are more closely discussed in the APPRAISAL analysis (4.3).

The section to which we turn now reports on the presence or absence of a monolingual mindset in relation to responses to questionnaire items relating to English and African languages (Zulu).

4.2.4.3 Interpretation of frequencies of items relating to English and African languages

Table 7.8 (see Appendix 9) contains the items relating to English and African languages (Zulu) that feature in the Attitude questionnaire presented to the participants. Below I provide a brief discussion of the responses focusing on the likely presence or lack of a monolingual mindset behind

the frequencies. One can see from the responses to the 7 items relating to English, that four reflect a monolingual mindset in their answering (namely 6, 22, 31, 36), while two (12 and 20) do not. The two questions that do not reflect a monolingual mindset refer to whether English is sufficient for education (12) and English's role in 'success' in South Africa (20). The majority of responses given by the participants (Disagree and Strongly Disagree) are in line with embracing the Rainbowism ideology mentioned in chapter 2. Item 2, which reveals a split between the possible answers – and so a lack of consensus – could simply be an item too vaguely worded to elicit an attitude accurately.

Of the 11 items relating to African languages (Zulu), namely 1, 4, 5, 8, 13, 16, 21, 28, 35, 38, 39, only three (1, 16, 28) can be seen to reflect a monolingual mindset. The item that most strongly reflects this is 16, which states 'Speaking an African Language makes you more South African.' This statement, and the reasons behind the participants' disagreement with it are investigated in the APPRAISAL analysis to follow. The fact that the remaining eight items relating to African languages (Zulu) reflect a lack of a monolingual mindset, or no clear consensus one way or another, is revealing in that it implies a liberal attitude towards and strong support of the African languages (Zulu). This however is coupled with the evidence from section 1 of the questionnaire that reinforces the functional monolingualism of the participants.

In the section that follows, the general profile of a MES in Durban that emerges from the above quantitative analysis is detailed. This will further serve as a point of comparison for the profile of a MES in Durban that is constructed from the APPRAISAL analysis (section 4.3.7).

4.2.5 Profile of the MESes that emerges from the attitude questionnaire

The profile of MES that emerges from the quantitative data will now be detailed. The results of the questionnaire indicate that the target group is indeed a homogeneous group according to race, the only difference being that Indian participants are more likely to self-report as bilingual than White participants. This is discussed in section 4.2.1.3. The anti-Apartheid movement (of which the Indian population formed an active part), as discussed in chapter 2, was made up of individuals who spoke many languages, and as such needed to be pro-plurilingualism. However, as seen throughout this section, the Indian students manifest attitudes that are the same as their White counterparts, and also reflect a monolingual mindset. These features are included in the profile that is rendered from all that is discussed in the previous section

First and foremost, there are many features of a monolingual mindset present in the results of the questionnaire. This have been detailed above, and will not be outlined. The participants present an attitude which characterises plurilingualism as exceptional and not the norm. While the first (plurilingualism as exceptional) is not intended by the participants as a negative approach, its

combination with the latter (plurilingualism as not the norm) belies the presence of a monolingual mindset, continually placing plurilingualism outside the realm of the achievable and expected for the MES. Furthermore, the participants agree that speaking one language is normal, and, in South Africa, it is normal and ‘not a problem’ for that language to be English. This is despite the presence of responses that promote plurilingualism. Here we see the conflict that appears in the questionnaire responses, and is intensified in the narrative data reported on in 4.3.4 and 4.4. In addition to this the belief that perfect competency or fluency in a language is required in order for one to be considered to speak it or to be ‘plurilingual’, is present in response to Section 1 (as discussed in 4.2.2).

Both genders reflect a degree of discomfort with their monolingual status and inability to speak another language, however this is not pronounced when the overall responses to the questionnaire are looked at. Female participants are very pro-African languages and pro-plurilingualism, and indicate a stronger sense of the ‘abnormal’ status of monolingualism. Further to this, throughout the attitude questionnaire, female responses present a very ‘liberal’, inclusive and ‘Rainbowism’ attitude toward the language situation in the country. They also show fewer markers or indications of a monolingual mindset than their male counterparts. However, over all, the attitude questionnaire responses indicate a situation where the participants either lack a monolingual mindset or return ‘neutral’ responses (and so it is difficult to ascertain attitude).

4.3 APPRAISAL Analysis of Narrative Elicitation Interview Responses

What follows is an analysis of answers to a selection of the questions asked during the narrative elicitation interview (see Chapter 3.5.2 for the reasoning behind my selection). For the full repertoire of questions, see Appendix 5, and Table 3.5 for a breakdown of the questions. Table 3.11 provides an outline of which Participants (occasionally referred to as ‘cases’) were chosen for which question. The following section provides an outline of the APPRAISAL choices made by the participants in response to each of the 6 questions. The rationale and reasoning behind the selection of these six questions in particular, as well as detail of the content and phrasing of these six questions is provided in 3.5.2.5. The analysis is broken down into each of the three subsystems of APPRAISAL that were used for analysis, namely Attitude (section 4.3.1), Graduation (4.3.2) and Engagement (4.3.3). Each of these 3 sections deals with the distribution and breakdown of the choice made in all six questions. First a description of the distribution of the APPRAISAL choices made by participants is presented (4.3.1.1, 4.3.2.1, 4.3.3.1). This is followed by a discussion of any patterns evident in the data and how they relate to the aims of this study. Section 4.3.4 looks at the profile of a MES that emerges from the Qualitative APPRAISAL data. Lastly, section 4.4 further compares the two profiles that emerge from the two data sets (4.2.5 and 4.3.4).

4.3.1 Distribution of Attitude choices in questions 1-6

In what follows, the Attitude choices of the participants across all six questions are described. First a numerical breakdown of the choices made and the main appraised in each case is discussed (4.3.1.1), followed by an investigation of any patterns that are evident intra- and inter-question (4.3.1.2). Differences in the responses of male and female participants are also discussed.

4.3.1.1 Description of figures and appraised

Table 4.4 below provides the Attitude choices made by the selected participants (see Table 3.12 in section 3.5.2.5), in each of the six interview questions (Q1-6) chosen to be subjected to an APPRAISAL analysis. The table shows the breakdown of Attitude choices according to the three subsystems of Attitude, namely, Affect, Judgement and Appreciation, as well as details what is appraised most often in each question for each sub-system.

Affect	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6
+Security	3	9	21	10	21	18
-Security	21	34	55	16	21	9
+Satisfaction	5	4	27	30	19	4
-Satisfaction	25	12	50	8	18	19
+Inclination	3	9	16	0	42	0
-Inclination	1	0	3	2	7	2
+Happiness	5	5	9	11	8	1
-Happiness	3	2	1	2	11	1
Total	66	75	182	79	147	54
Judgement						
Esteem:	(31)	(54)	(87)	(48)	(33)	(17)
+Normality	4	15	11	3	13	4
-Normality	9	3	10	11	3	2
+Capacity	6	14	23	11	4	6
-Capacity	9	20	37	10	12	5
+Tenacity	1	1	6	12	4	0
-Tenacity	2	1	0	1	0	0
Sanction:	(24)	(64)	(54)	(23)	(22)	(21)
+Veracity	0	0	0	2	0	0
-Veracity	0	0	0	0	0	0
+Propriety	1	26	21	13	10	16
-Propriety	23	38	33	8	12	5
Total	55	118	141	71	58	38
Appreciation						
+Reaction	5	2	8	9	3	0
-Reaction	4	1	3	1	9	1
+Composition	3	1	6	0	1	0
-Composition	2	0	15	1	4	0
+Valuation	19	23	46	29	60	23
-Valuation	8	5	22	3	12	25
Total	41	32	100	43	89	49
Total Attitude:	161	225	423	193	294	141
Evoked	131	204	398	184	278	137
Inscribed	28	21	25	9	16	4

Table 4.4 Distribution of Attitude choices in questions 1-6

In what follows (for both this and all the lists of main appraised in the Attitude subsection, the information is listed in a particular pattern. First the question being detailed is given, followed by the subsystem being looked at (e.g. [-Security] in the first bullet below). Thereafter the main topic clusters appraised are listed, often separated by semicolons. On occasion there is further detail as to the specifics of what within a topic cluster is appraised (i.e. English (being taught in a language that the participant understands)). On occasion there is need to mention male as opposed to female responses (in the case of the different genders appraising different clusters as the same subsystem (i.e. males appraising African languages as [-Valuation], while females use [-Valuation] to refer to English). In this case the phrase ‘By male participants:’ or ‘By female participants:’ is used, followed by a list of the main appraised (split by semicolons where necessary). Full stops are used to split different parts of the breakdown. An example summary is:

- Q7: [-Inclination]: general main appraised topic cluster 1; general main appraised topic cluster 2. By female participants: main appraised. By female participants: main appraised.

The most common expressions of Affect, are [-Security] (156) and [-Satisfaction] (129). Their positive counterparts, [+Satisfaction] (89) and [+Security] (82) are expressed between a third to a half less often, yet still count for the third and fourth most expressed under the Affect subsystem. [+Security] features most strongly in Q3 and Q5 (21 expressions each), followed by the responses to Q6, with Q2 and Q4 each featuring a fair number of expressions (see table above for exact figures). [-Security] however, features strongly across all 6 Questions, with only Question 6 featuring fewer than 10 (namely 9) expressions of [-Security]. Below, are listed the main appraised for [-Security] and [+Security] for each of the questions mentioned above:

- Q1: [-Security]: institution cluster (South Africa, society, schools, LiEP) and Self (language learners) and Zulu (language leaning). [+Security]: English (being taught in a language that the participant understands).
- Q2: [-Security]: Zulu cluster (Zulu as a language; the use of Zulu at school (7); the lack of an ability to speak or understand Zulu (6); and appraisals of ‘self’ in relation to Zulu usage (6) (e.g. (F6:21-22) “they’ve got their whole group of friends there” indicating a lack of security in terms of being an ‘outsider’); Self (3) (i.e. a personal insecurity expressed in relation to Zulu. For example: (M7:21) “like whisper something amongst themselves in Zulu”); on behalf of an imagined hearer in relation to using language to exclude intentionally.) [+Security]: English (particularly by non-mother-tongue English speakers).
- Q3: [-Security]: Zulu (Zulu FAL class, English-speakers’ experiences (or expected experiences) in the Zulu FAL class, Zulu in general and FAL); ‘Self’ (lack of Zulu ability 4); Afrikaans cluster (ineffective language teaching, language inability or inadequate

communicative ability). [+Security]: Afrikaans (the new female Afrikaans teacher, and what constitutes effective language learning).

- Q4: [-Security]: Self (lack of LOTE and on behalf of a third party ‘hearer’ (often Zulu speakers) when not being spoken to in their mother-tongue.) [+Security] by the female participants: Plurilingualism (when people speak in a language you understand). By male participants: Afrikaans (Afrikaans-speaking people) Zulu (Zulu-speakers’ responses when spoken to in Zulu by non-Zulu-speakers).
- Q5: [-Security]: Self (lack of a LOTE usually Zulu), particularly by female participants (18 versus 3). Male expressions of [-Security] relate to language learning (2) and Afrikaans (1). [+Security] when made by male participants: English; Academic success (a theme expressed more often by males in general than by females). By female participants: Plurilingualism (and the issue of practical/communicative development LL versus the academic success approach (theoretical Language learning)).
- Q6: [-Security]: Plurilingualism (knowledge of/ability in African languages) and ‘South Africanness’. [+Security]: South Africanness; ‘good person’ as the essence of South Africanness.

[-Satisfaction] is most strongly expressed in all but Q4, whereas [+Satisfaction] is most strongly expressed in Q4 (indicating a difference in attitude in responses to the context of Q4 as opposed to the other questions), followed by Q3 and Q5. Below is the breakdown of what is appraised:

- Q1: [-Satisfaction]: Institution (South Africa, society, schools, LiEP) and Self (language learners) and Zulu (language leaning).
- Q2: [+Satisfaction]: English. [-Satisfaction]: Self (the use of Zulu by Zulu speakers in school settings); Institutions (curriculum/schooling system).
- Q3: [-Satisfaction]: Afrikaans cluster (FAL and FAL teaching (all from the female participants)); Zulu (dissatisfaction with Zulu itself (all from male participants), with a lack of Zulu, and with the Zulu FAL class); Self (often due to lack of ability in Afrikaans). [+Satisfaction]: plurilingualism (including language learning and Diversity); Afrikaans (new teacher and her teaching by female participants).
- Q4: [+Satisfaction]: Plurilingualism cluster (in particular appraisals of Non-English-speakers speaking English receive 9 expressions).
- Q5: [+Satisfaction]: Plurilingualism: (especially developing communicative ability, by female participants); English and French ((4) male expressions concern.). [-Satisfaction] by female participants; ‘theoretical language learning’, and monolingualism; by male participants: Afrikaans, Zulu and the lack of French at their school.

- Q6: [-Satisfaction]: The idea of language affecting ones 'South Africanness' (primarily by females); African languages (or having to know African languages. Particularly by male participants: English monolingualism (once by a female participant); Afrikaans, and the articles 'dismissal' of English (by male participants).

Both [+/-Inclination] and [+/-Happiness] are expressed less frequently than are the Affect choices discussed above. [+Inclination] (70) (the largest of the 4) is most strongly featured in Q5 (42), followed by Q3 and then Q2. [-Inclination] (15), is employed roughly 4 times less often than [+Inclination], and features most strongly in Q5, with 7 expressions. Below is the breakdown of appraised per questions:

- Q1: [+Inclination]: Zulu and plurilingualism. [-Inclination]: Afrikaans.
- Q2: [+Inclination]: Zulu (generally a desire to speak or understand it).
- Q3: [+Inclination]: Afrikaans; Zulu.
- Q5: [+Inclination]: By female participants: plurilingualism (10 times as opposed to twice on the part of males.). By male participants: international languages (mainly French); ancestral languages. Both males and females express [+Inclination] towards the English and Zulu clusters equally. [-Inclination] mainly by males: Zulu; Afrikaans (with one expression regarding French).

Lastly in the Affect subsystem, and least expressed by the participants, is [+/-Happiness]. [+Happiness] (39) is expressed twice as often as [-Happiness] (20). [+Happiness] is most strongly expressed in Q3, Q4 and Q5, though it manifests at least once in each question (see table 4.4). [-Happiness] is most strongly expressed in Q5, with the remaining 5 questions featuring between 1 and 3 expressions each. Below is the breakdown of appraised of [+/-Happiness]:

- Q1: [+Happiness]: Plurilingualism (LOTE). [-Happiness]: Zulu; Afrikaans FAL.
- Q3: [+Happiness]: Mainly from the female participants: Afrikaans (new teacher and classes).
- Q4: [+Happiness]: Plurilingualism (Non-English-speakers speaking English); Tamil.
- Q5: [-Happiness]: Mainly by females: lack of LOTE; a lack of Zulu; monolingualism; theoretical language learning.

Under the subsystem of Judgement, instantiations are almost equally spread throughout Social Esteem and Social Sanction. Over all 6 questions, slightly more expressions of Judgement fall under Social Esteem (56%) than Social Sanction (44%). On average there are around 10 more expressions of Esteem than Sanction, except for Q3 and Q4 which feature closer to double the number of instantiations of Social Esteem than Social Sanction. In Q2 and Q6 there are more expressions of Social Sanction than Social Esteem. Both questions, in essence, deal with issues of

inclusion and exclusion at a social level (see Appendix 6 for the list of questions and section 3.5.2.5 for details of each question). An increase in Social Sanction in these two cases indicates that when addressing these topics, or responding to statements concerning this, the participant focuses on whether something is ‘appropriate’, or ‘ethical’ etc. in society.

Under Esteem, [+Normality] features most strongly in relation to Q2, 3 and 5. While [-Normality] features most often in Q1, Q3 and Q4. In these cases, the appraised in each case are as follows:

- Q1: [-Normality]: English monolingualism (particularly in relation to Durban’s linguistic make up); Plurilingualism (lack of LOTE).
- Q2: [+Normality]: English. E.g. 1.10. (F6:5) “most people know English”.
- Q3: [+Normality]: Afrikaans; Zulu (Zulu for Zulu mother-tongue pupils). [-Normality] is; Zulu; Afrikaans (in Durban).
- Q4: [-Normality]: Plurilingualism (difficult and not ‘the norm’ to speak a language that is not your first).
- Q5: [+Normality]: by male participants: English; Afrikaans FAL; Zulu (the number of Zulu speakers in SA). By female participants: heritage; ‘black people’ being Zulu speakers; English and diversity in SA.

After [Normality], [+Capacity] and [-Capacity] are the most often expressed forms of Social Esteem. [+Capacity] features most strongly in responses to Q2, 3 and 4. However, it is relatively well represented throughout the 6 questions (see table 4.4 above for exact figures). [-Capacity] likewise features most strongly in Q2, Q3 and Q4 as well as in Q5. It too however is fairly well represented in the remaining two questions. In these cases, the appraised in each case are as follows:

- Q1: [-Capacity]: Institutions (society); Zulu (rural children); Afrikaans. [+Capacity]: English (ability); African languages (1).
- Q2: [+Capacity]: Plurilingualism (linguistic behaviour of Zulu girls at school A (i.e. English plurilingualism of non-English-speakers); LOTE. [-Capacity]: English (see 4.3.1.3); Institutions (society) and Self (lack of ability in a LOTE); relation to non-English-speakers.
- Q3: [-Capacity]: Self (participant’s lack of ability); Zulu (difficulty) and Afrikaans (difficulty; lack of ‘usefulness’). The lack of usefulness is illustrated in the following example, (F4: 40) “I mean I don’t think I’m ever going to use Afrikaans”. [-Capacity] is also expressed in relation to the ability of others (parents, rural South Africans, Zulu speakers in the Zulu FAL class, and the only English mother-tongue student in the Zulu FAL class). [+Capacity]: Plurilingualism, effective language teaching, along with the increased ability to speak Afrikaans, and the usefulness of Zulu.

- Q4: [+Capacity]: Plurilingualism. [-Capacity] Self (difficulty with learning of Afrikaans and Zulu at school); Plurilingualism (having to speak another's mother-tongue, not one's own).
- Q5: [-Capacity]: Zulu (Zulu; Zulu-speakers speaking English (1)); Self (lack of LOTE (2) (particularly Zulu (2)), bilingual education (2)). [+Capacity] is less often expressed: (plurilingualism (1), non-Zulu speakers speaking Zulu (2)).
- Q6: [+Capacity]: plurilingualism. [-Capacity]: English monolingualism.

[+Tenacity] (24) is expressed more often than [-Tenacity] (4). The vast majority of expressions of [+Tenacity] are expressed in responses to Q3 (6) and Q4(12). In these two cases, the appraised are as follows:

- Q3: [+Tenacity]: Afrikaans: (language learning and the new female Afrikaans teacher); Zulu (the only English mother-tongue Zulu FAL learner).
- Q4: [+Tenacity]: Plurilingualism (non-English-speakers (especially when speaking English) people attempting to speak in another's mother-tongue (4), participant learning a LOTE).
- Q5: [+Tenacity]: Zulu (all made by females). The sole expression of [-Tenacity] refers to MES South Africans.

Within Social Sanction there are only 2 expressions of [+Veracity] and none of [-Veracity]. [Propriety] however, is one of the most frequently expressed forms of Judgements. Its use, particularly along with the use of [-Security] and [-Satisfaction], is discussed in depth in 4.3.1.2. [+Propriety] (87) is expressed slightly less often than [-Propriety] (119), however both are well represented across the 6 questions. The exception is [+Propriety] in Q1 and [-Propriety] in Q4 and Q6. In the case of [Propriety] the appraised in each circumstance tells an important part of the tale that the MES tell. In these cases, the appraised are as follows:

- Q1: [-Propriety]: Institutions (South African society and LiEP (often regarding English)); English (The language situation in Durban, English monolingualism).
- Q2: [+Propriety] English (English, Zulu speakers speaking English e.g. 1.11 (M7:20) "they'll be talking to me in English", the learning of English.); Plurilingualism (English plurilingualism e.g. 1.12 (F6: 4) "Or they'll know some English"); Zulu (African languages (mother-tongue)). [-Propriety]: Zulu (Zulu speakers (13), particularly at school); Self (the exclusion (particularly intentional) of people through language (7)); English (the language (4), English-speakers (2) not learning English (2)); Institutions (society, the education system).
- Q3: [-Propriety]: By females: Afrikaans (old teacher and her ineffective 'rote rule-based' method of teaching); Institutions (unqualified teachers in rural schools). By males: Zulu (Zulu FAL; ranging from the difficulty of the subject, to the behaviour of Zulu speakers in the Zulu FAL class, as well as to the composition of the Zulu FAL class). [+Propriety] mainly by female

participants: plurilingualism (Plurilingualism, knowing African languages, practical language learning (viz a viz theoretical language learning); Afrikaans (the new teacher).

- Q4: [-Propriety]: mainly by male participants: Zulu (rejection by Zulu-speakers when the participant attempts to speak Zulu (twice by participant M1)); Plurilingualism (lack of ability in a LOTE (4)) English (non-English-speakers having to speak English (1), English-speakers not learning Zulu when Zulu speakers have learnt English). [+Propriety]: Plurilingualism; Non English-speakers speaking English.
- Q5: [-Propriety]: mainly by female participants: English (monolingual upbringing); Self (lack of Zulu). By males: Institutions (lack of French at school (2), the fact that language learning at school affects their marks (2)). [+Propriety]: by females: plurilingualism (MES learning Zulu (2), developing communicative ability in a LOTE (2)). By males: Zulu speakers speaking English.
- Q6: [+Propriety]: plurilingualism and South Africanness (9), how being a good person relates to South Africanness (4), and African languages (3). [-Propriety] primarily by males: language affecting South Africanness; the article's attitude towards English; monolingual schooling.

The last subsystem, Appreciation, is – in all but Q5 – least frequently represented of the three APPRAISAL in terms of instantiations. The most common appraisal overall in the Appreciation subsystem relates to [Valuation]. [+/-Valuation] makes up half of the instances of Appreciation. The conflict and vacillation between Rainbowism and a monolingual mindset often made it difficult to feel comfortable with a coding of [+/-Reaction] rather than [+/-Valuation]. This is addressed in 3.5.2.5.

In all of the questions except Q6 [+Valuation] is expressed more than [-Valuation]. In Q6, [-Valuation] is only expressed twice more. See table 4.4 for exact figures. What follows is a breakdown of the appraised in each question with relations to [+/-Valuation]:

- Q1: [+Valuation]: Plurilingualism (mother-tongue usage, usage of LOTE, mother-tongue education and African languages). [-Valuation]: English (its role in South Africa); Apartheid; Zulu and African languages.
- Q2: [+Valuation]: English; 'first world' (particularly English speaking countries (2)); Zulu (2). [-Valuation] English (particularly a translated joke not sounding as funny in English (1), and English excluding people (2)).
- Q3: [+Valuation]: Academic success (Afrikaans being better for marks than Zulu as a FAL (17)); Zulu (9); Plurilingualism (language or language learning, language being viewed as a life skill, 'practical language learning' (versus theory driven language learning which receive

evaluations of [-Valuation]), the new female Afrikaans teacher). [-Valuations] Afrikaans; Zulu (particularly Zulu's value overseas).

- Q4: [+Valuation] mainly by female participants. Plurilingualism (Plurilingualism (all by female participants), Non-English-speakers speaking English (2), the 'Mandela quote' (2), language learning (2)); Ancestral languages (3); English (2); Afrikaans speakers (1).
- Q5: [+Valuation] mainly by females. Plurilingualism; Zulu; English; academic success; French; developing communicative ability; Zulu speakers speaking English (3). [-Valuation] mainly by male participants: LOTE (African languages/Zulu (6), French (1) and Afrikaans (1)). By females [-Valuation]: theoretical language learning; an insular/monolingual mindset (2); Zulu (1).
- Q6: [-Valuation]: English monolingualism (2). By males: African languages (in Durban); language affecting South Africanness, and plurilingualism making you a better person. By females: plurilingualism (particularity with African languages) affecting your South Africanness; language affecting your South Africanness. [+Valuation]: plurilingualism (plurilingualism affecting South Africanness).

The next most often expressed for Judgement is that of [+Reaction] (27). This is most strongly expressed in Q3 and Q4, though no question has more than 9 expressions. [-Reaction] (19) is most strongly expressed in Q5 (9). What follows is a breakdown of the appraised in each question with relations to [+/-Reaction]:

- Q1: [+Reaction]: English (4/5 of these responses are made by participant M2). [-Reaction]: Afrikaans; mother -tongue education; the difficulty of English as a subject.
- Q2: [+Reaction]: Both instances of concern Zulu or Zulu speakers.
- Q3: [+Reaction]: Afrikaans (5 times by males); new Afrikaans teacher and successful Afrikaans teaching (females). [-Reaction] Afrikaans (only twice).
- Q4: [+Reaction]: Plurilingualism (4); Tamil (4).
- Q5: [-Reaction] Mainly by females: monolingualism (2), a lack of LOTE (2), bilingual education (1) and theoretical language learning (3). The sole male expression concerns Afrikaans.

The least employed expression of Appreciation, is that of [Composition]. [-Composition] is used twice as often as [+Composition] (11). However, the majority of all expressions of [Composition] positive and negative, appear in responses to Q3. Aside from that the only questions to have more than 1 expression of [Composition] are Q1 and Q5, which have 5 expressions each. Below one can see the appraisal for the expressions of [+/-Composition] in Q1, Q3 and Q5:

- Q3: [-Composition]: Zulu (Zulu is harder (than Afrikaans), difficult and confusing. It is often portrayed as something students simply cannot master, e.g. 1.12 (F4:14) “it just wasn’t something I grasped onto”.)
- Q5: [-Composition]: dual medium schooling (3/4 responses made by F2).

4.3.1.2 Patterns of [-Security] and [-Satisfaction] and [+/-Propriety]

One of the strongest patterns to emerge through the APPRAISAL analysis is that of a sense of [-Security] and [-Satisfaction] among the MES. This is often coupled with a sense of [-Priority] associated with the person or thing causing the [-Security] and [-Satisfaction], and [+Propriety] with people or things that counter, or avoid the cause of insecurity and dissatisfaction. These situations are discussed below.

The first pattern is the overwhelming expression of [-Security] and [-Satisfaction] expressed in Q1 by the MES group when presented with an article that questions the status quo and, specifically, the position of English, and promotes African languages as a means of unity. As mentioned in the previous section, the appraised in these situations are the topic clusters of Institutions (South Africa, society, schools, LiEP), Self (language learners or learning) and Zulu (language learners or learning). This indicates a sense of unease within the MES associated with the language situation in schools concerning the LiEP, and conveys a sense of disquiet when it comes to issues of language learning and their inability to use another language functionally (monolingualism). This is a thread that runs throughout the results from the APPRAISAL analysis. This indicates a positive evaluation of plurilingualism and a negative evaluation of English monolingualism. This pattern can be seen in the examples below:

- 1.13 (Q1:F2:16) “they don’t just speak in English”.
- 1.14 (Q1:F7:2-3) “why aren’t more of our people more bilingual”.
- 1.15 (Q1:F6:4) “just having English”.
- 1.16 (Q1:F5:2) “we need to know most of the languages”.

The dissatisfaction displayed towards Institutions indicates an acknowledgement of the ‘unusual’ status of MES in the country, with the insecurity indicating the potential conflict of identity among MESes as they seek to identify with the Rainbowism ideology. The examples below reveal this dissatisfaction and unease with the language situation:

- 1.17 (Q1:F1:12) “really hard for me”.
- 1.18 (Q1:F1:18) “It’s unfortunate”.
- 1.19 (Q1:F4:2) “like it’s a touchy subject”.

With this sense of insecurity and dissatisfaction comes positive appraisals of Security in relation to having access to English MOI, as well as [+Satisfaction] in relation to English ability. This further indicates a discourse of compromise, or split in the ‘loyalties’ of the participants between

monolingual speakers of English (potentially with markers of a monolingual mindset) and the Rainbow Nation ideology.

In Q2, the same discourse of compromise mentioned above is highlighted, even though the [-Security] and [-Satisfaction] has a slightly different focus than in Q1. Insecurity is mainly expressed in relation to Zulu and its use, particularly at schools where there is a lack of understanding on the participant's part. The lack of understanding of Zulu (by the participant) is also expressed with [-Security]. The two examples below, 3.1 and 3.2, illustrate this sense of social anxiety related to not knowing Zulu:

1.20 (Q2:F6:21-23) "And if you say, if you reprimand someone and they've got their whole group of friends there, they'll immediately start talking in Zulu. And you know it's about you, sort of thing...you can't understand it because you don't know".

1.21 (Q2:F5:26) "it's like I wish I knew how to speak Zulu".

In 3.1 the participant relays a situation where, while conducting duties as an 'acting prefect' at school, she had to reprimand a Zulu-speaking classmate in front of their Zulu-speaking friends. The confrontation is expressed with frustration and insecurity, stemming primarily from the use of Zulu to speak about the English-speaking participant. In 3.2, the participant expresses a strong desire to speak Zulu in reaction to a situation similar to the one related in 3.1, where the participant could tell that she was being spoken about in Zulu, but did not know what was being said. The above is combined with the [-Satisfaction] expressed in relation to being in situations where Zulu speakers, who are known to be able to speak English, speak Zulu around English-speakers or in a predominantly English environment (see example 3.1). This heightens the insecurity the participants appear to experience from not being able to speak Zulu.

As has been seen already, there are various factors that complicate the attitude of the participants towards Zulu. In Q3, which deals specifically with choice of FAL, and so directly with attitudes towards Zulu and Afrikaans (as the two options for FAL in KZN), [-Security] [-Satisfaction] [-Propriety] are placed on the Zulu speakers in the Zulu FAL class (making up the whole class for the girls, and all but one for the boys) (as seen in 4.3.1.1, [-Propriety] will be discussed in further detail later in this section.). The males express particularly strong sentiment about it. The Zulu males are also said to have been particularly 'cruel' to non-Zulu speakers who choose to take Zulu FAL. This is strongly expressed in the statement:

1.22 (Q3:M6: 9-11) "they were saying that people the Zulu boys were like laughing at them like 'what are they doing here' like but speaking in Zulu about them but you could sort of pick up that they mocking you for like 'why are you here' sort of thing".

These three features are also aimed at the class or subject itself. The majority of these expressions come from the boys. The Attitude choices made in connection with the Zulu FAL class, indicate a situation that makes it untenable or inadvisable for non-Zulu mother-tongue speakers to take Zulu

FAL. [+Propriety] and [+Satisfaction] are expressed by one participant towards a ‘true’ Zulu FAL class – made up of ‘people like me’, namely, non-mother-tongue Zulu speakers.

1.23 (M4: 13-14). “ja I I think it would affect me ja I think I would get a lot worse mark in that class than I would in a people () in a class that everyone is at the same level as me”.

This reveals a very real issue within the current South African schooling system, where Zulu FAL classes are full of Zulu speakers who want to learn to read and write and study in their mother-tongue (aside from a benefit associated with studying your first language as a second language). This means that second language Zulu classes are not aimed at or catering for second language learners, who stick to Afrikaans (for their marks’ sake), and so feel the opportunity or choice to take Zulu FAL at school is blocked from them. Dissatisfaction is also expressed in relation to the nature of the change in difficulty (and lack of frequency of Zulu teaching versus Afrikaans teaching) between primary and high school Zulu. One female participant (F2) claims they are ‘spoon fed’ in primary school, yet high school Zulu is said to be much harder than high school Afrikaans. Thus they would be under-prepared for high school Zulu, and with less of a support structure at home. This is picked up on again in 4.3.1.4 in relation to [+/-Valuation].

A feature revealed within the pattern of [-Security] and [-Satisfaction], is a trend of positively evaluating possibilities, or abstract/potential scenarios or situations. This is seen strongly in Q4. This question, as mentioned in the outline of the question in 4.3.4, is in essence asking the participants to evaluate an abstract thing – Mandela’s quote – not whether or not they themselves do what the quote refers to. Answers to the corresponding question in appendix 20, as mentioned in 4.3.4, deals with the question of what actually occurs in a contact situation between the MES and someone who does not speak English as a first language (usually Zulu speakers). In Q4, there are fewer responses of [-Security] and [-Satisfaction] which dominate the Affect subsystem of the previous 3 questions analysed (see 4.3.1.1). Instead, as shown, the majority are expressions of [+Satisfaction], [+Happiness] and [+Security]. An example of this can be seen in 1.24 below.

1.24 (Q4:F7: 19-21) “It takes lots of courage. I sort of So I feel, I feel admiration for them because it’s not their first language and they are trying to speak a language that is widely known around the world. So I admire their courage and their enthusiasm.”.

This overtly positive evaluation of plurilinguals and plurilingualism is also, however, a manifestation of the monolingual mindset, in that it characterises plurilingualism as ‘exceptional’, the ‘exception’ to the norm – i.e. monolingualism. This is discussed further in 4.3.1.3 when we discuss issues regarding [+/-Normality]. The positive evaluation seen in 1.24 is complemented in Q4 (and throughout the 6 questions) by a pattern indicating the sense of awareness of ‘wrongness’ of not knowing a LOTE, particularly in South Africa (and the LiEP etc.). This can be seen (further to the examples above) in the expressions of [-Security], [-Satisfaction], [-Propriety] and general negative attitudinal meaning, in association with this topic (i.e. LOTE). This is expressed by participant M4 in the following extract e.g. 1.25 (Q4:M4: 14-21):

- P: um well to me I I I if they not an English speaker the kind of for some reason feel sorry for them ()
 I: okay
 P: because I know that I probably can't speak their language and a feel a bit ashamed that I can't really speak what what they can () but they put in the effort to speak what I () speak my language () which ja uh you do get a feel of shame () like
 I: oh okay
 P: tha that they have put in the effort and you haven't but () other than that ja

Here the participant expresses shame and discomfort [-Satisfaction], [-Security] at the fact that he does not speak Zulu, yet Zulu speakers have put in the time and effort [+Tenacity] to learn English. This is, as discussed in the previous paragraph, in essence a positive evaluation of plurilingualism, and the benefits offered in an 'abstract' world where the participant do speak a LOTE. However, immediately after saying this, the participant states that,

- 1.26 (Q4:M4: 28-29) "Ja ja I don't think I have um like would have a motivation to learn anything other than like English or like maybe Afrikaans".

The sentiment in the example above is not peculiar to this participant, and features in discussions of [+/-Valuations] in section 4.3.1.4. This is despite continued expressions of [-Security], centring on a lack of LOTE or plurilingualism (example 1.27 below), and [+Valuations] of speaking a LOTE, which reinforce the positive valuation of the potential available to them, if they could speak a LOTE (example 1.28 below).

- 1.27 (Q1:F1:6) "then I tried to do it but I didn't speak it well".

- 1.28 (Q1:M5: 4-6) "if you don't speak that language and then like you make the attempt to speak in that person's language and not your own language they take it more seriously and they understand it better".

This highlights or characterises the conflict between the Rainbow Nation or 'Rainbowism' ideal that the participants put forward, and the realities of the monolingual mindset and being a monolingual native speaker of the language of power in South Africa. Here, the 'lack of motivation' is almost put forward as an excuse or reason for why, despite expressing the sentiments in example 1.25, the participant does not know Zulu. This avoidance of fault, or capacity (to be discussed further in 4.3.1.3) is reinforced when one compares the results of Q4 with that of the more concrete situation proposed in Q4b (see section 3.5.2.5 and table 3.11). This same participant (M4: 183-187) relates the following in Q4b. example 1.29:

- I: do you ever try and speak
 P: Ja I do try and I often fail and it's and it's more embarrassing if you do fail than if you don't try.
 I: okay
 P: I guess maybe not to them but like to me it would feel more embarrassing if I did fail

Here the participant is indicating that there is a clear instance of the social motivation to learn a language not out weighing the social fear of speaking a LOTE. This 'excuse' of embarrassment or lack of Capacity in a LOTE (say Zulu), is a recurring theme in answers to the interview questions, and represents a facet of the monolingual mindset.

All of the above is coupled with a sense of impropriety on behalf of the Zulu speakers in these situations, as can be seen in example 3.1 above. A further example can be seen in the following example:

- 1.30 (M7:19-21) “Like () say like if I’m at home and like the guards and stuff uh are like talking like they don’t want () like they’ll be talking to me in English then all of a sudden they’ll like say some like whisper something amongst themselves in Zulu”.

In example 1.30 the participant expresses [+Security] when being spoken to in English by Zulu speakers, as well as a sense of propriety on behalf of the Zulu-speakers for speaking to him in English. This is reversed when the Zulu speakers are seen to switch to Zulu and, particularly, to whisper in Zulu. This indicates the content is considered ‘threatening’ to the participant as, even though the Zulu speakers are aware that the participant cannot speak Zulu, they feel the need to whisper, in turn heightening the sense of insecurity. This sense of impropriety on the part of Zulu-speakers while speaking Zulu around English-speakers could be seen as sub-conscious countering the overtly positive reaction to Zulu and LOTE in Q1. However, while the use of language to exclude is expressed very negatively, English speakers are portrayed as having no fault (unlike the Zulu speakers). This is discussed and illustrated further below in relation to [Capacity]. There are only two instances where participants say English is exclusive. A further use of expressions of [-Propriety] is made by the participants in relation to the language situation in the country and Durban. This is so particularly in relation to English monolingualism, and to the LiEP, and to language issues in school.

4.3.1.3 Patterns of [+/-Capacity] and [+/-Normality]

In this section we first investigate patterns in the use of expressions of [+/-Normality]. This is then followed by an investigation into the use of [+/-Capacity]. When looking at the issue of language and [Normality] in the responses of the participants, one must bear in mind the particular linguistic set up in Durban vis-a-vis that in the country as a whole (as discussed in 2.2). Most of the students seem aware of the slightly different linguistic status, with comments about Durban being ‘more English’ or *just* having English, with a [-Satisfaction], and/or [-Normality] appraisal appearing in the answers to most of the questions asked in the interview. Examples of this can be seen below:

- 1.31 (Q1:F2: 28/29) “But we’re very closed in from the rest of South Africa”.

- 1.32 (Q1:F2:31/2) “it’s just mostly in Durban that we just speak English”.

Expressions of [-Normality] in Q1 focus on participants’ not speaking Zulu, and Durban’s monolingual English status (as far as their wider social group is concerned), often coupled with a sense of [-Propriety] as mentioned in 4.3.1.2 (see 1.22). This marries with the sense of dissatisfaction and insecurity seen in 4.3.1.2:

- 1.33 (Q1: F2:4) “we don’t pay that much respect to Zulu or Afrikaans”.

- 1.34 (Q1:F7:12/3) “we should know that cultures and languages that we’re surrounded by”.

- 1.35 (Q1:F5:1) “instead of just learning English”.

1.36 (Q1:F6:4) “just having English”.

Q2 provides many examples of expressions of [+Normality], most of which are made in relation to English as seen from the examples below:

1.37 (F1:7-8) “it’s just the way it’s happened”.

1.38 (F6:3-4) “It’s just the language most people in the world do speak”.

1.39 (F7:1-2) “the majority of the people now know English as first language”.

This is possibly unsurprising as the participants are all monolingual English speakers. However, the participants do not only make the expressions of Normality in relation to themselves, but towards the general society and the use of English in South African and worldwide, as seen in examples 1.37 – 1.39 above.

From the above one can see an indication of a rejection of the monolingual nature of the participants’ existence in a plurilingual society. However, the ‘blame’ is being placed on the shoulders of ‘the powers that be’, not on themselves. This can also be seen in statements such as those in example 1.2 and the assignment of [-Capacity] to society in the statement “we can’t really change a lot of that”, which follows the pro-plurilingual statements in example 1.4. Furthermore, in Q1, although the majority of responses reflect an embracing of the plurilingual ideology and equal language opportunities for all, instances of the monolingual mindset punctuate the participants’ appraisal. While there are [-Valuations] of English, so too are there of Zulu and African languages. There are also many instances of a sense of [+Capacity] and [+Satisfaction] expressed in relation to English. The examples below provide instances where the above mentioned situation occurs:

1.40 (Q1:F1:10) “Because I don’t use it”.

1.41 (Q1:F1:17) “my parents don’t do it, my friends, you know my social circle”.

1.42 (Q1:F2:11) “we don’t learn it willingly”.

1.43 (Q1:F5:10) “we can’t really change a lot of that”.

1.44 (Q1:F7:8) “it is a bit one-sided towards the fact we need to push for more African languages”.

These examples form part of expressions of what portray a sense of Normality that is oriented towards a naturalisation of English and its roles in society. Although these expressions are often accompanied with expressions of [-Satisfaction] towards the situation, a solution or motivations to change is not offered. A feature related to this is evident in the replies of the participants, especially when dealing with issues of Normality, namely, [-Capacity]. This is specifically [-Capacity] expressed in relation to non-English speakers, and English itself, in terms of English’s wide ranging status, power and possible, yet unintentional, exclusion of non-English speakers. This highlights an expression of a monolingual mindset as participants’ express attitudes that it is ‘just the way it is’. This [-Capacity] can be seen in the examples below:

1.45 (Q2:M6:6-7) “it’s not really their fault that it excludes people that can’t speak English”.

1.46 (Q2:F2:2) “I don’t think it excludes people on purpose”.

This is further highlighted in Q3 where participants speak about their language choices at school. There is an apparent conflict between the expression of [+Normality] of English and its inherent inclusivity, and the expressed disapproval of exclusion through language. A contributing factor to this seems to be a misunderstanding of how wide-spread English actually is in South Africa, as well as the fluency of those who claim to be able to speak it. As mentioned in chapter 2, roughly only 40% of South Africans claim ability in English, however the participants' answers are generally higher than that (though a few did guess correctly when referring just to KwaZulu-Natal. See Appendix 16 for the participants' responses). In sum, English speakers are seen as lacking Capacity or 'fault' in the exclusion of non-English speakers, yet Zulu speakers are not afforded the same (due to their (sometimes assumed) fluency in English versus the lack of Zulu ability of English speakers). Agency is further removed from English speakers and placed upon the maintenance of the 'status quo'. In addition to this, when asked if English was ever *used* to exclude in Q7, some participants spoke about English excluding/ not being at fault, or English being more inclusive/exclusive – personifying English and removing human or personal agency.

Zulu is often associated with [-Normality], on Q3 with one participant pointing out that they could have no help at home

1.47 (Q3:F6: 6-8). "Also, none of my family has a background of doing Zulu. So it would've been harder for me because I wouldn't have been able to go home and ask somebody who could've helped me".

This sense of [-Normality] is further related to Zulu in the statement of M6 where he comments on the difference in time allocation between Afrikaans and Zulu FAL in primary school:

1.48 (M6: 17, 18 & 20) "uum I just it's a whole lot easier I think and that we did a whole lot more Afrikaans in the prep school = um than Zulu like we had Zulu twice a week and Afrikaans everyday".

4.3.1.4 Patterns of [+/-Valuation]

The pattern of the focus of expressions of Appraised for [+/-Valuation] is consistent throughout and also shows a strong gendered difference. Furthermore, it strongly exemplifies the conflict between the Rainbow Nation ideology that values plurilingualism, and the monolingual mindset. This, along with expressions of [+/-Inclination] are discussed in this section.

Throughout all 6 questions, participants, particularly the females, express [+Valuation] towards plurilingualism and topics associated with being able to speak another language or being able to speak in one's mother-tongue. Issues of gender differences in responses will be addressed in 5.3.1. The focus of [+Valuation] appraisals differs slightly from question to question. While in Q1 and Q4, Q5 and Q6 [+Valuation] is expressed towards plurilingualism, speaking a LOTE and other related appraised, in Q2 [+Valuation] is expressed in relation to English, and in Q3 in relation to Academic Success. These various expressions of [+Valuation] will be discussed to various degrees

in what follows. While [-Valuation] is expressed less often than [+Valuation], its focus is generally on LOTE, which contradicts the [+Valuation] of plurilingualism and its associated appraised.

As mentioned [+Valuations] of English can be found in Q2, as the question is related to the question of whether English is exclusive, or excludes. An example of the rejection of this idea, and a [+Valuation] of English can be seen in examples 1.45 and 1.46 (cited earlier) which focus on the use of [-Capacity] in relation to English. The participants reflect a monolingual mindset in their view that English is good and beneficial for all – and does not exclude. The influence of the monolingual mindset through the [+Valuation] of English can also be seen in the examples below where, when asked what language they would want their children to know, 8 of the 9 participants state that they would want them to speak English within the opening 4 lines of their response. Interestingly, these responses generally involve some kind of upscaling and contraction of the [+Inclination] towards English. Examples 1.49 and 1.50 below illustrate this.

1.49 (Q5:F2:1) “English definitely English”.

1.50 (Q5:M4:3) “um I’d definitely want them to know more than one um definitely English”.

As one can see from the further examples in Appendix 21 (section 1), participants either state English outright (1.1 and 1.2) and then verify the question or qualify their statements, or they mention other languages but express that English as the naturally learnt language [+Normality] of choice (1.3 and 1.4).

As discussed, participants express overtly positive attitudes towards plurilingualism. Along with this is often a positive evaluation of Zulu as a language, as well as the idea that languages can be life skills, and not just subjects. However, academic success – in respect of which Zulu FAL is seen to be a barrier – is very highly evaluated, and can be seen as the main motivator behind scholars’ choice of Afrikaans FAL over Zulu FAL (along with the issues noted with the offering of Zulu FAL discussed in 4.3.1.2). This situation is overtly expressed in the statement;

1.50 (F2: 5-7). “Well honestly like I wanted to take Zulu but my mark was higher in Afrikaans so I looked more at the marks than what I really wanted to do cos it’s what’s gonna get me where I want to be one day”.

The only participant to state that he actually got better marks in Zulu than in Afrikaans in primary school, also states 1.51 (M3: 14-15) “but people did say that Zulu gets much harder () as it progresses as well as the standard of testing in matric along with it”, indicating a sense that Zulu would be a bad option in the long term regarding marks. This sense of academic preservation as a motivator in language choice seemingly outweighs the expressed sense of [+Valuation] towards Zulu and plurilingualism. Thus social benefits, and the appeal of social assimilation offered by learning Zulu (or any LOTE), are not seen as strong enough to outweigh the immediate benefits of taking an ‘easier’ subject at school. The comparison of [+/-Composition] (i.e. the difficulty of the subject)

between Zulu and Afrikaans is often made by the students. This is further complicated by the issues highlighted in connection with Zulu FAL at school, to be discussed below. Afrikaans is, however, not characterised as an ‘easy’ or enjoyable subject. The participants relate a struggle with Afrikaans, and lack of confidence in being able to speak it. Thus, marks alone appear not to be a strong enough motivator to facilitate effective language learning in Afrikaans. Students report not being able to or being confident enough to speak Afrikaans, and many indicate it is also very hard. 1.52 (F2:59-60) “I mean it [Zulu] is known to be the hardest language to try and learn”. This would be linked to the often expressed fact that Afrikaans has no social value in Durban, and so environmental motivation to learn and use it (and in so doing become bilingual) is low.

In looking at patterns of [+/-Valuation], there are, naturally, echoes of the positive evaluation of abstract or potential situations (discussed in 4.3.1.2), and a vacillation when it comes to concrete scenarios with children and language learning practicalities. Participants (especially males) state outright that they would support language learning, as long as it does not interrupt other academic, cultural or sporting pursuits, as is shown in examples 1.53 and 1.54. It is also expressed strongly by participant M 5 (who was not chosen as a case for this question), when he states

1.53 (M2: 7-8) “it’s for their own good but ja I mean just for the subject I want them to get a reasonable mark so”.

1.54 (M5:11-14)

P: ja if it’s not gonna alter like not gonna affect like their maths and their sciences and =

I: = as long as they can still function at school =

P: = and play sport well and ().

Other participants evoke a [-Security] or [-Valuation] of language learning versus academic success in their responses. Language learning, and so plurilingualism, are seen as desirable social phenomena, but purely academic in acquisition, thus for the participants there is a mismatch between their Rainbowism desires, and the practicalities and securities if a monolingual mindset. Further to this, while both males and females express [+Valuation] towards African languages in general (not necessarily in their own lives), males tend to qualify their valuation with ‘in South Africa’ more often than females do. Males (and participant F3 in particular) tend to express [+Valuation] towards international languages more often than females.

The attitude expressed towards Afrikaans is complicated. There are many instances of participants saying that they never use Afrikaans ([-Valuation]) especially in Durban, and, as discussed above, mention it as a purely academic exercise. Thus its [+Valuation] lies purely in its ‘ease’ of passing compared with Zulu. Further to this, [+Inclination] is often expressed in relation of Afrikaans, especially when participants express happiness over being able to talk another language effectively. Thus Afrikaans is positively evaluated when the participants mention it in connection with

‘unleashing’ their plurilingual ability, which reinforces their [+Valuation] and promotion of plurilingualism. Some participants (such as F2 and M6) talk positively about Afrikaans in terms of its use elsewhere in South Africa. [+Valuations] of Afrikaans (and [+Reaction]) are made in relation to the makeup of the Afrikaans FAL class (i.e. made up of genuine 2nd language Afrikaans learners) and the Zulu FAL class (which is made up of 1st language Zulu speakers) (see example 1.23)

One last pattern evident in Q6 is a tendency to take a presence or lack of English as affecting South Africanness. This is evident through the occasions where participants state that it is not the individual’s ‘fault’ if they only speak Zulu or do not have access to English. This is exemplified in examples 1.55 and 1.56 below:

1.55 (F1:3-4) “you can’t say someone’s less of a South African if they only speak Zulu”.

1.56 (M6:1) “I mean whatever language you speak is not really your fault that you born to Zulu speaking people”.

This marks speaking English as a distinctive feature being a ‘South African’ in the eyes of the participant. The participants do not seem to consider the fact that Zulu is an indigenous language to South Africa, while English is naturalised. This also continues a trend seen in earlier responses to questions whereby a lack of knowledge of a certain language is characterised as lacking agency or reflecting fault on the part of the individual who does not know the language. There is an inherent lack of capacity felt when it comes to language learning or communicative ability and the lack thereof. However, in contrast to the South Africanness of English seen above, in example 1.57, the same participant that made the statement in 1.55 states:

1.57 (F1: 5-7) “if I was able to speak many languages I would definitely be, be able to say I was a true South African () more so than someone who just speaks English”.

Here we see an apparent contradiction between the immediate denial that language can affect someone’s South Africanness in 1.55 and the assertion here that only speaking English makes you less of a ‘true’ South African. However, below the contradiction possibly lies a reinforcement of the uneasy relationship between the individual and his/her monolingualism. Only speaking Zulu does not make you less South African – but only speaking English does.

The example above highlights the second and most prevalent pattern evident in the participants’ responses to Q6. In 1.57 the participant makes this statement, after starting off her reply by making the following statement:

1.58 (F1:1-2) “I don’t know if to make you a better South African you would speak; it would mean that you would speak a different language”.

This is an initial rejection [-Valuation] of a link between South Africanness and language. She then immediately follows it up with an indication of [+Propriety] in the statement:

1.59 (F1:2) “but I think it would help”.

However, the social implications of this statement are revealed as the participant further indicates [-Security] by stating:

1.60 (F1:2-3) “if you know what I mean”.

In viewing responses to this question, a pattern is evident where by the participants – for the most part – initially respond with a denial of the statement made in the article. F1, F3, F4, F6, M1 and M8 all start their responses with an initial statement of ‘No’ or ‘I don’t think so’. However as will be shown below, they all (bar F6) go on to contradict or confound this sentiment in some way. As we see, this highlights a split between an entrenched/reinforced monolingual mindset in English and a surface Rainbowism.

1.61 (F4: 4-6) “but um I think knowing more than one African language might make like make you more proud to be South African”.

1.62 (Q6:M1:1-2) “no I think we would sort of get on with each other better because we would understand each other properly”.

1.63 (Q6:M5:1-2) “think that () sort of we’d be more united as a country if everyone could understand everyone else”.

The relationship between statements such as those above and its reflection of uncertainty in terms of Engagement is further addressed in 4.3.3.3. We can see for the above illustrations a characterisation of the discourse of compromise produced by the participants as they wrestle with the demands of a rainbow nation ideology that is incorporated within a concept of ‘South African’ national identity, and the monolingual mindset engendered in them through their upbringing as monolingual English speakers in the most ‘English sector’ of the country (as detailed in sections 2.2 and 3.3.1). We now move on to look at the Graduation subsystem.

4.3.2 Graduation

In what follows I will reflect on the general breakdown of the Graduation choices of the participants across all 6 questions, and detail the patterns evident therein.

4.3.2.1 Description of figures and appraised

Table 4.5 on the following page provides an overview of the total number of instantiations of Graduation choices used across the 6 questions, including the instances of upscaling (US) and downscaling (DS) per question.

	Q1			Q2			Q3			Q4			Q5			Q6		
		US	DS		US	DS		US	DS		US	DS		US	DS		US	DS
Force																		
Intensification:																		
Quality	18	15	5	17	13	4	23	22	1	10	9	1	8	3	5	2	1	1
Process	31	25	4	25	13	12	47	38	9	15	9	6	46	32	14	16	8	8
Total Intensification	49	40	9	42	26	16	70	60	10	25	18	7	54	35	19	18	9	9
Quantification:																		
Number: Amount	21	13	8	21	12	9	44	31	13	7	6	1	20	11	9	19	17	2
Extent: Distribution	11	7	4	9	6	3	22	14	8	4	3	1	4	3	1	2	1	1
Extent: Proximity	1	1	0	3	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Total Quantification	33	21	12	33	20	13	67	46	21	11	9	2	25	15	10	21	18	3
Total Force:	82	61	21	75	46	29	137	106	31	36	27	9	79	50	29	39	27	12
Focus																		
Sharpen	2	2	0	1	1	0	6	6	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	4	4	0
Soften	10	0	10	9	0	9	11	0	11	11	0	11	4	0	4	7	0	7
Total Focus	12	2	10	10	1	9	17	6	11	11	0	11	5	1	4	11	4	7
Total	94	63	31	85	47	38	154	112	42	47	27	20	84	51	33	50	31	19
Type																		
Infusing	25	20	5	15	15	0	18	12	6	7	6	1	5	3	2	2	1	1
Isolating	69	43	26	70	32	38	136	100	36	40	21	19	71	41	30	48	32	16
	94	63	31	85	47	38	154	112	42	47	27	20	76	44	32	50	33	17

Table 4.5: Distribution of Graduation choices in questions 1-6 (Q1-6)

In all 6 questions the majority of Graduations coded are classified as Force. On average there are 11 instances of Focus (see table 4.5 above for figures per Question), compared to 54 instances of Force. This figure (average Force) is lower than initially appears in the individual figures per question as Q4 and Q6 have substantially fewer instances of Graduation overall (47 and 50 respectively compared to 94 (Q1), 85 (Q2), 154 (Q3) and 84 (Q6), indicating roughly half the number of Graduations). The majority of all expressions of Focus, are those of Soften. Only 14 out of a total of 66 Focus graduations are Sharpened. Appendix 18 contains graphs showing the breakdown of Graduation APPRAISALS across all 6 questions.

Of the Force appraisals, the majority in each of the 6 questions are classified as Intensification, with the number of Quantification graduations close behind. See table 4.5 for exact figures per question. The majority of Intensification graduations are of Process, with Quality making up anywhere from 11 to 40% of the instantiations. Number: Amount makes up at least half of all Qualification graduations across all 6 questions. Thereafter Extend: Distribution is the most often expressed form of Graduation, with Extent: Proximity only being expressed 6 times in total across the Q1-6. In general, more instances of Graduation are upscaled than downscaled (333 out of 514 – roughly 65%).

The appraised according to the ‘topic clusters’ (discussed in section 3.5.2) is detailed below. I look at the overall negative and positive attitudes associated with the different clusters according to expressions of Graduation. Only those clusters that produce a significant number of expressions of Graduation per question are discussed (i.e. if ‘English’ only received 2 expressions of Graduation,

it is not included in the analysis). Examples of typical graduations associated with these cluster can be seen in section 4.3.2.1.

Plurilingualism: Questions 1, 3, 4, 5, 6 all feature a fair number of graduations coded for this cluster. Q1's graduations focus on plurilingualism including language learning, and Society. Q3's graduations focus on plurilingualism including language learning and choosing an FAL. The graduations are overwhelmingly positive attitudinally (upscaled 21 versus 5). Q4's graduations focus on plurilingualism including speaking others' language (mainly females) and non-English speakers speaking English (mainly males). All but one has a positive attitudinal meaning. The sole negative statement is actually 'positive' regarding plurilingualism as the participant (M4 – see example 1.25) is stating that he feels 'sorry' for Non-English speakers having to speak English, and a sense of guilt or shame that he does not reciprocate. Q5's graduations focus on plurilingualism, including diversity, bilingual education (primarily by females) and language learning (especially at young age). Q6's graduations focus on plurilingualism (negative and positive). Plurilingualism particularly relating to it affecting South Africanness, and knowing African languages is generally negatively appraised.

Zulu (African languages): Q3's graduations focus on Zulu, particularly as a FAL, and its impact on academic success. These graduations are more negative (43) than positive (15). Of the 36 male instantiations in this question involving Graduation, all but 6 are negative. This indicates a much more overwhelmingly negative association with the Zulu-related topics for males than females. Q5's graduations focus on Zulu and African languages (in SA). Instantiations are almost equally positive and negative.

English: Questions 1, 2, 5 and 6 all feature a number of graduations coded in this cluster. In Q1, 5 and 6 graduations are almost exclusively positive, with graduations of monolingual upbringing in Q5 only receiving negative attitudinal meaning. In Q2, there are 32 graduations in this cluster. They focus on English being used to exclude (usually in the form of a denial), and graduations relating to English's benefits and usefulness; English as a language; English speaking countries (positively). The positive assessments of English speaking countries are made mainly by males.

Academic Success: Q5 features a number of graduations coded as the 'Academic Success'. These include topics relating to bilingual education and theoretical language learning.

Afrikaans: Questions 3 and 5 feature a number of graduations coded under this cluster. In Q3 graduations focus on Afrikaans teaching, participant ability, and Afrikaans as a FAL. These are mainly negative (27 out of 41). In Q5 graduations concern Afrikaans as a FAL and theoretical Language learning/teaching (in relation to FAL).

Self: Questions 1, 2, 4 5 feature a number of graduations coded as 'Self'. In particular, these graduations relate to the fact that the participant does not know, speak or understand Zulu, or in

general. These expressions are generally coded as negative attitudinally as they represent a lack of or desire for something often characterised as beyond their reach.

Other question-specific clusters that receive a number of graduations:

Q2: Exclusion through language (13, usually negative)

Q6: Being a good person (usually positive) and language affecting South Africanness (usually negative).

We now look at any particular patterns of use of up and downscaling. Examples of typical graduations associated with the clusters outlined above can be seen in section 4.3.2.1.

4.3.2.2 Patterns of upscaling and downscaling

This section looks at patterns of Upscaling and Downscaling that are deemed to be interesting. A few of these patterns relate to potential gender differences. As such, these are addressed in 5.3.1. First we look at the use of sharpening and softening in selected instances. Examples of how sharpening and softening are used to align the listener with the value position of the participant, will now be exemplified from examples in Q1, Q3 and Q4, these usages continue throughout the 6 questions. In Q1, the two instances of Sharpening seen in Q1 both concern plurilingualism, and are both upscaled, positive attitudes, indicating a very strong commitment to and maximum investment in the value position (VP) put forward, as well as being a strong attempt to align the reader with this VP. This echoes the sense of pro-plurilingualism highlighted in 4.1.1.1. However, the situation is more complicated concerning the softened attitudes. Five are positive attitudes that are downscaled, and 5 are negative attitudes that are downscaled. As discussed in Section 3.5.2.3, the softening of a positive attitude indicates an attempt to mitigate the effect of a statement or attitude that is potentially damaging to producer-listener solidarity, for example 1.64 below:

1.64 (M2:53) “Kinda close contact”.

Here the participant could be preparing against a diminished sense of relationship with the white, English speaking listener if he appeals too closely to his Hindi heritage. Thus the 5 instances appraised may be construed by the participant as something that may threaten the listener/receiver (the researcher), or be something with which the receiver would want to dis-align as just illustrated. The appraised in these instances are two comments by F2 that potentially cast Durbanites in a negative light; a comment by F7 concerning language may be assisting unity; and two comments by M2, the example used regarding Hindi, the other concerning not having difficulty with English as a subject. In all these instances one can see how the participant is guarding against a potential objection to the statement made.

The softening of a negative attitude, however, indicates a lessening of investment on the part of the participant in their statement, in an attempt to ‘placate’ the listener, should they disagree. The subjects of appraisal in these instances concern two statements about ‘our’ inability to introduce mother-tongue MOI or the propriety thereof e.g. 1.65 (F5: 10) “We can’t really change a lot”, one concerning not being able to learn Hindi at school, another stating that the article does have a point, and the last questioning why more South Africans are not bilingual. Again, on all these issues I, and the producer of the stimulus article, could object to or dis-align from these value positions (VPs), and so the use of softening tools indicates an attempt to placate or to circumvent this. In Q2, when looking at the appraisals that are coded as Focus, the vast majority are softened (9/10). Of these, all but two are negative attitudinal appraisals. The two positive instantiations relate to an expressed need to learn English, and the assertion that English does not exclude. The fact that these are downscaled suggests that the participants are aware that these assertions are contestable, and so they are hedging their commitment to the VPs portrayed in them. Of the remaining 7 negative instances, 5 relate to linguistic exclusion in some way (of both English (2) and Zulu (3)), 1 to Zulu speakers ‘sticking together’ and 1 to an assertion that the participant does not encounter Zulu in his/her day to day life. One can see that the topics of these statements are potentially contestable and of a sensitive nature, hence one can see the participant guarding against offence.

In Q3, when looking at the appraisals that are coded as Focus, 11 are negative attitudinal appraisals, and 6 positive. Four of the softened positives use the word ‘kinda’ (as does example 1.64 above), indicating a ‘hedging’ of the commitments to the positive statements made. The softened negatives all refer to the linguistic ability of others, particularly the parental ability with Afrikaans, the inability of Zulu speakers to read and write in Zulu, and the English ability of rural South Africans. For example:

1.66 (Q3:F4:8) “they’re not the best at Afrikaans either”.

1.67 (Q3:F2: 58-61). “the thing is English is a much harder language to learn than Zulu I mean it is known to be the hardest language to try and learn and therefore African people who are in rural areas and so on their English is not spot on”.

Thus one can see that the participants would be wanting to mitigate the sense of ‘judgement’ that could be seen to be made about the linguistic ability of others, and so avoid offence. One can also see from the example above, an attempt to upscale the difficulty of English, with the effect of making it more plausible (and beyond their control) that rural Africans struggle with English.

Statements, reflecting an awareness that Zulu would be more beneficial socially than Afrikaans for the MES are often upscaled. For example,

1.68 (F4:37-38) “you find more Zulu speaking people than Afrikaans speaking people”.

1.69 (F4:40) “I mean I don’t think I’m ever going to use Afrikaans”.

1.70 (F6: 13) “But a language like Afrikaans, we don’t really use it here”.

Yet despite this, the ideological appeal of Zulu and desire to know it (as indicated in all three questions thus far), does not translate into actual language acquisition.

In Q4, all 11 occurrences of softening fall under the topic grouping of Plurilingualism in Q4. Six of these are made by males. Most of these 11 downscores relate to statements where the participants are dealing with a more ‘concrete’ aspect of their reply – how exactly they would make their child bilingual:

1.71 (F1:4) “or possibly like a, a crèche where they learn Zulu or something”.

or someone’s attempt to speak Zulu:

1.72 (F4:19) “my dad tries (both) he knows a few words so”.

Otherwise there is an upscaling of positive attitudes towards plurilingualism, which indicates a desire to appear strongly associated with the tenets of the ‘Rainbow Nation’ ideology.

One can see from the examples of softening above that instances of downscaling are used to mitigate commitment to a value position. This often highlights the discourse of compromise that the participants employ when trying to negotiate Rainbowism and a monolingual mindset. In Q3 only 16 of the total 58 Graduations are downscaled. Of these the majority (12/16) are negative attitudinally. This follows the pattern in previous questions (Q1 and 2) where negative assertions are downscaled in an effort to avoid offence. The negatives in Q3 (all but one from males) relate to Zulu not being useful, and the behaviour of Zulu speakers in the Zulu FAL class towards non-Zulu speakers. It must be noted that 11 of the 13 male downscores come from participant M6, including all three positive downscores made by males. As has been mentioned, the majority of the graduations relating to Zulu are negative, and upscaled. The majority of these relate to the difficulty of Zulu, particularly as a FAL and in relation to Zulu FAL. This is true for both males and females. In Q5, positive downscores are seen to relate exclusively to plurilingualism and Zulu, indicating a sense of ‘unease’ – introduced by the monolingual mindset – when promoting plurilingualism and LOTE. Interestingly these are made primarily by females.

A noteworthy use of Graduation that becomes evident in Q2, concerns the participants’ claims of English being inclusive or exclusive. Graduation is generally not used in the phrasing of the question (see 3.5.2.5), however, for the most part, participants respond with the phrase ‘more inclusive’ or ‘more exclusive’. This provided a difficulty when coding, and the inclusion of the grading item ‘more’ seems to indicate that the participants are not willing to commit to saying one or the other – even with the positive association of inclusivity (in this context). Thus I coded these phrases as both upscaling of the positive Quality of inclusivity and a downscaling of the negative Quality of exclusivity. This is exemplified below:

1.73 (F7:1) “it’s more of an inclusive language”.

1.74 (M1:1) “more inclusive”.

1.75 (M7:11) “more of an exclusive in my opinion”.

In the statement seen in 1.75, the negative exclusivity was coded as upscaled Quality, and the (implied) positive inclusivity as downscaled Quality. As mentioned in 4.3.2, some of the iterations of the question do involve the phrase ‘more of an inclusive language’ (indicating inclusive as compared to exclusive), however, the participants’ use of the term ‘more’ as seen in 1.73 and 1.74, is interpreted as a scaling tool.

At this point I will briefly address the case of participant M1, as his responses provide a thought-provoking look at how and why certain attitudes are expressed by participants. Examples 1.76 and 1.77 below are extracts from M1’s responses to Q4. Example 1.76 deals with whether he thinks the quote by Mandela is good or correct:

1.76 (M1: 5 - 12)

I: what do you think he’s trying to say what do you think he means by it goes to his heart

P: I’m not sure I think it’s like () if () (starts laughing)

I: so if someone talks to you in English and you can tell they not an English speaker like

P: it it’s sort of like it makes you feel a sense of respect for them cause they trying to speak to you and you maybe sometimes feeling like touched by it or something (mumbles).

In this brief exchange one can see the conflict between the monolingual mindset that has been nurtured in M1, and the Rainbow Nation ideology (strongly evoked by the reference to Mandela) that is used to represent the ‘new’ South Africa. When initially asked what he thought of the quote, M1 indicates insecurity about how to answer, reinforced by a ‘nervous laugh’ at the end of his unfinished statement. After prompting from the interviewer relating the abstract quote to a real life situation (‘How do you feel when a non-English speaking person speaks to you in English?’), he then answers. The answer provided is one that contains the expected sentiment that would fall in line with the Rainbow Nation ideology. However, it is evident for M1’s graduations of his statements and the Affect sentiment expressed that he is not committed to these statements. He is, evidently, giving the answer he feels would be expected and appropriate in a post-Apartheid setting. This participant quite comfortably expresses pro-English sentiment in other sections of the interview, and repeats a perceived lack of valuation for the African languages (generally in relation to international benefit and usage). However, in this question, with the direct reference to a statement by Nelson Mandela, he expresses ‘discomfort’ at expressing sentiment contrary to the ‘father of the Nation’. When asked about his experiences when attempting to speak Zulu to Zulu speakers (basically through cursory greetings), he again indicates a positive response, that he downscale, and follows with a negative experience, that seems to carry more weight than the positive. This is seen in example 1.77 below:

1.77 (M1: 16-18) “um well usually usually they kinda positive about it if you see like a Zulu speaking person and you say Sawubona they’ll like smile but I mean I’ve had like I think two instances where people are like ‘why you doing that it’s not necessary’”.

Here we can see that the two instances of a negative reception weigh far more heavily in the memory, attitude and perception of M1 than the ‘usually kinda positive’ (example 1.77) ones.

Thus Graduation plays a role in revealing the insecurities – or the discourse of compromise – in the participant’s narrative as they seem to distance, mitigate or enhance certain value positions. We now move on to look at the engagement choices made by participants and their role in the production of this discourse of compromise.

4.3.3 Engagement

The following section details first the breakdown of the usage of the various sub-systems of Engagement throughout the 6 questions, as well as with what is appraised in the various situations (4.3.3.1). Thereafter two different patterns evident in the results of the analysis are discussed, namely a pattern of Counter/Deny (4.3.3.2) and patterns of Engagement and Contraction (4.3.3.2).

4.3.3.1 Description of figures and appraised

The table below (Table 4.6) provides an overall view of the Engagement choices made by the 9 participants in phrasing their responses to Q2, as they seek to negotiate their relationship with the listener (and the value positions proffered in the stimulus article) through the statements made.

	Q1			Q2			Q3			Q4			Q5			Q6		
Contraction		+	-		+	-		+	-		+	-		+	-		+	-
Disclaim	(46)			(35)			(42)			(9)			(22)			(24)		
Deny	18	2	16	16	8	8	13	1	12	5	1	4	11	2	9	16	5	11
Counter	28	6	22	19	9	10	29	16	13	4	1	3	11	6	5	8	5	3
Proclaim	(80)			(57)			(120)			(46)			(75)			(30)		
Concur	5	3	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	4	3	1	8	8	0	0	0	0
Pronounce	75	36	39	55	34	21	120	58	62	42	30	12	67	39	28	30	22	8
Total Cont.	126	47	79	91	51	40	162	75	87	55	35	20	97	55	42	54	32	22
Expansion																		
Entertain	50	30	20	52	26	26	70	31	39	27	24	3	43	20	23	25	14	11
Attribute	5	1	4	0	0	0	12	2	10	3	3	0	2	0	2	2	1	1
Total Exp.	55	31	4	52	26	26	82	33	49	30	26	3	45	20	25	27	15	12
Total	181	78	10	143	77	66	244	108	136	85	62	23	142	75	67	81	47	34

Table 4.6: Distribution of Engagement choices for questions 1-6

Of all the evaluative choices made across all 6 questions there are, on average, just under double the number of Contractions as there are Expansions. The majority of Contractions fall under Proclaim, with the vast majority thereof being instances of Pronounce. Only 18 of 408 uses of Proclaim are instances of Concur. 177 of the total 585 Contractions across all 6 questions are coded as Disclaim. Forty-five percent of all Disclaim instances are of Deny, with the remaining 55 being Counter. In total, just 291 of the 876 Engagement choices (33%) made across all 6 questions, are

Expansions. The majority of these Expansions are coded as 'Entertain', with just 8% being coded as Attribute.

In Q1, the fact that such a vast majority of Contractions fall under Proclaim: Pronounce, is attributed in large part to the use of the phrase 'I mean' (discussed in 4.3.4.2) which accounts for 29 of the 75 Pronouncements. 25 of these 29 instances of Pronounce are produced by one particular participant, M2. If one excludes these from the total number of instances of contraction, there are still around twice as many contractions than expansions in Q1. In Q1, there are more negative than positive attitude appraisals associated with Contraction, whereas there are slightly more positive than negative Expansion appraisals. In Q2, there are 10 more positive (51) than negative (41) attitude appraisals associated with Contraction. For Expansion, there are almost equal positive and negative instantiations. Contrary to Q1, the total number of [Pronounce] only includes 5 cases of the use of 'I mean' (of a total of 9). Of the 35 counts of Disclaim, there are an almost equal number of Denials and Counters, indicating a strong pattern of Deny/Counter of a Value Position. This is discussed further in 4.3.3.2 Unlike the case in Q2, Q3 only contains one sequence of Deny/Counter, with most of the instances of Deny and Counter occurring in isolation to one another. Q3 features the greatest number of instances of Attribute, with all but 2 instances of Attribute being negative. This makes sense as one can see the participants wanting to distance themselves from negative statements or attitudes associated with choosing Afrikaans over Zulu, and so not only are they opening the dialogic space to allow disagreement, they are also grounding the authority for the statements as external to themselves. All of the male instances of Attribute are made in relation to comments about the Zulu FAL class. Most are made by participant M6 when talking about the experiences of the sole English speaker in the Zulu FAL class. For example, (M6: 5) "he said it's quite tough".

A breakdown of the positivity and negativity of the attitudes attached to the Engagement choices made in Q3, reveals that just over half of the instantiations are negative (136). Interestingly, of the 74 Engagement choices made by males, an overwhelming majority – 57 – are negative, whereas slightly more of the females' 170 instantiations are positive. This is discussed further in 3.5.1. The majority of the Engagement choices made in Q4 (i.e. 62) have a positive attitudinal meaning, with 23 negative. As with Q4, the majority of Engagement choices in Q5 also have a positive attitudinal meaning (i.e. 75), however there is an almost equal number of negative Engagements. Of the 142 expressions of Engagement female participants produce an equal number of expressions with positive and negative attitudinal meaning. Male participants express attitudinally negative statements 23 times and 35 positively.

In Q6, in relation to the Expansion and Contraction of positive and negative attitudinal meaning, there are, overall, more positive (47) to negative (34) expressions of Engagement. Expansions are almost equal in terms of positive (15) to negative (Attitude), while Contractions are made slightly more on positive (31) than negative (22) attitudinal meanings. When one breaks up the Contractions into Proclaim and Disclaim, one can see that Disclaim expressions are almost equally as common for positive as they are for negative Appraised. Thus participants can be seen to be making Pronouncements (and so forcefully closing the dialogic space) primarily about positive attitudinal Appraised, while they are just as likely to open the dialogic space equally for positive and negative Appraised. In terms of gender, males and females employ Engagement roughly the same amount for positive Appraised with neither favouring Expansions or Contractions. However, males employ Engagement almost 3 times as often for negative Appraised than do females. Females make 2 negative Expansions to males' 10, and 5 negative contractions to the male 17. Thus males are more likely to feel the need to modify or manipulate (both through Contract and Expand) negative Appraised, and to negotiate the dialogic space surrounding their negative statements. Males also make more negative Appraisals overall (49 versus 32) under the Engagement subsystem in Q6.

Specific patterns of Contraction and Expansion are discussed in what follows. In 4.3.3.2 a pattern of Expansion and Contraction that is seen throughout most questions is focused on, while the role played by the tokens *I think, I mean, You know* (which feature most strongly in Q1, however do feature throughout the questions) in the alignment of the reader and the manipulation of the dialogic space is discussed (see 4.1.1.1.6.). A pattern of Counter and Deny seen in some questions (particularly in Q2) is discussed in 4.3.3.2.

4.3.3.2 Patterns of Counter and Deny

There are many occurrences of a pattern of Counter/Deny, and Deny/Counter through the six questions, and are seen particularly frequently in responses to Q2. This section will present some examples of these sequences, representing the most commonly appraised in contexts where the pattern appears.

Many of the instances have the effect of attempting to explain something, often dealing with a negative or sensitive situation (such as racism, or exclusion due to language), as seen in examples 1.78 and 1.79 below:

1.78 (Q2:F7: 9-10) "I don't wanna be racist or anything [**Contract**: Deny] but you'll have like the black people or whatever [**Contract**: Counter]".

1.79 (Q2F2: 13-14) "not because they trying to be mean or excluding us [**Contraction**: Deny] but because they more comfortable doing that [**Contract**: Counter]".

Often combinations of Deny/Counter are found in statements that concern 'exclusions' – the question of whether English is an exclusive language, or inclusive (as intimated in the stimulus

article) – and provide the sense of [-Capacity] mentioned in 4.3.1.3. In essence these sequences are seemingly employed to try and remove the negative association of intentional exclusion from English. This can be seen in examples 1.80, 1.81 and 1.82 below:

- 1.80 (Q2:F1:2) “I don’t think it’s necessarily on purpose [**Contract**: Deny], it just happened that way [**Contract**: Counter]”.
- 1.81 (Q2:F1: 12-13) “it has caused exclusion () but [**Contract**: Counter] I don’t think it’s necessarily to exclude [**Contract**: Deny]”.
- 1.82 (Q2:F6: 5-6) “So it’s not that we’re, that you’re being elite [**Contract**: Deny], it’s just that most people know English [**Contract**: Counter]”.

In 1.83 below, the Deny/Counter is used to amend or mitigate commitment to an upscaled Process (‘at all’), but acknowledging that some people will be excluded by English. Here the participant places ‘blame’ for the exclusion on “our past” (M2:7-8), again removing responsibility from English speakers or English itself:

- 1.83 (Q2:M2: 5-6) “I mean it’s not to exclude people at all [**Contract**: Deny] () okay if like people from rural areas [**Contract**: Counter]”.

Further examples of Counter/Deny, and Deny/Counter can be seen Appendix 21 (Section 2). This constant countering and denial of value positions works together with the patterns of Expand and Contract (to be discussed below) to add to the sense of insecurity and uncertainty evident in the participant’s relationship with language. In fact, many of the instances of Counter/Deny and Deny/Counter used as examples above form part of larger extracts that exemplify the pattern of Expand and Contract to be discussed. These patterns are considered in 4.3.3.3 below.

4.3.3.3 Patterns of Expansion and Contraction

There is a pattern of continual Expand, Contract, Expand in the responses to many of the 6 questions. This section will look at examples of this pattern of ‘switching’ between Expansion and Contraction from all 6 questions.

The trend is very noticeable in responses to Q1. However, as described in 3.4.2, Q1 is also the first question asked in the interview (aside from biographical questions), and so is the participants first attempt at explaining their attitude/feelings on the topic. The prevalence of the Contracting and Expanding of the dialogic space is therefore interesting as it indicates up front that the participants are unsure of the topic, or at least are wrestling with how to explain themselves to some degree. If one looks at Appendix 15, at the table of Engagement coding for Q1, one can see the continual switch between contraction and expansion, highlighted with colour to aid the distinction (see Appendix 15 and E-Appendix 1). The dialogic space is continuously opened and closed by the speaker. It is this constant negotiation of alignment of the textual voice that seems to indicate the ambiguous position held by the MES in a plurilingual South Africa. Below are examples taken from the responses to Q1 to illustrate this point.:

1.84 (Q1:F1:12-14) “I hear my friends speak Zulu and it’s it’s really hard for me [**Contract**: Pronounce -] not to be part of that conversation. it is true, like there is no drive for it [**Contract**: Pronounce -]. it’s basically a thing well, you can choose to learn both languages or not you know [**Expand**: Entertain]”.

In example 1.84 the participant makes two negative pronouncements about not being able to speak Zulu, and there being an apparent lack of will (in general) to learn it, in doing so contracting the dialogic space quite forcefully. However, she ends the utterance with an expansion in the form of the phrase ‘You know’. The use of the phrase ‘You know’ (as well as ‘I think’ and ‘I mean’) is dealt with later in this section. Example 1.85 (to follow) shows a clear pattern of Expand, Contract, Expand, Contract as the participant talks about wanting to learn Zulu, but it not being something that is really available to her.

1.85 (Q1:F1 17 - 18) “Ja well I’ve always wanted to [**Expand**: Entertain +), it’s been an interest but it’s never [**Contract**: Counter; Deny -], my parents don’t do it, my friends, you know [**Expand**: Entertain-] my social circle, it’s ja no it’s ja. it’s unfortunate [**Contract**: Pronounce -]”.

Example 1.85 provides a good illustration of the discourse of compromise – a manoeuvring between an embracing of the Rainbow Nation ideology, and the effects of a monolingual mindset. The inclination is expressed towards English/Zulu plurilingualism, however the ‘status quo’ is put forward as the reason for the participant’s monolingualism. While there is a definite expression of dissatisfaction, there appears to be no agency on the part of the participant – all agency for the lack of plurilingualism is placed on society and external factors.

1.86 (Q1:F4:5-9) “if you go into the rural schools they try teach them in English most of the time [**Expand**: Entertain +] but they don’t understand the language [**Contract**: Counter, Deny -] so I mean it’s hard [**Contract**: Pronounce -] it’s like teaching me in Afrikaans which I don’t understand at all [**Contract**: Deny -] and it’s you tryna teach something new [**Expand**: Entertain +] but you can’t learn [**Contract**: Counter, Deny -] because you don’t know what they’re saying [**Contract**: Pronounce -]”.

Example 1.86 further illustrates this ‘jumping’ between Contraction and Expansion while trying to make oneself heard and coherent. This indicates the plural nature of the participants’ identity as they continually seek to take into account the wider ‘Rainbow Nation’ perspective, and their own insecurities as an English monolingual.

1.87 (Q1:F7:1-7) “Um... I think it’s sort’ve telling you [**Expand**: Entertain/Attribute] that why South Africa’s so different compared to other countries. Why can’t we also () why () why aren’t more of our people more bilingual [**Contract**: Concur-] I think [**Expand**: Entertain]. Ja so, we should, we should know [**Contract**: Pronounce +] the languages that we are surrounded by. So, the culture ‘break’, if I can say [**Expand**: Entertain], isn’t as big”.

The last example (1.87) provides a strong picture of the insecurity of the participant, and how it can be revealed through an Engagement analysis. The softened, downscaled attribution of what the article is about indicates an immediate insecurity about the participant’s interpretation and expression of the issues discussed. This is followed up with a Contraction (Concur) that exerts a strong sense of [-Propriety] over South African society. This is immediately followed with an Expansion in the form of ‘I think’, allowing the dialogic space to open up, and provide space for the listener to disagree. A further pattern often observed is that many times, when Contractions are

negative attitudinally, the interjecting Expansions are positive, and occasionally neutral (see example above).

The trend mentioned in 4.3.1.2 of positively evaluating possibilities (or abstract ideas) is also evident or reinforced by the sequence of Contraction and Expansion. The positive possibility is often expanded, yet then often followed by a contraction and negation of the ‘reality’ of it. This could be seen to reflect the participant’s wrestling with the conflicting sides of their identity and experience. This is illustrated in the following example 1.88 (as well as 1.84 and 1.85):

1.88 (Q1:F5:19-23) “No, there could be [**Expand**: Entertain +], definitely [**Contract**: Pronounce+], but it all depends on the parents [**Contract**: Counter -] and the children themselves because like if you have to say to parents, ‘k we’re gonna start doing Eng uh English and Zulu now, we’re not doing Afrikaans anymore’, then some parents have been bought up in like an Afrikaans, they speak Afrikaans and everything like that so it’s quite unfair on them [**Contract**: Pronounce -]”.

The pattern of Expansion and Contraction seen in Q1 is also evident in Q2. The examples below serve to illustrate this in Q2, and show what it reveals about the security of the participants and their alignment with the value positions put forward.

In example 1.89 below, the participant is negotiating between English excluding people, and expressing a lack of fault on the part of English and English speakers.

1.89 (Q2:F2:2-7) “I don’t think it excludes people on purpose [**Expand**: Entertain] I think when you know the language you just tend to speak [**Expand**: Entertain] you don’t do it intentionally [**Contract**: Deny] ‘oh my gosh I’m not going to speak English because she doesn’t know it’ (MR) You know [**Expand**: Entertain] that (.) you you just naturally you just tend to speak English to that person [**Contract**: Pronounce] you don’t really realise [**Contract**: Deny]”.

The Contractions in this example are on denials of intent, closing down the space when asserting that there is no intention behind English excluding people. Thus the participant is strongly aligning the interviewer with this value position. After the first contraction, the participant immediately employs ‘you know’ (as discussed below), to ascertain the listener’s agreement, and then continues with two contractions. This is in contrast to the opening section of the example, in which the participant opens the dialogic space, possibly seeking where the listener ‘falls’ on the topic.

The following example (1.90) is a good illustration of the conflict between a monolingual mindset, and the experiences of the participant living in a plurilingual society.

1.90 (Q2:F6:9-12) “I think so [**Expand**: Entertain], ‘cause no matter where you go, if you speak at least one (.) if the other person speaks at least one word of English or that are able to understand then you can communicate [**Contract**: Pronounce]. But then you also could do that with Afrikaans or another language [**Contract**: Counter]. So, I dunno [**Expand**: Entertain]”.

While the participant prefaces the statement with a slight expansion, indicating this is her opinion, she follows with a strong Contraction that is very pro-English and its inclusive nature. This is followed by a Counter (Contraction) in which the participant acknowledges that in South Africa English is not the only language that can play this role. She thus ends with a rather insecure

Expansion in which she basically counters her assertion of English being Inclusive – that she literally does not know what to think about the topic.

Example 1.91 is taken from participant M2 - the individual who employed the use of ‘I mean’ and ‘You know’ the most in Q1. Thus we know that his narratives contain many hedges and a flow of contractions and expansions. Here he expresses very pro-English sentiment (in contrast to his pro-Hindi (and so seemingly pro-LOTE) responses in Q1), and continually Expands and Contracts the dialogic space as he seeks to explain his position, and so align the listener:

1.91 (Q2:M2:3-9) “I think it’s basically to include people [**Expand**: Entertain] () I mean English () it’s it’s a popular language [**Contract**: Pronounce] I mean it’s to communicate [**Contract**: Pronounce] you know [**Expand**: Entertain] it’s one of the most popular languages in this count...in in the world () so I think [**Contract**: Pronounce] you know [**Expand**: Entertain] it it’s vital [**Contract**: Pronounce] () I I mean it’s not to exclude people at all [**Contract**: Pronounce] () okay if like people from rural areas [**Contract**: Counter] you know [**Expand**: Entertain] people that don’t get enough education will suffer [**Contract**: Pronounce] they will definitely suffer due to our past [**Contract**: Pronounce] () but I mean I still feel they should make an effort to at least learn a little bit of the language [**Contract**: Counter] () it’s useful () you know [**Expand**: Entertain]”.

The pattern in the first part of the response in 1.91 is one of Contract when mentioning the value, use or inclusivity, followed by an Expansion in the form of ‘you know’. In fact, throughout the example, the expansions are all (except the first) instances of ‘you know’. Thus the strong vein of promoting English and learning English, which are all Contractions and so seeking to strongly align the listener, are continually mitigated with the insertion of these Expansions, so ‘double check’ or ‘un-threaten’ the listener. The participant uses the phrase ‘I mean’ 4 times in this extract. Three of the 4 occurrences precede Contractions that could be disagreed with by the listener – “I mean English () it’s it’s a popular language”, “I mean it’s not to exclude people at all” and “but I mean I still feel they should make an effort to at least learn a little bit of the language”. The last in particular is a potentially sensitive statement. As discussed in 4.3.2.1.5, ‘I mean’ appears to be a way of softening the entry into an alignment with a statement that could be potentially problematic for the relationship between speaker and listener.

In Q3 there is less of the alternating Contraction and Expansion in Q3 seen in the previous questions, particularly from male participants. This indicates a firmer attitude towards or assurance of the content and responses made by the participants. Both males and females make roughly twice as many contractions as expansions, however there is overall a marked decrease in this type of Engagement patterning. The female participants are still observed to make these kinds of switches, but less often than in their responses to previous questions. Below are two examples of this switching in Q3. Further examples can be found in Appendix 21(section 3).

1.92 (Q3:F2: 25-36) “So for me I’d say it’s pretty hard [**Expand**: Entertain] but now that the teaching of Afrikaans [**Contract**: Counter] it was very vague [**Contract**: Pronounce] we aren’t ever put into depth and we are very food sped [**Contract**: Pronounce] / Spoon fed (both laugh) sorry and then um I think lately we recently like this grade we’ve been really taught the rules like well enough[**Expand**: Entertain]

and we just now starting to full understand [Contract: Pronounce] /What we saying and it's like we sitting in class and we like 'that's what we supposed to be Like a light bulb/And that spark comes on and now we speak Afrikaans to each other [Contract: Pronounce] like sometimes [Expand: Entertain] and it's kinda cool [Expand: Entertain]”.

- 1.93 (Q:3M6: 5-13) “um I mean I spoke to him on Friday about it [Contract: Pronounce] () he said it's quite tough [Expand: Attribute] but he's getting there [Contract: Pronounce] um I know in grade eight they are saying () like I had some other friends that dropped Zulu [Expand: Attribute]/and they are saying that people the Zulu boys are like laughing at them[Expand: Attribute] like 'what are they doing here' like but speaking in Zulu about them [Contract: Counter]but you could sort of pick up that they mocking you for like 'why are you here' sort of thing um [Contract: Counter] but he's finding it okay [Contract: Counter]but I mean [Contract: Pronounce] Zulu's probably like a really hard language[Expand: Entertain] so he must he can't be aching it[Contract: Pronounce]”.

Q5 sees an increase to a pattern of Expansion and Contraction documented most strongly earlier in Q1. Below are 2 examples from Q5 of the pattern of Expansion and Contraction seen therein, for more examples, see Appendix 21 (section 3):

- 1.94 (Q5:F1: 17-24) “um people, you know [Expand: Entertain], it's like it's almost like a. like a block [Expand: Entertain], I find [Expand: Entertain]. whenever I meet like a black person [Contract: Pronounce] okay, because they speak Zulu and it's their 1st language [Contract: Pronounce], I always feel like I'm embarrassed to - because I can't speak in their mother-tongue [Expand: Entertain]- and I, I'll like say, 'Sawubona' or whatever and I'll try and like say a few phrases [Contract: Pronounce] but, I I'm always like, 'oh gosh, I'm so sorry I don't speak your language' [Contract: Pronounce] you know [Expand: Entertain]. and it's sort of embarrassing for me [Contract: Pronounce] cos I should [Contract: Pronounce] you know [Expand: Entertain], as a South African, I should try and possibly learn it [Expand: Entertain]”.
- 1.95 (Q5:F5:6-12) “because like my dad was saying [Expand: Attribute] 'cause he wanted me to do Zulu [Expand: Attribute] and I didn't want to do Zulu [Contract: Deny] (laughs). but he was saying like when uh someone comes into his office and say they're Zulu, and they start speaking to him in Zulu he doesn't understand them [Expand: Attribute], so you need to - in order to do business - you need Zulu to be able to, [Contract: Pronounce] ja. So you need a say you have parents, say like if you want to become a teacher and you have parents that can only speak well, most likely only speak Zulu, [Expand: Entertain] then you need to kind of understand them in a way [Contract: Pronounce]”.

One can see from the above examples the continuous pattern on Expansion and Contraction as the participants attempt to express themselves and their opinions to the interviewer. Both examples deal with an expression of judgement or valuation of a language or languages (or the lack thereof). In attempting to relate their views the participants are seen, once again, continuously opening and closing the dialogic space, allowing the interviewer room to manoeuvre and align themselves with the participants' expressions, but without overtly 'pressurising' the interviewer into a particular viewpoint.

In Q6, one can see the pattern of Contraction and Expansion in relation to participants disagreeing with the statement in the article (usually a contraction), and then often contradicting or countering their statements later in their answer (often an Expansion). Some of the longer examples of this are detailed below. In 1.96 participant F1 can be seen to move continually between contracting and expanding the dialogic space as she negotiates between her generally pro-plurilingual and Rainbowism attitudes and ideologies, and the monolingual mindset that causes her to rebel against

associating plurilingualism with nationalism. More examples can be seen in Appendix 21 (section 4):

- 1.96 (Q6:F1: 1-7) “uum, I don’t know, if to make you a better South African you would speak, it would mean that you would speak a different language [**Expand**: Entertain], but I think it would help [**Contract**: Counter], if you know what I mean [**Expand**: Entertain]. ‘Cause I think [**Expand**: Entertain], you can’t say someone’s less of a South African if they only speak Zulu if that’s what they’ve been bought up with [**Contract**: Deny]. But if they are able to speak many different languages [**Contract**: Counter] if I was able to speak many languages [**Expand**: Entertain] I would definitely be, be able to say I was a true South African more so than someone who just speaks English [**Contract**: Pronounce]”.

Participants F3 and M2 constantly shift between Contract and Expand. These two participants are almost overt in expressing ‘anti-Rainbowism’ answers and appear acutely aware that their opinions may be unpopular or contrary. Both, in expressing their objection to the notion of language affecting South Africanness, make nods to Rainbowism and a more politically correct view. Their replies to Q6 have not been included in full here as the entire response would need to be included, but they can be found in Appendix 13. Interestingly, is that both of these participants end their answers to Q6 on an Expansion of the dialogic space, indicating an attempt to ‘reconcile’ or align the listener with their statements.

- 1.97 (Q6:F3: 18) “but I think you have to respect different languages and cultures” [**Expand**: Entertain].

- 1.98 (Q6:M2: 29) “I think” [**Expand**: Entertain].

This ends the investigation and exemplification of the pattern of Expand and Contract seen in the responses to the 6 questions earlier. We now move on, as indicated earlier to examine the manifestation and function of certain ‘leader phrases’ seen throughout the 6 questions – namely ‘I think’, ‘I mean’ and ‘You know’. These three particular phrases are seen to recur throughout the responses, and seem to have an effect on the Contraction or Expansion of the dialogic space, particularly with attempts to align the interviewer.

There are many cases where the participants start (and occasionally end an utterance) with the phrase ‘I think’. I have generally coded this as a form of Entertain (Expansion) as in the case of ‘I think Durban people feel very...’ (F2). However, upon analysis, these cases also have echoes of Pronouncement to them. Certain instances of ‘I think’ both propose a proposition as one of a range of options (and so open the dialogic space), and position the proposition as the correct option in the eyes of the participant. Thus as ‘I think’ is used in a variety of different ways and with a variety of different Engagement effects, and is variously coded as Entertain (1.99) and Pronounce (1.100):

- 1.99 (Q5:F7:10-11) “I think that as long as they are able to communicate properly, they should be fine”.

- 1.100 (Q5:F4:12) “I think it’s very admirable when someone can speak more than one language”.

One particular participant (M2) uses ‘I mean’ quite frequently. The phrase is also found in certain other participants’ responses as well. I coded the phrase as Pronounce, however it is almost being used to downscale the pronouncement that is about to be made. In itself, it does not generally convey any specific attitudinal value. It does however function as a less threatening way ‘into’ the

statement the participant is about to make, particularly if the statement could be construed as threatening to the participant/interviewer relationship. This allows for a difference of opinion from the interviewer, yet still proclaims the statement as the speaker's belief. Thus it is almost both Pronounce and Entertain (an issue we also saw with 'I think'). This is illustrated in 1.101 (M2:12-20):

P: and I mean you know I don't get the opportunity to actually learn the language () =
 I: =Ja=
 P: =It's my mother-tongue I mean most our prayers are done with Hindi () =
 I: =Ja=
 P: = you see so it's it's it's a bit of a disadvantage () I mean one population of this country has a chance to
 kind of you know ()=
 P: = learn their mother-tongue but we aren't.

The use of 'I mean' can be seen as reflecting an insecurity, or hesitation on the respondent's part to commit to statements concerning issues of language. The phrase 'I mean' is also occasionally coded as a Counter, with 4 of the 9 occurrences of 'I mean' in Q2 coded as such. The above example also has tokens of the third and final phrase to be discussed here, namely, 'You know'. Again, one particular participant (F1) uses 'You know' frequently, and upon further investigation I found it to be used throughout by many participants. I analysed this phrase as Entertain, as it serves to allow the interviewer space to disagree, or request clarification, and in doing so opens up the dialogic space. We also see in this Expansion a sense of insecurity as 'you know' is always preceded or followed (sometimes both) by something that contracts the space – usually Pronounce as seen in the following example:

1.102 (F1:7-8) "I have never felt a drive to learn Zulu [**Contract**: Deny], you know [**Expand**: Entertain]". 'You know' can also be seen as a desire to align the reader, but without appearing forceful in doing so. As with 'I mean', 'You know' is being used, but as an alignment tool, expanding the dialogic space and releasing the participant from firm commitment to the statement made, should it prove to be something the interviewer chooses to dis-align from. Put colloquially, its intention is to say 'this is what I'm saying and believe, so please align with me, but you don't have to'. It is seeking verification or approval by the interviewer, something that is potentially presumed or anticipated due to the interviewer being a members of the same social group as the participants.

4.3.4 The profile of a MES revealed through the Narrative Elicitation Interview

The overall profile of an MES that emerges from the APPRASIAL analysis reveals a complicated identity and ideological perspective. While the results indicate that both White and Indian participants can be included as member of the same community when it comes to MES, the issue of gender is slightly more complicated (as already indicated in 4.2). The differences between the genders and well as how the APPRASIAL analysis adds to revelations from the Attitude questionnaire is discussed in 5.3.1. We will not focus on issues of gender in this section. In terms of race, the APPRASIAL analysis does not reveal any patterns or trends in terms of differences

between the responses of Indian and White participants. Both white and Indian participants mention familial or ancestral languages, and while it is slightly more common with the Indian participants, their mentioning of these languages or use of them to exemplify something, does not relate to a difference in attitude. Only participant M2 expresses very strong views about wanting to learn Hindi and uses it as the base for his objections to the LiEP. Aside from him, all other participants focus on English, Afrikaans, and Zulu (with a few mentioning French) in schooling.

One of the strongest features to emerge from the APPRAISAL analysis is the constant sense of insecurity and dissatisfaction felt by the participants, mainly originating from the conflict between the Rainbowism that they ‘feel the need’ to display (for reasons discussed in 2.4), and the monolingual mindset that is apparent throughout their responses.

One of the strongest themes that flows throughout the responses to the 6 questions, is the [+Valuation] of plurilingualism and African languages/Zulu (Rainbowism), alongside [-Security] and [-Satisfaction] with English monolingualism and lack of Zulu understanding (as well as intense [-Security] in situations where Zulu is being spoken around them). Here we see the presence of a monolingual mindset – a discomfort with a lack of English in certain situations, associated with a lack of motivation to learn a LOTE and a lack of Capacity placed on English and those who speak English for the situation of English dominance. Male participants often, while expressing ‘displeasure’ at English’s dominance (a nod to Rainbowism), also emphasize the international benefits of English and its lingua franca/worldwide status, as well as Zulu (or ALs) lack of usage internationally. The sense of [-Propriety] often placed on Zulu speakers (usually, but not exclusively by male participants) when speaking Zulu about English speakers (especially if it is known that they can speak English) or in ‘English settings’ such as the classroom, is also a feature of a monolingual mindset.

In the APPRASIAL analysis, participants (particularly female) also express a monolingual mindset in their statements of [+Capacity] and amazement at people who are plurilingual, who can speak a LOTE (whether English mother-tongue speakers or not). As explained in chapter 4.2, while this is a pro-plurilingual expression, the fact that plurilingualism is seen as ‘exceptional’ or the ‘exception’ is a manifestation of a monolingual mindset. This, coupled with the above mentioned expressions of ‘not being a language person’ and difficulty learning a FAL, provides strong evidence of a monolingual mindset. It is of particular import in that this feature of a monolingual mindset is having a direct affect (as mentioned above) on the maintenance of the FAL status quo for English speakers (i.e. taking Afrikaans as the ‘lesser of two evils’).

The MES who were interviewed also commonly ascribe [+Normality] to English, and [-Normality] to Zulu/African languages – even in the context of the wider South African society. This sense of [+Normality] is also a feature of the monolingual mindset, which sees the language of power or the dominant language as the norm and is expected to be known or used by all. The use of English by non-English speakers is also positively evaluated. In addition to this, [+Security] is expressed in relation to being spoken to in a language one understands (i.e. English). This is coupled with high praise and regard for plurilingualism as exceptional, and also seen as not the norm or as easily achievable. As discussed in 4.2.5, while this is seemingly ‘pro-plurilingual’ sentiment, it is also a feature of the monolingual mindset. The [+Valuation] plurilingualism is also countered by lack of Capacity in relation to the MES inaction in terms of learning a LOTE, further highlighting the discourse of compromise of the MES.

A further feature of the monolingual mindset is seen in the [+Valuation] of Academic Success, by both the participants (and their parents and the schools themselves as expressed via the participants), at the expense of language learning. Learning LOTE is seen as secondary to mathematics and the sciences, and as a threat to the student’s average at the end of the year (especially if they are not a ‘language person’). However, this is coupled with [-Security] regarding LOTE, despite there being no practical motivation to learn a LOTE, due to [-Valuation] African languages and despite expressions of [-Valuation] of monolingual English. The participants express [+Valuation] of being spoken to and educated in one’s mother-tongue, however this often is in situations where participants are mentioning [-Security] in being spoken to in a language they do not understand, or the thought of having to be educated in a LOTE.

All participants object to suggestions that a lack of a LOTE (particularly inability to speak an African language) is harmful to one’s ‘South Africanness’ (i.e. you are less South African if you are unable to speak a LOTE), particularly when asked outright, as in Q6. This indicates that in a situation where an individual’s very ‘South Africanness’ is threatened by a lack of ability in an African language, the knee-jerk reaction is an appeal to an interpretation of Rainbowism. This sentiment, namely that we are all South African regardless, ironically reinforces monolingualism in this group. Here the monolingual mindset is blocking any true development of the plural nature of the Rainbow Nation developing in the participants (this is discussed in section 2.4).

The following section compares the two ‘profiles’ of MESes that are revealed in the quantitative (4.2.5) and qualitative (4.3.4) sections.

4.4 A Comparison of the MES Profiles Revealed by the Two Bodies of Data

The profile that emerges from the APPRAISAL analysis (4.3.4), of a MES in Durban is, for the most part, consistent with the profile that emerges from the Quantitative section (4.2.5). However, the two provide different levels of insight into the attitudes, positioning, negotiations of the MES participants in this study. In particular, while the analysis of the attitude questionnaire indicates a conflict or vacillation between responses reflecting the ideals of Rainbowism and responses reflecting a monolingual mindset, the reasons behind this conflict, or the motivations for expressing a certain attitude are not evident in the quantitatively-based dataset. In the APPRAISAL analysis, features of a monolingual mindset are often more easily analysable (or discernible) in terms of overt attitudinal meaning. The expressions made by the participants in the interviews often involve insight into the participants' motivations or reasoning behind expressing either Rainbowism or a monolingual mindset (or vacillating between the two), as well as explanations for certain apparent rejections of a monolingual mindset. Thus the discourse of compromise is more detailed and richly veined in the qualitative data.

This can be seen to be due to the open-ended nature of an interview in contrast to a questionnaire. In an interview, participants are able to reason through their answers and express themselves fully and in their own words, as opposed to being constrained by a statement with a particular phrasing that they must respond to on a predetermined scale in the case of a questionnaire. In fact, the difference between the capacities of these two data collection instruments is indicated in section 1 of the questionnaire itself. This section, particularly question 7 (see sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2), addresses self-reporting of bilingual status. This question asks participants to explain why they respond 'Yes' or 'No' to whether they are bilingual. Thus this is one open-ended question amidst a questionnaire of close-ended questions. In the responses to this question there is naturally evidence of reasoning and motivation behind a participant's choice, as the nature of the question is to ascertain a deeper level of insight. Thus the data analysed from this question (see section 4.2.2) are more 'narrative' or discourse-based. In this more narrative section, one can see a foreshadowing of the negotiation between Rainbowism and a presence of a monolingual mindset that is present in the longer narrative data. An example of this is the difference revealed in the APPRAISAL analysis, that the feature of claiming to 'not be a language person', is both a feature of male and female narratives (see examples 1.103 and 1.104 below), while it is almost exclusively female in 4.1. Further to this, the APPRAISAL analysis of narrative data offers a possible 'root' of the perception of personal 'linguistic inability'. This is problems with the levels of testing of Afrikaans FAL versus Zulu FAL, support at home resulting in a reinforcement of the status quo (i.e. choosing Afrikaans FAL), the structure of the Zulu FAL classroom and learners (almost exclusively first language speakers of Zulu) and a concern for and [+Valuation] of academic success, that the participants feel

is jeopardised if they take or attempt to take Zulu as a FAL. Thus the APPRAISAL analysis allows one to dig beyond - and into - original 'rainbowism' or 'monolingual mindset' responses and 'see' the participants struggling with the conflict manifested in the discourse of compromise:

1.103 (F4: 6) "But I mean if I had been good at it and I understood it, I would have taken it".

1.104 (M2: 13) "it's one of the subjects that's really pulling me down".

When looking at the issue of the presence of a monolingual mindset, there are differences between the two data sets. The attitude questionnaire is beneficial, as it shows the responses of a larger group of participants (MESes), and one can see, for certain questions, two contradictory groupings of answers – indicating a conflict. However, the APPRAISAL analysis allows a greater depth of insight into this conflict indicated in the questionnaire. Furthermore, the indication of a 'fourth' orientation towards monolingualism, namely that the participants are aware of their 'abnormal' status and find it undesirable, however lack personal, social and institutional motivation to change it, is more apparent in the APPRAISAL analysis. This is due to its ability to highlight the negotiations made by participants in terms of the value positions they put forward, and their relationship with the listener. The use of the Attitude system to investigate uses of the Affect, Judgement and Appreciation subsystems also allows greater insight and sensitivity as regards the attitudes of the participants (and how they construct and relate them), than the bare figures of the Questionnaire indicate.

In both the quantitative and qualitative data sets, a positive attitude towards plurilingualism and a discomfort with a monolingual upbringing or situation is expressed. However, as shown, features of a monolingual mindset are present in both data types. In the APPRAISAL analysis the conflict within the participants is more evident through the ability of the framework to allow one to track the detail that helps constitute the discourse of compromise evident within the participants' narratives. This conflict and compromise (or lack of consensus) is evident at a surface level in the quantitative data when one looks at patterns of responses, while the analysis of the qualitative data reveals a greater depth of results, particularly in terms of an expression of the motivation behind the contradictions. Thus the level of insight into the attitudes presented by the participants is much greater in the qualitative section, as motivation is revealed, as well as the internal conflict and compromise experienced by the participants, that is indicated at a surface level in the questionnaire results. While a situation of compromise and conflict is indicated in the quantitative section of the questionnaire, it is increasingly evident and 'detailed' in the 'open-ended' answer section of the questionnaire (section 1 – see Appendix 5), and then in the qualitative APPRAISAL section.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the different stages in the analysis process. I have detailed the analysis of the data from both the quantitative attitude questionnaire (section 4.2) and the

qualitative narrative elicitation interview (4.3). Each section is concluded with a summary of the overall profile of MES that emerge from the relative data set (see 4.2.5 and 4.3.4). Main findings from the analysis process are summarised and important features of the responses are highlighted. Lastly section 4.4 provides a comparison of the profiles, and characterises the capacity and value of each of the data collection instruments in investigating the attitudes of the participants (particularly their ability to manifest the ‘discourse of compromise’ that characterises this research). The following chapter is the Conclusions chapter and provides a summation of all the aspects of the study.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a summation of the findings of this thesis. It follows from the explanation of the methodological frameworks detailed in chapter 3, and analysis reported on in chapter 4. The chapter first places this research in the wider academic context in terms of the nature of the research project and what role it plays within its field (section 5.2). The research questions that are detailed in chapter 1 are responded to in section 5.3, and in doing so the section provides a summary of the main findings of this thesis. Section 5.4 identifies limitations of this research that became apparent during the course of the study, and also addresses potential sites of future research that have emerged (5.4.1-5.4.5).

5.2 Nature of the Research and its Uniqueness

As discussed in section 2.3.1, the field of monolingual research is a relatively new one. Most discussions (or mentions) of monolingualism are made in relation to the effects or problematizing of issues surrounding plurilingualism, plurilingual education, mother-tongue education, English second language education, etc. Many recent studies have focused on the issue of the ‘English only’ movement in the United States (and Australia), and the issue of monolingual language planning and policy in plurilingual states (focusing on the fact that all states/countries are plurilingual – no country contains one language within its borders), especially in the light of immigration. Gogolin (1994), who coined the term monolingual habitus, (see section 2.2.4.3) mentions it particularly in relation to South Africa and the positioning of English within language policy, educational policy and its social standing (Gogolin 1997).

This study works off Clyne’s (2005) concept of the monolingual mindset, which is one that manifests itself in situations where a monolingual habitus prevails and can be seen to be both cause and effect of that habitus, as it promotes certain ideologies that reinforce monolingualism. However, the uniqueness of this study primarily lies in the fact that the context of the research is anachronistic. In the South African context focused on in this study, we are not dealing with a situation involving immigrants defending their languages against a dominant standard language (dominant in terms of number and power). We are dealing with a cultural and linguistic dominance (thanks to colonialism and Apartheid), in the role of the minority. We find an English monolingual mindset in a setting where English is very much the minority language (in terms of population size – of first language speakers). While this issue is not exclusive to South Africa within Africa (it is a common problem of formerly colonized states), studies on this issue tend to focus on language planning policy theory, and mother-tongue or dual medium education policy. This study

focuses on attitude and ideology and the employment of both a statistical and APPRAISAL analysis, where elsewhere, critical discourse analysis is usually used. APPRAISAL has not before been used in this context. Studies dealing with discourse generally look at features of the discourse of 'English only' proponents (for example see Blackledge 2000), and do not look at the monolingual mindset, nor do they look at issues of identity conflict or alignment uncertainty within the speakers of the dominant language (i.e. the language of power). Usually issues of minority and minoritised groups and their struggle against those in 'power' are the focus of these studies.

5.3 Answering the Research Questions

The preceding chapters have served to answer the research questions proposed in section 1.3. Those questions are set out below in the same order as they are listed in chapter 1, with a discussion of the answers revealed through the analysis in chapter 4, following each question.

Research question 1: What are the attitudes of MES towards:

- a. the role of English and of African languages in South Africa?

Participants portray a complex and conflicted idea of English. Negative associations of English monolingualism, and English's dominant role in South Africa are made by the participants, particularly in the narrative elicitation interview. However, this is often countered with positive associations of English as an international language and as a unifying agent in the country. Thus monolingualism is portrayed as undesirable, however at the same time it is the norm and unavoidable (as seen in the frequent removal of agency on the part of English speakers when it comes to learning LOTE and English itself in relation to its dominant status in an African, plurilingual society). The participants characterise the use of English as acceptable and also as the most useful language available (to the world and South Africans). Though they muse about how they wish they spoke more than English and express insecurity and dissatisfaction with their monolingual status, they frequently express security towards it as their MOI, and express insecurity at the notion and difficulty of language learning, particularly the learning of African languages (including Afrikaans). This is linked with the perceived lack of instrumental value outside of South Africa (then even only socially) associated with African languages compared with the usefulness of European languages such as French. Thus the social status of African languages, combined with their purely 'local' associations in the mind of the participants, means that there is a distinct lack of motivation to learn these languages, and particularly to use them outside of a school setting (where they affect grades). Thus the participants frequently express a desire to speak Zulu, and the belief that doing so is exceptional, but they remain firmly attached to the use and promotion of English in all formal and academic settings, resulting in a lack of functional acquisition of a FAL.

- b. their own status as monolinguals and their perception of bilingualism?

This has been partly dealt with in the response to question 1.a. An association of monolingualism (particularly English monolingualism) with a lack of skill and as ‘missing out’ on social engagement is strongly seen in the analysis of the data in this study. It is particularly seen in the APPRAISAL analysis of the narrative interview data. In the questionnaire, attitudes towards monolingualism are slightly more ambivalent, and often conflict from one questionnaire item to another as can be seen in the example that follows. Item 29 of the questionnaire states “It is beneficial to be able to talk to people in their own language” (95% agreed with this statement). This indicates a strong promotion of the plurilingual (and Rainbowism) ideal of the importance of one’s mother-tongue that is also referenced by Nelson Mandela in the stimulus article (see analysis question 4). However, there are responses to other questionnaire items that indicate a contradiction in terms of attitude (as regards practical implications), such as item 28, which states “I have no need to use Zulu in my day to day life”. Here, 50% of the participants agreed with this statement (with 17 remaining neutral). Thus, while it may be ‘beneficial’ to speak to someone in their mother-tongue, in a Zulu dominated province like KwaZulu-Natal, the participants – for the most part – see no practical need to learn or use a LOTE (namely Zulu).

Overall the participants portray a sense that while undesirable, being an English monolingual is ‘ok’ and sufficient (at the least) for life in South Africa. The tension between a monolingual mindset and the plurilingual nature of Rainbowism is evident in that the participants are often overtly aware that statements promoting English and reflecting a positive construal of monolingualism are not politically correct and so are often mitigated. This can be seen in examples used in section 4.3.2.2, such as the following; (Q2:M6:7-8) “it’s not really their fault that it excludes people that can’t speak English”. There the participant is negotiating the status of English in South Africa by removing blame (or agency) from English-speakers (and English speaking countries) for its rise in economic power by downscaling ‘fault’ – ‘not really their fault’. Thus he is acknowledging English’s position of power and economic privilege, but does not see this as problematic due to its international use. Plurilingualism, as shown throughout both the quantitative and qualitative data, is shown to be considered exceptional and impressive, but not achievable. This in itself reflects a monolingual mindset and is further expressed by the sentiment that plurilingualism is beneficial (particularly socially), but not instrumentally or materially necessary, therefore promoting an inherent lack of motivation to become competent in a LOTE. Afrikaans is taken as a FAL, as it was under the Apartheid government, but purely because participants view it as more ‘stable’ to learn and so less detrimental to their grades than taking Zulu.

c. their feelings as monolinguals?

This is addressed throughout both data sets, with greater detail being achieved in the APPRAISAL analysis. It has been discussed in both the responses to research question 1a and b, as the

participants' perceptions of the languages involved as well as their monolingual status is inseparable from their feelings as monolinguals. In short, the participants – the MESes of Durban – feel conflicted and insecure primarily due to their monolingual status, and because this status involves them being unable to engage in a meaningful way with an indigenous African language. Their monolingualism compromises their status as South Africans and as such there is a constant tension, or to and fro, between their reflection of a monolingual mindset (engendered by the South African language policies) and the position or status of their social group in South Africa

Research question 2: What do the attitudes in 1. reveal about MESes' personal linguistic ideologies and how do they negotiate their identity in relation to any contradictions in these ideologies?

This too, has been partly dealt with in the responses to research question 1. The primary ideological struggle revealed within the participants is that of a struggle between the Rainbowism of the 'new South Africa' that they were born into, and the monolingual mindset that is allowed to prevail due to the ideologies concerning English put forward in the fight against apartheid and preserved in post-apartheid South Africa (to help the economy). The LiEP also affects their personal ideologies and promotes academic success above any possible social benefits from knowing a LOTE (especially an African language). Languages must be economically or academically useful to be learnt.

Research question 3: As explained in chapter 1, and referred to in the analysis of both data sets, this research question is a 'sub-research question', regarding any racial (White/Indian) or gender (Male/Female) differences in affiliation or attitudes. While the issue of racial differences is easy to address as there are no apparent or overall significant differences between the Indian and White participants (see 4.2), the issue of gender is more complicated. This is discussed in more detail in 5.3.1.

Research question 4: How do the insights gained from South African MESes add to the emerging field of monolingual research?

This study, due to its anachronistic setting (see 5.1), provides insight into the functioning of a monolingual mindset in a setting where the dominant language (English) is far from the majority language in terms of numbers of speakers (see Appendix 2 for census data on number of speakers of the 11 official languages). This study touches briefly on what has allowed this mindset to grow within a section of the population of a plurilingual, diverse country, and has indicated the features of the mindset that are prevalent, and their expression in the LiEP. In the South African MES population of Durban, there is seemingly a fourth orientation towards monolingualism (mentioned in section 1.2.2). This is the 'Covert' monolingual mindset that is challenged and countered by a

pro-plurilingual/diversity ideology (Rainbowism in this case), that leaves the participants insecure and dissatisfied and distanced from a true ‘national identity’. They are very aware of their ‘unnatural’ and ‘undesirable’ status as monolinguals (especially monolingual English speakers), however lack motivation to do anything about it due to a lack of practical opportunity and material benefits of expending the energy required to learn another language. This has been discussed in responses to research question 1.

5.4 Limitations of the Study and Potential for Future Research

This section details issues that were deemed to be beyond the scope of this study, but relevant or worthy of future research. It also looks at any limitations of the study that have become apparent as the research progressed.

5.4.1 Gender

The issue of gender has turned out to be more important than I previously thought it would. While gender has been addressed, particularly in the quantitative section (4.2) due to the ease of analysis of the Likert scale, it was mentioned obliquely in the qualitative section and delayed until here. I now detail a few of the most salient gender differences distilled from the analysis. The topic is one that should be subjected to further, more in-depth investigation.

Overall, females are more expressive of their desire to learn Zulu, and more overtly promote Rainbowism, while males are more likely (than the females) to be pragmatic about their linguistic situation and the relative value of Zulu (and other African languages) versus English (and European languages). Responses to the interview questions indicate that females also tend to be more pro language learning and express desire and regret that they are unable to communicate in a LOTE, while males – though still expressing a desire to be plurilingual and dissatisfied at not being able to communicate in Zulu – are more likely to express a monolingual mindset overtly than females. This is evident when one does a closer examination of the focus of male versus female APPRAISAL expressions, for which there was not enough space in this thesis. Brief examples of this are as follows:

In Q3 [+Propriety] is expressed mainly by the female participants (only one of the instantiations comes from a male participant). A sense of Propriety is conveyed in relation to plurilingualism (and knowing African languages), as well as practical language learning (cf theoretical language learning mentioned under [-Propriety]), and the new Afrikaans teacher. Males produce more graduations relating to Zulu (and related topics) than females, the majority of which are negative. In Q4: Only 5 of the 29 expressions of [+Valuation] came from the male participants, and these related to English, Afrikaans speakers, language learning and Non-English-speakers speaking English. All of the [+Valuations] of Plurilingualism came from the female participants.

In Q5: Females, expressed [+Inclination] towards plurilingualism (in some form) 10 times versus twice for males. The majority of expressions of [+Satisfaction] were made by female (15) participants. The few (4) male expressions concerned English and French, while female [+Satisfaction] concerned Plurilingualism and developing communicative ability in a LOTE (F7). Thirty-four of the [+Valuation] in Q5 expression are made by females. Over half of the expressions are in relation to plurilingualism, with 4 concerning English and 3 Zulu and developing communicative ability. Male expressions concerned plurilingualism only 6 times, with 3 of those relating to Zulu speakers speaking English.

Both genders show the conflict between a desire to adhere to the tenets of Rainbowism, and the features of a monolingual mindset, however the male participants attempt less justification (for their lack of plurilingualism or promotion of English), and their pro-plurilingualism is – in general - less overt and emotive (with the exception of the interview question that refers to Nelson Mandela directly).

A brief summary of the gender differences revealed in the attitude questionnaire shows that males are more likely to claim that they are fluent, or to provide an 'unqualified' ability in a LOTE. The participants' focus on fluency as a definitive factor as to whether they are bilingual or not. This is a feature of the monolingual mindset as discussed in Section 2.3.2 whereby the expectation of complete competency in the languages involved is expected in order to apply the tag 'plurilingual'. This is also seen with those who feel the need to mitigate their fluency and so indicate a sense of 'concern' or unease with claiming bilingual status while knowing that they are not fluent in a LOTE and only have basic communicative ability (for example see example 1.3 in section 4.2.2.1 (pg. 87)).

Responses to the questionnaire items indicate stronger presence of a monolingual mindset in males. Interestingly, this is contrary to the fact that none of the male participants use the 'I'm not a language person' strategy to explain their monolingual self-reporting. It is the females that do this – this is dealt with further in section 5.4.1, in looking at gender differences revealed in the quantitative, closed-ended data versus the qualitative open-ended data. Males tend to state a 'lack of fluency, which is also a manifestation of the monolingual mindset. Further to this, the main 'gender differences' in the 38 items are as follows; males are more explicitly opposed to the notion of linking African languages to South African national identity. This shows an all-round strong expression of a monolingual mindset through the normalisation of monolingualism, intensified in the males' responses. Females, on the other hand, are more neutral on the matter of Zulu replacing English, while males are more overtly against this. Male participants show a lower valuation of

African languages in terms of their importance to everyday life in South Africa than do the female participants. This is discussed further in 5.4.1 in relation to the APPRAISAL analysis. The conflict between an adherence to Rainbowism and the presence of a monolingual mindset (particularly in females), can be seen in that the majority of female participants disagree with item 14 ‘speaking only one language is fine’), while the majority of males agree with the statement. This indicates a continued adherence to a monolingual mindset by the males, while the females appear to promote plurilingualism. This response by the females conflicts with their response to item 23 (see section 4.2.3.2) where they agree that monolingualism is 'normal'.

The male profile is quite similar in both the analysis of the attitude questionnaire, and the analysis of the narrative elicitation interview data. The main exception is that the interview data and its APPRAISAL analysis reveals more detail into the ‘negativity’ of the male participants and insight into the motivations for it. Conflict is evident in a way through the APPRAISAL analysis that the Attitude Questionnaire is unable to provide. This can be seen within male participants between expressing Rainbowism (see examples 1.25 and 1.28 in section 4.3.1.2 pg. 110) and their innate feeling of lack of motivation (see example 1.26 pg. 110) coupled with expressions of [-Valuation] of African languages (Zulu) over English (see section 4.3.1.4 pgs. 113-115). While the questionnaire indicates a surface level agreement or disagreement with certain statements, the APPRAISAL analysis allows for insight into how and when the male participants try to mitigate their monolingual mindset responses (such as seen in Q4 when Nelson Mandela is mentioned, see examples 1.25 (pg. 110) and 1.76 (pg. 123)) and how they use contractions and expansions of the dialogic space to align the interviewer without threatening the relationship (see example 1.91 (pg. 130)), and how they use Graduations to downscale certain assertions (see example 1.76(pg. 123)).

The female participants express [+Valuation] for African languages (Zulu) and dissatisfaction with the monolingual upbringing and environment afforded in Durban. While this manifests in the attitude questionnaire, it is overtly evident in the APPRAISAL analysis. However, it is coupled with a lack of (personal, social or institutional) motivation, [-Capacity] in relation to MESe’s role in English’s dominance, and a [-Valuation] for everyday instrumental use of African languages (Zulu). These expressions of a monolingual mindset are evident in the female responses in the interview in a way that is not available in the quantitative data, due to the closed-ended nature of the questions. Hints of these features of a monolingual mindset are evident in the ‘open-ended’ biographical information section of the attitude questionnaire. Thus the APPRAISAL analysis provides validation for the conclusions drawn in section 4.2.2. Likewise, the strong sense of insecurity with the monolingual status, and lack of Zulu competence, while evident in males, and in females in the Quantitative data, is even more evident in the female responses to Q1-6 for

example statements such as; (Q1:F1 17 - 18) “Ja well I’ve always wanted to it’s been an interest but it’s never () my parents don’t do it, my friends, you know () my social circle, it’s ja no it’s ja. it’s unfortunate”, when analysed from an APPRAISAL perspective.

5.4.2 Language planning and policy

Issues of language planning and policy (both past and present) are of vital importance when seeking to understand the language ideologies and practices of a society (see 2.2.3.1). Thus, as discussed in chapter 2, looking at the language policies of both the colonial and apartheid eras is fundamental to unwrapping the responses of the participants in the study. Furthermore, current language policies have a huge role both in promoting and sustaining a monolingual mindset, and the position of English in South Africa, as well as the issues that bear on language learning and motivations towards learning African languages in South Africa. The post-Apartheid language in education policies have gone through different stages that the in an effort to break free from the ideological effects of Bantu education, and Apartheid era education for White participants (which was seen as fundamental to sustaining the Apartheid state as discussed in chapter 2). This evolution provides much insight into the development of the attitudes of the participants and the wider South African society towards LiEP, and the desire for English (particularly on the part of non-English-speakers). Initially I included a research question on the implications of the findings for South African language planning and policy – especially in the education sector. Attitudes towards language and language learning expressed by the participants can be seen to indicate whether the participants are in agreement with the intentions and mechanisms of the current LiEP, which could provide an indication as to its success. However, when trying to include all the necessary literature for a proper investigation into the topic, as well as analysing the data with the question of language policy and planning in mind, it became apparent that it was too large a topic to be included in this study in a form that would do it justice. The attitudes of the participants towards language learning and African languages is a field of inquiry, specifically the effects of language policy in sustaining the Apartheid era language learning status quo, that needs to be addressed in the future.

5.4.3 Plurilingualism as respect

Throughout the responses to the interviews, there is a trend of characterizing plurilingualism as respect. Examples of this are statements such as:

5.1 (Q4:F1:10) ‘you respect the person ja, you show your respect by speaking their language’.

5.2 (Q4:M5:11) ‘ja you can tell and like you respect them for that’

This was not investigated explicitly due to the limitations of the research in terms of size, as it is subsumed as part of a pro-plurilingual attitude. However, this attitude is of interest and relevant to the topic, as the characterisation of plurilingualism as respect strongly reflects a promotion of Rainbowism. However, the fact that the participants see it as ‘respect’, yet have no practical

motivation to learn another language, has implications for their positioning in society and their sense of alignment with the notion of ‘South Africa’, or the ‘Rainbow Nation’ they promote.

5.4.4 The effect of different socio-economic groups and schools (including teachers)

The effect of the influence of parents and teachers has not been investigated in any depth. Two interviews were conducted – one with a teacher from each school – however I excluded them as they were insufficient to extrapolate any results from. They did, however, indicate that a fruitful line of enquiry would be to investigate the manifestation of a monolingual mindset in the wider social grouping of MESEs in Durban. It would also provide interesting insight into any difference between the Indian and White groups, and why there seems to be a similar attitude displayed by these two groups. A further line of enquiry would be to investigate the attitudes of individuals in a lower economic grouping, or at various public and private schools. The private schools used in this study are ‘mid-range’ in terms of fees, and public schools (which themselves are made up of a range of fees), would obviously provide a very different social background depending on the make-up of the school. A more detailed and well tested questionnaire would aid in seeking out any difference in attitude. Related to this, it would also be worth looking at the role a school (and its historical FAL status quo) makes on the choices of scholars in terms of FAL, as well as their attitudes towards language learning, and the benefits associated with different languages, and their perceived effect upon a scholar’s school marks. With the introduction of the CAPS curriculum (see 2.2.4.2), scholars needed to choose their FAL in Grade 4. I came across a letter to the parents of these students from one of the schools in this study, actively discouraging students from taking Zulu FAL unless they were already very familiar with it, as it is much harder than Afrikaans. This would naturally affect a Grade 4’s choice of FAL as, at age 10/11, a child’s parents will be the controlling force behind a choice such as this.

5.4.5 Critical Discourse Analysis

Initially the analysis of the narrative data was envisioned to include a critical discourse analysis, however this proved to be beyond the scope and size of a Master’s thesis, and the results gathered from the APPRAISAL analysis were considered sufficient to work with. However, a CDA analysis would provide great insight into the situation under investigation, especially as it deals with the manipulation or control of power and prevalent ideologies in a society. Likewise an inclusion of the study of Language Repertoires (particularly in South Africa) would have strengthened my account, but issues of scope and scale precluded my drawing on them.

5.4.6 Analysis of stimulus article

A noteworthy limitation of the study, and one that could be rectified in further research, is that I do not provide an APPRAISAL analysis of the stimulus article i.e. in addition to the student responses to that article. This would be beneficial to the study and to characterising the MESEs’ attitudes as

the student responses are likely to have been influenced by the evaluative choices in the stimulus article, and attempts there to position the reader in particular ways. Thus a breakdown of the expressions of APPRAISAL in the article, and a comparison of how participants react to passages with certain interpersonal meaning, would be a further avenue of investigation

5.4 Conclusion

The role of English in South Africa is a complicated and much debated one. Its relationship with the African languages and with the education sector and formal economy is one in which it has reached increasing ascendancy. This is partly due to the legacies of colonialism and apartheid, as well as the roles played by English in the struggle against Apartheid, the negative associations of Afrikaans, and English's dominance worldwide. It is against this back drop that I sought to study the attitudes and feelings of English speakers in Durban – the most 'English' region of South Africa. This is because these individuals appear to be almost exclusively monolingual English speakers, and as such their positioning in a plurilingual country such as South Africa is worthy of investigation, as well as what possible features may be causing their continued existence as monolinguals. Thus, through an attitude questionnaire and an APPRAISAL analysis of the results of a narrative elicitation interview, the participants' attitudes and personal ideologies were investigated – particularly whether or not they revealed features of a monolingual mindset in their responses. Features of this mindset have been established as being present at a practical level in the enactment of the language policies laid out in the new democratic era (see section 3.2.3). From the data analysed, what has been termed a 'discourse of compromise' has become evident. This involves a continual struggle between and conflict arising from the presence of both a Rainbowism ideology, and a monolingual mindset being present in the narratives of the MESes. Participants present a very pro-plurilingual and pro-African language/mother-tongue attitude, however this is continually mitigated or countered by features of a monolingual mindset, which promotes security in speaking and learning in one language only, as well as a view that plurilingualism is exceptional and beyond the reach of 'ordinary' English speakers. This is coupled with the fact that participants have no practical or economic motivation to learn and use a LOTE (especially an African language), and even the social motivation to learn a language like Zulu is hindered by the fact that speakers of LOTE are expected to know English (thereby removing the English speaker's need to learn a LOTE), and that English is the language of prestige. As non-indigenous South Africans (see section 2.2 and 2.3), Indian and White participants are also 'outsiders' in the Africanism movement, and so there is insecurity and hesitance where 'African' languages (and so 'African' cultures) are involved. English's role in South Africa (and the inclusion of Rainbowism), offers them a space to belong, however it also allows for the perpetuation of a monolingual mindset, which, as seen through the analysis, blocks the participants from a peaceful and assured sense of belonging.

6. References

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7. List of Appendices

Appendix 1:	Letters of Consent	157
	1.1 Letter of Consent from School A	157
	1.2 Letter of Consent from School B	158
Appendix 2:	Census Data 1996 and 2011	159
Appendix 3:	Maps	161
	Figure 3.1 Map of the Provincial Boundaries of the Republic of South Africa	
	Figure 3.2 Map of the former 'Homelands' of South Africa	
Appendix 4 :	Pilot Questionnaire	162
Appendix 5 :	Attitude Questionnaire	164
Appendix 6 :	Samples of Answered Questionnaires	166
Appendix 7 :	Chapter 1, Section 6, of the 1996 Constitution of South Africa	175
Appendix 8:	Questionnaire Responses Indicating Familial Use of LOTE.	176
Appendix 9:	Tables of Results for section 4.2 (Tables 9.1-9.8)	177
	Table 9.1 Reason for 'Yes' responses to self-reporting of bilingual status	177
	Table 9.2a Reason for 'No' responses to female self-reporting of bilingual status	178
	Table 9.2b Reason for 'No' responses to male self-reporting of bilingual status	179
	Table 9.3 All questions with p values $\leq .05$ for both race and gender	180
	Table 9.4 Items reflecting significance for gender	181
	Table 9.5 Frequencies of all 38 items in the Attitude Questionnaire	182
	Table 9.6 Frequencies of items relating to monolingualism and plurilingualism that reflect a monolingual mindset	183
	Table 9.7 Frequencies of items relating to monolingualism and plurilingualism that reflect a lack of a monolingual mindset	184
	Table 9.8 Items relating to English and African languages (Zulu in particular)	185
Appendix 10:	Transcription Conventions	186
Appendix 11:	Final Edited Stimulus Article Used in Interviews	187
Appendix 12:	Generic Participant Interview Question Schedule	188
Appendix 13:	Transcription Sample (Q6) of Selected Cases for Analysis	190
Appendix 14:	Interview Responses Indicating Familial Use of LOTE	192
Appendix 15:	Sample APPRAISAL Analysis	194

15.1 Table showing a sample of the process of APPRAISAL analysis (Attitude) taken from Question 4, participants F1 and F2	194
15.2 Table showing a sample of the process of APPRAISAL analysis (Graduation) taken from Question 4, participants F1 and F2	195
15.3 Table showing a sample of the process of APPRAISAL analysis (Engagement) taken from Question 1, participants F1 and F2.	196
Appendix 16: Responses to Question: What percentage of South Africans do you think can speak or communicate in English?	197
Appendix 17: Graphs of Attitude Responses for Questions 1-6	199
17.1: Bar graph indicating overall instantiations of Attitude choices for Q1-6	199
17.2: Line graph indicating instantiations of Affect choices per Question (Q1-6)	199
17.3: Line graph indicating instantiations of Judgement choices per Question (Q1-6)	200
17.4: Line graph indicating instantiations of Appreciation choices per Question (Q1-6)	200
Appendix 18: Graphs of Graduation Responses for Questions 1-6	201
18.1: Bar graph indicating overall instantiations of Graduation choices for Q1-6	201
18.2: Line graph indicating instantiations of Focus (Intensification and Quantification) choices per Question (Q1-6)	201
18.3: Line graph indicating instantiations of Force choices per Question (Q1-6)	202
Appendix 19: Graphs of Engagement Responses for Questions 1-6	203
19.1: Bar graph indicating overall instantiations of Graduation choices for Q1-6	203
19.2: Line graph indicating instantiations of Contraction choices per Question (Q1-6)	203
19.3: Line graph indicating instantiations of Expansion choices per Question (Q1-6)	204
Appendix 20: Extracts from Question 4b	205
Appendix 21: Further Examples from Section 4.3	206

Appendix 1.1: Letter of Consent from School A

5 August 2011

To Whom it May Concern

Jacqui Carlyle is a Masters candidate in Linguistics at Rhodes University [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] She approached [REDACTED] and requested permission for some of our scholars to participate in research she js carrying out for her Masters thesis. We are aware of the fact that participation in this study does not involve financial or other gain for the school or individual scholars, but that information regarding the attitudes and opinions of the scholars may contribute valuably the field of language attitudes, specifically regarding monolingualism, bilingualism, and identity.

We have been informed by Jacqui Carlyle (i) of the aim and value of this project; (ii) that we or an individual participant has the right to withdraw from the study without consequences; (iii) that the school and scholars' identities and any information obtained from the scholar is strictly confidential, and will remain anonymous; and (iv) that we as a school, and Individual participants, will have free access to any information obtained regarding the study.

We are happy to assist Miss Carlyle with her research and give her full access to our scholars and facilities.

Yours sincerely

[REDACTED]

Appendix 1.2: Letter of Consent from School B

22 September 2011

To Whom It May Concern

Jacqui Carlyle is a Masters candidate in Linguistics at Rhodes University. She approached [REDACTED] and requested permission for some of our scholars to participate in research she is carrying out for her Masters thesis. We are aware of the fact that participation in this study does not involve financial or other gain for the school or individual scholars, but that information regarding the attitudes and opinions of the scholars may contribute valuably towards the field of language attitudes, specifically regarding monolingualism, bilingualism, and identity.

We have been informed by Jacqui Carlyle (i) of the aim and value of this project; (ii) that we or an individual participant has the right to withdraw from the study without consequences; (iii) that the school and scholars' identities and any information obtained from the scholar is strictly confidential, and will remain anonymous; and (iv) that we as a school, and individual participants, will have free access to any information obtained regarding the study.

We are happy to assist Miss Carlyle with her research and give her full access to our scholars and facilities.

Yours faithfully

[REDACTED]

Appendix 2: Census Data 1996 and 2011

Census 1996 (Census in brief):

	Eastern Cape	Free State	Gauteng	KwaZulu-Natal	Mpumalanga	Northern Cape	Northern Province	North West	Western Cape	South Africa
Afrikaans	600 253	379 994	1 213 352	136 223	230 348	577 585	109 224	249 502	2 315 067	5 811 547
English	233 376	35 154	947 571	1 316 047	54 839	19 902	21 261	34 106	795 211	3 457 467
IsiNdebele	1 248	4 454	114 899	1 231	346 337	287	72 506	42 833	3 165	586 961
IsiXhosa	5 250 524	245 101	543 698	132 223	36 378	52 689	8 597	178 931	747 977	7 196 118
IsiZulu	25 323	125 082	1 559 520	6 658 442	706 816	2 300	36 253	82 068	4 341	9 200 144
Sepedi	2 572	4 708	688 607	1 775	291 923	259	2 572 491	132 374	1 136	3 695 846
Sesotho	139 671	1 625 953	953 239	45 677	90 011	7 419	56 002	171 549	14 676	3 104 197
SiSwati	897	3 592	92 154	7 344	834 133	90	57 149	17 272	562	1 013 193
Setswana	863	171 252	573 104	2 147	75 202	165 781	70 339	2 239 774	3 311	3 301 774
Tshivenda	511	1 713	99 837	589	3 345	87	757 683	12 209	436	876 409
Xitsonga	268	14 194	382 463	1 712	97 844	209	1 102 472	156 408	535	1 756 105
Other	12 008	7 456	96 939	38 634	10 606	6 449	13 228	18 088	24 868	228 275
Unspecified	35 012	14 852	83 038	74 977	22 928	7 264	52 163	19 712	45 591	355 538
Total	6 302 525	2 633 504	7 348 423	8 417 021	2 800 711	840 321	4 929 368	3 354 825	3 956 875	40 583 573

2.1: Home language by province (according to numbers of speakers) 1996

	GP	KZN	EC	WC	NP	MP	NW	FS	NC	SA
1	Zulu (21.5)	Zulu (79)	Xhosa (83.8)	Afrikaans (59.2)	Sepedi (52.7)	SeSwati (30)	Setswana (67.2)	Sesotho (62.1)	Afrikaans (69.3)	Zulu (22.9)
2	Afrikaans (16.7)	English (15.8)	Afrikaans (9.6)	English (20.3)	Xitsonga (22.6)	Zulu (25.4)	Afrikaans (7.5)	Afrikaans (14.5)	Setswana (19.9)	Xhosa (17.9)
3	SeSotho (13.1)	Afrikaans (1.6)	English (3.7)	Xhosa (19.1)	Tshivenda (15.5)	Ndebele (12.5)	Xhosa (5.4)	Xhosa (19.2)	Xhosa (6.3)	Afrikaans (14.4)
4	English (13.0)	Xhosa (1.6)	SeSotho (2.2)	Other (0.6)	Afrikaans (2.2)	Sepedi (10.5)	Xitsonga (4.7)	Setswana (6.5)	English (2.4)	Sepedi (9.2)

Table 2.2: Top four languages per province (according to percentage) 1996

	African/Black	Coloured	Indian/Asian	White	Unspecified/Other	Total
Afrikaans	0,7	82,1	1,5	58,5	27,7	14,4
English	0,4	16,4	94,4	39,1	23,2	8,6
IsiNdebele	1,9	0,1	0,0	0,1	0,9	1,5
IsiXhosa	23,1	0,3	0,1	0,1	9,9	17,9
IsiZulu	29,5	0,2	0,2	0,1	16,9	22,9
Sepedi	11,9	0,1	0,0	0,0	5,6	9,2
Sesotho	10,0	0,2	0,0	0,0	4,0	7,7
SiSwati	3,3	0,0	0,0	0,0	1,4	2,5
Setswana	10,6	0,4	0,0	0,0	4,4	8,2
Tshivenda	2,8	0,0	0,0	0,0	1,5	2,2
Xitsonga	5,6	0,0	0,0	0,0	2,8	4,4
Other	0,3	0,2	3,7	2,0	1,7	0,6
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 2.3 Home language by population group (according to percentage) 1996

Census 2011 (Census in brief):

First Language	WC	EC	NC	FS	KZN	NW	GP	MP	LP	SA
Afrikaans	2 820 643	683 410	606 225	340 490	161 876	309 867	1 502 940	289 446	140 185	6 855 082
English	1 149 049	362 502	37 842	78 782	1 337 606	120 041	1 603 464	124 646	78 692	4 892 623
IsiNdebele	15 238	14 854	6 023	10 008	111 657	43 988	380 494	403 678	104 283	1 090 223
IsiXhosa	1 403 233	5 092 152	60 187	201 145	340 832	190 601	796 841	48 993	20 275	8 154 258
IsiZulu	24 634	31 634	8 501	118 126	7 901 932	84 835	2 390 036	965 253	62 424	11 587 374
Sepedi	8 144	14 299	2 431	7 395	20 555	83 999	1 282 896	372 392	2 826 464	4 618 576
Sesotho	64 066	158 964	14 136	1 717 881	79 416	201 153	1 395 089	138 559	80 299	3 849 563
Setswana	24 534	12 607	373 086	140 228	52 229	2 191 230	1 094 599	71 713	107 021	4 067 248
SiSwati	3 208	2 020	648	2 246	8 347	12 091	136 550	1 106 588	25 346	1 297 046
Tshivenda	4 415	3 663	1 083	2 592	4 309	16 255	272 122	12 140	892 809	1 209 388
Xitsonga	9 152	3 092	1 201	8 039	8 936	127 146	796 511	416 746	906 325	2 277 148
Other	127 117	36 893	12 385	15 935	77 519	60 872	371 575	39 639	86 322	828 258
Total	5 675 604	6 458 325	1 127 683	2 675 777	10 153 789	3 457 004	12 075 861	3 998 726	5 338 675	50 961 443

Table 2.4: Home language by province (according to numbers of speakers) 2011

	GP	KZN	EC	WC	LP	MP	NW	FS	NC	SA
1	Zulu	Zulu	Xhosa	Afrikaans	Pedi	Swati	Tswana	Sotho	Afrikaans	Zulu
2	English	English	Afrikaans	Xhosa	Tsonga	Zulu	Afrikaans	Afrikaans	Tswana	Xhosa
3	Afrikaans	Xhosa	English	English	Venda	Tsonga	Xhosa	Xhosa	Xhosa	Afrikaans
4	Sotho	Afrikaans	Sotho	Sotho	Afrikaans	Ndebele	Tsonga	Tswana	English	English
5	Pedi/ Tswana	Ndebele	Zulu	Zulu/ Tswana	Ndebele	Afrikaans	English	Zulu	Zulu	Pedi

Table 2.5: Top 5 Languages in each province (according to number of speakers) 2011

Language (first)	Black African	Coloured	Indian or Asian	White	Other	South Africa
Afrikaans	1.5	75.8	4.6	60.8	15.2	13.5
English	2.9	20.8	86.1	35.9	29.5	9.6
IsiNdebele	2.6	0.2	0.8	0.2	2.1	2.1
IsiXhosa	20.1	0.6	0.4	0.3	1.9	16.0
IsiZulu	28.5	0.5	1.3	0.4	4.1	22.7
Sepedi	11.4	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.6	9.1
Sesotho	9.4	0.5	0.4	0.4	1.7	7.6
Setswana	9.9	0.9	0.4	0.4	2.4	8.0
SiSwati	3.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.5	2.5
Tshivenda	3.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.5	2.4
Xitsonga	5.6	0.0	0.2	0.1	3.9	4.5
Other	1.5	0.1	5.1	1.1	37.4	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 2.6: Population by first language and population group (according to percentage) 2011

Census in Brief 1996:

Accessed at: <https://www.statssa.gov.za/census01/Census96/HTML/default.htm>

Census in Brief 2011:

http://www.statssa.gov.za/census/census_2011/census_products/Census_2011_Census_in_brief.pdf

Appendix 3: Maps



Figure 3.1 Map of the Provincial Boundaries of the Republic of South Africa

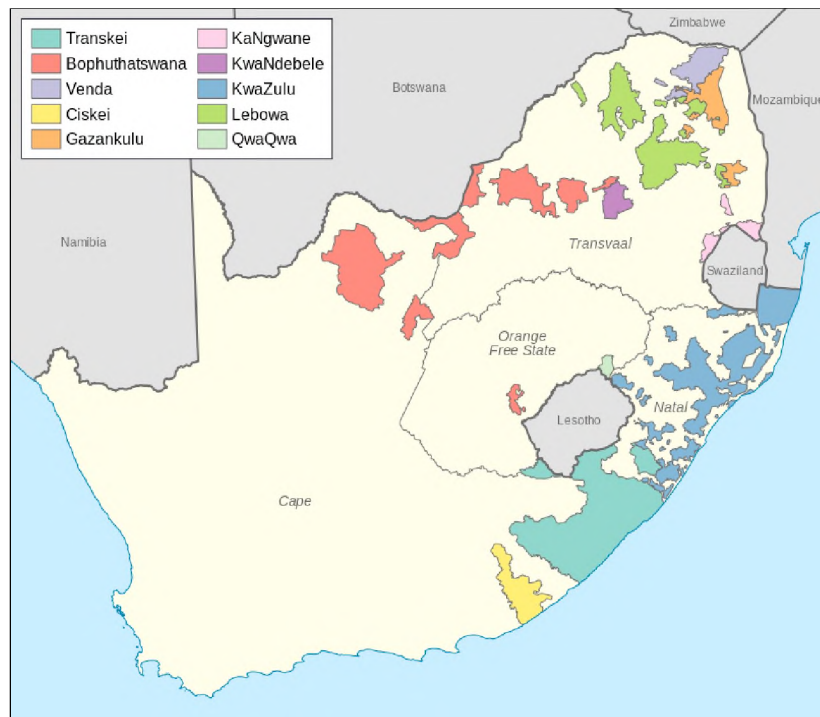


Figure 3.1: Map of the former 'Homelands' of South Africa

Figure 3.1: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_South_Africa_with_English_labels.svg#mediaviewer/File:Map_of_South_Africa_with_English_labels.svg

Figure 3.2: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bantustan#/media/File:Bantustans_in_South_Africa.svg

Appendix 4: Pilot Questionnaire

Section 2: Questionnaire

The following two pages contain some questions that will help find out what you think about the language situation in South Africa, and find out about your everyday experiences. I would like to thank you for taking time and being willing to help me with this research as your perspective will be invaluable to finding out what high school scholars in South Africa think. Answer the following questions on the page.

Background Information:

1. Your gender: _____
2. Your grade: _____
3. Your age: _____
4. Your race group: _____
5. Your First (Home) Language: _____
6. Languages you study/have studied at school: _____
7. Are you bilingual?: _____. Please explain you reasons for responding so:

8. What language(s) do you speak in the following settings:
 - a. With your immediate family: _____
 - b. With your extended family: _____
 - c. With your friends at school: _____
 - d. With your friends outside of school: _____
 - e. With teachers at schools: _____
 - f. With shopkeepers: _____
 - g. With religious authority figures: _____
 - h. With the police: _____
 - i. With government officials: _____
 - j. With service people (Waitrons, petrol attendants etc): _____
 - k. What magazines do you read?: _____
 - l. What newspapers to you read?: _____
 - m. What television shows do you watch?: _____

Please complete the following survey. You MUST answer every question. Respond to each statement by placing a TICK in the box which reflects how you feel:

Strongly Agree	SA
Agree	A
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	NN
Disagree	D
Strongly Disagree	SD

Note I have referred in places to Zulu in this questionnaire as it is the majority African language in KwaZulu-Natal, however, these statements apply to other African languages as well, and African languages in South Africa in general.

Statement	SA	A	NN	D	SD
1. It is necessary in South Africa to be able to speak English and Zulu.					
2. English is the only language one needs in everyday life.					
3. Children get confused when learning English and Zulu.					
4. Knowing an African language is essential for living in South Africa.					
5. All schools in South Africa should teach pupils to communicate effectively in an African language like Zulu and in English.					
6. All African language speakers must learn to speak English.					
7. Young children learn to speak Zulu and English at the same time with ease.					
8. Zulu cannot be developed to be used in Academics as it is inadequate.					
9. Speaking two languages is not difficult.					
10. English speakers do not need to learn African languages as they will not help them.					
11. I sometimes feel excluded because of the language I speak.					
12. English is the only language that should be used in tertiary education.					
13. If I have children, I would want them to speak both English and Zulu.					
14. People only need to know one language.					
15. Most people in South Africa can speak English.					
16. Speaking an African Language makes you more South African.					
17. I should not like Zulu to take over from English.					
18. The Education system in South Africa is producing competent individuals.					
19. People earn more money if they speak both Zulu and English.					
20. English is the only language that can help you succeed in South Africa.					
21. It is just as important to speak an African language in South Africa as it is to speak English.					
22. I admire people who are fluently bilingual in Zulu and English.					
23. Speaking only one language is normal.					
24. I admire non-Zulu people who can speak Zulu.					
25. Speaking both Zulu and English helps to get a job.					
26. Speaking only English limits the amount of people you can get to know.					
27. People know more if they speak Zulu and English.					
28. Everyone is happy with the language situation in South Africa.					
29. It is beneficial to be able to talk to people in their own language.					
30. I sometimes feel anxious when I cannot understand the language people are using around me.					

Appendix 5: Attitude Questionnaire

Section 2: Questionnaire

The following two pages contain some questions that will help find out what you think about the language situation in South Africa, and find out about your everyday experiences. I would like to thank you for taking time and being willing to help me with this research as your perspective will be invaluable to finding out what high school scholars in South Africa think. Answer the following questions on the page.

Background Information:

1. Your gender: _____
2. Your grade: _____
3. Your date of birth and age: _____
4. Your race group: _____
5. Your First (Home) Language: _____
6. Languages you study/have studied at school: _____
7. Are you bilingual?: _____. Please explain you reasons for responding so:

8. What language(s) do you speak in the following settings:
 - a. With your immediate family: _____
 - b. With your extended family: _____
 - c. With your friends at school: _____
 - d. With your friends outside of school: _____
 - e. With teachers at schools: _____
 - f. With shopkeepers: _____
 - g. With religious authority figures: _____
 - h. With the police: _____
 - i. With government officials: _____
 - j. With service people (Waitrons, petrol attendants etc): _____
 - k. What magazines do you read?: _____
 - l. What newspapers to you read?: _____
 - m. What television shows do you watch?: _____

Please complete the following survey. You MUST answer every question. Respond to each statement by placing a TICK in the box which reflects how you feel:

Strongly Agree	SA
Agree	A
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	NN
Disagree	D
Strongly Disagree	SD

Note I have referred in places to Zulu in this questionnaire as it is the majority African language in KwaZulu-Natal, however, these statements apply to other African languages as well, and African languages in South Africa in general.

Statement	SA	A	NN	D	SD
1. It is necessary in South Africa to be able to speak English and Zulu.					
2. English is the only language one needs in everyday life.					
3. Children get confused when learning two languages at the same time.					
4. Knowing an African language is essential for living in South Africa.					
5. All schools in South Africa should teach pupils to communicate effectively in an African language like Zulu and in English.					
6. All African language speakers must learn to speak English.					
7. Young children learn to speak Zulu and English at the same time with ease.					
8. Zulu should not be developed to be used as a language to teach in.					
9. Speaking two languages is not difficult.					
10. English speakers do not need to learn African languages to function in SA.					
11. I sometimes feel excluded because of the language I speak.					
12. English is the only language that should be used in education.					
13. If I have children, I would want them to speak both English and Zulu.					
14. Speaking only one language is fine in South Africa.					
15. Most people in South Africa can speak English.					
16. Speaking an African Language makes you more South African.					
17. It is easier for Zulu people to learn to speak English fluently than for English people to learn to speak Zulu fluently.					
18. The Education system in South Africa is producing competent individuals.					
19. People earn more money if they speak both Zulu and English.					
20. English is the only language that can help you succeed in South Africa.					
21. It is just as important to speak an African language in South Africa as it is to speak English.					
22. English is a language of unity and inclusion.					
23. Speaking only one language is normal.					
24. I admire non-Zulu people who can speak Zulu.					
25. Speaking both Zulu and English helps to get a job.					
26. Speaking only English limits the amount of people you can get to know.					
27. People know more if they speak Zulu and English.					
28. I have no need to use Zulu in my day to day life					
29. It is beneficial to be able to talk to people in their own language.					
30. I sometimes feel anxious when I cannot understand the language people are using around me.					
31. English speakers are separated from others because of their language.					
32. Non-English speakers like using English to communicate in social settings.					
33. I do not like it when I cannot respond to another person in their language.					
34. I would be happy if Zulu was used more in place of English in public settings.					
35. English is used to exclude people					
36. I admire people who are fluently bilingual in Zulu and English.					
37. Zulu speakers use the language to separate themselves.					
38. All South Africans should be able to speak an African language.					
39. More road signs and advertising should be in Zulu.					

Appendix 6: Samples of Answered Questionnaires

The following pages (166 - 173) consist of scans of four sample questionnaires answered by participants in this study.

Section 2: Questionnaire

The following two pages contain some questions that will help find out what you think about the language situation in South Africa, and find out about your everyday experiences. I would like to thank you for taking time and being willing to help me with this research as your perspective will be invaluable to finding out what high school scholars in South Africa think. Answer the following questions on the page.

Background Information:

1. Your gender: female
2. Your grade: 10
3. Your date of birth and age: 06/02/1995
4. Your race group: white
5. Your First (Home) Language: English
6. Languages you study/have studied at school: Afrikaans & Zulu, English
7. Are you bilingual?: No. Please explain your reasons for responding so:
I learn Afrikaans at school but I am not confident in it.
8. What language(s) do you speak in the following settings:
 - a. With your immediate family: English
 - b. With your extended family: English
 - c. With your friends at school: English
 - d. With your friends outside of school: English
 - e. With teachers at schools: English
 - f. With shopkeepers: English
 - g. With religious authority figures: English
 - h. With the police: English
 - i. With government officials: English
 - j. With service people (Waitrons, petrol attendants etc): English
 - k. What magazines do you read?: Seventeen, You
 - l. What newspapers do you read?: none (Mercury sometimes)
 - m. What television shows do you watch?: Oprah, days of our lives, so you think you can dance, gossip girl

Please complete the following survey. You MUST answer every question. Respond to each statement by placing a TICK in the box which reflects how you feel:

Strongly Agree	SA
Agree	A
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	NN
Disagree	D
Strongly Disagree	SD

Note I have referred in places to Zulu in this questionnaire as it is the majority African language in KwaZulu-Natal, however, these statements apply to other African languages as well, and African languages in South Africa in general.

Statement	SA	A	NN	D	SD
1. It is necessary in South Africa to be able to speak English and Zulu.				✓	
2. English is the only language one needs in everyday life.		✓			
3. Children get confused when learning two languages at the same time.				✓	
4. Knowing an African language is essential for living in South Africa.					✓
5. All schools in South Africa should teach pupils to communicate effectively in an African language like Zulu and in English.		✓			
6. All African language speakers must learn to speak English.					
7. Young children learn to speak Zulu and English at the same time with ease.		✓			
8. Zulu should not be developed to be used as a language to teach in.		✓			
9. Speaking two languages is not difficult.		✓			
10. English speakers do not need to learn African languages to function in SA.		✓			
11. I sometimes feel excluded because of the language I speak.		✓		✓	
12. English is the only language that should be used in education.				✓	
13. If I have children, I would want them to speak both English and Zulu.		✓			
14. Speaking only one language is fine in South Africa.		✓			
15. Most people in South Africa can speak English.		✓			
16. Speaking an African Language makes you more South African.					✓
17. It is easier for Zulu people to learn to speak English fluently than for English people to learn to speak Zulu fluently.				✓	
18. The Education system in South Africa is producing competent individuals.		✓			
19. People earn more money if they speak both Zulu and English.		✓			
20. English is the only language that can help you succeed in South Africa.				✓	
21. It is just as important to speak an African language in South Africa as it is to speak English.				✓	
22. English is a language of unity and inclusion.	✓				
23. Speaking only one language is normal.		✓			
24. I admire non-Zulu people who can speak Zulu.		✓			
25. Speaking both Zulu and English helps to get a job.		✓			
26. Speaking only English limits the amount of people you can get to know.				✓	
27. People know more if they speak Zulu and English.				✓	
28. I have no need to use Zulu in my day to day life		✓			
29. It is beneficial to be able to talk to people in their own language.	✓				
30. I sometimes feel anxious when I cannot understand the language people are using around me.				✓	
31. English speakers are separated from others because of their language.					
32. Non-English speakers like using English to communicate in social settings.		✓			
33. I do not like it when I cannot respond to another person in their language.		✓			
34. Non-English speakers like using English to communicate in social settings.		✓			
35. I would be happy if Zulu was used more in place of English in public settings.					✓
36. English is used to exclude people					✓
37. I admire people who are fluently bilingual in Zulu and English.		✓			
38. Zulu speakers use the language to separate themselves.			✓		
39. All South Africans should be able to speak an African language.				✓	
40. More road signs and advertising should be in Zulu.			✓		

Section 2: Questionnaire

The following two pages contain some questions that will help find out what you think about the language situation in South Africa, and find out about your everyday experiences. I would like to thank you for taking time and being willing to help me with this research as your perspective will be invaluable to finding out what high school scholars in South Africa think. Answer the following questions on the page.

Background Information:

1. Your gender: Female
2. Your grade: 10
3. Your date of birth and age: 11 August 1995 16 years
4. Your race group: Indiano
5. Your First (Home) Language: English
6. Languages you study/have studied at school: Afrikaans, Zulu, Portuguese
7. Are you bilingual?: no. Please explain your reasons for responding so:
My whole family speaks English even on extended side, my father used to communicate to granny in Hindi but has forgotten it long.
8. What language(s) do you speak in the following settings:
 - a. With your immediate family: English
 - b. With your extended family: English
 - c. With your friends at school: English
 - d. With your friends outside of school: English
 - e. With teachers at schools: English
 - f. With shopkeepers: English
 - g. With religious authority figures: English
 - h. With the police: English
 - i. With government officials: English
 - j. With service people (Waitrons, petrol attendants etc): English
 - k. What magazines do you read?: Seventeen - English Learning magazines - English
 - l. What newspapers do you read?: Daily News - English
 - m. What television shows do you watch?: Isidingo - English and Zulu.

Please complete the following survey. You MUST answer every question. Respond to each statement by placing a TICK in the box which reflects how you feel:

Strongly Agree	SA
Agree	A
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	NN
Disagree	D
Strongly Disagree	SD

Note I have referred in places to Zulu in this questionnaire as it is the majority African language in KwaZulu-Natal, however, these statements apply to other African languages as well, and African languages in South Africa in general.

Statement	SA	A	NN	D	SD
1. It is necessary in South Africa to be able to speak English and Zulu.		✓			
2. English is the only language one needs in everyday life.				✓	
3. Children get confused when learning two languages at the same time.				✓	
4. Knowing an African language is essential for living in South Africa.	✓				
5. All schools in South Africa should teach pupils to communicate effectively in an African language like Zulu and in English.	✓				
6. All African language speakers must learn to speak English.		✓			
7. Young children learn to speak Zulu and English at the same time with ease.		✓			
8. Zulu should not be developed to be used as a language to teach in.				✓	
9. Speaking two languages is not difficult.		✓			
10. English speakers do not need to learn African languages to function in SA.	~~WMM~~				✓
11. I sometimes feel excluded because of the language I speak.	✓				
12. English is the only language that should be used in education.		✓			
13. If I have children, I would want them to speak both English and Zulu.	✓				
14. Speaking only one language is fine in South Africa.					✓
15. Most people in South Africa can speak English.				✓	
16. Speaking an African Language makes you more South African.			✓		
17. It is easier for Zulu people to learn to speak English fluently than for English people to learn to speak Zulu fluently.		✓			
18. The Education system in South Africa is producing competent individuals.		✓			
19. People earn more money if they speak both Zulu and English.		✓			
20. English is the only language that can help you succeed in South Africa.					✓
21. It is just as important to speak an African language in South Africa as it is to speak English.		✓			
22. English is a language of unity and inclusion.		✓			
23. Speaking only one language is normal.				✓	
24. I admire non-Zulu people who can speak Zulu.	✓				
25. Speaking both Zulu and English helps to get a job.	✓				
26. Speaking only English limits the amount of people you can get to know.		✓			
27. People know more if they speak Zulu and English.		✓			
28. I have no need to use Zulu in my day to day life					✓
29. It is beneficial to be able to talk to people in their own language.	✓				
30. I sometimes feel anxious when I cannot understand the language people are using around me.		✓			
31. English speakers are separated from others because of their language.			✓		
32. Non-English speakers like using English to communicate in social settings.			✓		
33. I do not like it when I cannot respond to another person in their language.		✓			
34. Non-English speakers like using English to communicate in social settings.					
35. I would be happy if Zulu was used more in place of English in public settings.		✓	~~WMM~~		
36. English is used to exclude people				✓	
37. I admire people who are fluently bilingual in Zulu and English.	✓				
38. Zulu speakers use the language to separate themselves.				✓	
39. All South Africans should be able to speak an African language.	✓				
40. More road signs and advertising should be in Zulu.			✓		

Section 2: Questionnaire

The following two pages contain some questions that will help find out what you think about the language situation in South Africa, and find out about your everyday experiences. I would like to thank you for taking time and being willing to help me with this research as your perspective will be invaluable to finding out what high school scholars in South Africa think. Answer the following questions on the page.

Background Information:

1. Your gender: male
2. Your grade: 11
3. Your date of birth and age: 1996/01/26 17
4. Your race group: white
5. Your First (Home) Language: English
6. Languages you study/have studied at school: Afrikaans
7. Are you bilingual?: No. Please explain your reasons for responding so:
I can't speak any other language properly except for English
8. What language(s) do you speak in the following settings:
 - a. With your immediate family: English
 - b. With your extended family: English
 - c. With your friends at school: English
 - d. With your friends outside of school: English
 - e. With teachers at schools: English
 - f. With shopkeepers: English
 - g. With religious authority figures: English
 - h. With the police: English
 - i. With government officials: English
 - j. With service people (Waitrons, petrol attendants etc): English
 - k. What magazines do you read?: English
 - l. What newspapers do you read?: English
 - m. What television shows do you watch?: English

Please complete the following survey. You MUST answer every question. Respond to each statement by placing a TICK in the box which reflects how you feel:

Strongly Agree	SA
Agree	A
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	NN
Disagree	D
Strongly Disagree	SD

Note I have referred in places to Zulu in this questionnaire as it is the majority African language in KwaZulu-Natal, however, these statements apply to other African languages as well, and African languages in South Africa in general.

Statement	SA	A	NN	D	SD
1. It is necessary in South Africa to be able to speak English and Zulu.				✓	
2. English is the only language one needs in everyday life.		✓			
3. Children get confused when learning two languages at the same time.		✓			
4. Knowing an African language is essential for living in South Africa.				✓	
5. All schools in South Africa should teach pupils to communicate effectively in an African language like Zulu and in English.		✓			
6. All African language speakers must learn to speak English.		✓			
7. Young children learn to speak Zulu and English at the same time with ease.				✓	
8. Zulu should not be developed to be used as a language to teach in.				✓	
9. Speaking two languages is not difficult.				✓	
10. English speakers do not need to learn African languages to function in SA.		✓			
11. I sometimes feel excluded because of the language I speak.					✓
12. English is the only language that should be used in education.		✓			
13. If I have children, I would want them to speak both English and Zulu.			✓		
14. Speaking only one language is fine in South Africa.		✓			
15. Most people in South Africa can speak English.		✓			
16. Speaking an African Language makes you more South African.					✓
17. It is easier for Zulu people to learn to speak English fluently than for English people to learn to speak Zulu fluently.			✓		
18. The Education system in South Africa is producing competent individuals.					✓
19. People earn more money if they speak both Zulu and English.					✓
20. English is the only language that can help you succeed in South Africa.				✓	
21. It is just as important to speak an African language in South Africa as it is to speak English.				✓	
22. English is a language of unity and inclusion.		✓			
23. Speaking only one language is normal.				✓	
24. I admire non-Zulu people who can speak Zulu.		✓			
25. Speaking both Zulu and English helps to get a job.		✓			
26. Speaking only English limits the amount of people you can get to know.				✓	
27. People know more if they speak Zulu and English.				✓	
28. I have no need to use Zulu in my day to day life	✓				
29. It is beneficial to be able to talk to people in their own language.		✓			
30. I sometimes feel anxious when I cannot understand the language people are using around me.				✓	
31. English speakers are separated from others because of their language.				✓	
32. Non-English speakers like using English to communicate in social settings.		✓			
33. I do not like it when I cannot respond to another person in their language.				✓	
34. I would be happy if Zulu was used more in place of English in public settings.				✓	
35. English is used to exclude people				✓	
36. I admire people who are fluently bilingual in Zulu and English.		✓			
37. Zulu speakers use the language to separate themselves.		✓			
38. All South Africans should be able to speak an African language.				✓	
39. More road signs and advertising should be in Zulu.					✓

Section 2: Questionnaire

The following two pages contain some questions that will help find out what you think about the language situation in South Africa, and find out about your everyday experiences. I would like to thank you for taking time and being willing to help me with this research as your perspective will be invaluable to finding out what high school scholars in South Africa think. Answer the following questions on the page.

Background Information:

1. Your gender: Male
2. Your grade: 10
3. Your date of birth and age: 15 7/10/95
4. Your race group: indian
5. Your First (Home) Language: English
6. Languages you study/have studied at school: English, Afrikaans
7. Are you bilingual?: No. Please explain your reasons for responding so:
I only speak English.
8. What language(s) do you speak in the following settings:
 - a. With your immediate family: English
 - b. With your extended family: English
 - c. With your friends at school: English
 - d. With your friends outside of school: English
 - e. With teachers at schools: English
 - f. With shopkeepers: "
 - g. With religious authority figures: "
 - h. With the police: "
 - i. With government officials: "
 - j. With service people (Waitrons, petrol attendants etc): "
 - k. What magazines do you read?: FHM
 - l. What newspapers do you read?: Daily News etc.
 - m. What television shows do you watch?: Chude, Jersey Shore, Ugly Betty.

Please complete the following survey. You MUST answer every question. Respond to each statement by placing a TICK in the box which reflects how you feel:

Strongly Agree	SA
Agree	A
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	NN
Disagree	D
Strongly Disagree	SD

Note I have referred in places to Zulu in this questionnaire as it is the majority African language in KwaZulu-Natal, however, these statements apply to other African languages as well, and African languages in South Africa in general.

Statement	SA	A	NN	D	SD
1. It is necessary in South Africa to be able to speak English and Zulu.	✓			✓	
2. English is the only language one needs in everyday life.	✓	✓		✓	
3. Children get confused when learning two languages at the same time.	✓				
4. Knowing an African language is essential for living in South Africa.		✓			
5. All schools in South Africa should teach pupils to communicate effectively in an African language like Zulu and in English.				✓	
6. All African language speakers must learn to speak English.	✓				
7. Young children learn to speak Zulu and English at the same time with ease.		✓			
8. Zulu should not be developed to be used as a language to teach in.			✓		
9. Speaking two languages is not difficult.				✓	
10. English speakers do not need to learn African languages to function in SA.					✓
11. I sometimes feel excluded because of the language I speak.			✓		
12. English is the only language that should be used in education.		✓			
13. If I have children, I would want them to speak both English and Zulu.		✓			
14. Speaking only one language is fine in South Africa.		✓			
15. Most people in South Africa can speak English.		✓	✓		
16. Speaking an African Language makes you more South African.			✓		
17. It is easier for Zulu people to learn to speak English fluently than for English people to learn to speak Zulu fluently.			✓		
18. The Education system in South Africa is producing competent individuals.	✓				
19. People earn more money if they speak both Zulu and English.	✓				
20. English is the only language that can help you succeed in South Africa.	✓				
21. It is just as important to speak an African language in South Africa as it is to speak English.	✓				✓
22. English is a language of unity and inclusion.	✓	✓			
23. Speaking only one language is normal.	✓				
24. I admire non-Zulu people who can speak Zulu.	✓				
25. Speaking both Zulu and English helps to get a job.	✓				
26. Speaking only English limits the amount of people you can get to know.	✓				
27. People know more if they speak Zulu and English.	✓				
28. I have no need to use Zulu in my day to day life	✓				✓
29. It is beneficial to be able to talk to people in their own language.	✓				
30. I sometimes feel anxious when I cannot understand the language people are using around me.		✓			
31. English speakers are separated from others because of their language.	✓	✓			
32. Non-English speakers like using English to communicate in social settings.	✓				
33. I do not like it when I cannot respond to another person in their language.		✓			
34. I would be happy if Zulu was used more in place of English in public settings.			✓		
35. English is used to exclude people				✓	
36. I admire people who are fluently bilingual in Zulu and English.	✓	✓			
37. Zulu speakers use the language to separate themselves.	✓	✓			
38. All South Africans should be able to speak an African language.		✓	✓		
39. More road signs and advertising should be in Zulu.			✓		

Appendix 7: Chapter 1, Section 6, of the 1996 Constitution of South Africa

STATUTES OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA—CONSTITUTIONAL LAW

Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act,

SS. 4—8

No. 108 of 1996

SS. 4-8

4. National anthem.—The national anthem of the Republic is determined by the President by proclamation.

5. National flag.—The national flag of the Republic is black, gold, green, white, red and blue, as described and sketched in Schedule 1.

6. Languages.—(1) The official languages of the Republic are Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu.

(2) Recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages.

(3) (a) The national government and provincial governments may use any particular official languages for the purposes of government, taking into account usage, practicality, expense, regional circumstances and the balance of the needs and preferences of the population as a whole or in the province concerned; but the national government and each provincial government must use at least two official languages.

(b) Municipalities must take into account the language usage and preferences of their residents.

(4) The national government and provincial governments, by legislative and other measures, must regulate and monitor their use of official languages. Without detracting from the provisions of subsection (2), all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably.

(5) A Pan South African Language Board established by national legislation must—

(a) promote, and create conditions for, the development and use of— (i) all official languages;

(ii) the Khoi, Nama and San languages; and

(iii) sign language; and

(b) promote and ensure respect for—

(i) all languages commonly used by communities in South Africa, including German, Greek, Gujarati, Hindi, Portuguese, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu; and

(ii) Arabic, Hebrew, Sanskrit and other languages used for religious purposes in South Africa.

CHAPTER 2

BILL OF RIGHTS

7. Rights.—(1) This Bill of Rights is a cornerstone of democracy in South Africa. It enshrines the rights of all people in our country and affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom.

(2) The state must respect, protect, promote and fulfil the rights in the Bill of Rights.

(3) The rights in the Bill of Rights are subject to the limitations contained or referred to in section 36, or elsewhere in the Bill.

8. Application.—(1) The Bill of Rights applies to all law, and binds the legislature, the executive, the judiciary and all organs of state.

Appendix 8: Questionnaire Responses Indicating Familial Use of LOTE

	Participant Number	Variables		Language
		Gender	Race	
1	35	F	W	Italian
2	63	F	W	Afrikaans
3	70	F	W	Afrikaans
4	91	F	I	Tamil
5	92	F	I	Hindi
6	94	F	I	Arabic
7	96	F	I	Tamil
8	108	M	W	French
9	116	M	I	Arabic
10	131	M	I	Urdu/Gujarati
11	132	M	I	Hindi
12	139	M	I	Tamil
13	140	M	I	Arabic
14	142	M	I	Hindi

Appendix 9: Tables of results for Section 4.2: Tables 9.1-9.8

'Yes' response to the question, 'Are you bilingual?'		
Participant no	Race	Reason given for 'Yes' response
Female (11) I= 3 W=8		
1	W	We have had the opportunity to study more than one language
3	W	I can speak more than one language...
13	W	Do speak Afrikaans occasionally
16	W	Not fluent in any language but English, but have basic communication skills
21	W	I can carry a conversation in Afrikaans and I understand mostly everything when the language is spoken to me
34	W	I speak English and Afrikaans
40	W (Y/N)	I converse in English but can't properly converse in Afrikaans although I know a lot of vocabulary and can pick up on what people are saying
46	W	I know a little bit of Afrikaans but I can't speak fluently
91	I	Learn other languages and learnt to dialect in them
92	I	Although not fluently. I am able to understand the languages mentioned
96	I	I can understand the language and can speak short phrases (Tamil)
Male (15) I=12 W=3		
103	W	I have the ability to speak both Afrikaans and English
108	W	My dad's parents are French and mother's father is Italian
111	I	I can speak 2 language fluently and communicate a bit in others
117	I	I speak both Afrikaans and English fluently
118	I	I speak a bit of Zulu
121	I	I speak English and Afrikaans. I am not fully fluent in Afrikaans
129	I	I speak English and I personally feel that I would be able to communicate at a basic level in Afrikaans
130	I	I have learnt Afrikaans in school and can have a basic conversation in it. I have also learnt Zulu
131	I	Compulsary (sic) school subjects
132	I	I can speak proper English and a bit of Hindi
136	W	I can speak Afrikaans and English and have done limited study on Spanish
139	I	I can speak Afrikaans and Tamil conversationally
140	I	I can speak English and Afrikaans
142	I	I can speak a little bit of Hindi as well as English
143	I	At our school, it is compulsory to do English and isiZulu or Afrikaans. I prefer isiZulu more because I find it more fun.

Table 9.1: Reason for 'Yes' responses to self-reporting of bilingual status

Appendix 9 continued

Female 'No' response to the question, 'Are you bilingual?'		
Participant no	Race	Reason given for 'No' response
Female (31) Indian (I)=6 White (W)=25		
4	W	I have learnt Afrikaans but unfortunately do not excel in it and can therefore not string proper sentences together
7	W	I am not fluent in any language besides English
8	W	Although I can understand conversational Afrikaans, if I want to communicate I have to speak English
17	W	I am not good with languages and can't make sentences with the vocab I have
18	W	I am not fluent in any language aside from English
27	W	I am not fluent in any other language
28	W	I learn Afrikaans at school but I am not confident in it
30	I	I learn Afrikaans at school now, but don't speak it elsewhere
31	W	Because I don't have a gift for languages and find them hard to learn
35	W	Can only speak English, can speak some Italian but not fluently
36	W	I am not fluent in any other language besides English as I find it very difficult to learn them, although I would love to
37	W	I can speak English really well but I can't communicate with any other language but I understand Afrikaans
38	W	I don't speak anything but English and am not good at Afrikaans, barely passing
43	W	I can talk a bit of Afrikaans and understand but I always have been spoken to in English so I don't have anyone to converse with
44	W	I have only ever been able to speak fluently in English even though I take Afrikaans as a subject
45	W	Although I learn other languages, I am not a language person and do not do well in them
47	W	Although I study Afrikaans as a 2 nd language I cannot speak it
60	I	My whole family speak English even the extended side, my father used to communicate to granny in Hindi but has forgotten the language
61	W	I only do Afrikaans in school in Afrikaans. I speak English everywhere else
62	I	There has never been a need for me to be fluent in another language
63	W	I have learnt to speak Afrikaans, my mom's family is Afrikaans, My stepdads mom is French and learnt it at school but dropped it.
64	W	I don't seem to grip other languages, and also because I am dyslexic (sorry about the spelling) and even when I try learn I battle.
65	I	I have a general understanding of Afrikaans, Portuguese and Italian I don't speak the languages fluently
66	W	Struggle to learn languages, not a huge need when learning is taken place in the beginning (youth ages)
68	W	Both my parents are English-speaking and have been born and raised in South Africa
69	W	I only speak English, most of the languages I know, I am only able to say a phew phrases in
70	W	I don't respond well to languages and takes time for me to figure out what people are saying – other languages
71	W	I find it really hard to speak Afrikaans or understand it
94	I	Not fluent
97	I	Not fluent in languages other than English
98	W	I am confident in only English. I can speak conversational Zulu (hello/goodbye) and can understand Afrikaans fairly well.

Table 9.2a: Reason for 'No' responses to female self-reporting of bilingual status

Appendix 9 continued

Male 'No' response to the question, 'Are you bilingual?'		
Participant no	Race	Reason
Male (29) Indian (I)=7 White (W)=22		
101	W	I can't speak any other language properly except for English
102	W	
104	W	
106	W	Parents only speak English to me
107	W	I cannot speak more than one language fluently
109	W	
110	W	I get 57% for Afrikaans, so clearly can't speak the language
112	W	I'm not fluent in another language besides my first
113	W	Can't speak a word of Afrikaans
114	W	
115	W	
116	I	I can only speak 1 language
119	W	I am only fluent in English
120	W	
127	W	I only speak English fluently
128	I	I can only speak English fluently
133	I	I can only speak English
134	I	I can only speak English <u>fluently</u> (<i>underlining theirs</i>)
135	I	I can speak a bit of other languages, but not fluently. I can only really speak English properly
137	W	I can't speak more than one language fluently
138	W	I am studying Afrikaans but can't speak it
147	I	I only speak English
148	I	I cannot speak my other language(s) fluently
151	W	Whilst I study Afrikaans and know a few words in other, I cannot speak them fluently
152	W	I can only speak English fluently
153	W	I cannot speak two language fluently
154	W	
156	W	I cannot speak any other language well other than English
157	I	

Table 9.2b: Reason for 'No' responses to male self-reporting of bilingual status

Appendix 9 continued

Item	Independent variable	P value
2. English is the only language one needs in everyday life.	Gender	.000
4. Knowing an African language is essential for living in South Africa.	Gender	.000
5. All schools in South Africa should teach pupils to communicate effectively in an African language like Zulu and in English.	Gender	.006
	Race	.041
7. Young children learn to speak Zulu and English at the same time with ease.	Gender	.003
	Race	.013
10. English speakers do not need to learn African languages to function in SA.	Gender	.005
12. English is the only language that should be used in education.	Gender	.015
14. Speaking only one language is fine in South Africa.	Gender	.006
	Race	.019
16. Speaking an African Language makes you more South African.	Gender	.018
18. The Education system in South Africa is producing competent individuals.	Gender	.048
19. People earn more money if they speak both Zulu and English.	Gender	.001
21. It is just as important to speak an African language in South Africa as it is to speak English.	Gender	.019
23. Speaking only one language is normal.	Gender	.045
28. I have no need to use Zulu in my day to day life	Gender	.028
30. I sometimes feel anxious when I cannot understand the language people are using around me.	Gender	.041
32. Non-English speakers like using English to communicate in social settings.	Gender	.015
33. I do not like it when I cannot respond to another person in their language.	Gender	.003
35. I would be happy if Zulu was used more in place of English in public settings.	Gender	.005
39. All South Africans should be able to speak an African language	Gender	.028

Table 9.3: All questions with p values $\leq .05$ for both race and gender

Appendix 9 continued

Questionnaire Item ('Question')	Positive	Neutral	Negative
2. English is the only language one needs in everyday life.	7/25	22/7	23/12
4. Knowing an African language is essential for living in South Africa.	25/13	15/3	11/28
5. All schools in South Africa should teach pupils to communicate effectively in an African language like Zulu and in English.	37/16	7/14	8/14
7. Young children learn to speak Zulu and English at the same time with ease.	25/21	16/6	11/16
10. English speakers do not need to learn African languages to function in SA.	14/28	14/6	24/10
12. English is the only language that should be used in education.	6/14	15/6	31/19
14. Speaking only one language is fine in South Africa.	15/28	11/5	26/10
16. Speaking an African Language makes you more South African.	7/7	14/4	31 /33
18. The Education system in South Africa is producing competent individuals.	10/19	29/14	13/10
19. People earn more money if they speak both Zulu and English.	20/9	19/12	13/23
21. It is just as important to speak an African language in South Africa as it is to speak English.	27/19	16/5	9/19
23. Speaking only one language is normal.	31/33	13/4	9/7
28. I have no need to use Zulu in my day to day life	19/30	13/4	20/10
30. I sometimes feel anxious when I cannot understand the language people are using around me.	41/26	5/5	6/13
32. Non-English speakers like using English to communicate in social settings. (MLM)	32/25	15/10	5/9
33. I do not like it when I cannot respond to another person in their language.	44/22	4/10	3/12
35. I would be happy if Zulu was used more in place of English in public settings.	5/3	19/3	28/38

Table 9.4: Items reflecting significance for gender

Appendix 9 continued

The last 5 columns in this table (table 7.5) contain this frequency information (indicating how what percentage of the participants selected each of the 5 answers for that question). The second column on the table indicates whether the overall response to that question seems reflects an adherence to a monolingual mindset (Y), a rejection of a monolingual mindset (N) or a lack of consensus (NC)

Item	MLM Y/NC/N	SA (%)	A (%)	NN (%)	D (%)	SD (%)
2. English is the only language one needs in everyday life.	NC	9	23	29	29	6
3. Children get confused when learning two languages at the same time	NC	6	25	27	29	8
4. Knowing an African language is essential for living in South Africa.	NC	9	29	18	29	10
6. All African language speakers must learn to speak English.	Y	30	43	11	9	3
7. Young children learn to speak Zulu and English at the same time with ease.	N	11	35	22	19	8
8. Zulu should not be developed to be used as a language to teach in.	NC	10	24	23	29	10
9. Speaking two languages is not difficult.	NC	10	26	22	27	11
10. English speakers do not need to learn African languages to function in SA.	Y	14	28	10	27	7
11. I sometimes feel excluded because of the language I speak.	Y	8	23	11	27	27
12. English is the only language that should be used in education.	N	9	11	21	40	13
13. If I have children, I would want them to speak both English and Zulu.	N	20	31	17	21	6
14. Speaking only one language is fine in South Africa.	Y	9	34	16	27	9
15. Most people in South Africa can speak English.	Y	20	43	14	16	3
17. It is easier for Zulu people to learn to speak English fluently than for English people to learn to speak Zulu fluently. (3)	NC	15	27	22	13	19
19. People earn more money if they speak both Zulu and English.	NN	6	23	31	23	13
20. English is the only language that can help you succeed in South Africa.	N	3	7	27	46	13
21. It is just as important to speak an African language in South Africa as it is to speak English.	N	9	37	21	20	8
22. English is a language of unity and inclusion.	Y	12	34	38	9	3
23. Speaking only one language is normal.	Y	22	42	16	14	2
24. I admire non-Zulu people who can speak Zulu.	Y	42	46	4		2
25. Speaking both Zulu and English helps to get a job.	N	22	40	20	13	1
26. Speaking only English limits the amount of people you can get to know.	N	14	45	10	21	6
27. People know more if they speak Zulu and English.	Y	5	23	24	34	9
28. I have no need to use Zulu in my day to day life.	Y	17	32	17	21	9
29. It is beneficial to be able to talk to people in their own language.	N	43	48	4	1	0
30. I sometimes feel anxious when I cannot understand the language people are using around me.	Y	24	43	10	17	2
31. English speakers are separated from others because of their language.	NC	5	22	25	33	11
33. I do not like it when I cannot respond to another person in their language	N	22	44	14	12	3
32. Non-English speakers like using English to communicate in social settings.	Y	9	48	25	12	2
35. I would be happy if Zulu was used more in place of English in public settings.	N	2	6	22	39	27
36. English is used to exclude people	Y	0	1	12	34	49
37. I admire people who are fluently bilingual in Zulu and English.	Y	44	42	6	2	1
38. Zulu speakers use the language to separate themselves.	NC	15	23	25	27	6

Table 9.5: Frequencies of all 38 items in the Attitude Questionnaire

Appendix 9 continued

Item	MLM Y/NC/N	SA (%)	A (%)	N (%)	D (%)	SD (5)
6. All African language speakers must learn to speak English.	Y	30	43	11	9	3
		73			12	
10. English speakers do not need to learn African languages to function in SA.	Y	14	28	10	27	7
		42			34	
11. I sometimes feel excluded because of the language I speak.	Y	8	23	11	27	27
		31			54	
14. Speaking only one language is fine in South Africa.	Y	9	34	16	27	9
		43			36	
15. Most people in South Africa can speak English.	Y	20	43	14	16	3
		63			19	
17. It is easier for Zulu people to learn to speak English fluently than for English people to learn to speak Zulu fluently.	NC	15	27	22	13	19
		42			32	
23. Speaking only one language is normal.	Y	22	42	16	14	2
		64			16	
24. I admire non-Zulu people who can speak Zulu.	Y	42	46	4	0	2
		88			2	
27. People know more if they speak Zulu and English.	Y	5	23	24	34	9
		28			43	
28. I have no need to use Zulu in my day to day life	Y	17	32	17	21	9
		49			30	
30. I sometimes feel anxious when I cannot understand the language people are using around me.	Y	24	43	10	17	2
		67			19	
31. English speakers are separated from others because of their language.	NC	5	22	25	33	11
		27			44	
32. Non-English speakers like using English to communicate in social settings.	Y	9	48	25	12	2
		57			14	
36. English is used to exclude people	Y	0	1	12	34	49
		1			83	
37. I admire people who are fluently bilingual in Zulu and English.	Y	44	42	6	2	1
		86			3	

Table 9.6: Frequencies of items relating to monolingualism and plurilingualism that reflect a monolingual mindset

Appendix 9 continued

Item	MLM Y/NC/N	SA (%)	A (%)	N (%)	D (%)	SD (%)
2. English is the only language one needs in everyday life.	NC	9	23	29	29	6
		32			35	
3. Children get confused when learning two languages at the same time	NC (N)	6	25	27	29	8
		31			37	
4. Knowing an African language is essential for living in South Africa.	NC	9	29	18	29	10
		38			39	
7. Young children learn to speak Zulu and English at the same time with ease.	N	11	35	22	19	8
		46			27	
8. Zulu should not be developed to be used as a language to teach in.	NC (N)	10	24	23	29	10
		34			39	
9. Speaking two languages is not difficult.	NC	10	26	22	27	11
		36			38	
12. English is the only language that should be used in education.	N	9	11	21	40	13
		20			53	
13. If I have children, I would want them to speak both English and Zulu	N	20	31	17	21	6
		51			27	
19. People earn more money if they speak both Zulu and English.	N	6	23	31	23	13
		29			36	
20. English is the only language that can help you succeed in South Africa.	N	3	7	27	46	13
		10			59	
21. It is just as important to speak an African language in South Africa as it is to speak English.	N	9	37	21	20	8
		46			28	
25. Speaking both Zulu and English helps to get a job.	N	22	40	20	13	1
		62			14	
26. Speaking only English limits the amount of people you can get to know.	N	14	45	10	21	6
		59			27	
29. It is beneficial to be able to talk to people in their own language.	N	43	48	4	1	0
		95			1	
33. I do not like it when I cannot respond to another person in their language.	N	22	44	14	12	3
		66			15	
38. Zulu speakers use the language to separate themselves.	NC	15	23	25	27	6
		38			33	
39. All South Africans should be able to speak an African language.	NC	11	23	30	23	8
		34			31	

Table 9.7: Frequencies of items relating to monolingualism and plurilingualism that reflect a lack of a monolingual mindset

Appendix 9 continued

Item	MLM Y/NC/N	SA	A	N	D	SD
English						
2. English is the only language one needs in everyday life.	NC	9 32	23	29	29	6 35
6. All African language speakers must learn to speak English.	Y	30 73	43	11	9	3 12
12. English is the only language that should be used in education.	N	9 20	11	21	40	13 53
20. English is the only language that can help you succeed in South Africa.	N	3 10	7	27	46	13 59
22. English is a language of unity and inclusion.	Y	12 46	34	38	9	3 12
31. English speakers are separated from others because of their language.	Y	5 27	22	25	33	11 44
36. English is used to exclude people	Y	0 1	1	12	34	49 83
Zulu/AL – Zulu/AL						
1. It is necessary in South Africa to be able to speak English and Zulu.	Y	11 45	34	18	27	6 33
4. Knowing an African language is essential for living in South Africa.	NC	9 38	29	18	29	10 39
5. All schools in South Africa should teach pupils to communicate effectively in an African language like Zulu and in English.	N	15 53	38	21	18	4 22
8. Zulu should not be developed to be used as a language to teach in.	NC	10 34	24	23	29	10 39
13. If I have children, I would want them to speak both English and Zulu.	N	20 51	31	17	21	6 27
16. Speaking an African Language makes you more South African.	Y	3 14	11	18	30	34 64
21. It is just as important to speak an African language in South Africa as it is to speak English.	N	9 46	37	21	20	8 28
28. I have no need to use Zulu in my day to day life	Y	17 49	32	17	21	9 30
35. I would be happy if Zulu was used more in place of English in public settings.	N	2 8	6	22	39	27 66
38. Zulu speakers use the language to separate themselves.	NC	15 48	23	25	27	6 33
39. All South Africans should be able to speak an African language.	NC	11 34	23	30	23	8 31

Table 9.8: Items relating to English and African languages (Zulu in particular)

Appendix 10: Transcription Conventions

()	brief pause, often when correcting something said
(.)	longer pause
(..)	substantial pause
I:	Interviewer
P:	Participant
=	Interruption (usually at a pause in either the Interviewer or Participants' utterance)
<i>(Italics)</i>	Non-verbal actions, expressions, laughter, or words that were indecipherable from the audio recording
'cause	Often pronounces abbreviation of 'because'
School A	Girls' Schools
School B	Girls' Schools
School X	Any Primary school named by a participant
X	The name of any organisation mentioned by a participant that might be identifying
[00:08:12.06]	Interview time. Used when there is an interruption to the interview

Appendix 11: Final Edited Stimulus Article Used in Interviews

Masincokole: Talk to me! Russell H Kaschula.

The minister of higher education and training, Blade Nzimande, recently called for all South African university graduates to learn at least one African language. This really is one of the few initiatives where our nation's idea of "social cohesion" could become a reality.

It does not take a communist to see that Russia and China fuel their economies in languages other than English. There are only a few countries in Africa in which English has effectively reached the masses as a language of learning and teaching, let alone communication and integration.

English remains a language of the elite, forbidding people from access to the first economy -- as erstwhile president Thabo Mbeki referred to it -- and relegating them to the second and, dare I suggest, third economy in which people have absolutely no knowledge of English.

With the exception of African languages such as Kiswahili, Arabic and Afrikaans (the third-biggest language in South Africa), the lack of use of African languages in high-status domains remains a reality. Afrikaans is an example of a young African language that has been intellectualised and can be used as a model for the development of other African languages.

There is a strong link between Julius Malema's recent assertion to the Jewish community that the poor are coming to get "us" Gaddafi-style and how we use language to include and exclude people in this country. Today it is language that serves as a barrier to economic mobility, requiring us to think about how we can use language to transform class relations.

Language is crucial in creating understanding and linkages between the rich and poor. As Nelson Mandela once observed: "[I]f you talk to [a man] in his language, that goes to his heart."

Ask yourself this question: in what language do I dream? In my mother tongue, of course. Now ask yourself what would be the significance of the answer to this umbuzo (question)? You think best in a language that you know best. You should be taught in a language that you understand, allowing for cognition to take place easily. This is one side of the coin that we still miss in South Africa. We need to teach in African languages and teach effective English as a subject. It is not a question of choosing English only. Not only should you be taught in your dream language but you should also take the initiative to learn other languages. Linguistic activists have been saying this for years.

In the process the mind is broadened and the barriers between linguistic and cultural groups are broken down. You step into the cultural and linguistic space of another human friend. Language is what drives culture and forms its central underpinnings: who are we and who am I if I remain my singular, monolingual, (un)comfortable self?

Now, what do we do in South Africa? We insist that the majority of our students are educated in a language that they often do not understand well. The result: global-language idiots are what we have become! We don't teach African languages or English with any measure of competency. Furthermore, we insist that those who were privileged under apartheid remain privileged today -- in other words, it is those who speak English and, to some extent, Afrikaans who are allowed to be taught in their mother tongues. What gives them this right?

They are also not required to learn another African language. This just does not make sense in a country in which professional services are largely delivered in English, even though arguably not even 40% of the population is functionally literate in this non-indigenous, ex-colonial language. In a country where we remain obsessed with race, multilingualism will go a long way towards creating a measure of social cohesion. Can you imagine if all South Africans were fluent in English, Afrikaans, an Nguni language and a Sotho language? We would all be better citizens.

Russell H Kaschula is professor and head of African language studies at Rhodes University's school of languages. Source: Mail & Guardian Online

Appendix 12: Generic Participant Interview Question Schedule

Learner Interview Questions

Where you from? Parents? Previous schools? What do you want to be? Ideas of where you want to study?

1. First things first do you think the article has a point/what do you think is the gist of the article.
2. Are there any parts of that article that make you feel uncomfortable?
3. Do you think English is used to exclude people?
“English remains a language of the elite, forbidding people from access to the first economy and progress and relegating them to the second or even third economy in which people have absolutely no knowledge of English” “There is a strong link between Julius Malema's assertion that the poor are coming to get "us" Gaddafi-style and how we use language to include and exclude people in this country. Today it is language that serves as a barrier to economic mobility, requiring us to think about how we can use language to transform class relations”
4. Do you think knowing Zulu would be useful?
“You should be taught in a language that you understand, allowing for cognition to take place easily. This is one side of the coin that we still miss in South Africa. We need to teach in African languages and teach effective English as a subject. It is not a question of choosing English only. English alone shout never be enough for any South African of live in and embrace this country. It is not a case of ‘them’ learning English but also of ‘us’ taking the initiative to learn other languages”
5. Do you see languages as purely school subjects or life skills?
6. Why did you take the language (FAL) you took in High School?
7. Do you feel that there is no opportunity to develop Zulu as you don’t come into contact with it?
8. What do you think your parents would say if they read this.
9. What do you think about the quote from Nelson Mandela.
10. Do you think Zulu speakers should be able to be taught in their mother tongue?
11. Do you think problems could be fixed if more English speakers could speak an African Language?
“Now, what do we do in South Africa? We insist that the majority of our students are educated in a language that they often do not understand well. The result: global-language idiots are what we have become! We don't teach African languages or English with any measure of competency. Furthermore, we insist that those who were privileged under apartheid remain privileged today -- in other words, it is those who speak English and, to some extent, Afrikaans who are allowed to be taught in their mother tongues. What gives them this right?”

“In a country where we remain obsessed with race, multilingualism will go a long way towards creating a measure of social cohesion. Can you imagine if all South Africans were fluent in English, Afrikaans, an Nguni language and a Sotho language? We would all be better South Africans.”

12. What do you think if/when you come into contact with non-Zulu speakers who can speak Zulu
13. a. In contact situations with a Zulu Speaker, what language do they usually speak in? b. Why do you think that happens? c. Do you ever speak Zulu to them? d. How come?
14. Picture 15-20 years down the line. You have kids. Would u want them to be bilingual? Bilingual schooling?
15. Do you think people are unfair towards English speakers? Especially in the article.
16. Imagine you were a Zulu child going to an English medium school for the first time. How do you think you would feel? Shoe on other foot.
17. There is a statement in the article, “”. What do you think about that? Do you think being able to speak more South African languages would make people better South Africans?
18. Do you think being exposed to Zulu media would help you develop a communicative ability in Zulu?
19. Have you ever been out of Durban and found only English a problem?
20. What would you think if Julius Malema started to address the population in Zulu only?
21. What would you make the language policy at schools if you were the Minister of Education

**Question 6: Would speaking more languages (e.g. English, Afrikaans, 2 African languages)
make us better South Africans**

CASE: F1

- 1 P: (17a) uum, I don't know, if to make you a better South African you would speak, it would
2 mean that you would speak a different language, but I think it would help, if you
3 know what I mean. 'Cause I think, you can't say someone's less of a South African
4 if they only speak Zulu if that's what they've been brought up with. But if they were
5 able to speak many different languages if I was able to speak many languages I
6 would definitely be, be able to say I was a true South African more so than someone
7 who just speaks English.

CASE: F3

- 1 P: um, I don't want to sound cliché-ish,
2 I: be welcome to
3 P: okay good, um, because I think like, being a good any person from any country in
4 the world is all about who you are and like, you know, your heart. Not the language
5 that you speak. Language is hardly a barrier, ja I think that like, you know like,
6 people always say like, you can just by looking at someone you can tell how sincere
7 they are or what they mean or how they feel, you don't need to be communicating
8 with them.
9 I: ja, ja
10 P: with words, communicating with...words?
11 I: verbal communication
12 P: yes
13 I: Ja so you, for you being a South African is separate from things like =
14 P: =languages =
15 I: =being able to speak like, certain languages
16 P: Ja
17 I: okay cool, um,
18 P: but I think you have to respect different languages and cultures.

CASE: F4

- 1 P: I don't think knowing a whole bunch of South African languages makes you more
 2 South African I think it's just more (interview interrupted {00:11:55.25} -
 3 {00:12:42.20}) um I don't think knowing more African languages makes you more
 4 South African, I think it's more about your attitude towards the country, but um I
 5 think knowing more than one African language might make like make you more
 6 proud to be South African and you'll understand more
 7

CASE: F6

- 1 P: I don't think that we necessarily have to speak another language to be a better South
 2 African. It's in you, it's how you act and your attitudes towards other people. Even
 3 if you speak English and you're the nicest person to someone else who can't speak
 4 English but you're helpful. I think that, in essence, makes you a better South
 5 African. You don't necessarily have to speak their language.

CASE: M1

- 1 P: no I think we would sort of get on with each other better because we would
 2 understand each other properly and they would be able to explain themselves like
 3 fully rather than in a language they're not entirely sure of
 4 I: okay and in terms of being a South African do you think it would maybe do you
 5 think you would be a better South African if you could speak an African language
 6 or do you
 7 P: no (*both start laughing*)

CASE: M2

(voluntary)

- 1 P: Ja it is cos I mean it represents our kind of our past if you look at it()you know I
 2 mean Xhosa, Zulu it's all been here()you know so I mean it is important for us to
 3 know those kind of languages but I mean it doesn't really give me interest (ts) I
 4 mean you know personally (ugh) I mean Zulu okay Afrikaans not really () you
 5 know I mean it doesn't grip my attention

- 6 I: Ja okay () uh do you in your uh everyday life do you ever come into contact with
7 those languages do you ever have a need to use them
- 8 P: No, I have no need of using them () especially Afrikaans I don't see the need for it
9 at all.
- 10 (after question)
- 11 I: Okay () um () at the end of that () of this article it says that if we could all speak
12 English and Afrikaans and two African languages we would all be better South
13 Africans () do you think that's a true statement or it's a bit off the mark?
- 14 P: (*sighs while thinking*) the thing is it depends how many how many okay there's not
15 many Afrikaners in this country
- 16 I: Ja
- 17 P: That's what I think you know in terms of Sotho and other languages I mean uh like
18 other cultures I mean there is quite a bit but I I don't really get into contact with
19 them you know so what is the point () you know I mean I'm living in Durban I mean
20 I don't really get in touch with you know Sotho guys and all that stuff there so what
21 is the use to me? So I think it depends on where you live () your circumstances ()
22 ye I mean obviously if you live in a rural area where Zulu's like the most popular
23 thing then it's quite wise to learn the language
- 24 I: Ja
- 25 P: because you living there you know () but for me now I mean I don't really find it
26 useful you know where I'm living so it really depend on your circumstance.
- 27 I: Ja ja () so you would say that it doesn't really affect your nationality
- 28 P: Ja it doesn't really affect your () nationality () it doesn't really affect it really depends
29 on circumstance I think

CASE: M5

- 1 P: =not really ja I
2 think that () sort of we'd be more united as a country if everyone could understand
3 everyone else but it's sort of like pushing like English to like one side saying that ()
4 it's like not sufficient
- 5 I: not sufficient for it okay () so as a South African you don't feel like English is bad
- 6 P: no I think it's 'cause most like majority if you have to talk to anyone in English
7 they'd like sort of understand

- 8 I: oh okay ja
9 P: seems like the most understood language
10 I: everyone can use a bit of it
11 P: Ja

CASE: M6

- 1 P: no I mean whatever language you speak is not really your fault that you born to
2 Zulu speaking people um it's doesn't make you a better person if you can speak 5
3 different languages fluently or one language fluently it's not really your fault if your
4 parents are wealthy they can send you to a school that teaches different languages
5 or just one language so doesn't doesn't really make you a better person if you can
6 speak

CASE: M8

- 1 P: I don't think it it's more like we' would be better South Africans it we we'd be better
2 peep we'd be better people and we'd understand each other but being South African
3 is who you are it's not it's not something that if you learn other 2 languages you're
4 a better person it's more of pride in your country and

Appendix 14: Interview Responses Indicating Familial Use of LOTE

F1 (85-87)

P: ... cause when I went to Greece, I felt so disadvantaged because it's like I didn't understand what my relatives were saying, and it was so. I felt, you know you feel so left out, ja. it was quite sad

(170-176)

P: Definitely, I think um, you know it was uum, when my gran goes to Greece, when my gran went to Greece she could speak fluently in their language, and when sh, we went over and stayed in a restaurant and stuff, they were like so amazed that she could speak the language and everything and they said, 'you know thank you' and then I tried to do it but I didn't speak it well. they actually, the guy said said, 'it's so nice to hear someone actually interested in my language, and trying to understand me', because you know, it's almost like respect you know.

F2 (104-109)

P: well like my parents speak full on Afrikaans and Zulu ()

I: =oh okay

P: as well as other languages and its very irritating cause

I: how come they got to do you know

P: they were just very exposed to a lot of places and they they love to travel so they've been all over the world and they go back and forth so they just pick up on everything

F3 (99-105)

P: Ja I do () I think it's um ja it () I think there's definitely it's it creates like a sort of like, makes you somewhat personal with someone. Like I know um I come from like um a family where you know Indian people also kind of speak different languages and I mean I know like () it's just always () it's a lot more heartfelt and sincere when you speak to someone in in like a language that they they really understand and that it's not () It's not like just saying something that you say everyday in English to everyone else.

F5 (129-131)

P: uuum () it depends what languages there are like I'm Italian so my Italian will affect the way that I live because my whole family's Italian so they all speak to each other in Italian so I kind of have to know the language it speaks to them

F7 (171-181)

P: Ja I think he is because if I () okay well my granny speaks Tamil () my religion so they speak Tamil at home and if they had to tell me something in Tamil I would I would remember what they say even if I didn't know what it meant () it would always stay with me what they and then maybe at a later stage I'd find out what it meant but it would always be with me that's the original language I'm supposed to speak

I: Okay so it means something to you

P: Ja

I: And do you ever like try and talk to them like ()

P: Ja I'm trying to learn the Tamil

I: And I assume (.) what was their reaction if you ()

P: If I did () no no, my gran () shame they help me

M2 (35-45)

P: It's basically about I mean language I mean we have 11 different languages in this country and I mean like like certain kind of these languages kind of uh go go to some of for instance like Afrikaans () Afrikaans go more to the like kind of Afrikaans kind of population but for like me now I'm, I'm Hindi () so I mean now I don't have the opportunity to learn my own mother tongue () you see I mean like Hindi I'd love watched many Hindi films and stuff (right here) and you know I'm really into Hindi () and I mean you know I don't get an opportunity to actually learn the language () It's my mother tongue I mean also our prayers are done with Hindi you see so it's it's it's a bit of a disadvantage () I mean one population of this country gets a chance to kind of you know uh learn their mother tongue but we aren't () so it's a bit unfair but anyway that's that.

M3 (76-79)

P: Not really but at home I don't speak () we speak English but we speak like other languages um Urdu and Gujarati

I: Oh okay. You speak it at home as well

P: Ja we speak but not like () we use like small phrases you know for like exclamation (94-95)

I: Uh can your () do your parents speak Afrikaans?

P: Yeh and Zulu

M6 (119-121)

I: can your parents speak any Zulu

P: um my dad can speak a bit of Fanagolo like to the gardener and stuff () but I mean he knows the basic stuff probably pick up a few words in a conversation

M8 (72-77)

P: no not really I will usually usually when I'm in those situations my sister's there and she speaks fluent Zulu

I: really

P: ja

I: how'd that happen

P: uh she chose Zulu and she got 96 for matric and now she's at UCT where they all speak Afrikaans and she's lost (*both laugh*)

(180-186)

P: well English well personally I'd like them to speak French 'cause I wish I could I wish they were we were allowed to take French here I would

I: do they not offer it

P: No they don't

I: oh really oh ok

P: I wish I love I love French 'cause my 3 out of 5, 3 out of the 5 members in my family speak French

Attitude							
Ln	Instantiation	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+ /-	Inscribed /Evoked	Appraised
F1							
3	she could speak fluently in their language	+Satisfaction			+	Evoked	Gran's plurilingualism
			+Capacity		+	Inscribed	Gran's plurilingualism
4-5	they were like so amazed that she could speak the language	+Satisfaction			+	Evoked	Plurilingualism
			+Capacity		+	Evoked	Plurilingualism
				+Valuation	+	Evoked	Plurilingualism
5	they said, 'you know thank you'			+Reaction	+	Evoked	Plurilingualism?
				+Valuation	+	Evoked	Plurilingualism?
6	and then I tried to do it		+Tenacity		+	Evoked	Self (LOTE)
6	but I didn't speak it well	-Security			-	Evoked	self (lack of Greek ability)
		-Satisfaction			-	Evoked	self (lack of Greek ability)
			-Capacity		-	Evoked	self (lack of Greek ability)
7	it's so nice to hear someone actually interested in my language	+Happiness			+	Inscribed	Pluriling/others speaking language
				+Reaction	+	Evoked	Pluriling/others speaking language
				+Valuation	+	Evoked	Pluriling/others speaking language
7-8	and trying to understand me	+Security			+	Evoked	Greek man
8	it's almost like respect	+Satisfaction			+	Evoked	Pluriling/speaking others' language
			+Propriety		+	Evoked	Pluriling/speaking others' language
				+Valuation	+	Evoked	Pluriling/speaking others' language
10	you respect the person ja,	+Satisfaction			+	Evoked	Pluriling/speaking others' language
			+Propriety		+	Evoked	Pluriling/speaking others' language
				+Valuation	+	Evoked	Pluriling/speaking others' language
10	you show your respect by speaking their language		+Propriety		+	Evoked	Pluriling/speaking others' language
				+Reaction?	+	Evoked	Pluriling/speaking others' language
				+Valuation	+	Evoked	Pluriling/speaking others' language
F3							
4	makes you somewhat personal with someone	+Satisfaction			+	Evoked	Pluriling/speaking others' language
			+Propriety		+	Evoked	Pluriling/speaking others' language
				+Valuation	+	Evoked	Pluriling/speaking others' language
5-6	also kind of speak different languages,		+Capacity		+	Evoked	Pluriling (Indian community)
6-7	it's a lot more heartfelt and sincere when you speak to someone in	+Happiness			+	Evoked	Pluriling/speaking others' language
			+Propriety		+	Evoked	Pluriling/speaking others' language
				+Valuation	+	Evoked	Pluriling/speaking others' language
7-8	in like a language that they they really understand	+Security			+	Evoked	hearer
			+Capacity		+	Evoked	hearer
				+Valuation	+	Evoked	Pluriling/speaking others' language
8-9	It's not like just saying something that you say everyday in English to everyone else.	-Satisfaction			-	Evoked	English
			+Normality		-	Evoked	English
			-Capacity		-	Evoked	English
				-Valuation	-	Evoked	English
15	I'm terrible		-Capacity		-	Evoked	(self) LOTE
				-Valuation	-	Evoked	(Learning) LOTE

15.1: Table showing a sample of the process of APPRAISAL analysis (Attitude) taken from Question 4, participants F1 and F2

Attitude							
Ln	Instantiation	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+ /-	Inscribed /Evoked	Appraised
F1							
3	she could speak fluently in their language	+Satisfaction			+	Evoked	Gran's plurilingualism
			+Capacity		+	Inscribed	Gran's plurilingualism
4-5	they were like so amazed that she could speak the language	+Satisfaction			+	Evoked	Plurilingualism
			+Capacity		+	Evoked	Plurilingualism
				+Valuation	+	Evoked	Plurilingualism
5	they said, 'you know thank you'			+Reaction	+	Evoked	Plurilingualism?
				+Valuation	+	Evoked	Plurilingualism?
6	and then I tried to do it		+Tenacity		+	Evoked	Self (LOTE)
6	but I didn't speak it well	-Security			-	Evoked	self (lack of Greek ability)
		-Satisfaction			-	Evoked	self (lack of Greek ability)
			-Capacity		-	Evoked	self (lack of Greek ability)
7	it's so nice to hear someone actually interested in my language	+Happiness			+	Inscribed	Pluriling/others speaking language
				+Reaction	+	Evoked	Pluriling/others speaking language
				+Valuation	+	Evoked	Pluriling/others speaking language
7-8	and trying to understand me	+Security			+	Evoked	Greek man
8	it's almost like respect	+Satisfaction			+	Evoked	Pluriling/speaking others' language
			+Propriety		+	Evoked	Pluriling/speaking others' language
				+Valuation	+	Evoked	Pluriling/speaking others' language
10	you respect the person ja,	+Satisfaction			+	Evoked	Pluriling/speaking others' language
			+Propriety		+	Evoked	Pluriling/speaking others' language
				+Valuation	+	Evoked	Pluriling/speaking others' language
10	you show your respect by speaking their language		+Propriety		+	Evoked	Pluriling/speaking others' language
				+Reaction?	+	Evoked	Pluriling/speaking others' language
				+Valuation	+	Evoked	Pluriling/speaking others' language
F3							
4	makes you somewhat personal with someone	+Satisfaction			+	Evoked	Pluriling/speaking others' language
			+Propriety		+	Evoked	Pluriling/speaking others' language
				+Valuation	+	Evoked	Pluriling/speaking others' language
5-6	also kind of speak different languages,		+Capacity		+	Evoked	Pluriling (Indian community)
6-7	it's a lot more heartfelt and sincere when you speak to someone in	+Happiness			+	Evoked	Pluriling/speaking others' language
			+Propriety		+	Evoked	Pluriling/speaking others' language
				+Valuation	+	Evoked	Pluriling/speaking others' language
7-8	in like a language that they they really understand	+Security			+	Evoked	hearer
			+Capacity		+	Evoked	hearer
				+Valuation	+	Evoked	Pluriling/speaking others' language
8-9	It's not like just saying something that you say everyday in English to everyone else.	-Satisfaction			-	Evoked	English
			+Normality		-	Evoked	English
			-Capacity		-	Evoked	English
				-Valuation	-	Evoked	English
15	I'm terrible		-Capacity		-	Evoked	(self) LOTE
				-Valuation	-	Evoked	(Learning) LOTE

15.1: Table showing a sample of the process of APPRAISAL analysis (Attitude) taken from Question 4, participants F1 and F2

Graduation										
Ln	Instantiation	FORCE		FOCUS	Type		Up/Down		+	Appraised
		Intensi fication	Quanti fication	Sharpened / Softened	Infusing	Isolating	Downscale	Upscale		
F1										
2	Definitely	Process			Infusing			Upscale	+	Mandela's Quote
3	she could speak <u>fluently</u> in their language	Quality			Infusing?			Upscale	+	Gran's plurilingualism
4-5	they were like <u>so amazed</u> that she could speak the language	Quality			Infusing?			Upscale	+	Plurilingualism
6	but I didn't speak it <u>well</u>	Process				Isolating	Downscale		-	self (lack of Greek ability)
7	it's <u>so nice</u> to hear someone actually interested	Quality				Isolating		Upscale	+	Pluriling/others speaking language
F3										
3-4	it's it creates like a <u>sort of</u> like,			Soften		Isolating	Downscale		+	Pluriling/speaking others' language
4	makes you <u>somewhat</u> personal with someone			Soften?		Isolating	Downscale		+	Pluriling/speaking others' language
5-6	also <u>kind of</u> speak different languages.			Soften		Isolating	Downscale		+	Indian community
6	it's just <u>always</u>		Number: Amount			Isolating		Upscale	+	Pluriling/speaking others' language
6	it's <u>a lot more</u> heartfelt		Number: Amount			Isolating		Upscale	+	Pluriling/speaking others' language
8-9	in like a language that they they <u>really</u> understand	Process ?				Isolating		Upscale	+	Pluriling/speaking others' language
8-9	It's not like just saying something that you say everyday in English		Number: Amount			Isolating		Upscale	-	English?
9	to everyone else.		Number: Amount			Isolating		Upscale	-	English?
15	I'm terrible	Quality				Isolating		Upscale	-	LOTE

15.2: Table showing a sample of the process of APPRAISAL analysis (Graduation) taken from Question 4, participants F1 and F2

Appendix 15: Sample APPRAISAL Analysis from Q4, Participants F1 and F2 continued

	Engagement					
Ln	Instantiation	CONTRACTION		EXPANSION		+/-
		Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	
F1						
3	I think			Entertain		+
3	You know			Entertain		+
3	I think			Entertain		+
4/5	it's probably going to be easier for me			Entertain		+
5	but then	Counter				-
5	of course		Concur			-
6	I mean there <u>should</u> be like more		Pronounce			+
6/7	I think there's no drive		Pronounce	Entertain		-
7	Even at school	Counter				-
7/8	I never felt a drive	Deny				-
8	You know			Entertain		-
12	it's really hard for me		Pronounce			-
13	it is true, like there is no drive for it		Pronounce			-
14	You know			Entertain		-
17	I've always wanted to			Entertain		+
17	But it's never	Counter				-
		Deny				-
18	You know			Entertain		+
18	It's unfortunate		Pronounce			-
1	what I got from this article			Entertain		+
3	but in South Africa	Counter				-
4	we don't pay that much respect		Pronounce			-
6	What I got			Entertain		+
6	We should in fact		Concur			+
7	It could unite us more			Entertain		+
9	I think it does have a point		Pronounce			+
9	To some extent	Counter				-
10	It's not nearly as enough		Pronounce			-
10/1	but we don't learn it willingly	Counter				-
		Deny				-
14	We don't want to do it	Deny				-
13	But once you understand it	Counter				+
16	they don't just speak in English	Deny				+
16	You know			Entertain		+
16/7	lots of people they speak mostly in Afrikaans		Pronounce			+
17	It is true		Pronounce			+
19	You know			Entertain		+
21	I think it matters		Pronounce	Entertain		+
21/2	you know			Entertain		+
22	90% of the world's English		Pronounce			+
22	but for me	Counter				+
22	I would like to learn all types of languages			Entertain		+
23/4	it opens a lot of communication doors		Pronounce			+
24	you know			Entertain		+
28	I think Durban people feel () we very chilled in a sense			Entertain		+
28/9	but we're very closed in from the rest of South Africa	Counter				-
			Pronounce			-
29/30	<u>but</u> they understand each other	Counter				+
30	it's just mostly in Durban	Counter	Pronounce			-
32	but as you travel	Counter				+
32	You see it English isn't the only language out there		Pronounce			+

15.3: Table showing a sample of the process of APPRAISAL analysis (Engagement) taken from Question 1, participants F1 and F2. Sections of data that reflect a series of contractions and expansions have been highlighted

Appendix 16: Responses to Question: What percentage of South Africans do you think can speak or communicate in English?

F1: 275-277

P: probably a really small amount () 20% Ja () I'm not too sure

I: Ja I know it was just a random

P: let's say 40 % (.) I'd say 40%.

F4: 89-92

P: I really have () really don't know

I: um in like Natal () like in Durban. you think most people () Not many () like

P: I think most people but the you have to also think about like the rural areas that are also in Natal but () I think majority can speak English

F5: 231-237

P: well the percentage that live in like here like the city () I don't think that most people out of () I can like suck one out of () like I can't think of one

I: okay

P: but like, the people that live in rural areas I think they'd find it's like quite difficult for them to understand and speak English because they don't get taught it when they

I: uh are exposed to it okay () but then in Durban like

P: Durban Cape Town Joburg () I think that most people can speak English

F6: 280-287

P: I actually don't know () It's quite hard to say um (.) 'cause I know a large part of the population does speak Zulu

I: Well say Natal

P: Um () in Natal a lot of us () so let's say maybe about 60% of us can speak English

I: Ja we are very English here aren't we () okay cool () if you were to make a guess about the whole country () don't worry you're not going to be held to this it's just ()

P: Less than that (..) maybe 55%?

F7: 201

P: (.) 89 maybe

M2: 172-176

P: About maybe 60 % or so () I think. I mean if you look at the Free State, Western Cape I mean they speak Afrikaans most of the time. So if I can exclude them but ja

I: If you could exclude them what would you say?

P: Well then I'll say quite a bit () quite a bit of people do speak English I'd say so

M3: 209-211

P: 40%?

I: Okay. And just looking in Natal?

P: Probably higher...I mean sorry lower, lower. We are the Zulu, Zulu province.

M4: 251-258

P: uum () of the people I know 100 bit of the full South Africa I rate it would be somewhere about 50 - 60.

I: oh okay () and in Natal from just looking at natal

P: uuum it'd probably be around 40

I: okay () why

P: because I know there's lots of rural areas in Natal and um maybe in some of those areas there's some people who don't understand the language and don't speak it and aren't have been to the same schools as I've been to () and lots of other people have been to

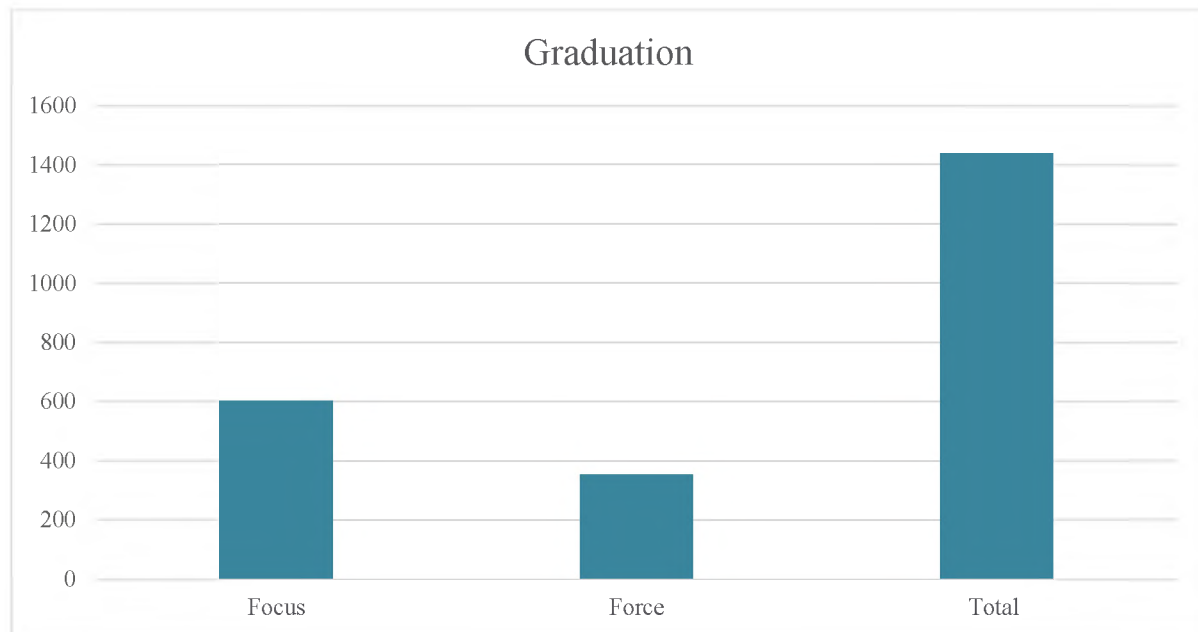
M7: 231-233

P: about 35

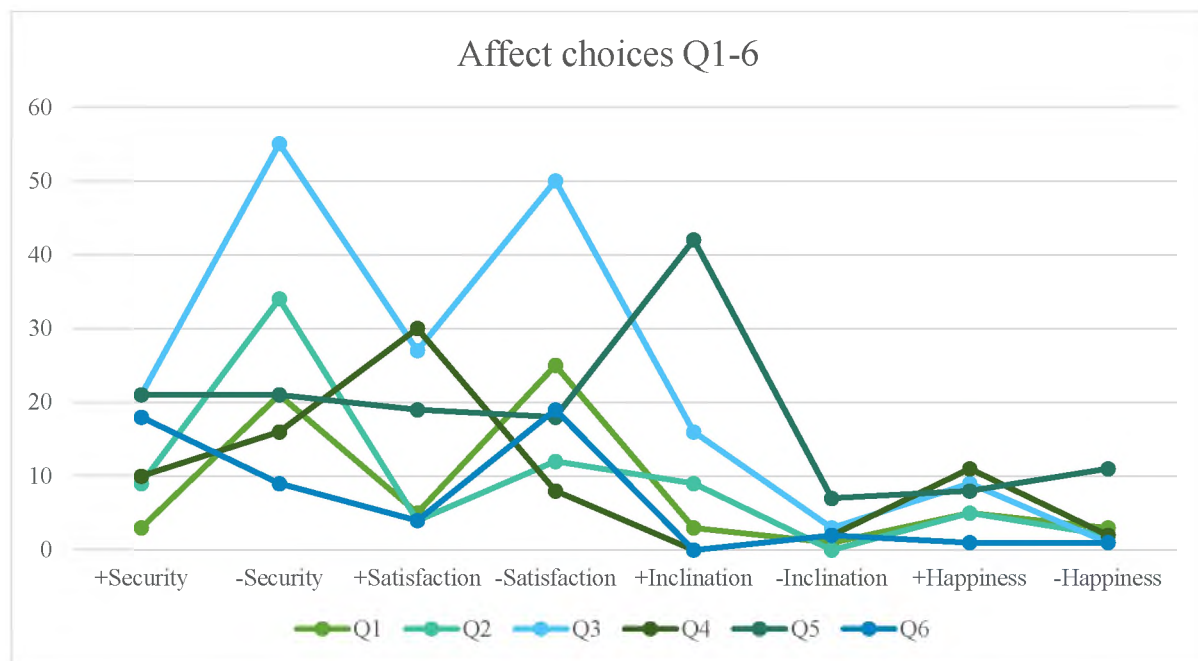
I: okay and in Durban do you think is

P: there's more 50

Appendix 17: Graphs of Attitude Responses for Questions 1-6

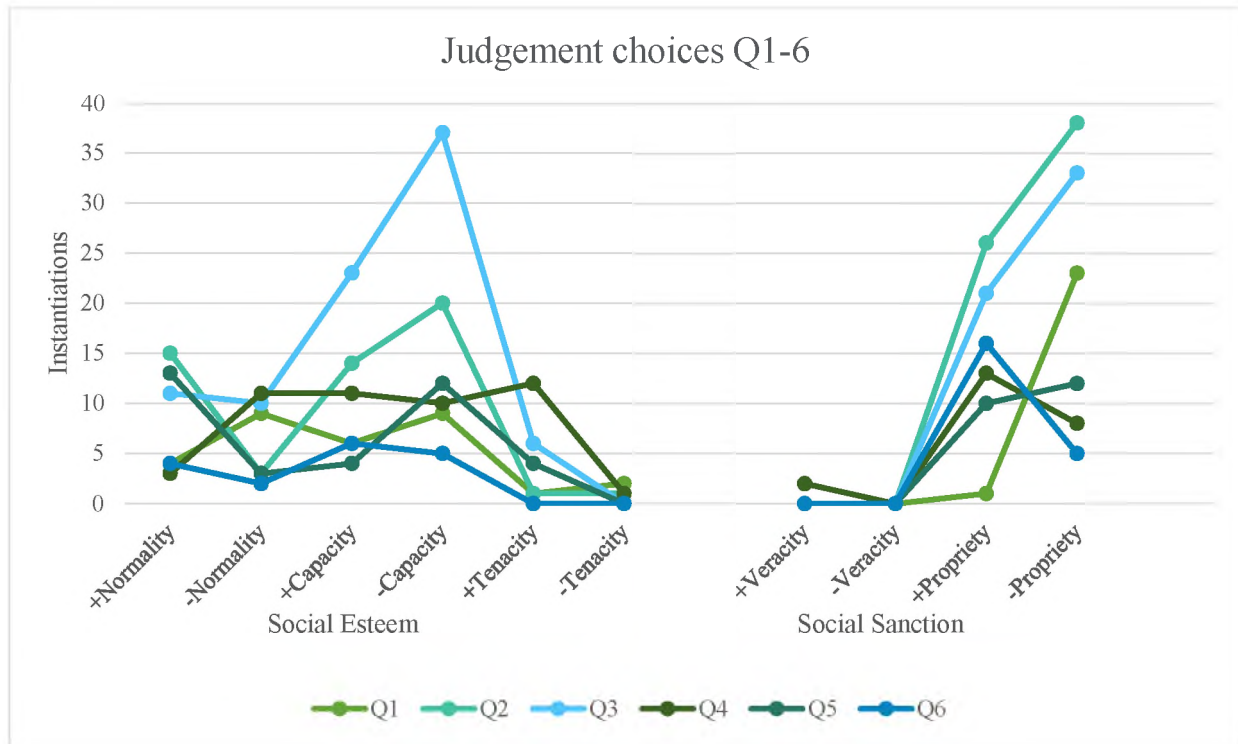


17.1: Bar graph indicating overall instantiations of Graduation choices for Q1-6

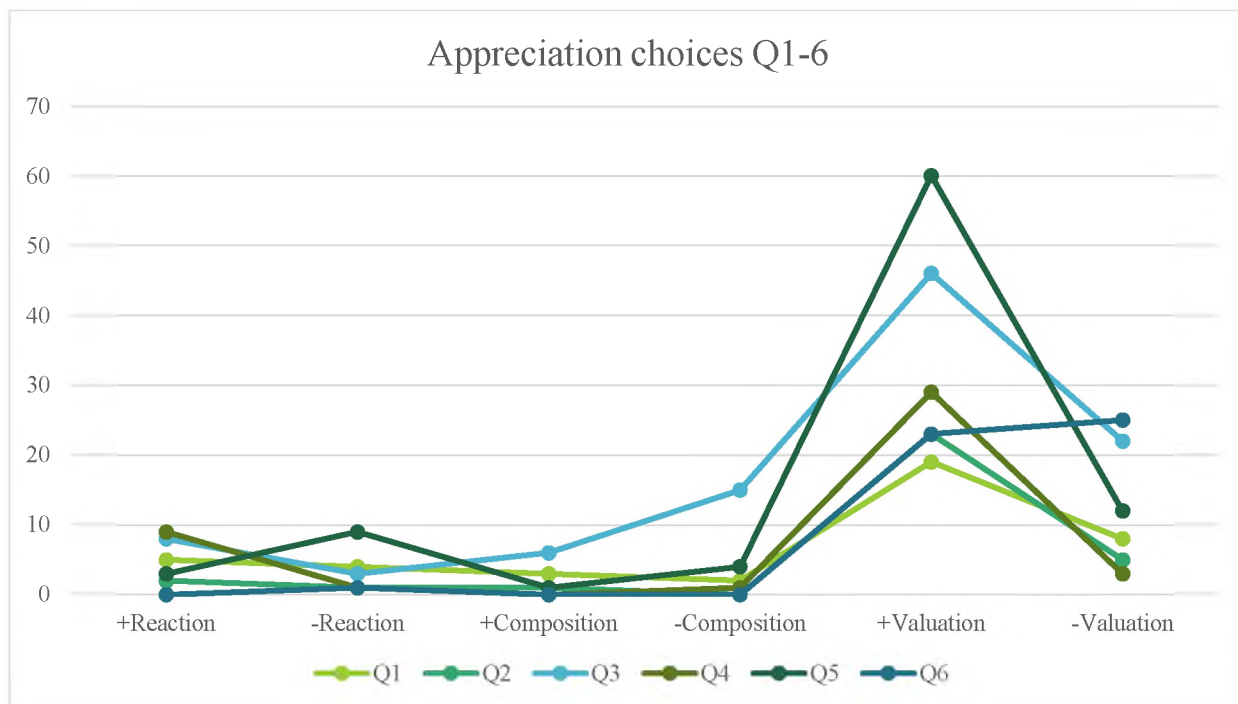


17.2: Line graph indicating instantiations of Affect choices per Question (Q1-6)

Appendix 17 continued

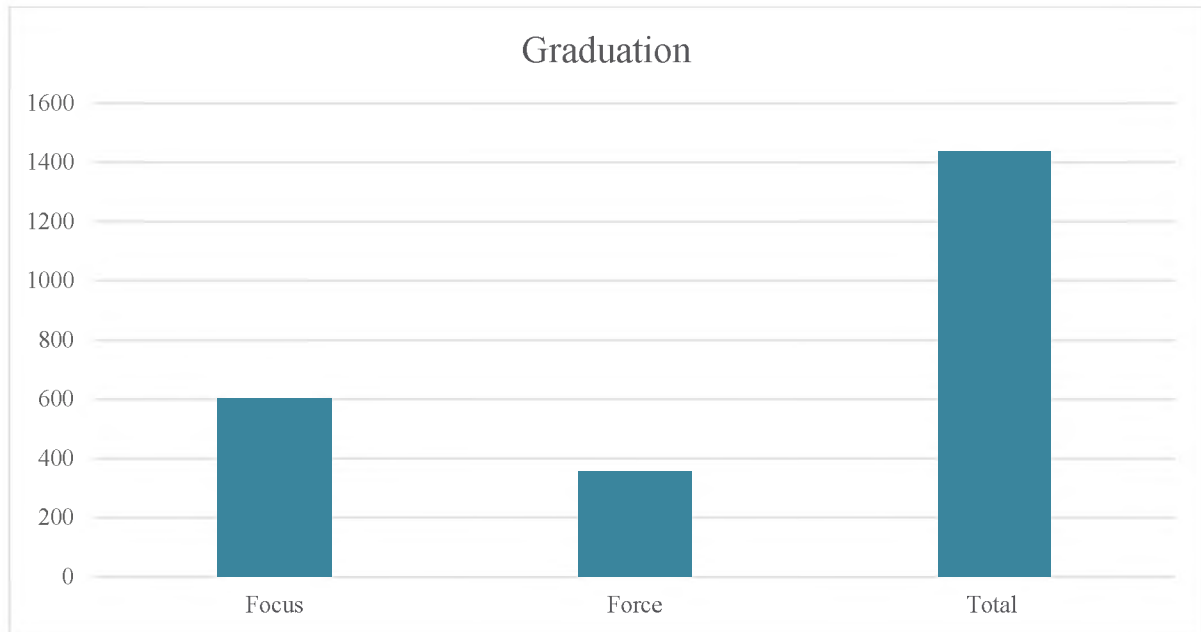


17.3: Line graph indicating instantiations of Judgement choices per Question (Q1-6)

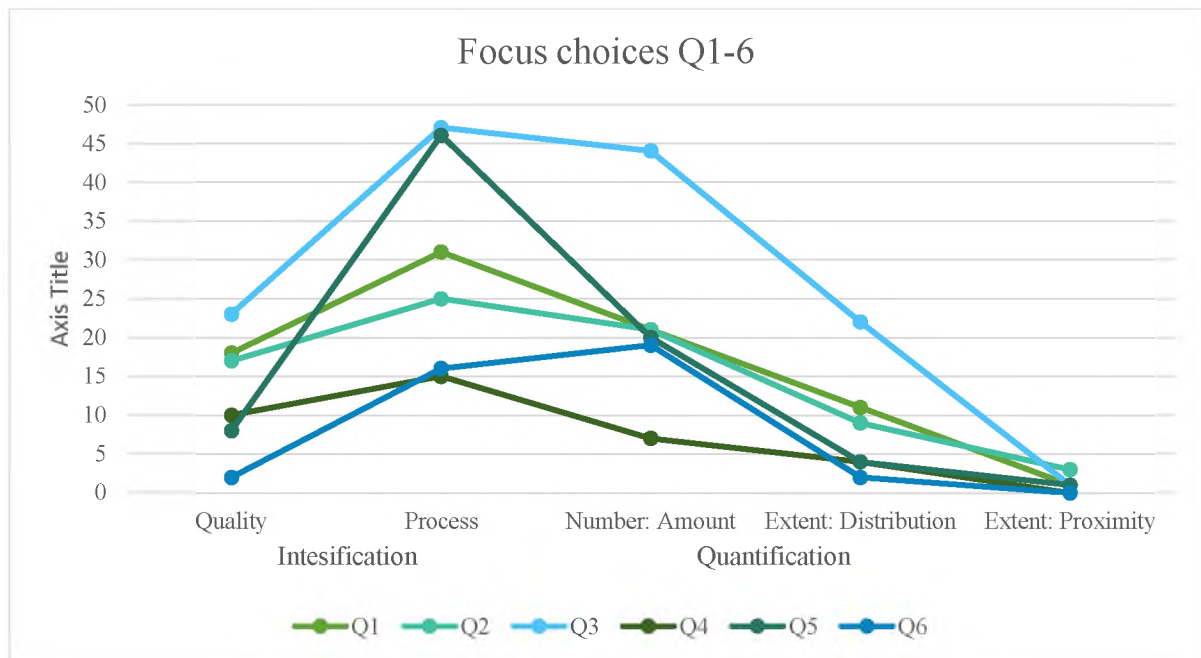


17.4: Line graph indicating instantiations of Appreciation choices per Question (Q1-6)

Appendix 18: Graphs of Graduation Responses for Questions 1-6

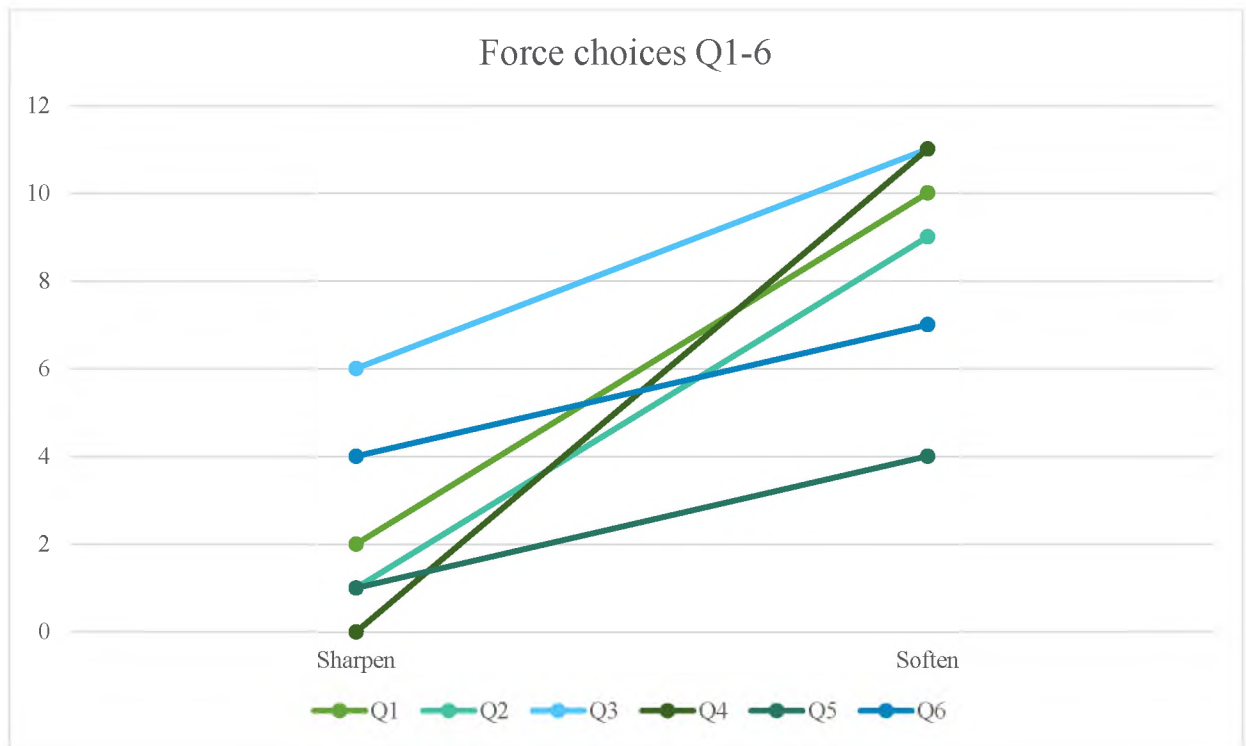


18.1: Bar graph indicating overall instantiations of Graduation choices for Q1-6



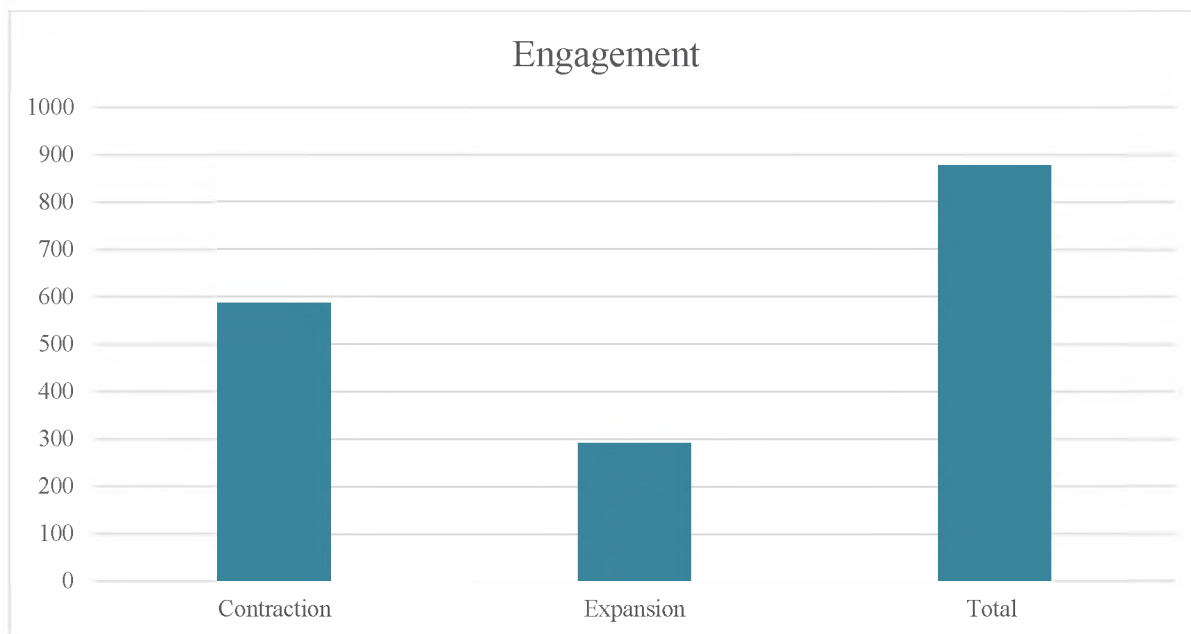
18.2: Line graph indicating instantiations of Focus (Intensification and Quantification) choices per Question (Q1-6)

Appendix 18 continued

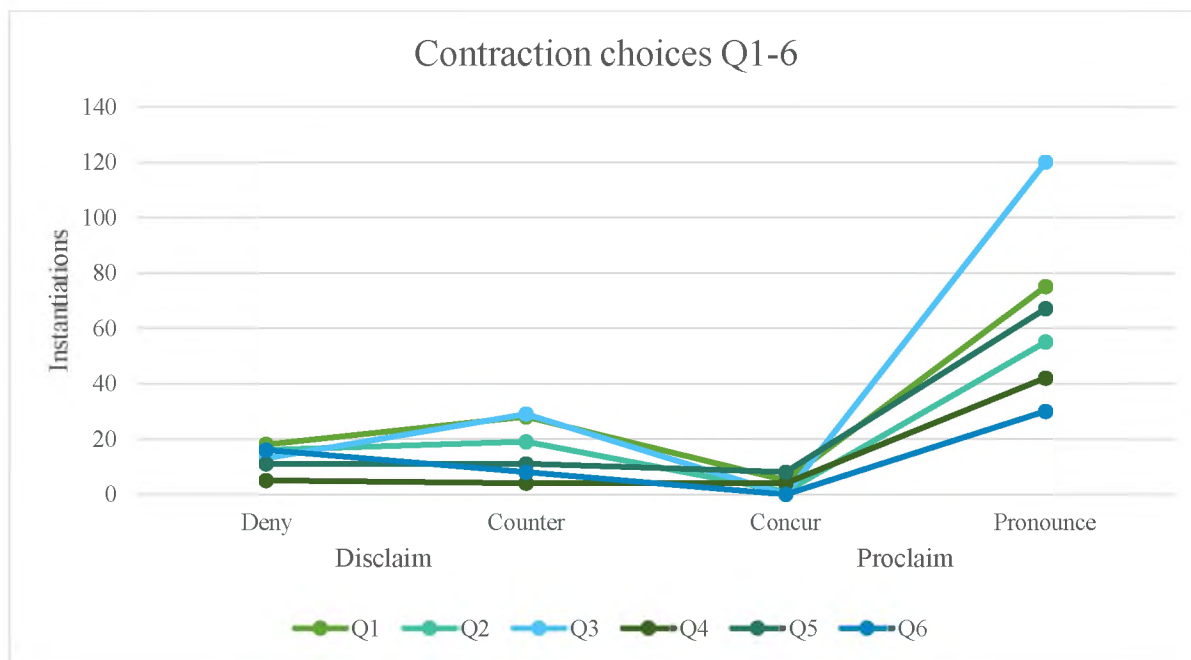


18.3: Line graph indicating instantiations of Force choices per Question (Q1-6)

Appendix 19: Graphs of Engagement Responses for Questions 1-6

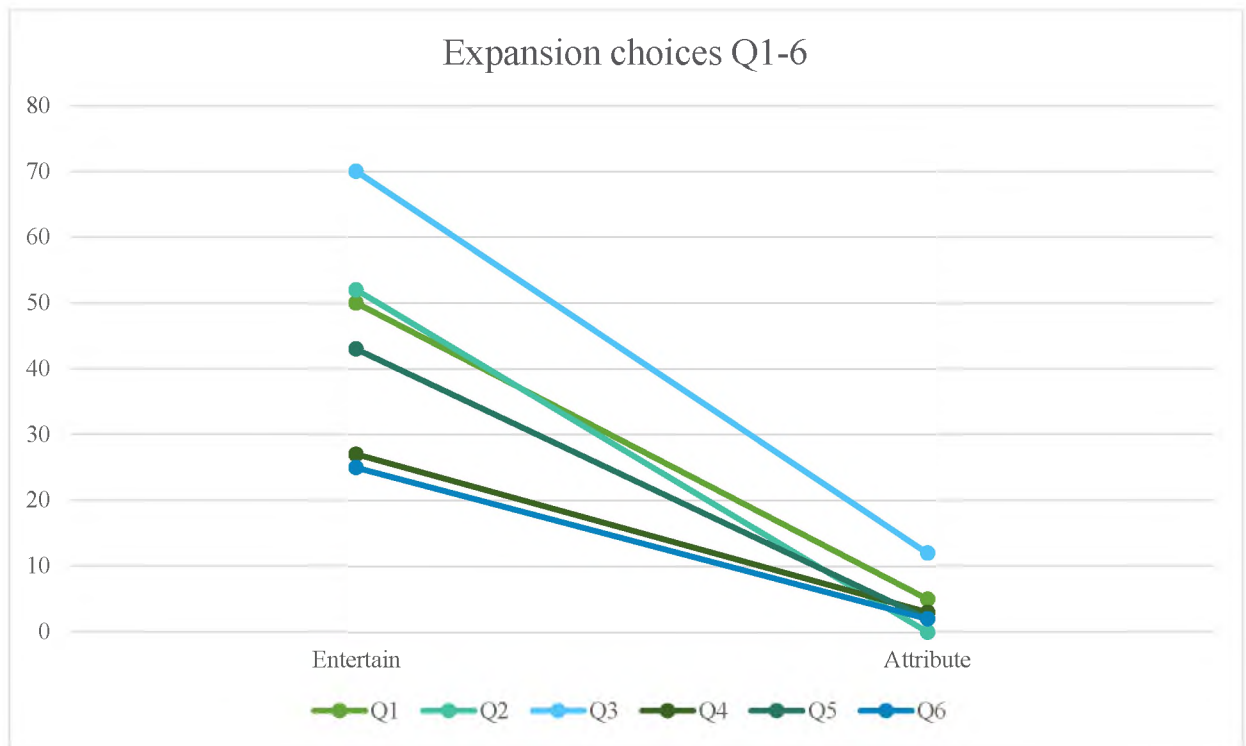


19.1: Bar graph indicating overall instantiations of Graduation choices for Q1-6



19.2: Line graph indicating instantiations of Contraction choices per Question (Q1-6)

Appendix 19 continued



19.3: Line graph indicating instantiations of Expansion choices per Question (Q1-6)

Appendix 20: Extracts from Question 4b

F1 (106-129)

I: (obscured as recorder is moved due to an increase in background noise) um so when you're in a contact situation, when you come with say a Zulu speaker

P: Ja

I: what language would they normally speak to you in if

P: I think, uh, when I see my like, when I see my um, friends, well, ok, if I see a petrol attendant say, who speaks Zulu right, I'd probably say like a little conversation and then I'd probably say, like in Zulu, like I'd try to speak phrases in Zulu, but in the end I'll end up speaking English. it will just, it will occur. Cos I can't, I can only say Sawubona, Usaphilana, and Ngiyabonga. like those are the things (*both laughing*)

I: Ja it's like they think you are fine and they can have a conversation with you

P: just those little phrases ja. it's often English

I: okay, um, why do you think they speak English to you?

P: well, I think they also think that must be my mother tongue. I think it's an it's one thing, like, because of our colour like my one friend **(a black South African adopted by a white family)* she gets really annoyed because people suddenly start speaking to Zulu to her, and she's like, 'no I'm not Zulu'.

I: oh okay is she English?

P: Ja, she's English, so that's quite funny. I think also they think, well, this is your language, let's try and communicate with you in that language. but also I think, English has been seen as the international language, but in South Africa it's not as applicable. it's like, it is like a small (.) well I mean it's (.) majority of the country don't speak English. they try but

I: Ja

P: it's not their first language, you know what I mean.

M4 (162-177)

1: okay um () so in in a situation where say you come into contact with a Zulu speaker um what language do they normally speak to you in

P: um they would probably speak English to me because I couldn't really understand

I: okay so you think they'd do it because they guessing that you can't

P: ja ja

I: speak the language () okay um and do you so you ever try and speak I know your Zulu's probably like mine () like introductory greetings and stuff

P: ja, ja ja

I: do you every try and speak

P: Ja I do try and I often fail and it's and it's more embarrassing if you do fail than if you don't try.

I: okay

P: I guess maybe not to them but like to me it would feel more embarrassing if I did fail

Appendix 21: Further Examples from Section 4.3

Section 1: English for future children (Q5):

1.1 (F7:3-4) “I'd want them to learn English. And just not, they don't have to know every single detail of the other language, like Afrikaans and Zulu”

1.2 (M8: 1-2) “well English well personally I'd like them to speak French 'cause I wish I could I wish they were we were allowed to take French here I would”

1.3 (F4:1-4)

P: in South Africa I would want them to probably speak um a Zulu those kind of things ‘cause that’s what the rest of the population speaks

I: okay. I assume you would want them to speak English

P: oh of course English”

1.4 (M6:1-3)

P: like besides English

I: ja so obviously you want them to speak English

P: okay um well I know like when I was little I really wanted to to speak Zulu...but I suppose Zulu would would be the language because obviously going to learn Afrikaans at school

Section 2: Counter and Deny

In the first example the participant is speaking about how English may exclude, but the exclusion is not intentional, but due to the fact that Zulu is only local whereas English is international, and because the curriculum at school is ‘from overseas’ and so English.

2.1 (F1: 7-13) “But [**Contract**: Counter] I'm not sure [**Contract**: Deny], I don't think it necessarily () is to exclude [**Expand**: Entertain] () I think it's just the way it's happened [**Contract**: Pronounce] () if everyone spoke Zulu I think you know it would be a different story [**Expand**: Entertain]. our s lectures would be in Zulu. But unfortunately [**Contract**: Counter] because I mean it's not from here [**Contract**: Deny] () I think that's the whole thing [**Expand**: Entertain] () it has caused exclusion [**Contract**: Pronounce] () but [**Contract**: Counter] I don't think it's necessarily to exclude [**Contract**: Deny].”

Appendix 21 continued

Section 3: Expand and Contract

In order to aid the flow of examples in section 3, any responses made by the interviewer have been placed as such =interviewer's comment=

3.1. In this example, the focus is on a justification of why people should speak English. Here the participant initially Expands the dialogic space while explaining the need to know English. The then Contracts the space while mentioning all the place that use English, and so making it vital for business. He then ends of with an Expansion that removes capacity and agency in exclusion from the speakers of English in these first world countries.

(Q2: M6:3-7) “Well it's it's like a language that if you wanna be a big businessman that you pretty much [Expand: Entertain] need to speak [Contract: Pronounce] because people from France and Australia, New Zealand all of those places can speak English [Contract: Pronounce] and um like specially in America and England they all speak English[Contract: Pronounce] um and that it's it's not really their fault that it excludes people [Expand: Entertain] that can't speak English”

Thus the Contraction are on statements that are indisputable by the listener, while the Expansions are made on assertions that could potentially be argued against by the listener.

3.2 (Q1:F1: 2 - 10) “Definitely [Contract: Concur], I think um [Expand: Entertain], you know [Expand: Entertain] it was uum, when my gran goes to Greece, when my gran went to Greece she could speak fluently in their language [Contract: Pronounce], and when sh, we went over and stayed in a restaurant and stuff, they are like so amazed that she could speak the language and everything [Expand: Attribute] and they said, 'you know thank you'[Expand: Attribute] and then I tried to do it but I didn't speak it well. they actually, the guy said said, 'it's so nice to hear someone actually interested in my language, and trying to understand me', because you know [Expand: Entertain], it's almost like respect you know [Expand: Entertain]. = Ja, you respect the person = you respect the person [Contract: Pronounce] ja, you show your respect by speaking their language [Contract: Pronounce]”

3.3 (Q4:F4: 4-7) “I think it's true [Expand: Entertain] I mean [Contract: Pronounce] I think a Zulu speaking person would appreciate it [Expand: Entertain] if you spoke to them in their mother tongue = okay = like I mean [Contract: Pronounce] I would appreciate that too if someone would speak to me in a language that I understood because it makes you feel more comfortable [Expand: Entertain]”

Appendix 21 continued

3.4 (Q5:M2:1-5) “Well, I'd definitely go for English [**Contract**: Pronounce] um () maybe with Hindi

[**Expand**: Entertain] () I mean I would like my children to know a little bit of their background mother tongue [**Contract**: Pronounce] and stuff like that [**Expand**: Entertain] and maybe if in that time [**Expand**: Entertain] Afrikaans is still a bit of a problem [**Contract**: Pronounce] () if Afrikaans is still in our country by that time still as a subject [**Expand**: Entertain] then I'll introduce the subject to my kids [**Contract**: Pronounce] cos I don't want my kids to suffer when it comes to high school and stuff [**Contract**: Deny]”

Section 4:

In these examples, (4.1 and 4.2) the participants moves from Denying the assertion made in the article and so contracting the space and then Expanding to try and explain why they said this in an attempt to avoid alienating the listener. Thereafter they continue to Expand as they change direction and states that plurilingualism would have an effect on your South Africanness. The then ends with a contraction via a Pronouncement that support a positive view of language and South Africanness.

4.1 (F4:3-6) um I don't think knowing more African languages makes you more South African [**Contract**: Deny], I think it's more about your attitude towards the country [**Expand**: Entertain], but um I think knowing more than one African language might make like make you more proud to be South African [**Expand**: Entertain] and you'll understand more [**Contract**: Pronounce]

4.2 (M8: 1-4) “I don't think it it's more like we' would be better South Africans it (.) we we'd be better peep we'd be better people [**Expand**: Entertain] and we'd understand each other [**Contract**: Pronounce] =Ja= but being South African is who you are [**Contract**: Counter] it's not it's not something that if you learn other two languages you're a better person [**Contract**: Pronounce] it's more of like it's your pride in your country and [**Contract**: Pronounce]”

Positive Negative ALs

1.22 “There should be like a balance” (Q1:M7:12)

1.20 “isn't going to help you economically world wide” (Q1:M1:11)

1.15 “I have never felt a drive” (Q1:F1:7)

8. List of E-Appendices

E-Appendix 1: Transcript of Selected Cases for the 6 Analysed Questions

E-Appendix 2: Stimulus Article

E-Appendix 1:

Transcript of Selected Cases for the 6 Analysed Questions

Question 1: what is the gist of the Article, and does it have a point?

CASE: F1

- 1 I: Ja, it's always good to get away for a bit. um, k what do you think is the gist of that
2 article like
- 3 P: Well I think it's basically questioning well, you know, what's acceptable and I think
4 it's interesting because when I apply to university it's probably going to be easier
5 for me 'cause I speak English, but then of course if I apply to Stellenbosch I must
6 also know Afrikaans. but that's the thing I mean if it forces, there should be like
7 more, I think, there's no drive to learn a language even at school I never felt a drive
8 to learn Zulu, you know
- 9 I: Ja
- 10 P: Because I don't use it so
- 11 I: Ja, do you ever hear it?
- 12 P: I hear my friends speak Zulu and it's it's really hard for me not to be part of that
13 conversation. it is true, like there is no drive for it. it's basically a thing well, you
14 can choose to learn both languages or not you know
- 15 I: Ja, so do you feel like you don't like there's no motivation in your life, there's no
16 reason to have to
- 17 P: Ja well I've always wanted to, it's been an interest but it's never, my parents don't
18 do it, my friends, you know my social circle, it's ja no it's ja. it's unfortunate

CASE: F2

- 1 P: Um okay what I got from this article is that practically is when it mentioned China
2 and Russia how if you go over there they always communicate in their Chinese and
3 Russian but in South Africa we mostly communicate in English we don't pay that
4 much respect to Zulu or Afrikaans =
- 5 I: = Okay Ja
- 6 P: And the article (.) from what I got the last conclusion paragraph said that we should
7 in fact do that and it could also unite us more and unify us
- 8 I: Okay (.) do you think it has a point or
- 9 P: I think it does have a point (.) to some extent because a lot of (.) like now days we
10 learn Afrikaans Zulu like maybe 4 hours a week and it's not nearly as enough but

11 we don't learn it willingly we go there and we're like 'oh my G** it's Afrikaans' =
 12 I : = Forced to do it ja
 13 P : We don't want to do it but once you understand it and you able to speak it you feel
 14 proud that you can and you realise that if you had to go to Pretoria or Cape Town
 15 or somewhere (.) they don't just speak in English they you know lots of people
 16 they speak mostly in Afrikaans and it is true that if you had to go somewhere where
 17 they speak Afrikaans you could speak Afrikaans and it can (.) it really like (.) you
 18 know like Mandela little quote 'goes to his heart'
 19 I : Ja so d (.) like do you think that it does matter to people like
 20 P : I think it matters to a majority of the people but also personally I am like (.) you
 21 know (.) 90% of the world's English (.) but for me I would like to learn all types of
 22 languages to speak to those people who do speak because it opens a lot of
 23 communication doors and also like Stellenbosch University or Pretoria you know
 24 they speak Afrikaans during their lectures and stuff so [laughs] so
 25 I : Ja um (.) ja so that so that's a good point so it's kind of just do you think it's just in
 26 Durban that it's =
 27 P : (1b) = I think Durban people feel very (.) we very chilled in a sense (.) but we're very
 28 closed in from the rest of South Africa because when you do travel you do you'll
 29 find people talking Zulu and in Afrikaans to each other but they understand each
 30 other somehow and they having this full on conversation it's just mostly in Durban
 31 that we just speak English (.) mainly English but as you travel around South Africa
 32 you see it English isn't the only language out there

CASE: F4

1 P: I think it's trying to say like um since Apartheid um people of colour have always
 2 their like it's a touchy subject and um () I really don't I don't know how to say it but
 3 um their um ()
 4 I: (obscured. both laugh)
 5 P: Like we all get taught in a language we understand and if you go into the rural
 6 schools they try teach them in English most of the time but they don't understand
 7 the language so I mean it's hard it's like teaching me in Afrikaans which I don't
 8 understand at all and it's you tryna teach something new but you can't learn because
 9 you don't know what they're saying

10 I: Oh okay. Do you think it's a touchy subject

11 P: I think it is because I mean there's so much discrimination between the races, even

12 though like Apartheid happened and everyone's like no it's all fine, but it really isn't.

13 I mean you still see like separation

14 I: Ja um do you think language is ever used, or is it ever a tool of separation

15 P: I think so because you get the English speaking people which are normally white

16 people and then Zulu speaking which is normally the black people, and if you can't

17 speak each other's language you can't communicate so

18 I: ja

19 P: Like you can't ()

20 I: Can't talk to each other

21 P: Ja, can't talk to each other

22 I: Ja. so do you think the article has a point

23 P: Ja, I really do

CASE: F5

1 P: That like, we should be, um, taught in languages that we understand instead of just

2 learning English. Like we need to know most of the languages that are in and around

3 Durban and Africa, well South Africa. and that ja, like Zulu's quite important the

4 languages of like the cultural...things

5 I: Mmm, ja, the people like, around us

6 P: Ja (laughs)

7 I: Uum, do you think the article has a point or

8 P: Well, ja, (laughs) um,

9 I: You're allowed to think it doesn't have a point (both laugh)

10 P: No I think it does, but um, like we can't really change a lot of that if - well that's

11 what I think

12 I: Change the schooling system?

13 P: Well we can change it but it's not like we're gonna be like, 'k, you have to do Zulu

14 now' from like grade 1s have to do Zulu and they not allowed to do Afrikaans or

15 something like that like you can't really... (clears throat) you can implement it but

16 it's gonna be quite difficult because people, some people are gonna refuse. Ja.

17 I: Ja there's always somebody whose, whose not happy. Do you think there could be

18 a change over time? or small changes
19 P: No, there could be, definitely, but it all depends on the parents and the children
20 themselves because like if you have to say to parents, 'k we're gonna start doing
21 Eng uh English and Zulu now, we're not doing Afrikaans anymore', then some
22 parents have been bought up in like an Afrikaans, they speak Afrikaans and
23 everything like that so it's quite unfair on them

CASE: F6

1 P: I think it's trying to say that, even, that, why aren't we pushing more for African
2 languages in South Africa. And that, in a way, it's saying that when we have an
3 African language we are able to communicate better with everyone in our country
4 as opposed to just having English and then only being able to communicate with a
5 certain part of our country.
6 I: Okay cool. Do you think it has a point? Or do you think it's a big one-sided? Or...
7 P: Um... I think that it is a bit one-sided towards the fact we need to push for more
8 African languages and that it'll bring the country more together. But then there's
9 also that people that have the African languages need to learn Zulu, I mean English.
10 It's two sided.

CASE: F7

1 P: Um... I think it's sort've telling you that why South Africa's so different compared
2 to other countries. Why can't we also.. why... why aren't more of our people more
3 bilingual I think.
4 I: Okay
5 P: Ya so, we should, we should know the languages that we are surrounded by.
6 I: Oh okay
7 P: So, the culture 'break', if I can say, isn't as big.
8 I: Okay, so the divide between the groups?
9 P: Ya.
10 I: Um, do you think it has a point? Or do you think it's off the mark? Or...
11 P: No it does have a point. But, um, it's, ya it does have a point because it tells us that
12 we should, as Africans, we should and because we're so diversely ranged, we should
13 know that cultures and languages that we're surrounded by.
14 I: Oh okay.

15 P: And it's a big, it's a big point for South Africa. Because, coming from Apartheid
16 and stuff. It's the getting to know of other cultures and languages does sort of bring
17 us together.

CASE: M1

1 I: Hopefully not ja () cool () um () what do you think the gist of that article is?
2 P: I don't know what gist means
3 I: Kind of what it's trying to say
4 P: Um I don't no that people want us to learn African languages that are like native to
5 South Africa
6 I: Okay cool () um do you think it has a point or do you think it's kind of missing the
7 mark?
8 P: Not really cause it says it wants us to learn an African language so we can become
9 better South Africans and stuff but it also mentions like stuff to do with like
10 economically (obscured) or something and studying an African language isn't going
11 to help you economically world wide
12 I: Oh okay
13 P: only in South Africa (4 lines)

CASE: M2

1 P: It's basically about I mean language I mean you know we have 11 different
2 languages in this country and I mean () like () like certain kind of these languages
3 kind of (.) uh go go to some of for instance like Afrikaans () Afrikaans go more to
4 the like kind of Afrikaans kind of population () but for like me now I mean I'm, I'm
5 Hindi ()so now I mean now I don't have the opportunity to learn my own mother
6 tongue () =
7 I: =Ja =
8 P: = you see I mean like Hindi
9 I love watched many Hindi films and stuff right there and you know I'm really into
10 Hindi and () =
11 I: = Ja=
12 P: = and I mean you know I don't get the opportunity to actually learn the
13 language () =
14 I: = Ja =

15 P: = It's my mother tongue I mean most our prayers are done with Hindi
 16 () =
 17 I: = Ja =
 18 P: = you see so it's it's it's a bit of a disadvantage () I mean one population of this
 19 country has a chance to kind of you know ()=
 20 P: = learn their mother tongue but we aren't ()
 21 so it's a bit unfair but anyway that's that.
 22 I: Ja um do you think the article has a point in what it's saying?
 23 P: Ja it does I mean if you look at it I mean we are uh like a multirace in this country
 24 () I mean we all like uh eleven official languages I mean I think it's good () but I do
 25 think I mean they not looking to uh us like other kinda races
 26 I: Ja other groups
 27 P: Other groups you know I mean okay fine you do have Zulus you do have Xhosa
 28 and stuff and there, but what about the others I mean () =
 29 I: = Ja =
 30 P: = I mean I I still feel that there's
 31 still more language than you seeing need to be put in our country
 32 I: Need to be represented
 33 P: Ja, exactly
 34 I: Uuummm how do you feel about being taught in English? I mean I assume your
 35 family is English well uses English?
 36 P: Ja well they English, they speak fluent English () I mean I don't really have any
 37 problems with English I mean it's I'm mean at school it does get a bit difficult at
 38 times () but I mean it's not too difficult ()
 39 I: Ja
 40 P: You know I I understand what's going on () uh English is a subject that does ask a
 41 lot of you, I mean it does cause you to think a bit you know () =
 42 I: = Ja does offer some of your own
 43 opinions you know so () it does get a bit challenging () but I I mean I enjoy it
 44 especially orals and = stuff like that so
 45 I: = Ja =
 46 I: Ookay () do you see yourself as an English person? Is English part of you or is it
 47 just you know because of your circumstances that's the language you have so you
 48 make do or

49 P: I think it's () I think English is a part of me whether I like it or not () =
 50 I: = Okay =
 51 P: = I mean it's been with me since I was born () = Ja = but you know also if you look
 52 at Hindi () I mean Hindi has also been with me you know since I was like since I
 53 was born I've been () you know kinda close contact with that kind () of you know
 54 side of my life so ja I mean it's both you know it's a mixture of both I think.

CASE: M4

1 P: Well I think it's trying to like give more people opportunities to learn in their
 2 language
 3 I: Okay
 4 P: So they can understand what they're learning better
 5 I: Okay do you think it has a point or
 6 P: Um it definitely has a point but I mean like I I I can't imagine them doing it because
 7 it's hard to split up people in their different language groups so it would be like I
 8 it's hard to go like to a groups of people and just like say who speaks Afrikaans
 9 okay you go to that that school and like who speaks English go to that school
 10 I: Mm okay so you think it might just cause more problems?
 11 P: Oh ja I think it also might cause more like racism towards other
 12 I: Okay other groups
 13 P: Ja

CASE: M7

1 P: That uh I think it's 'cause it's unfair that people that do not speak English have to be
 2 taught in English and that when people and it like affects their grades and their
 3 ability to communicate with others when they get out of school and stuff like that
 4 I: Oh okay cool um so you think it has a point
 5 P: Yes () to an extent
 6 I: What extent
 7 P: Um uh
 8 I: Feel free to say whatever you want
 9 P: Oh okay uh if you wanna talk to someone then obviously it'll be easiest speaking
 10 in your own language 'cause you understand it better but if you speaking to someone
 11 and it's not their language then they won't understand it better so there should be
 12 like a balance between which language you speak to them to and the understanding
 13 and stuff

Question 2: Is Language (English/Zulu) Exclusive or Inclusive

CASE: F1

- 1 I: Ja, cool. um, do you think that English is ever used to exclude people
- 2 P: I'm not sure...it, I don't think it's necessarily on purpose, it just happened that way I
- 3 think when the British came down here it just became systematic, obviously a lot
- 4 of what I, our studies come from other countries, European countries and stuff and
- 5 from overseas, so the curriculum is generally written in English okay
- 6 I: Ja
- 7 P: But I'm not sure, I don't think it necessarily () is to exclude () I think it's just the
- 8 way it's happened () if everyone spoke Zulu I think you know it would be a different
- 9 story. our s lectures would be in Zulu. But unfortunately because I mean it's not
- 10 from here () =
- 11 I: =Ja
- 12 P: =I think that's the whole thing () it has caused exclusion () but I don't think it's
- 13 necessarily to exclude
- 14 I: Do you ever feel like, say Zulu is used to exclude people? well Zulu speakers might
- 15 use a language sometimes
- 16 P: I think um, whenever, I think Zulu people are proud of their culture, like at school
- 17 I always find like, they'll speak Zulu and it'll like, you know like, you can tell, they'll
- 18 tell a joke and they'll say it in English and it doesn't sound as funny. Because it's
- 19 like an inside joke so, I don't think it's used to exclude people I think it's used to
- 20 embrace the fact that they can actually speak two languages
- 21 I: Okay, cool. Do you eve wish you could just join in
- 22 P: Ah gosh I do. they look like they're having so much fun and we're just like, 'I wish
- 23 I knew what you guys are talking about'
- 24 I: So you don't feel like they're talking about you
- 25 P: No, no, I I I just wish I knew what was going on, it just looks like such a ball
- 26 I: Or else you're just laughing (both laugh) uhhhh
- 27 P: Ja try 'cause a lot of like, some of the girls, when they're speaking Zulu, they use
- 28 lots of like hands and I'll try and work out. and I remember one girl was like
- 29 translating for me, it was just so brilliant (both laughing)

CASE: F2

- 1 I: ...do you think that English is used to exclude people or not

2 P : I don't think it excludes people on purpose I think when you know the language you
3 just tend to speak you don't do it intentionally 'oh my gosh I'm not going to speak
4 English because she doesn't know it'
5 I : Oh okay
6 P : You know that (.) you you just naturally you just tend to speak English to that
7 person you don't really realise that 'oh my word let me speak in Afrikaans because
8 she can also understand as well as the person you talking to' and some people I
9 know sometimes if you wanna say something and you don't want anyone else to
10 hear you would communicate in a language that maybe other people don't so it can
11 be exclusive
12 I : ja
13 P : So ja and I know because um I know all the Zulu girls in our class they speak Zulu
14 full on to each other not because they trying to be mean or excluding us but because
15 they more comfortable doing that and you know when something's really funny and
16 it involves the whole class we all practically sitting there like 'what' so
17 I : Do you ever feel a bit like (.) uncomfortable or awkward like when =
18 P: (3b) = well I don't feel
19 uncomfortable or awkward I just feel 'man I would really like to know Zulu right
20 now so I can be involved in this'

CASE: F5

1 I: Um, do you think English is ever used to exclude people or
2 P: I don't think so because like if - I don't know if I'm taking the question right - but,
3 if =
4 I: = take it whatever way you want =
5 P: = (laughs) but if like um you can't really use
6 it to exclude or include people because some people do know how to speak English
7 so they've always been taught how to speak English, some people have never heard
8 English before, some people in Af, South Africa. So, you I don't think it was used
9 to
10 I: Ja, so um, do you think that maybe, cos if the or the economy and TV and um
11 government is all in English that, then that that is then a way of using English so
12 exclude people who don't speak English who are generally poorer or
13 P: Not really because it's not really their fault that they don't speak English. Like you

14 do get channels in their languages so they can watch that, or like some things are
 15 translated for them like soccer, rugby, some of that stuff is translated for those
 16 people.

17 I: Okay cool, um do you ever think or have you ever experienced it being the other
 18 way round where you've felt excluded because you only speak English or like
 19 another language is used.

20 P: Sometimes in our school like with the girls in our grade like when they're talking
 21 Zulu or whatever and then they tryna say something, and or they say something
 22 about you or something in Zulu and then you sit there and you're like you can hear
 23 your name but you don't really know what they're saying

24 I: Oh okay so you can actually tell that they're saying something (both laughing) okay.
 25 Does that make you feel a bit, 'hmmm'

26 P: It's like I wish I knew how to speak Zulu. (both laugh)

CASE: F6

1 I: Do you think English is used to exclude people? Or do you see it more as an
 2 inclusive language.

3 P: Actually I don't think that it's used to exclude people. It's just the language most
 4 people in the world do speak English. Or they'll know some English. So it's not that
 5 we're, that you're being elite, it's just that most people know English; it's more
 6 widely, like, internationally spoken.

7 I: Ya definitely. So in South Africa do you see it as more of a language that includes
 8 people?

9 P: I think so, 'cause no matter where you go, if you speak at least one....if the other
 10 person speaks at least one word of English or that are able to understand then you
 11 can communicate. But then you also could do that with Afrikaans or another
 12 language. So, I dunno.

13 I: Oh okay, so you think it's the international pull that makes English stronger.

14 P: Ya.

15 (picking up from elsewhere in the interview)

16 I: Um, have you ever been in the situation where you felt like Zulu has been used
 17 to exclude people or exclude you, as an English speaker, maybe not necessarily
 18 intentionally, but...?

19 P: I think definitely at school if, 'cause we're doing the prefect thing now –

20 I: Oh okay.

21 P: And if you say, if you reprimand someone and they've got their whole group of

22 friends there, they'll immediately start talking in Zulu. And you know it's about you,

23 sort of thing...you can't understand it because you don't know–

24 I: Oh okay =

25 P: = So in that sense =

26 I: = it makes you feel =

27 P: = I just get over it.

28 I: Oh gosh... that must be frustrating.

29 P: Ya.

CASE: F7

1 P: I think it's more of an inclusive language because the people now, the majority of

2 the people now know English as first language and I think when people talk another

3 language it sort of does exclude you.

4 I: Okay, have you ever had situations like that when you feel excluded?

5 P: Ya.

6 I: Can you give me an example?

7 P: Ah you know at school sometimes, not necessarily here, but if you're like in Primary

8 School you'll have like, it'll be everybody just like talking and then you'll have like

9 maybe, the non... like, okay, I don't wanna be racist or anything but you'll have like

10 the black people or whatever and they'll just start their own conversation in Zulu.

11 And you're kinda like, 'well everyone else is sitting here, why must you...'

12 I: Separate yourself

13 P: Ya.

CASE: M1

1 P: Um I think more inclusive 'cause it's known better worldwide than than like an

2 African language

3 I: Oh okay

4 P: And even if you do have a different language it's still going to create a barrier

5 between uh people because they still don't understand you even if it's English or a

6 different African language so

7 I: Oh okay so you would say it's more inclusive than exclusive

8 P: ja

9 I: Have you ever been in a situation where you've felt say like Zulu has been used to
 10 exclude you because you don't speak it or
 11 P: um () not really
 12 I: Not really () do you come across much Zulu in your day to day like
 13 P: Um well my maid at home she often like speaks across the wall to our next door
 14 neighbours' in Zulu but () that's I don't really think it's about me so I'm not too
 15 affected

CASE: M2

1 I: Okay um do you think English in South Africa is ever used to exclude people or
 2 would you say it's more of an inclusive language?
 3 P: I think it's basically to include people () I mean English () it's it's a popular language
 4 I mean it's to communicate you know it's one of the most popular languages in this
 5 count...in in the world () so I think you know it it's vital () I I mean it's not to exclude
 6 people at all () okay if like people from rural areas you know people that don't get
 7 enough education will suffer they will definitely suffer due to our past () but I mean
 8 I still feel they should make an effort to at least learn a little bit of the language ()
 9 it's useful () you know () so ja
 10 I: Ja um do you ever find say Zulu being used to exclude people have you ever been
 11 in a situation where you've felt your () because you can't speak Zulu you've been
 12 like
 13 P: Jaa in a way I mean like like for instance with my friends like when they talk Zulu
 14 like I mean like I'm okay what's going on I don't know what's going on in the
 15 conversation I don't know whether they talking about me or not you know so it
 16 could be anything you see so it does you know raise a bit of suspicion () you know
 17 what they actually talking you like keeps me curious I would like to know what
 18 they talking about so I can join in the conversation () but I mean you know () they
 19 when they can't speak to me they speak to me in English () they they know for a
 20 fact that if they want me to know something, they'll switch to my language.

CASE: M6

1 I: Do you think that English is used to ex exclude people or do you think it's more of
2 an inclusive language

3 P: Well it's it's like a language that if you wanna be a big businessman that you pretty
4 much need to speak because people from France and Australia, New Zealand all of
5 those places can speak English and um like specially in America and England they
6 all speak English um and that it's it's not really their fault that it excludes people
7 that can't speak English

8 I: Okay

9 P: Um so it's just () become a certain way of life that people have to () not abide by
10 but if they want to get far they have to learn to speak English

11 I: Okay so it's a tool they're gonna need at some point

12 P: Yeh

13 I: Um do you ever find or have you ever been in a situation where you feel like say
14 Zulu's been used to exclude you as someone who doesn't speak it

15 P: Uum

16 I: Have you been in that kind of situation or

17 P: Well just like just like the Zulu boys in school I mean they when they they sort of
18 stick together and when they speak you have no idea what they're saying which is
19 fine because that's that's what that's their mother tongue and they all speak it um
20 but you know it's I don't really feel like people speaking in the supermarket
21 speaking to each other in Zulu it you can I can just accept it because that's their
22 mother tongue I mean I'm not going to speak Afrikaans to my mom just because I
23 can

24 I: Ja because other people around you understand

25 P: Ja

CASE: M7

1 I: Um do you think that English is ever used to exclude people or do you think it's
2 more of an inclusive language

3 P: It could be used to exclude people I think when you don't want certain people to
4 hear what you're saying like say someone who speaks Afrikaans or Zulu and you
5 don't want them to understand what you're saying say you're talking to a friend

6 maybe you'll speak to them in English like in higher vocab so they don't understand
7 what you're saying

8 I: Um do you think that any that the country uses it to exclude people or=
9 P: =uuh =

10 I: = or do you think it's role in the country is more of an inclusive one

11 P: I think it's more of an exclusive in my opinion

12 I: Okay () why what

13 P: I just feel that they use it to to not speak openly to everyone they use it to in their
14 own conversations ja

15 I: Okay cool um do you ever find that that also happens with say Zulu you ever in a
16 situation where you find Zulu is used to exclude you as an English speaker

17 P: Ja

18 I: What () can you give an example of

19 P: Like () say like if I'm at home and like the guards and stuff uh are like talking like
20 they don't want () like they'll be talking to me in English then all of a sudden they'll
21 like say some like whisper something amongst themselves in Zulu

22 I: Oh okay and they you're like 'what did you say?

23 P: But ja

24 I: 'K but does it make you uncomfortable when they do that

25 P: Ja

26 I: Okay cool () well not 'cool' but (both laugh) uum has it ever happened at school
27 that type of thing

28 P: Kind of ja

Question 3: Why did you choose Afrikaans FAL, Do you think knowing Zulu would be useful, Do you see languages as purely school subjects or life skills

CASE: F1

- 1 I: 'Cause I mean, like you have a lot of school work anyway so, I assume you take
2 Afrikaans as a 2nd language?
- 3 P: Ja, exactly ja. I try and watch 7nde Laan cause I don't even use Afrikaans you
4 know
- 5 I: Ja it's not like you hear much Afrikaans (both laughing) um, but did you take
6 Afrikaans over Zulu because of your marks or
- 7 P: Um, I took Afrikaans because I do have some history of Afrikaans, so, and my
8 dad knows it, but, also because I just was really - I mean I got good marks for
9 Zulu, it's not - but I battled with the language it was quite difficult. I'm actually
10 told Afrikaans is probably easier than Zulu so.
- 11 I: Probably cause it's a more similar language to English
- 12 P: Ja
- 13 I: And also you do like you say your dad can speak it, so probably you would hear it
14 and get more help with it.
- 15 P: Ja
- 16 I: If you asked your dad to help you Zulu homework
- 17 P: Laughs
- 18 I: Would he be able to help you?
- 19 P: I doubt it
- 20 (from elsewhere in interview – Q5)
- 21 I: Ja, um, so would you say you see languages more as life skills than just
22 strictly school subjects?
- 23 P: Ja, [I would actually]. [that is a good point]. ja it [is probably a life skill I guess],
24 because
- 25 I: but you're kind of forced to do it as a school subject or
- 26 P: it's, uh, it's it's, ja it is like a, f (), well like, I think Afrikaans, if I had the choice I
27 wouldn't do it. you know, but at the end of the day, it's true that because of the
28 way they teach it, it's just like so, 'and this is the rule and this and this', instead of
29 saying, 'okay, let's just, let's take this to a real thing. Let's take this to a real life
30 situation, you're meeting an Afrikaans person. try and have a conversation', you
31 know
- 32 I: okay

33 P: they don't put it out like that. so maybe if they advertised it differently I would've
 34 been like, well, actually this is important I need this, you know. Cos when I go to
 35 Nam, when I went to Namibia, I couldn't communicate as well as I wanted to with
 36 Afrikaans people so, you know. but only then did I realise. At school it's like, just
 37 take it you know, you don't have to
 38 I: as long as you can do your begripstoets you're fine.
 39 P: exactly, ja it like (obscured) thing
 40 I: so so you feel like there's no opportunity for you to develop your Zulu, say
 41 P: Ja, um, I should probably. You know, if I, I should, I if put in effort I'd probably
 42 could but, um,
 43 I: it's not like you have loads of time lying around doing nothing
 44 P: Ja, I know, I think, I I take my hat off to people who can speak both languages,
 45 'cause that is, I mean hectic you know. it's, but, honestly I'm, honestly like after
 46 school I would probably pursue it cause a lot of, I was like, one of the things I was
 47 thinking of doing was doing developing communities, and if I was to go to a rural
 48 area I would have to speak an African language, so I was thinking yes definitely
 49 after school, if that became an option I would have to learn a language so

CASE: F2

1 I: Okay cool so it's Grade 7 so (.) when girls come into the school they'll choose
 2 immediately to do Afrikaans (.) okay when I was here it was grade 8 you had to
 3 do Zulu and Afrikaans you chose in grade 9 um do you do you why did you
 4 choose Afrikaans
 5 P: Well honestly like I wanted to take Zulu but my mark was higher in Afrikaans so
 6 I looked more at the marks than what I really wanted to do cos it's what's gonna
 7 get me where I want to be one day
 8 I: Ja no I know I did the I think my Zulu mark was like 55 or something and I was
 9 like no I can't do that okay do you find English that A sorry not English Afrikaans
 10 easier than Zulu or (.) is it just more support at home
 11 P: Well like my parents speak full on Afrikaans and Zulu
 12 I: Oh okay
 13 P: As well as other languages and it's very irritating cause
 14 I: How come they got to do you know
 15 P: They were just very exposed to a lot of places and they they love to travel so

16 they've been all over the world and they go back and forth so they just pick up on
 17 everything

18 I: Okay

19 P: And um like my domestic worker is (.) or some people who I know the Zulu (.) is
 20 easier to understand even though I don't speak Zulu but if somebody says
 21 something to me in Zulu I can pick up on pick up on it but it's likewise with
 22 Afrikaans but I also did French and I found that Afrikaans for me was harder than
 23 French even though I did it for longer

24 I: Oh okay

25 P: So for me I'd say it's pretty hard but now that the teaching of Afrikaans it was
 26 very vague we weren't ever put into depth and we were very food sped

27 I: Oh okay

28 P: Spoon fed (both laugh) sorry and then um I think lately we recently like this grade
 29 we've been really taught the rules like well enough and we just now starting to full
 30 understand =

31 I: =Ooooooh =

32 P: =What we saying and it's like we sitting in class and we like 'that's
 33 what we supposed to be

34 I: Like a light bulb

35 P: And that spark comes on and now we speak Afrikaans to each other like
 36 sometimes and it's kinda cool

37 I: Do do you think (.) so you obviously chose to take French

38 P: Yes

39 I: Do you think it was cos you had to take Afrikaans

40 P: Oh no

41 I: And you chose to take French that you

42 P: Uh they offered French as a 3rd additional language if you wanted to and I did it
 43 for 2 and a half years but that half a year I kinda realised that French if you wanna
 44 take it in grade 10 you have to take it as a proper subject so I would have to drop
 45 either one of my current subjects and I wasn't planning to do that so I dropped
 46 cause I'm I was like I'm not going to write two more exams when I'm not gonna

47 I: Also if you're not going to use it

48 P: Ja

49 I: also if you're not going to use it

50 P: ja

51 I: um do you think knowing Zulu being able to talk in Zulu would be useful to

52 you in your life now I mean

53 P: I think it would especially because I don't mean this in a racist way but it is South

54 Africa and the majority of the people living in South Africa are Africans and their

55 traditional language is Zulu and if you wanna go anywhere or if you were

56 stranded which is probably a long shot

57 I: it could happen () you car breaks down (both laugh)

58 P: you know there's always African people which you can communicate to and the

59 thing is English is a much harder language to learn than Zulu I mean it is known

60 to be the hardest language to try and learn and therefore African people who are

61 in rural areas and so on their English is not spot on and sometimes they don't

62 understand you or they misunderstand you or they don't know how to help you or

63 say anything back to you but if you use Zulu that would be much more easier to

64 cope with

65 I: help bridge the gap

66 P: ja

67 I: um if if you could take Zulu without it like being a mark requirement so it

68 wasn't gonna affect your marks uh or affect your school work do you think

69 you would or you'd like to

70 P: uh I would um I did um I do lots of languages when they offer it like French

71 Portuguese Spanish

72 I: ja jump at the chance

73 P: ja I think it's very useful to have a variety of languages

74 I: so do you see languages more as life skills than as school subjects or do you

75 see them as school subjects

76 P: I wouldn't say I wouldn't say school subjects but I also wouldn't say life skills cos

77 like with Spanish and German I knew there was a very small chance of me ever

78 needing that but it's for me (coughs) sorry it's just a personal like what's the word

79 affection towards languages

80 I: you're just a language person

81 P: ja

82 I: I know what it's like

83 P: um and you don't know where you going to end up one day so I mean you could

84 end up travelling or your job could send you overseas and you gonna need it so

85 I: ja um () do you feel that you kinda not given much of an opportunity to learn

86 Zulu because it's you know you can't take it as a subject anymore cause of

87 your marks and you don't nece do you feel you don't necessarily you never

88 challenged to speak it maybe uh

89 P: well I wouldn't say that I'd say okay () when you () where you had the choice of

90 Zulu or Afrikaans it made the work load easier so we're very like all happy with

91 that and majority of us went with the marks not with what we wanted to do but I'd

92 say if we did what we wanted to do it wouldn't really affect us in any way because

93 we'd we'd be happy with the choice we made but because I did it on mark based I

94 would personally I would be I would like to have done Zulu

95 I: Did (.) do you know any of the girls that did take Zulu (.) obviously you know

96 them it's a very small school

97 P: And dropped to Afrikaans

98 I: Ja did they

99 P: Ja they have there's about 3 girls who have this year who have joined my

100 Afrikaans class

101 I: So are there any girls non-Zulu speaker taking Zulu

102 P: Uh the 3 that did drop they were

103 I: So I mean still now

104 P: No

105 I: Okay and do you know why they dropped or

106 P: They said it was hard to cope as well not because they didn't fully understand and

107 I suppose when you are in a class where the majority are already Zulu speakers

108 cause of their ancestors and everything and they speak it at home they tend to

109 work much more faster and get the curriculum done quicker and at a faster pace

110 so for other people it was a bit harder to catch on cause

111 I: They couldn't really learn it while they already knew it okay

112 P: Ja

113 I: Shame man that sucks (.) um then you have to start taking Afrikaans again

114 P: Ja they but they take on very quickly like our new Afrikaans teacher she's

115 practically the first Afrikaans teacher she who went through every rule with us in
116 depth so for us it was really helpful and it's, now that I know how to speak a bit of
117 Afrikaans it's like I I'm happy with that I took it I think there's a difference
118 between doing the subject and not knowing what you're doing and then doing the
119 subject and knowing what you're say and knowing what you read () it changes
120 perspective
121 I: 'Cause then it helps with motivation
122 P: It does because once you start doing well you kinda figure out that if you carry on
123 you
124 I: You can do this
125 P: Ja so

CASE: F4

1 I: Ja probably not um do you take Afrikaans now
2 P: Ja
3 I: Did you take it because of marks or
4 P: Um I never really understood Zulu
5 I: Okay
6 P: But I mean if I had been good at it and I understood it, I would have taken it
7 I: I I assume your parents can help you with Afrikaans
8 P: Kind of (laughs) they're not the best at Afrikaans either
9 I: Oh really? (laughs) come on your mother lived in Welkom she should be able to
10 help. Shame my parents were terrible. um okay did so you would've done Zulu at
11 primary school
12 P: Ja up to grade 7 I think
13 I: okay and was was the teaching just not helpful at all like
14 P: I don't know. it just, it just wasn't something I grasped onto
15 I: they never explained it to you
16 P: Llike I didn't understand that there were so many word rules and
17 I: Ja cause it's diff it's different to English
18 P: And the vocab is hard to say and
19 I: Ja (both laugh) and you're like I hear this but I can't do it
20 P: I can't say it
21 I: Ja um do do you see languages more as school subjects or things that could like

22 life skills or things that could be useful

23 P: I think it's more of a life skill but I mean you do need to learn it which will be a

24 school subject but um it's something that brings people together () it creates unity

25 between people because if you could all speak the same language then you can

26 understand what each person wants

27 I: ja (interview interrupted)

28 (from later – post interruption)

29 I: um if you could take a language not as a school subject and it didn't affect your

30 schoolwork do you think you would be more inclined to maybe pick it up

31 P: probably

32 I: cause it's quite taxing you find it's quite taxing on your time =

33 P: = ja =

34 I: =to do Afrikaans um and

35 you're 'but I'm never going to use this' - do you feel like you're never going to use

36 Zulu of Afrikaans

37 P: I think I could use Zulu because you find more Zulu speaking people than

38 Afrikaans speaking people

39 I: ja

40 P: I mean I don't think I'm ever going to use Afrikaans (both laugh)

CASE: F6

1 I: Um, what was your reason for choosing Afrikaans?

2 P: Well for me it was mostly spelling, 'cause I can't spell, so for Zulu I couldn't. So I

3 chose Afrikaans because it was an easier option for me.

4 I: Ya okay. So, like, would your marks probably have been affected if you had taken

5 Zulu?

6 P: Yes I think so. Also, none of my family has a background of doing Zulu. So it

7 would've been harder for me because I wouldn't have been able to go home and

8 ask somebody who could've helped me.

9 I: -- who could've helped you, ya. Um, do you think that, being in Durban or Natal,

10 knowing Zulu would be useful? Or does it not really affect your life, do you not

11 really hear much of it or come into contact with it?

12 P: Well my parents work in town, so I do hear quite a fair bit of Zulu. So in that

13 case, yes it would. But a language like Afrikaans, we don't really use it here.

14 I: okay, So you feel like Zulu would probably be more useful than Afrikaans?

15 P: Ja.

16 I: Um, in your opinion, do you see language as more a school subject that need
17 to be taken and passed or as, like, skills that can be used in life? Or a mixture
18 of both?

19 P: I think a mixture of both because we have to learn it, but then a skill would be,
20 like, 'cause I need to go to Pretoria and you need that, you need that mark to be of
21 a certain standard because the lectures would be in Afrikaans and the people
22 around you would speak mostly Afrikaans and you have to communicate with
23 them. So...

24 (from elsewhere in interview)

25 P: It's also the way teachers teach a subject. And I know that my grade is battling a
26 bit with Afrikaans now 'cause in the beginning it wasn't taught with enthusiasm
27 and we never really cared really. If you were good at it then you were good and if
28 you weren't then you just weren't.

29 I: Oh really?

30 P: And now we're starting to, we've got a new teacher now, and so we're trying to
31 better those marks.

32 I: Okay

33 P: So, what should've happened in grade eight is now happening later down the line.

34 I: So it's like delayed –

35 P: Ja

36 I: I had that with my Zulu teacher in primary school. 'cause when I started doing
37 Zulu it was the first year that Model C schools had started taking it. And my Zulu
38 teacher couldn't speak a word of English and we couldn't speak a word of Zulu.
39 So we just used to sit there and, like, look at each other. Like when we had a test,
40 like a vocab test, we'd be like, “ihempe” and she'd like touch and point at the
41 thing and we were like, “oh, that's what you mean”. *both laugh*

42 I: So no... it was like –

43 P: Also with Zulu in Primary School, it was a lot like that; the answers were given to
44 you. So when you got to grade eight you thought Afrikaans, Zulu would be more
45 difficult now 'cause they won't give you the answers.

46 I: Ja, 'cause now it's a High School subject. So the teaching definitely –

47 P: There's a lot of different aspects that you have to look at.
 48 I: Ja and teaching's a huge one. If you have a teacher who doesn't really care then
 49 you're not gonna care either.
 50 P: Ja, so like with rural schools, the teachers, I've heard – because my mom was an
 51 ex-teacher – she said the teachers aren't good. Some of them don't pitch –
 52 I: Oh really?
 53 P: Ja. She said, some of them don't even have proper degrees and they're still at
 54 school.
 55 I: Wow.
 56 P: So there's also that that they have to look at; whether they're actually teaching
 57 English properly.

CASE: F7

1 I: Okay, what made you choose Afrikaans?
 2 P: Um, *long pause* I dunno, at first I thought it would be a language more wildly
 3 known, people widely know. And people are now saying that Afrikaans could be
 4 a dying language and Zulu could be a language that could be (.)
 5 I: An up and coming –
 6 P: Ja, ja, ja, ja,ja... it's up and coming and that should have been a better option. But
 7 for me Afrikaans would've been easier and that was the thing then.
 8 I: Okay, did your potential marks influence your decision? So did you get better
 9 marks –
 10 P: Ja, ja, ja I did, so marks played a role.
 11 I: Okay cool. Um... do you think that with living in Natal, that knowing Zulu would
 12 be useful?
 13 P: Yes definitely because if you () say for example you go down into town – I dunno
 14 if you go down into town – but my gran stays down there so we walk, well we
 15 don't walk, but we go down there and my mom likes walking into town just to go
 16 to all the dodgy shops, for what reason I don't know.
 17 I: Ja my mom does that too.
 18 P: But you go in there and then there, people speak the Zulu language and it's nice to
 19 know what's happening around you and to be aware of your surroundings. And
 20 ya, I think it also makes you a better South African.
 21 I: In what way?

22 P: Because South Africans, South Africa is very diverse. So it's, I think, it shouldn't
 23 be a rule, but it should be a thought going through every South Africans head that
 24 maybe you should consider learning all three main languages.

25 I: Oh okay. So like the English and the Afrikaans and the Zulu?

26 P: Ja.

27 I: So, um, if, if, eh, if say Zulu wasn't something that would affect your marks and
 28 if it was more of a life skill than a, a school subject, because I assume for you that
 29 languages are more of a subject that you have to take at school and you have to
 30 pass than, like, painting at home – you're not gonna just learn Zulu at home
 31 because you can. If it were more, like, outside of school, do you think that you
 32 would want to know Zulu? Um..

33 P: Ja definitely. I want to know what's happening around me so...

34 I: Ja, it's a big –

35 P: Ja, you don't exactly wanna be walking down the road and you're like, 'well what
 36 is everyone talking about, I don't understand'.

CASE: M2

1 I: (laughing) was a long time ago () um () did you get a choice of taking Zulu or
 2 Afrikaans in High school or

3 P: Uh yes I did, I chose Afrikaans. Afrikaans I think is a subject that I I knew a little
 4 more than Zulu so that's why

5 I: okay so your marks were probably a little bit better

6 P: Ja exactly ja.

7 I: Ja um () so do you see languages like Afrikaans and Zulu and stuff purely as
 8 school subjects () so it effects your marks () not as like a skill that would help you
 9 in South Africa

10 P: Yes I () I do see it as a subject that's that () especially Afrikaans () I mean to be
 11 honest with you I don't like the subject

12 I: You just want to get the mark

13 P: I just want to get the mark () it's one of the subjects that's really pulling me down
 14 you know especially my aggregate and stuff like that so ja.

CASE: M3

1 I: What made you choose Afrikaans over Zulu?

2 P: Well firstly 'cause if you choose Afrikaans you go to a whole separate set of

3 people. You change your class completely. So all your subjects would be with
 4 Zulu speaking people

5 I: Oh okay

6 P: Ja, and I wouldn't want to be () with people who aren't my friends, who speak
 7 Zulu only.

8 I: Okay. How many people are () take Zulu?

9 P: I think in our grade I think it's like 4 people

10 I: Oh okay um uh what was I going to say () would the you're the fact that you were
 11 you better at Afrikaans than you were at Zulu?

12 P: I was better at Zulu I was at Afrikaans

13 I: oh really

14 P: but people did say that Zulu gets much harder () as it progresses as well as the
 15 standard of testing in matric along with it

16 I: Oh right. I would imagine so. Now the people who do take Zulu are they mainly
 17 Zulu speakers?

18 P: Yes () but I heard that they're not so well in Zulu because they can speak but not
 19 write

20 I: Oh okay so it's more just what they know from

21 P: Ja home

22 I: Okay that's interesting ()um for you do you see languages more as school
 23 subjects to be learnt and tested or () do you ()are they maybe also skills that
 24 can be used

25 P: I think I haven't used Afrikaans other than at school but I guess that if you live in
 26 somewhere else like Free State, Gauteng maybe then you would need it.

CASE: M4

1 I: uh what made you choose Afrikaans

2 P: um uh probably the fact that I was better at it mean I find Zulu quite confusing

3 I: ja so I mean your marks would obviously be affected if you took Zulu

4 P: ja ja

5 I: um I assume your parents can help

6 P: and and and the fact that all the people in the Zulu class are Zulu speaking people
 7 () so like their home language is Zulu and I wouldn't really like be able to like
 8 understand

9 I: okay () do you think that affects the teaching?

10 P: um ()

11 I: uh so if you were to be a second language learner in the second language class but

12 with first language speakers

13 P: ja I I think it would affect me ja I think I would get a lot worse mark in that class

14 than I would in a people () in a class that everyone is at the same level as me

15 I: okay cool um () how many people in the grade take Zulu

16 P: um I don't think nearly as () as the amount that take Afrikaans not nearly the

17 amount um () I I think about 1 class

18 I: oh okay

19 P: I think there's only one class

20 I: okay cool () and mainly Zulu speakers () in it

21 P: oh ja, like the whole class are like Zulu speakers

CASE: M6

1 I: okay um how many people in your grade take Zulu

2 P: uum it's about 10 I'd say () It's all the Zulu boys () I think ***** is probably the

3 only Indian boy that takes it ja

4 I: okay um do you know how he finds it?

5 P: um I mean I spoke to him on Friday about it () he said it's quite tough but he's

6 getting there um I know in grade eight they were saying () like I had some other

7 friends that dropped Zulu

8 I: oh okay

9 P: and they were saying that people the Zulu boys were like laughing at them like

10 'what are they doing here' like but speaking in Zulu about them but you could sort

11 of pick up that they mocking you for like 'why are you here' sort of thing um but

12 he's finding it okay but I mean Zulu's probably like a really hard language so he

13 must he can't be acing it

14 I: especially in a class of mother tongue speakers

15 P: ja

16 I: Ja shame man um what made you choose Afrikaans over Zulu

17 P: uum I just it's a whole lot easier I think and that we did a whole lot more

18 Afrikaans in the prep school

19 I: oh okay

20 P: um than Zulu like we had Zulu twice a week and Afrikaans everyday

21 I: okay

22 P: I think uum and it's just like I sort I like the language like speaking it like

23 sometimes just for jokes like I speak in Afrikaans and stuff um it's just a lot nicer

24 than than Zulu like it sounds nicer and all that it's Zulu you just haven't been

25 exposed to it that much and you go anywhere in South Africa like I've been a lot

26 of places in South Africa and everywhere but KZN is Afrikaans

27 I: ja

28 P: Even just travelling to Mozambique there're so many people from Gauteng and all

29 of that (laughs)

30 I: okay so you can get by

31 P: ja

32 I: um I also assume that your parents can probably help you more with Afrikaans

33 than with Zulu

34 P: Ja ja ja

35 I: can your parents speak any Zulu

36 P: um my dad can speak a bit of Fanagolo like to the gardener and stuff () but I mean

37 he knows the basic stuff probably pick up a few words in a conversation

38 I: okay

39 P: but my mom can't speak much either

40 I: (both chuckling) I know your mom () she's very sweet um do you think that

41 knowing Zulu would be useful

42 P: I think it would () but to a certain extent like you can speak to the tellers at the at

43 supermarkets um () but I mean it really didn't don't think it'd get you that far ()

44 because they don't really speak it overseas or if you wanna go overseas it's not

45 going to help you at all

46 I: ja ja and do you do you not really come into contact with it much in your day

47 to day life

48 P: no besides at school or that's it basically

49 I: ja so it doesn't really

50 P: no no

51 I: come into your life

52 P: no no it's not everywhere around me at all no

Question 4: Nelson Mandela Quote

CASE: F1

- 1 I: do you think he's got a point there?
- 2 P: Definitely, I think um, you know it was uum, when my gran goes to Greece, when
- 3 my gran went to Greece she could speak fluently in their language, and when sh,
- 4 we went over and stayed in a restaurant and stuff, they were like so amazed that she
- 5 could speak the language and everything and they said, 'you know thank you' and
- 6 then I tried to do it but I didn't speak it well. they actually, the guy said said, 'it's so
- 7 nice to hear someone actually interested in my language, and trying to understand
- 8 me', because you know, it's almost like respect you know.
- 9 I: Ja, you respect the person
- 10 P: you respect the person ja, you show your respect by speaking their language.

CASE: F3

- 1 I: Ja. um do you think so, "... " do you, do you think he's onto something with that? I
- 2 mean
- 3 P: Ja, I do. I think it's um, ja it, I think there's definitely it's it creates like a sort of like,
- 4 makes you somewhat personal with someone. Like I know um, I come from like
- 5 um, a family where you know Indian people also kind of speak different languages,
- 6 and I mean I know like, it's just always, it's a lot more heartfelt and sincere when
- 7 you speak to someone in in like a language that they they really understand and that
- 8 it's not. It's not like just saying something that you say everyday in English to
- 9 everyone else.
- 10 I: there's more meaning behind it.
- 11 P: Ja,
- 12 I: um can you speak bits and pieces of those other languages?
- 13 P: mhmm (negative)
- 14 I: not really, greetings
- 15 P: I'm terrible, not (all obscured due to mumbling)
- 16 I: it's like with Zulu I can only get up to like *Usaphilana*?
- 17 P: Ja (laughs)

CASE: F4

- 1 I: ja um there's a quote in there from Nelson Mandela um over here somewhere. What
- 2 do you think about that quote you think it's true or
- 3 P: I think it's true I mean I think a Zulu speaking person would appreciate it if you
- 4 spoke to them in their mother tongue

5 I: okay

6 P: like I mean I would appreciate that too if someone would speak to me in a language

7 that I understood because it makes you feel more comfortable

8 I: do you appreciate it when people speak to you in English when you can tell it's not

9 their language

10 P: ja I I admire like them trying because I mean for me to talk to someone in Afrikaans

11 is Bizarre (both laughing) so if I tried to talk to some to someone I think they would

12 appreciate me trying to communicate with them like that

CASE: F5

1 I: um what do you think of that, like what do you think

2 P: um

3 I: you think there's something to it or () what do you think he's trying to say

4 P: well like I know that when I speak to say like a shop assistant say if you know what

5 their language is they're like, 'oh my word'. they're so surprised about it, so I think

6 that it actually does touch people in a way if you know their language and know

7 how to speak it, if you're from, say like if you're white

8 I: if you're obviously not a Zulu speaker

9 P: Ja, like I'm pretty sure that it does, go to their heart

10 I: Ja I suppose

11 P: I think it's quite a good quote

CASE: F6

1 I: Ya. Um, do you think he has a point with that? Do you think that that's, that's

2 something that's true? That – ?

3 P: I think that, if, that he has a really good point because, also when I went overseas

4 if you greet someone in their own language and they know you're a foreigner they

5 just respect you that much more for taking that initiative and trying to at least

6 understand their language.

CASE: F7

1 I: Um... eh... Ya, Nelson Mandela has a quote in this article. Well they have a quote

2 by Mandela in the middle there. It says that if you talk to a man in the language that

3 goes to his heart, um, do you think he's onto something with that?

4 P: Ya. I think he is because if I, okay well, my granny speaks Tamil, my religion, so

5 they speak Tamil at home and if they had to tell me something in Tamil I would, I

6 would remember what they say, even if I didn't know what it meant. It would always
7 stay with me what they and then maybe at a later stage I'd find out what it meant
8 but it would always be with me that's the original language I'm supposed to speak.
9 I: Okay, so it means something to you?
10 P: Ya.
11 I: And do you ever, like, try and talk to them like –
12 P: Ya I'm trying to learn the Tamil
13 I: And I assume... what was their reaction if you –
14 P: If I did... no no, my gran, shame, they help me.
15 I: Well I imagine they appreciate it and =
16 P: = Ya.
17 I: Ya. How do you feel when people who you can tell aren't English talk to you in
18 English even if you can tell it's not really ()
19 P: It takes lots of courage. I sort of So I feel, I feel admiration for them because it's
20 not their first language and they are trying to speak a language that is widely known
21 around the world. So I admire their courage and their enthusiasm.

22 CASE: M1

1 I: ... oh there's an artic-article quote in this article by Mandela Nelson Mandela in the
2 middle here it says "if you talk" um do you think he's onto something with that do
3 you think that's true
4 P: um
5 I: what do you think he's trying to say what do you think he means by it goes to his
6 heart
7 P: I'm not sure I think it's like () if () (starts laughing)
8 I: so if someone talks to you in English and you can tell they not an English speaker
9 like
10 P: it it's sort of like it makes you feel a sense of respect for them cause they trying to
11 speak to you and you maybe sometimes feeling like touched by it or something
12 (mumbles)
13 I: okay have you ever had a situation where you've greeted someone in their language
14 and they've like responded positively or do you normally fell like they're like 'why
15 are you using my language'

16 P: um well usually usually they kinda positive about it if you see like a Zulu speaking
 17 person and you say Sawubona they'll like smile but I mean I've had like I think two
 18 instances where people are like 'why you doing that it's not necessary'

19 I: oh okay speak English to me oh oh okay that's interesting were those just like
 20 random people or

21 P: Ja like they smiled at me and I said Sawubona and they were like 'no no'

22 **CASE: M4**

1 I: ... there's a quote in there by Nelson Mandela that says "if you...heart" um it's like
 2 on the 5th paragraph well it is the 5th paragraph

3 P: ja

4 I: um do you think he's onto something with that or

5 P: um definitely I mean if it if it's () not like () if you if you speak into anoth () speaking
 6 to him in another language he won't be able to () like you () he might be able to
 7 understand () but I mean he won't be able to relate with it as well

8 I: okay

9 P: and like () like put few of his emotion in the words if he can't understand

10 I: oh okay ja

11 P: ja

12 I: um so when someone who you can tell is not an English speaker speaks to you in
 13 English how does that make you feel

14 P: um well to me I I I if they not an English speaker the kind of for some reason feel
 15 sorry for them ()

16 I: okay

17 P: because I know that I probably can't speak their language and a feel a bit ashamed
 18 that I can't really speak what what they can () but they put in the effort to speak
 19 what I () speak my language () which ja uh you do get a feel of shame () like

20 I: oh okay

21 P: tha that they have put in the effort and you haven't but () other than that ja

22 I: does the fact that you speak the language that is kind of the majority () like the more
 23 economically viable language

24 P: ja

25 I: is that kind of () almost in that situation feel that's why they speak English um
 26 whereas the language they're speaking () you don't necessarily have motivation to
 27 speak it whereas
 28 P: Ja ja I don't think I have um like would have a motivation to learn anything other
 29 than like English or like maybe Afrikaans
 30 I: ok () why Afrikaans? Jus cos
 31 P: I don't know why Afrikaans it's just like () people that I would mix with
 32 I: okay
 33 P: Ja would be the ones that would speak Afrikaans
 34 I: okay () you feel like you would come into contact more with Afrikaans people
 35 P: ja ja ja

CASE: M5

1 I: ja uum what was I going to ask you there's a a quote in here from Nelson Mandela
 2 um kind of in the middle there it's the 5th paragraph um '...' do you think he is onto
 3 something there or
 4 P: ja because like if you don't speak that language and then like you make the attempt
 5 to speak in that person's language and not your own language they take it more
 6 seriously and they understand it better
 7 I: okay
 8 P: they like more sincere about it
 9 I: ja do you feel like that if people speak English to you and you can tell they not
 10 English
 11 P: ja you can tell and like you respect them for that
 12 I: okay
 13 P: for making that extra effort for them

Question 5: what language(s) would you want your children to speak?

CASE: F1

- 1 P: definitely differently than what my parents did. I would definitely make sure there
2 was some language that they were learning at a young age, so I'd probably send
3 them to like a Greek school, cause I'm Greek so I'd most probably send them to
4 like there, or possibly like a a crèche where they learn Zulu or something. but
5 something where the child, I don't, so they can communicate in that other
6 language. cause when I went to Greece, I felt so disadvantaged because it's like I
7 didn't understand what my relatives were saying, and it was so. I felt, you know
8 you feel so left out, ja. it was quite sad
- 9 I: so you, were you would like your kids to not like just be monolingual in English
- 10 P: no of course not no. I think they're missing out. they're missing out on people as
11 well I think.
- 12 I: that's a good point, ja. do you, so do you feel like there, there's a lot of people out
13 there in South Africa that you just can't understand
- 14 P: Ja well yesterday I went...ja there there was this woman yesterday who was
15 Chinese okay cause I went to a Chinese restaurant, and, thankfully she could
16 speak English but, you know I missed, if she didn't I would've missed out on her
17 whole cultural background, everything you know. um people, you know, it's like
18 it's almost like a. like a block, I find. whenever I meet like a black person okay,
19 because they speak Zulu and it's their 1st language, I always feel like I'm
20 embarrassed to - because I can't speak in their mother tongue - and I, I'll like say,
21 'Sawubona' or whatever and I'll try and like say a few phrases but, I I'm always
22 like, 'oh gosh, I'm so sorry I don't speak your language' you know. and it's sort of
23 embarrassing for me cos I should you know, as a South African, I should try and
24 possibly learn it
- 25 I: Ja. Do you, so you do sometimes try an speak
- 26 P: there, there is a boundary, ja. My dad's quite good. Sometimes he'll have like
27 conversations with people so it's quite good

CASE: F2

- 1 P: English definitely English
- 2 I: and anything else so if they could so cos you know kids can learn anything and as
3 many languages as you want them to um what other language would you want
4 them to have say you're still in South Africa

5 P: in South Africa if I had children and at that age I mean their minds are like a
6 sponge definitely English but that would naturally come because you speak in
7 English around them anyway but if I had to teach them () I would most probably
8 say Afrikaans and Zulu

9 I: okay so you would want them to be () so you definitely would you want them to
10 be bilingual if they could be or

11 P: yes

12 I: would you be happy with them just speaking English

13 P: I'd be happy with them just speaking English but also for their future and to help
14 them in school like with their marks for that particular subject

15 I: oh so for the language so it helps them along um () if there was a good so a good
16 school that taught had bilingual education so they taught classes like some in
17 English or they could also do stuff in Zulu would you consider sending your child
18 to that to help them or

19 P: no I wouldn't

20 I: you'd want them just to have English education

21 P: ja 'cause I don't want them to get too confused or because also if they getting if
22 they being taught in Zulu for geography and all their homework and everything's
23 going to be in geography it's going to be very hard to help them

24 I: ja

25 P: and or explain to them and it's gonna confuse them even more so

CASE: F4

1 P: in South Africa I would want them to probably speak um a Zulu those kind of
2 things 'cause that's what the rest of the population speaks

3 I: okay. I assume you would want them to speak English

4 P: oh of course English

5 I: so would you like your children to be bilingual if you could

6 P: yes

7 I: and if you were in England say? would you not really

8 P: um I'd like them to be bilingual but obviously with a European language (both
9 laugh)

10 I: a language that would be useful to them ja. okay cool um do you wish you were
11 bilingual

12 P: I do. I think it's very admirable when someone can speak more than one language
 13 I: when you when you hear um non-E, non-Zulu speakers who can speak Zulu ()
 14 what do you think
 15 P: I think it's amazing because it's such a hard language to to
 16 I: ja it is
 17 P: to learn and to be able to fluently speak
 18 I: ja. do you know anyone like that?
 19 P: I don't think so my dad tries (both) he knows a few words so

CASE:

F5

1 P: ja, I would **want them to** () well Zulu would be one of them. English obviously
 2 and then obviously like 'cause it runs in my family, Italian
 3 I: Italian okay
 4 P: so
 5 I: why would you want them to have the Zulu
 6 P: because like my dad was saying 'cause he wanted me to do Zulu and I didn't want
 7 to do Zulu (laughs). but he was saying like when uh someone comes into his
 8 office and say they're Zulu, and they start speaking to him in Zulu he doesn't
 9 understand them, so you need to - in order to do business - you need Zulu to be
 10 able to, ja. So you need a say you have parents, say like if you want to become a
 11 teacher and you have parents that can only speak well, most likely only speak
 12 Zulu, then you need to kind of understand them in a way.
 13 I: oh okay cool, is it's a good =
 14 P: = so it's easier and I think they get more, you get like more respect if you can
 15 speak their language.
 16 I: um so you would, you'd want your kids to be able to
 17 P: ja
 18 I: would you ever, if there was a good school that was a dual medium school - so
 19 say English and Zulu - would you ever se, contemplate sending them to
 20 P: Ja definitely, I think so, ja

CASE: F7

1 P: I'd want them to learn everything
 2 I: Everything

3 P: Okay not everything () I'd want them to learn English. And just not, they don't
 4 have to know every single detail of the other language, like Afrikaans and Zulu,
 5 like we do at school, but they just need to know how to dialect, like basic
 6 conversation skills would be fine, as long as they (.) as long as they know what's
 7 happening
 8 I: They can communicate
 9 P: Yes they can communicate. (laughs) that's the word, sorry. As long as they can
 10 communicate, they don't need to know like writing skills or 'this is that' or
 11 STOMPI or all of that and rules () I think that as long as they are able to
 12 communicate properly they should be fine.
 13 I: Okay. So you would want them to learn more than just English?
 14 P: Definitely 'cause South Africa's a big country.
 15 I: Yes it is (laughs)
 16 P: And we're surrounded by different languages so why not why why why what's the
 17 () why keep yourself () there's such a good word but now I've forgot!
 18 I: Insulaaaate (.) you mean like that
 19 P: Like why keep why why () Why keep yourself in one small spot. () why keep
 20 yourself in your comfort zone, why not go out of it

CASE: M2

1 P: Well, I'd definitely go for English um () maybe with Hindi () I mean I would like
 2 my children to know a little bit of their background mother tongue and stuff like
 3 that and maybe if in that time Afrikaans is still a bit of a problem () if Afrikaans is
 4 still in our country by that time still as a subject then I'll introduce the subject to
 5 my kids cos I don't want my kids to suffer when it comes to high school and stuff
 6 I: Try and help them
 7 P: try and help them along () it's for their own good but ja I mean just for the subject
 8 I want them to get a reasonable mark so
 9 I: Ja and so aside from school um in terms of being able to so say they still living in
 10 Natal would you want them to know Zulu or do you not really think it would
 11 impact on their lives? They wouldn't come into contact with those people or...?
 12 P: I don't think so uh I I don't think I'll really bother to actually teach them I I don't
 13 know Zulu myself
 14 I: Ja, k

15 P: So I don't really think I mean right now I don't really have contact with much
16 Zulu okay there is Zulu friends but they treat speak to me in English you know
17 they understand they understand I don't know the language much so I'm I'm sure
18 that'll go for everyone you know so ja.

CASE: M4

1 P: more than one or just one?
2 I: well, would you want them to know more than one or
3 P: um I'd definitely want them to know more than one um definitely English because
4 it's universal and everything () and I don't know if I would try and teach them a
5 South African language () if if it were me I would I would like find a language
6 that also quite oftenly used like in other uh other countries
7 I: okay so like a European language
8 P: Ja ja something like a French lang or something like that
9 I: okay so you wouldn't necessarily feel that they'd need an African language
10 P: Ja n () may () well if we lived in South Africa obviously I'd teach them a South
11 African language but other than that if we lived in Somewhere else I'd teach them.
12 I guess it depends really where you live
13 I: Ja
14 P: to what language they'd get

CASE: M6

1 P: like besides English
2 I: ja so obviously you want them to speak English
3 P: okay um well I know like when I was little I really wanted to to speak Zulu and
4 um my parents tried to get me the maid to speak to us in Zulu but it didn't work I
5 don't know why but it didn't work but I suppose Zulu would would be the
6 language because obviously going to learn Afrikaans at school
7 I: okay
8 P: but either Afrikaans or Zulu I mean not French or anything 'cause I still plan to be
9 living in South Africa so

CASE: M8

1 P: well English well personally I'd like them to speak French 'cause I wish I could I
2 wish they were we were allowed to take French here I would
3 I: do they not offer it

4 P: No they don't

5 I: oh really oh ok

6 P: I wish I love I love French 'cause my 3 out of 5, 3 out of the 5 members in my

7 family speak French

8 I: oh really

9 P: Ja so if I just kinda I wish I could speak French as well all and then um I would

10 Afrikaans ummmm not really

11 I: okay would you want them to know Zulu or

12 P: ja well I'd ja most probably 'cause there's a lot more Zulu people than there are

13 Afrikaans people

14 I: k um so would you def would you want your child to () your children to not just

15 have English as their only language if they could

16 P: ja () but like if they struggling I wouldn't like force them into learning

17 I: okay so you feel like they probably () they'd be able to be s fine with just English

18 so if they had to have something

19 P: ja if if if ja well 'cause it is the universal language so if they go anywhere in life

20 they can always speak English

**Question 6: Would speaking more languages (e.g. English, Afrikaans, 2 African languages)
make us better South Africans**

CASE: F1

1 P: (17a) uum, I don't know, if to make you a better South African you would speak, it
2 would mean that you would speak a different language, but I think it would help,
3 if you know what I mean. 'Cause I think, you can't say someone's less of a South
4 African if they only speak Zulu if that's what they've been brought up with. But if
5 they were able to speak many different languages if I was able to speak many
6 languages I would definitely be, be able to say I was a true South African more so
7 than someone who just speaks English.

CASE: F3

1 P: um, I don't want to sound cliché-ish,
2 I: be welcome to
3 P: okay good, um, because I I think like, being a good any person from any country
4 in the world is all about who you are and like, you know, your heart. Not the
5 language that you speak. Language is hardly a barrier, ja I think that like, you
6 know like, people always say like, you can just by looking at someone you can
7 tell how sincere they are or what they mean or how they feel, you don't need to be
8 communicating with them.
9 I: ja, ja
10 P: with words, communicating with...words?
11 I: verbal communication
12 P: yes
13 I: Ja so you, for you being a South African is separate from things like =
14 P: =languages =
15 I: =being able to speak like, certain languages
16 P: Ja
17 I: okay cool, um,
18 P: but I think you have to respect different languages and cultures.

CASE: F4

1 P: I don't think knowing a whole bunch of South African languages makes you more
2 South African I think it's just more (interview interrupted [00:11:55.25] -
3 [00:12:42.20]) um I don't think knowing more African languages makes you more
4 South African, I think it's more about your attitude towards the country, but um I
5 think knowing more than one African language might make like make you more
6 proud to be South African and you'll understand more
7

CASE: F6

1 P: I don't think that we necessarily have to speak another language to be a better
2 South African. It's in you, it's how you act and your attitudes towards other
3 people. Even if you speak English and you're the nicest person to someone else
4 who can't speak English but you're helpful. I think that, in essence, makes you a
5 better South African. You don't necessarily have to speak their language.

CASE: M1

1 P: no I think we would sort of get on with each other better because we would
2 understand each other properly and they would be able to explain themselves like
3 fully rather than in a language they're not entirely sure of
4 I: okay and in terms of being a South African do you think it would maybe do you
5 think you would be a better South African if you could speak an African language
6 or do you
7 P: no (*both start laughing*)

CASE: M2

(voluntary)

1 P: Ja it is cos I mean it represents our kind of our past if you look at it()you know I
2 mean Xhosa, Zulu it's all been here()you know so I mean it is important for us to
3 know those kind of languages but I mean it doesn't really give me interest (ts) I
4 mean you know personally (ugh) I mean Zulu okay Afrikaans not really () you
5 know I mean it doesn't grip my attention
6 I: Ja okay () uh do you in your uh everyday life do you ever come into contact with
7 those languages do you ever have a need to use them

8 P: No, I have no need of using them () especially Afrikaans I don't see the need for it
 9 at all.
 10 (after question)
 11 I: Okay () um () at the end of that () of this article it says that if we could all speak
 12 English and Afrikaans and two African languages we would all be better South
 13 Africans () do you think that's a true statement or it's a bit off the mark?
 14 P: (*sighs while thinking*) the thing is it depends how many how many okay there's
 15 not many Afrikaners in this country
 16 I: Ja
 17 P: That's what I think you know in terms of Sotho and other languages I mean uh
 18 like other cultures I mean there is quite a bit but I I don't really get into contact
 19 with them you know so what is the point () you know I mean I'm living in Durban
 20 I mean I don't really get in touch with you know Sotho guys and all that stuff
 21 there so what is the use to me? So I think it depends on where you live () your
 22 circumstances () ye I mean obviously if you live in a rural area where Zulu's like
 23 the most popular thing then it's quite wise to learn the language
 24 I: Ja
 25 P: because you living there you know () but for me now I mean I don't really find it
 26 useful you know where I'm living so it really depend on your circumstance.
 27 I: Ja ja () so you would say that it doesn't really affect your nationality
 28 P: Ja it doesn't really affect your () nationality () it doesn't really affect it really
 29 depends on circumstance I think

CASE: M5

1 P: =not really ja I
 2 think that () sort of we'd be more united as a country if everyone could understand
 3 everyone else but it's sort of like pushing like English to like one side saying that
 4 () it's like not sufficient
 5 I: not sufficient for it okay () so as a South African you don't feel like English is bad
 6 P: no I think it's 'cause most like majority if you have to talk to anyone in English
 7 they'd like sort of understand
 8 I: oh okay ja
 9 P: seems like the most understood language
 10 I: everyone can use a bit of it

11 P: Ja

CASE:

M6

1 P: no I mean whatever language you speak is not really your fault that you born to
2 Zulu speaking people um it's doesn't make you a better person if you can speak 5
3 different languages fluently or one language fluently it's not really your fault if
4 your parents are wealthy they can send you to a school that teaches different
5 languages or just one language so doesn't doesn't really make you a better person
6 if you can speak

CASE: M8

1 P: I don't think it it's more like we' would be better South Africans it we we'd be
2 better peep we'd be better people and we'd understand each other but being South
3 African is who you are it's not it's not something that if you learn other 2
4 languages you're a better person it's more of pride in your country and

E-Appendix 2:

Stimulus Article

2.1 Original Unedited Stimulus Article from Mail and Guardian Online

2.2 Original Length Stimulus Article Annotated with Deletions

2.1 Original Unedited Stimulus Article from Mail and Guardian Online

Masincokole: Talk to me!

RUSSELL H KASCHULA: COMMENT - Apr 21 2011 00:00

The minister of higher education and training, Blade Nzimande, recently called for all South African university graduates to learn at least one African language. To this there was a monolingual outcry, mainly from mlungus who won't be dictated to.

But this really is one of the few initiatives where our nation's idea of "social cohesion" could become a reality.

It does not take a communist to see that Russia and China fuel their economies in languages other than English. There are only a few countries in Africa in which English has effectively reached the masses as a language of learning and teaching, let alone communication and integration.

English remains a language of the elite, forbidding people from access to the first economy -- as erstwhile president Thabo Mbeki referred to it -- and relegating them to the second and, dare I suggest, third economy in which people have absolutely no knowledge of English.

With the exception of African languages such as Kiswahili, Arabic and Afrikaans (the third-biggest language in South Africa), the lack of use of African languages in high-status domains remains a reality. Afrikaans is an example of a young African language that has been intellectualised and can be used as a model for the development of other African languages.

There is a strong link between Julius Malema's recent assertion to the Jewish community that the poor are coming to get "us" Gaddafi-style and how we use language to include and exclude people in this country. Today it is language that serves as a barrier to economic mobility, requiring us to think about how we can use language to transform class relations.

Language is crucial in creating understanding and linkages between the rich and poor. As Nelson Mandela once observed: "[I]f you talk to [a man] in his language, that goes to his heart."

Ask yourself this question: in what language do I dream? In my mother tongue, of course. Now ask yourself what would be the significance of the answer to this umbuzo (question)? You think best in a language that you know best. You should be taught in a language that you understand, allowing for cognition to take place easily. This is one side of the coin that we still miss in South Africa. We need to

teach in African languages and teach effective English as a subject. It is not a question of choosing English only.

Not only should you be taught in your dream language but you should also take the initiative to learn other languages. Linguistic activists have been saying this for years.

In the process the mind is broadened and the barriers between linguistic and cultural groups are broken down. You step into the cultural and linguistic space of another human friend. Language is what drives culture and forms its central underpinnings: who are we and who am I if I remain my singular, monolingual, (un)comfortable self?

Now, what do we do in South Africa? We insist that the majority of our students are educated in a language that they often do not understand well. The result: global-language idiots are what we have become!

We don't teach African languages or English with any measure of competency. Furthermore, we insist that those who were privileged under apartheid remain privileged today -- in other words, it is those who speak English and, to some extent, Afrikaans who are allowed to be taught in their mother tongues. What gives them this right?

They are also not required to learn another African language. This just does not make sense in a country in which professional services are largely delivered in English, even though arguably not even 40% of the population is functionally literate in this non-indigenous, ex-colonial language.

Imagine someone telling you to take three tablets five times per day in a language that you cannot understand.

And if we believe we should be using English for economic reasons, then should we not all be rushing to learn Mandarin, considering the new economic order in Africa?

Each university is supposed to have its own language policy and all universities should now be in the process of implementing such policies. According to research conducted by my colleague, Dr Pam Maseko, this is largely not happening. Some universities do not even have a language policy.

With the support of management, including vice-chancellor Dr Saleem Badat, Rhodes University is ahead of the pack. It already offers isiXhosa vocation-specific courses in disciplines related to delivery of services. There are now courses such as isiXhosa for pharmacy, law and education - and these form part of

the curriculum.

All education students who do not have isiXhosa as a mother tongue are required to learn isiXhosa. We will soon pilot a course in isiXhosa for psychology. An isiXhosa journalism course (both second language and mother tongue) is being offered this year. In addition to the hundreds of undergraduates studying isiXhosa at Rhodes, there are 41 honours students, 20 master's and six PhD students, thanks to bursary funding from the national department of arts and culture.

It is true, too, that African-language teaching and learning should not only be developed at second-language level. There is a serious need to allow mother-tongue speakers enough information to make informed decisions concerning the virtues of being taught in, and the value of learning, their mother tongues.

Market-related courses such as isiXhosa for journalism are important if qualified mother-tongue journalists are to provide their services to radio stations such as Umhlobo Wenene and newspapers such as the isiZulu Isolezwe paper. Likewise, it is important for a journalist who does not speak an African language to learn such a language to gain more accurate information and be more culturally sensitive.

Nzimande, therefore, is quite correct. The only point of difference that I would have is that such vocation-specific African language courses must be taught rather than "should" or "could".

Vocation-specific, market-related African language mother-tongue and second-language courses must form part of the curriculum at universities.

In my view African languages hold the key to the Africanisation of the curriculum, which must be an integral part of transformation at universities.

Students need to learn African languages to enable them to function as better multilingual citizens in the workplace. That is just common sense.

We have found at Rhodes that students generally come to take a very positive view. As pharmacy students, for example, begin to work with patients who are not necessarily conversant in English, they see the benefits.

The argument that is sometimes used against learning an African language is: "Why must I learn this language if I am not going to work among Xhosa people?" The answer is simple: "You will be working among them for the years that you will be studying at Rhodes."

In a country where we remain obsessed with race, multilingualism will go a long way towards creating a measure of social cohesion. Can you imagine if all South

Africans were fluent in English, Afrikaans, an Nguni language and a Sotho language? We would all be better citizens.

For so long now black people have had to grapple with learning the white people's English. Nzimande was correct when he observed, in isiZulu, that "we can't be expected to learn English and Afrikaans, yet they don't learn our languages".

As a multilingual mlungu, I can only wait for the day when I am not continually asked: "So where did you learn that Khoza language?" I wonder when last I asked a black person: "So where did you learn English?" If I had never spoken isiXhosa, I would not be the South African that I am today.

Oh, if only we lived in a society where we could thetha, praat, khuluma, talk in one another's languages, even code-switch and mix them together and camtha if need be.

Then we could begin to build a basis for a trusting, communicative nation, a trust based on effective communication and cultural sharing that I believe still eludes us today.

Russell H Kaschula is professor and head of African language studies at Rhodes University's school of languages

Source: Mail & Guardian Online

Web Address: <http://mg.co.za/article/2011-04-21-masincokole-talk-to-me>

2.2 Original Length Stimulus Article Annotated with Deletions

Masincokole: Talk to me! RUSSELL H KASCHULA

The minister of higher education and training, Blade Nzimande, recently called for all South African university graduates to learn at least one African language. ~~To this there was a monolingual outcry, mainly from mlungus who won't be dictated to.~~

But this really is one of the few initiatives where our nation's idea of "social cohesion" could become a reality.

It does not take a communist to see that Russia and China fuel their economies in languages other than English. There are only a few countries in Africa in which English has effectively reached the masses as a language of learning and teaching, let alone communication and integration.

English remains a language of the elite, forbidding people from access to the first economy -- as erstwhile president Thabo Mbeki referred to it -- and relegating them to the second and, dare I suggest, third economy in which people have absolutely no knowledge of English.

With the exception of African languages such as Kiswahili, Arabic and Afrikaans (the third-biggest language in South Africa), the lack of use of African languages in high-status domains remains a reality. Afrikaans is an example of a young African language that has been intellectualised and can be used as a model for the development of other African languages.

There is a strong link between Julius Malema's recent assertion to the Jewish community that the poor are coming to get "us" Gaddafi-style and how we use language to include and exclude people in this country. Today it is language that serves as a barrier to economic mobility, requiring us to think about how we can use language to transform class relations.

Language is crucial in creating understanding and linkages between the rich and poor. As Nelson Mandela once observed: "[I]f you talk to [a man] in his language, that goes to his heart."

Ask yourself this question: in what language do I dream? In my mother tongue, of course. Now ask yourself what would be the significance of the answer to this umbuzo (question)? You think best in a language that you know best. You should be taught in a language that you understand, allowing for cognition to take place easily. This is one side of the coin that we still miss in South Africa. We need to teach in African languages and teach effective English as a subject. It is not a question of choosing English only.

Not only should you be taught in your dream language but you should also take the initiative to learn other languages. Linguistic activists have been saying this for years.

In the process the mind is broadened and the barriers between linguistic and cultural groups are broken down. You step into the cultural and linguistic space of another human friend. Language is what drives culture and forms its central underpinnings: who are we and who am I if I remain my singular, monolingual, (un)comfortable self?

Now, what do we do in South Africa? We insist that the majority of our students are educated in a language that they often do not understand well. The result: global-language idiots are what we have become!

We don't teach African languages or English with any measure of competency. Furthermore, we insist that those who were privileged under apartheid remain privileged today -- in other words, it is those who speak English and, to some extent, Afrikaans who are allowed to be taught in their mother tongues. What gives them this right?

They are also not required to learn another African language. This just does not make sense in a country in which professional services are largely delivered in English, even though arguably not even 40% of the population is functionally literate in this non-indigenous, ex-colonial language.

~~Imagine someone telling you to take three tablets five times per day in a language that you cannot understand.~~

~~And if we believe we should be using English for economic reasons, then should we not all be rushing to learn Mandarin, considering the new economic order in Africa?~~

~~Nzimande, therefore, is quite correct. The only point of difference that I would have is that such vocation-specific African language courses must be taught rather than "should" or "could".~~

~~Students need to learn African languages to enable them to function as better multilingual citizens in the workplace. That is just common sense.~~

In a country where we remain obsessed with race, multilingualism will go a long way towards creating a measure of social cohesion. Can you imagine if all South Africans were fluent in English, Afrikaans, an Nguni language and a Sotho language? We would all be better citizens.

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