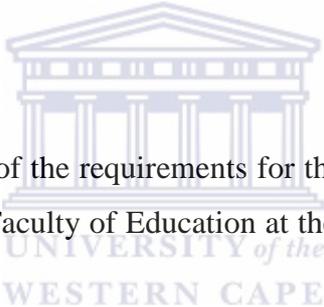


Positioning:

A linguistic ethnography of Cameroonian children
in and out of South African primary school spaces.

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in Language and Literacy in the Faculty of Education at the University of the Western Cape,
South Africa.

The logo of the University of the Western Cape, featuring a classical building facade with columns and a pediment, with the text 'UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE' below it.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis traces the trajectories of a group of young Cameroonian learners as they engage in new social and educational spaces in two South African primary schools. Designed as a Linguistic Ethnography and using data from observations, interviews and more than 50 hours of recorded interaction, it illustrates the ways in which these learners position themselves and are differentially positioned within evolving discourses of inclusion and exclusion. As a current study in a multilingual African context, it joins a growing body of literature in Europe which points to the ways in which young people's language choices and practices are socially and politically embedded in their histories of migration and implicated in relations of power, social difference and social inequality.

The study is a Linguistic Ethnography of young school learners' language experience, which falls outside the scope of much mainstream research. It is one of very few studies to focus on migrant children in contexts of the South where multilingualism is the reality yet where language-in-education policies tend to follow monoglossic norms. The focus is on how a group of 10-16 year old Cameroonian children use their multilingual repertoires to construct and negotiate identities both inside and outside the classroom. It also investigates in more detail the acts of identity of two individuals entering the same school with different linguistic profiles, who are positioned in differentiated ways in relation to transnational and local flows and interconnections. The context is a low socio-economic suburb of Cape Town, South Africa, where Cameroonian practices of language, class, and ethnicity become entangled with local economies of meaning.

The study also contributes to an emerging body of qualitative research that seeks to develop greater understanding of the relationships between language learners, their socio-cultural worlds and processes of identity construction (Cummins, 1996; Gee, 2001; Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, & Cain, 1998). ; Rampton, 1995, 2006). Recent international and South African studies tend to focus on secondary school learners, showing how they are struggling to negotiate the currents of a complex society (Adebanji, 2010; Sayed, 2002; Sookrajh, Gopal & Maharaj, 2005), although there is a recent and rapidly growing body of Scandinavian research on primary school children (for example, Cekaite & Evaldsson, 2008; Madsen, 2008; Møller, 2009; Møller, Holmen & Jørgensen, 2012). In contrast, the children in this study are negotiating the transition between childhood and adolescence, faced with issues of

race, linguistic competence and discrimination at a time when moving from one age group to the next should have been relatively unproblematic. They are thus entangled in different levels of transition: emotional, physical and spatial.

These issues of transition and negotiation will be highlighted through the lens of *positioning*. The concepts of ‘position’ and ‘positioning’ (Davis & Harré, 1990) appear to have origins in marketing, where position refers to the communication strategies that allow certain products to be placed in a market among their competitors (Tirado & Gálvez, 2007, p. 20). Holloway (1984) first used the concept of positioning in the social sciences to analyse the construction of subjectivity in the area of heterosexual relationships (Tirado & Gálvez, 2007). Positioning here was explained as relational processes that constitute interaction with other individuals. The present study focuses on how ‘interactants’ position themselves vis-à-vis their words and texts, their audiences and the contexts they both “respond to and construct linguistically” (Jaffe, 2009, p.3). As they make use of lexical and grammatical tools available to them in interaction, it becomes apparent that the process of identity construction through positioning does not “reside within the individual but in intersubjective relations of sameness and difference, [...] power and disempowerment” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 607). Thus to interpret multilingual children’s positioning requires a recursive process, using a double perspective: it means looking at the day-to-day moments of interactional and other practices, and also the wider political discourses in which these practices may be embedded and historically rooted (Maguire, 2005) and which they index in different ways.

These day-to-day moments of practice thus involve different “acts of identity” (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985) which can also be described as acts of *stance-taking* (Jaffe, 2009). A stance may index multiple selves and social identities. However, not all stances are open to everyone: those whose who have their social, cultural or linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991, 1997) recognized in a particular space will be able to position themselves more strongly there than those who do not. Moreover, stances are not successful unless ‘taken up’ by interactants (Jaffe, 2009): this uptake may take the form of interlocutors’ stances of alignment, realignment, or misalignment (C. Goodwin, 2007; Matoesian, 2005). Uptake in multilingual contexts is influenced by the prevailing “linguistic market” (Bourdieu, 1991, pp.55-67): day-to-day acts of positioning take place in inequitable markets. These ‘markets’ are fertile grounds for social stratification where speech acts and the languages in which they are realized are assigned different symbolic values (Bourdieu, 1991, 1997). Mastery of the

'legitimate' language or languages is then often a pre-condition for claiming symbolic and material resources. New institutional spaces in South Africa become interesting here, because they are characterized by new formations of class, changes in gender roles and relations and other instances of macro-structural shifts. In such spaces, linguistic hierarchies and patterns of distribution of linguistic resources are rapidly changing (Kerfoot & Bello-Nonjengele, 2014). The school as a key institution in the distribution of social, cultural and linguistic capital is thus an important site for exploring the role of language and multilingualism in social and educational change.

This thesis sets out to answer the following research questions: a) How do immigrant learners use their linguistic repertoires to construct, negotiate or contest identities in new school spaces? b) How do different spaces enable or constrain the new identities negotiated? c) What are the implications for language learning policy and practice?

Data collection took place over two years between February 2010 and June 2013, and followed participants from grades 5 to 7 in the English medium and Afrikaans language classrooms. Participants were 10-16 year old Cameroonian children in two Cape Town schools, ten in each.

The study contains nine chapters, with chapter 1 providing an overview of the background, rationale, and conceptual and methodological framework. Chapter 2 traces the shift towards the social in language studies, considering frameworks for understanding the differential values placed on linguistic resources as actors move across social spaces, both local and transnational. Here interaction is viewed as a crucial site for identity construction, generating a social stage through which reality is constructed, shared, and made meaningful. Chapter 3 reviews studies of interactional positioning amongst multilingual learners in social and educational contexts in South Africa and more globally. Chapter 4 focuses on the methodology used in the study, discussing the research design based on Linguistic Ethnography, a qualitative approach which is based on the two broad planks of ethnography and Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS) and which enables an analytical framework combining Conversation Analysis (CA), Discourse Analysis (DA) and Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). Together, these analytical tools enable a multifaceted illumination of the construction of identity in discourse. The various tools used in data collection are discussed in depth followed by comment on reflexivity, challenges in the field and limitations of the study. Chapter 5 delineates the researcher's trajectory in the field. This comprises profiles of the

study schools (including the schools' socio-economic, ethnic and linguistic make-up in relation to teachers and learners), perspectives on why the schools were chosen, the differing receptions to a research presence there, and some reflections on the researcher's identity construction. The chapter further explores different techniques of data collection within this context: field notes and thick description, interviews, and audio recordings of interactions in and out of schools.

Chapters 6, 7 and 8 present and analyse findings from classroom observation and interview data, together with audio-recordings of a group of Cameroonian learners interacting with each other and with children of other nationalities in classrooms, community and home spaces. These chapters aim to illustrate how these learners used linguistic resources to position themselves and others, to build, maintain and negotiate identities, and to assert or negate identifications. Chapters 7 and 8 build on the analysis presented in chapter 6 by focusing respectively on two key emergent themes: owning participatory spaces and defying positioning in multilingual spaces. Chapter 7 centres on the interactional and other means by which a 12 year old Anglophone learner, James, navigated his way increasingly successfully through new social and educational spaces, expanding his linguistic repertoire. Chapter 8 focuses on a 12 year old Francophone learner, Aline, and the ways in which she tried to convert her linguistic capital on new linguistic markets. Her efforts were more often than not met with negative evaluation, leading to a loss of both social and academic identities.

The analysis of data thus serves as a rich point of entry for understanding the connections between linguistic repertoires, relations between ethnic groups, youth culture, and the experience of social change. Through their discursive production of selves, these adolescent learners supposed to be negotiating only the normal transition from one age group to the next) are here negotiating the currents of a complex society and dealing with issues of race, language and segregation.

Findings suggest that participants had multiple identity options that were negotiated through different practices, from food choices to language and interactional norms. These different identity options were however constrained by existing norms and linguistic hierarchies in each space, allowing some to accommodate new linguistic practices and ways of doing things, while others experienced more ambivalent and contradictory processes of adaptation. In informal settings there was evidence of a third space characterized by a *mélange* of languages in which both formal and informal versions of English and French, along with

Cameroonian Pidgin English (CPE) and other Cameroonian languages, were used. However, even in these settings there was a gradual shift to English, indicating the penetration of macrosocial and institutional discourses into private spaces.

The thesis concludes with a set of recommendations for caregivers, teachers and policymakers seeking to create schools more welcoming of diversity. It is hoped, then, that this study will help families and schools to realize the variety of ways in which linguistic repertoires influence school success, both social and educational, and to find ways of using these repertoires for development and learning. In this way, they might contribute to immigrant youngsters' ability to construct strong identities as learners and valued social beings.



DECLARATION

I declare that

POSITIONING: A LINGUISTIC ETHNOGRAPHY OF CAMEROONIAN CHILDREN IN
AND OUT OF SOUTH AFRICAN PRIMARY SCHOOL SPACES

is my own work and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and
acknowledged by means of complete references.

Tatah, Gwendoline Jih



Date: _____ 2015

ACRONYMS

CA	Conversation Analysis
CS	Code-switching
DA	Discourse Analysis
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
IRIN	Integrated Regional Information Networks
IS	Interactional Sociolinguistics
LE	Linguistic Ethnography
LiEP	Language in Education Policy
LoLT	Language of Learning and Teaching
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
TCU	Turn Constructional Unit
WECD	Western Cape Education Department



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I dedicate this thesis to my late beloved aunt, Margaret Wayen; my lovely daughter, Zanele; my great friend and junior sister, Rosemary; my nephew, Aidan; and my niece Ruth: all of whom passed away in 2012.



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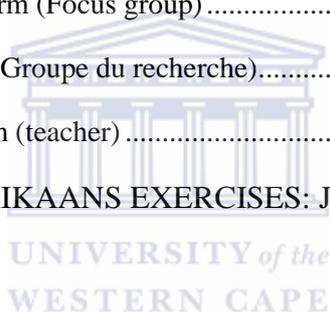
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Chapter One: OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

Urban schools ... are remaking the nation, still along lines heavily inflected by race, yet differently, in a way that permits co-operation and conflict, harmony and violence, cultural chauvinism as well as cosmopolitan nationalism. Within such normalised, national discourses, “the other” is newly constructed. In this instance, although numbers are small, migrants in schools appear to be the new “other” (Chisholm, 2008b, p. 260).

The above comments were offered shortly after the 2008 wave of xenophobic attacks throughout South Africa, during which 42 people were killed and 17 000 displaced (IRIN News, 23 May 2008). In Cape Town this was the climax to continuing assaults over several years, resulting in persistent fears and insecurities amongst African refugees, asylum seekers and economic migrants. As Chisholm (2008b) points out, this “othering” is a by-product of nationalism, in which questions of race and ethnicity are always central, and points to the core tension in the process of nation-building in South Africa - the fact that this process is inclusive at times but exclusive at others.

Official educational policies (as manifested in schools via textbooks and school-level policies) are inclusive (Habib & Bentley, 2008), but this does not prevent widespread experience of prejudice by young immigrants. While there is a small body of work focusing on processes of school integration for groups previously separated under apartheid (Dawson, 2007; Fataar, 1997; Makoe & McKinney, 2009), almost no research has investigated the experiences of African immigrant children entering South African schools. This study, then, is one of very few to focus on migrant children in contexts of the South where multilingualism is the reality yet is ignored in school practices. The thesis traces the trajectories of young Cameroonian learners as they engage in new social and educational spaces in a South African primary school. The context is a low income suburb of Cape Town, South Africa, where new discourses and practices of identity, class, ‘race’ and ethnicity become entangled with local economies of meaning. The study contains nine chapters; this first chapter is an introduction to the core issues addressed in the thesis. It starts with an overview of research on immigrant populations in social and educational contexts in South Africa and more globally. Chapters 2 and 3 then trace the background, framework and literature review of the study. Chapter 2 particularly traces the shift towards the social in language studies and discusses Bourdieu’s sociological framework for understanding the

differential values placed on linguistic resources as actors move across social spaces, both locally and transnationally. Central to this chapter is the view of interaction as the key site for identity construction, generating a social stage through which reality is constructed, shared, and made meaningful. Chapters 4 and 5 deal with the research methodology and trace the trajectory in the field, and chapters 6 to 8 describe and present an analysis of a set of learners interacting with each other and with children of other nationalities on the playground, in classrooms, and in community and home spaces. These three chapters (6, 7 and 8) aim to illustrate the various ways in which learners use linguistic resources: to position themselves and others; to build, maintain and negotiate identities; and to assert or negate identifications. The final chapter discusses the findings and recommendations of the study.

The thesis is organized around a number of concepts that are central to studies of language as a positioning tool and indexer of identity in late modernity. These concepts, such as *positioning* and its construction through *frames*, *footing*, and *indexicality*, form part of the field of language study called Interactional Sociolinguistics which aims to investigate how speakers signal and interpret meaning in social interaction (Bailey, 2014). It is particularly appropriate for the study of face-to-face interactions in which there are “significant differences in participants’ cultural resources and/or institutional power” (Rampton, 2006, p. 23). Research of this kind serves as a rich point of entry for analysis of the connections between languages, relations between ethnic groups, youth culture, and the experience of social change. The last two decades have seen a shift in the issues of identity and the second language learner: current research advances the view that learning a second or additional language is not simply a skill acquired through persistence and practice as once proclaimed (Rajadurai, 2010). Instead, it emerges through complex social interactions and is affected by power differentials that place constraints on the kinds of identities language learners can construct.

Building on this understanding of language learning, the study explores the ways in which a group of young migrants use their multilingual repertoires to construct, negotiate or contest identities in new school spaces. It focuses in particular on the trajectories of two learners through these spaces (as well as through other, less formal, spaces) and the ways in which these learners position themselves and are differentially positioned within evolving discourses of inclusion and exclusion. The two learners were chosen to reflect the two distinct linguistic zones in Cameroon. Methodologically the research is situated within

Linguistic Ethnography which brings together Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS) and ethnography. IS yields insights into the workings of social processes where power is unevenly distributed (Gumperz, 1982) while ethnography as a “democratic and anti-hegemonic science” offers “voice to the subjects it studies” (Blommaert, 2009, p.258).

1.1 Mobility, transnational connections and linguistic resources

Issues of mobility and migration are among the most salient topics in Africa today, not only with regard to the various social and cultural dimensions, but also with regard to learners entering and negotiating new linguistic spaces as a result of new migration patterns (Adepoju, 2004; Baker & Aina, 1995; Bilger & Kraler, 2005; Gratz, 2010). This new focus on mobility and migration stems in part from the effects of globalization, defined as the construction of world systems that merge finance, trade, media and communication technologies (Jones Diaz, 2006). It also involves the interconnection of linguistic, cultural and social ideologies across multiple economic, cultural, social, and political fields (Marginson, 1999). Migrating is thus more than crossing transnational boundaries (Vigouroux, 2008): it entails entering new socially stratified discursive spaces which affect speakers’ ability to deploy their language repertoires. Mobility is “not across empty spaces, but across spaces filled with codes, customs, rules, expectations and so forth” (Blommaert, 2005, p.73). Thus, crossing geographic spaces also amounts to crossing social, situational and ideological boundaries. Whether or not particular language resources will work is always tied to several layers of context, hence a speaker may be acknowledged as competent in one context but evaluated as incompetent in another. Accordingly, our English learner from Cameroon will have more spaces for manoeuvring in an English-dominated setting than the Francophone learner will enjoy. The immigrant learners in the present study were investigated against this backdrop, focusing on their interactions in a new linguistic space - namely, post-apartheid South Africa.

1.2 Post-apartheid migration into South Africa

According to the United Nations, there were about 214 million international migrants in 2010. Historical events continue to highlight increasingly that migration can, in certain circumstances, be an important force in correcting international inequalities, actually reducing international salary differences between host and home countries (O’Rourke & Williamson, 1999; Hatton & Williamson, 2005). However, the social and political relevance of migration goes beyond economics: migration involves not only production factors but also

the plans, dreams, frustrations, hopes, and interests of human beings. Movement across national or international borders entails changes in various arenas: from the experience of physical spaces with their sounds and smells, to economic and social issues with their accompanying ideological and linguistic dimensions. It usually also entails a loss of the anchoring of memory in the place left behind and in the relationship networks there (Burck, 2005). Migrants are thus active forces driving new realities and corresponding social responses both at home and in host countries.

Table 1: Total numbers of migrants by region 1960-2010

Millions of people											
	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010
By region											
Africa	9.1	9.4	9.9	11	14	14.4	16.3	17.9	6.5	17	19.2
Asia	28.5	28.2	27.8	28	32.1	37.2	49.9	47.2	50.3	53.3	61.3
Europe	14.2	16.6	18.8	20.1	21.9	23.4	49.3	55.2	58.2	64.1	69.8
Latin America	6	5.8	5.6	5.7	6	6.2	6.9	6	6.3	6.6	7.5
North America	12.5	12.7	12.9	15.3	18.1	22.1	27.6	33.5	40.3	44.5	50
Oceania	2.1	2.5	3	3.3	3.7	4.2	4.7	5	5	5	6
World	75.4	78.4	81.3	86.7	99.2	111	154.9	165	176.7	191	213.9
By developmental level											
More developed	32.3	35.4	38.3	42.4	47.4	53.6	82.3	94.9	105	115	127.7
Less developed	43.1	43	42.9	44.3	51.8	57.3	72.5	70.1	71.7	75.2	86.2
Least developed	6.4	6.9	7.2	6.8	9.1	9.1	10.9	12.2	10.2	10.4	11.5
<p>Source: United Nations (UN/DESA), International Migrant Stock. The 2008 Revision (http://esa.un.org/migration)</p>											

The years between 1980 and 2010 saw an increased average annual rate of 2.6 per cent in the total number of migrants worldwide. The above table shows that in the mid-80s, especially in terms of the location of emigrants, high-income countries became the major destination of immigration. According to the table, the most developed regions of the world (Europe, Asia

and North America) had the highest number of migrants throughout the period reflected. Africa, Latin America and Oceania had relatively low percentages, an indication of the greater relative importance of the migrant population in more developed countries than in less developed countries.

As the winds of change blew across post-independence Africa and with the advent of democracy in South Africa in 1994, most African countries experienced large-scale migration from rural to urban areas as well as increasing transnational migration, resulting in a high number of displaced persons. These new trends reflected the search by economic migrants, refugees and asylum seekers for greener pastures - destinations that offered a better life (Pineteh, 2007). From an economic perspective (in the past, especially, and still today) the fundamental factor stimulating transatlantic [and transnational] migration "...was not so much the average income differential between countries but rather the opportunities for social and economic betterment that the new world offered" (Alonso, 2011, p.8). High unemployment rates in sub-Saharan countries have meant that migration has generally been motivated by better schooling or job opportunities. Migration thus often entails movement to a country where the average standard of living is much higher: international patterns of inequality are a key factor fuelling migration in this era (Alonso, 2011). When South Africa was still under an apartheid system, the most frequent targets for migration were Europe and North America; however, once the ban on entering South Africa was lifted post-1994, those who could not afford visas to travel to Europe and America have travelled to South Africa or neighbouring countries. Thus the demise of apartheid enabled South Africa to shift its status from a refugee-producing to a refugee-accepting country.

Looking at Cameroon in particular, citizens leave their country for reasons ranging from political to economic and academic. Cameroonian refugees' claims for asylum are framed around the premise that, although Cameroon has not been to war as in the case of DRC, Côte D'Ivoire or Somalia, since independence the people of Cameroon have been governed by a dictatorial order characterized by visible political instability coupled with arbitrary arrests as well as political murders, thus placing many Cameroonians' lives in severe danger. There has also been press and speech censorship, severe economic crises and exclusion of certain regions of the country from power (Pineteh, 2007).

Cameroonian immigrants embody heterogeneous groups as they come from different provinces of the country, have different reasons for migration, use different migration

trajectories and are socio-culturally different, reflecting different levels of cultural and economic capital. The different migration trajectories involve either straight flights (for most economic migrants from West Africa), or short stopovers in other neighbouring countries before completion of journeys, as well as long complex journeys for those who (like many refugees) spend months on the way before arriving at their destination. Young immigrant learners in South African schools are therefore, like their parents, not a homogeneous group, as they come from different backgrounds, from different parts of the country, and have travelled along different routes. In South Africa, they are exposed to new languages of learning and teaching (LoLT), languages to which some of them were not exposed in their early schooling. Much local and international research has drawn attention to the detrimental effects of learning through an unfamiliar language. In this regard, the poor achievements of South African learners from African language speaking homes have been attributed to the early transition to instruction in English (Heugh, 2005; Alexander, 2005). The argument here is that learners are ‘switched’ to an unfamiliar language before they are cognitively or linguistically ready for this switch.

The official language policy in Cameroon, which prescribes French as LoLT for the Francophone and English as LoLT for the Anglophone regions, has set unintended challenges for learners moving beyond the borders of Cameroon. This policy, together with historical power relations, has resulted in different patterns of bilingualism: the majority of Anglophones are bilingual, while the Francophones are mostly monolingual (see further, section 1.5). In South African schools learners are obliged to acquire the dominant language and Anglophone learners therefore have a considerable advantage over Francophones. The latter do not usually have sufficient linguistic competence in English to cope with schooling in this language.

Being linguistically dynamic and learning the language and language forms of the dominant group of the host country are essential for integration. Processes and dilemmas involved in migration for individuals and families are described in terms of “ambiguous loss balancing physical absence and psychological presence, physical presence and psychological absence, [which is] reflected in issues around language speaking and use, interconnected with questions of identity and loyalty” (Falicov, 2002, pp. 276-277). An individual can experience ambiguous loss when not knowing whether a loved one is permanently gone or returning, emotionally available or unavailable, or (in more extreme cases) dead or alive (Beckles,

2011). Literature and personal experiences show that all families, regardless of where they come from, experience loss and are left with the task of coping with those feelings and the relationships that are impacted. Loss of culture, identity and language as a result of migration and relocation can make it challenging for family members to remain connected and emotionally available; and children often bear the brunt of such losses.

Around the issue of language loss and related challenges, this study hopes to offer some insights on how Cameroonian Francophone and Anglophone immigrant learners use their linguistic repertoires when confronted with new social and academic contexts, including the challenge of English as LoLT (practised in most classrooms in South Africa). It also aims to illuminate processes of identity construction within new language contexts experienced in school and other social spaces, through an analysis of these youngsters negotiating roles and relationships. The significance of the study lies in the analysis of the impact of a new sociolinguistic environment in South Africa on Cameroonian learners and its illumination of Cameroonian youngsters' ways of assimilating, appropriating and resisting new South African identities.

1.3 The present study: purpose, objectives and implications

This study is a linguistic ethnography of young school learners' language experience which falls outside the scope of much mainstream research. It is one of very few studies to focus on migrant children in contexts of the South where multilingualism is the reality yet where language-in-education policies tend to follow monoglossic norms. The focus is on how a group of 8 - 16 year old Cameroonian children use their multilingual repertoires to construct and negotiate identities both inside the classroom and outside it. It also investigates in more detail the acts of identity of two individuals who are positioned in differentiated ways in relation to transnational and local flows and interconnections.

The study also contributes to an emerging body of qualitative research that seeks to develop greater understanding of the relationships between language learners, their socio-cultural worlds and processes of identity construction (Cummins, 1996; Gee, 2001; Maguire & Graves, 2001; Norton, 2000; Rampton, 1997). Recent international and South African studies tend to focus on secondary school learners, showing how they are struggling to negotiate the currents of a complex society (Adebanji, 2010; Chou, 2006; Sayed, 2003; Sookrajh, Gopal & Maharaj, 2005), although there is a recent and rapidly growing body of Scandinavian

research on primary school children (Cekaite & Evaldsson, 2008; Jørgensen, 2008; Lytra & Baraç, 2008; Madsen, 2008; Møller, 2009; Møller & Jørgensen, 2009; Møller, Holmen & Jørgensen, 2012). In contrast, the children in this study are negotiating the transition between childhood and adolescence, faced with issues of race, linguistic competence and discrimination when the movement from one age group to the next should have been unproblematic in these respects.

They are thus entangled in different levels of transition: emotional, physical and spatial.

These issues of transition and negotiation will be highlighted through the lens of *positioning*. The concepts of 'position' and 'positioning' (Davis & Harré, 1990) appear to have origins in marketing. 'Position' in marketing refers to the communication strategies that allow certain products to be placed in a market among their competitors (Tirado & Gálvez, 2007, p. 20). Holloway (1984) first used the concept of positioning in the social sciences in order to analyse the construction of subjectivity in the area of heterosexual relationships (Tirado & Gálvez, 2007). Positioning here was explained as relational processes that constitute interaction with other individuals.

Positioning can thus be understood as the discursive construction of self and others in interactions or narratives (Davis & Harré, 1990; Harré & Van Langenhove, 1991; Davies & Harré, 1999; Galvez, 2004; Jaffe, 2009). Theorizing on language and meaning-making in this tradition is concerned with the identifications inscribed in discourses. A subject position is created when people in such interactions use language to negotiate and position themselves (Davies & Harré, 1990; Jaffe, 2009). These positions are simultaneously produced by discourse and contribute to the shaping of discourse (Davies & Harré, 1990). This positioning might therefore sometimes be deliberate and at other times not; however, once positioning is taking place, there are sets of related concepts which may be drawn on: for example, variation and style, alignment, misalignment and appraisal, which will be more fully discussed in chapter 3.

The focus in this study is on how the identified learners position themselves vis-à-vis their words and texts, their audiences and the contexts they both "respond to and construct linguistically" (Jaffe 2009, p.3). Positioning also takes place through the lexical and grammatical expression of attitudes, feelings, judgments or commitments concerning the propositional content of a message (Biber & Finegan, 1989). Making use of the lexical and

grammatical tools in interaction as mentioned above, the process of identity construction through positioning does not “reside within the individual but in intersubjective relations of sameness and difference, [...] power and disempowerment” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 607). Accordingly, interpreting multilingual children’s positioning involves a recursive process that necessitates a double perspective -- looking at both the local day-to-day moments of interactional and other practices and also the more global political discourses in which they may be embedded and historically rooted (Maguire, 2005) and which they index in different ways.

These day-to-day moments of usage thus involve different “acts of identity” (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985) which can also be described as acts of *stance-taking* (Jaffe, 2009).

A stance may index multiple selves and social identities. However, not all stances are open to everyone: those who have their social, cultural or linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991, 1997) recognized in a particular space will be able to position themselves more strongly than those who do not, who may then be ‘push-overs’ in interactional encounters. Moreover, stances are not successful unless “taken up” by interactants (Jaffe, 2009): this uptake may take the form of interlocutors’ stances of alignment, realignment, or misalignment (C. Goodwin, 2007; Matoesian, 2005). Uptake in multilingual contexts is influenced by the prevailing “linguistic market” (Bourdieu 1991): day-to-day acts of positioning take place in inequitable markets. These markets are fertile grounds for social stratification, where speech acts and the languages in which they are realized are assigned different symbolic values (Bourdieu 1991, 1997). Mastery of the ‘legitimate’ language or languages is then often a pre-condition for claiming symbolic and material resources.

New institutional spaces in South Africa become interesting here because they are characterized by new formations of class, changes in gender roles and relations and other instances of macro structural shifts. In such spaces linguistic hierarchies and patterns of distribution of linguistic resources are rapidly changing (Kerfoot & Bellononjengele, 2014). The school as a key institution in the distribution of social, cultural and linguistic capital is thus an important site for exploring the role of language and multilingualism in social and educational change.

My research questions are therefore:

- a) How do immigrant learners use their linguistic repertoires to construct, negotiate or contest identities in new school spaces?
- b) How do different spaces enable or constrain the new identities negotiated?
- c) What are the implications for language learning policy and practice?

1.4 A legacy of apartheid: the dominance of English as a medium of instruction

The legacy of the apartheid education system has had a great impact on South African schooling and has increased the many challenges that both local and immigrant learners have to encounter (Makoe & McKinney, 2009). The extent of these challenges is seen in the recent description of primary schooling in South Africa as being “in crisis” (Fleisch, 2008), referring to the widespread failure of learners in both international and local systemic assessments of literacy. English as a language of instruction in a context of complex multilingualism has been identified as an important factor in this crisis (Fleisch, 2008; Kerfoot and Simon-Vandenberg, 2015; Makoni, 2003; Viljoen & Molefe, 2001; Makoe & McKinney, 2009). Strong cases have been made for the need to embrace multilingualism in the form of mother-tongue based bilingual education (Alexander, 2000; Bloch, 2002; Heugh, 2002) and indeed this forms the basis of the Language-in-Education Policy (1997). However, the reality is that the increasing hegemony of English in post-apartheid South Africa and the rest of the world has put enormous pressure on parents to choose instruction in English for their children, and on schools to provide English language instruction from as early as possible (de Klerk, 2000; Kamwangamalu, 2003; Setati, 2008; Makoe & McKinney, 2014).

Moreover, schools now have to accommodate a greater diversity of learners than ever before. Children enter schools that are ill-equipped to provide for even the eleven languages declared official by the first democratic Constitution (1996), let alone those that arrive from other countries. English as Language of Learning and Teaching (LoLT) is usually the easiest way out. Yet in contexts where resources are few and classes are large, the outcomes of this strategy are unfavourable for South African and migrant children alike, as South Africa’s performance on international benchmark tests such as PIRLS 2006 and 2011 shows.

1.5 Definitions of key terms

From the discussion of positioning above, it is clear that identities are constituted in discourse, based on available semiotic resources and the linguistic market in operation in the

space of interaction. Moreover, the “effects of interlocutors, audiences and other social actors on the unfolding of identities in concrete social occasions” (De Fina, Schiffrin & Bamberg, 2012, p.2) are crucial. Identity, therefore, following Bucholtz & Hall (2005) may be “in part intentional; in part habitual and less than fully conscious; in part an outcome of interactional negotiation; in part a construct of others’ perceptions and representations; and in part an outcome of larger ideological processes and structures” (p. 585).

The negotiated nature of identities implies that pre-existing categories such as ‘class’, ‘race’, or ‘ethnicity’, cannot be taken for granted nor their boundaries universally defined (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005, see also Blommaert & Rampton, 2011; Luke, 2009). Instead, these are “interactional achievements grounded in concrete social contexts and evolving with them” (De Fina, 2007, p.374). In each interaction, therefore, participants make choices about how to manage sociolinguistic boundaries and in contexts of rapid social change ethnic affiliations often contradict expected associations between language and ‘race’ or ‘ethnicity’ (Kerfoot & Bello-Nonjengele, 2014, pp. 3-4; see also Bucholtz, 1999; 2010; Bailey, 2007).

1.6 The structure of the thesis

The thesis consists of nine chapters.

Chapter 1 introduces the study and discusses issues of mobility, transnational connections and linguistic resources in new globalizing spaces. This is followed by an overview on post-apartheid migration into South Africa and how this could affect those learners migrating into new spaces, in particular South African educational spaces, closely followed by the objectives and research questions. A brief background to the South African educational context, the legacy of the apartheid education system and the impact that its continuing inequalities have on South African schooling is then presented, followed by a brief definition of concepts underlying the study. The chapter ends by outlining the structure of the thesis.

Chapter 2 introduces us to the theoretical frame of the study. It traces the shift towards the social in language studies, from viewing languages as autonomous and free from individual intervention to poststructuralist views of language as a resource mobilized by social actors under particular social and historical conditions. It discusses Bourdieu’s sociological framework for understanding the differential values placed on linguistic resources as actors move across social spaces, both local and transnational. This study argues for the analytic

value of approaching identity as a "relational and sociocultural phenomenon that emerges and circulates in local discourse contexts of interaction rather than as a stable structure located primarily in the individual psyche or in fixed social categories" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p.586).

Chapter 3 provides an overview of literature on immigrant populations in social and educational contexts in South Africa and more globally. It is also organized around a number of concepts that are central to studies of language as a positioning tool and indexer of identity in late modernity. The notion of 'positioning' is of particular importance here because social interactions and relationships are mediated by self-positioning or individual stances. The chapter discusses different positioning tools such as code switching, crossing and translanguaging. It is essential to take stock of the ways in which learners' educational strategies and negotiations are conditioned not only by institutional structures but also by their multiple social positionings in the new society.

Chapter 4 discusses the research design employed in the study. It begins by considering the definition of Linguistic Ethnography, followed by some key principles and methods of the approach. It discusses both data collection and analytical tools used. It also aims to provide insight into the analytical framework of the study and the reasons for making use of Conversational Analysis and complementing it with Interactional Sociolinguistics, Discourse Analysis and Systemic Functional Linguistics. In addition, reflexivity and ethics are discussed here along with issues of subjectivity that require researchers to pay close attention to processes of knowledge construction.

Chapter 5 describes the trajectory through the field of the study. It describes what the learners are facing - new linguistic codes and new ways of being. The perspectives from discussions in the field reflected in this chapter align with the recent understanding that language cannot be separated from context. Recordings of the casual interactional data, classroom interactions, interviews and focus group interviews with the young migrants in many different social spaces are motivated by the need to capture the texture of their language about themselves, their situation, and the others with whom they interact. This chapter suggests how the understandings and positionings analysed in subsequent chapters can be related to context.

Chapter 6 describes and analyses a set of recordings of a group of Cameroonian learners, drawing on ethnographies combined with recordings of their interactions, interviews and

observational data in and out of school in two different school settings. The recordings reflect these 8 to 16 year olds interacting with each other and with children of other nationalities on the playground, in classrooms, and in community and home spaces. The chapter illustrates the ways in which learners use linguistic resources to position themselves and others, to build, maintain and negotiate identities, to assert or negate identifications. The encounters portray the learners struggling over different forms of capital and their strategies for coping with or contesting categorization. Consequently it gives us a general analysis of this group of learners in interaction with others and their multiple intersecting positionings.

Chapter 7 builds on chapter 6 by analysing the linguistic interactions and daily practices of James, a young boy from the English speaking sector of Cameroon who manages to embrace difference and eventually comes to 'own' new participatory spaces. This youngster was 10 years old at the start of the study and 16 years old at the end. The discussion here contradicts the notions that the powerless usually have literally 'nothing to say' and nobody to talk to, or must remain silent when more powerful people are speaking. Interest centres on the interactional and other means by which this young boy navigated his way, using his increasing competence in the schooled variety of the dominant language together with authoritative stance-taking and other means of gaining social control.

Chapter 8 focuses on Aline, a sixteen-year old girl from the French-speaking sector of Cameroon, and shows how she used discourse to negotiate different subject positions, often resisting the emergent norms of new multilingual spaces. She was also 10 years old at the beginning of the study and 16 at the end but unlike James did not reach grade 7 over this period. My focus in this chapter is on her resistance to new norms, her attempts to impose her own practices and to maintain her previous linguistic repertoire. I also analyse the discursive strategies that she used in order to assert or negotiate positions.

Chapter 9 is a summary of the study. It offers general conclusions and observations about the study based on the research questions and the problems raised at the beginning. It addresses the analysis, findings and recommendations for further research, including a brief discussion of the implications for the monoglossic Language-in-Education Policy (1997) in force in South Africa. Recommendations are made for improving awareness, in the hope that schools, parents and policymakers can begin to take note of the significant impact of current policy and practices on learners forced to take on an 'English-only' identity.

1.7 Conclusion

Chapter 1 has highlighted the research focus and rationale of the study, situating it within Linguistic Ethnography as the ideal vehicle for understanding the interactional negotiation of identities in context. Furthermore, it has provided a background to migration in South Africa and to the South African educational context, with particular attention to the apartheid legacy, the dominance of English and the effect of these forces on those learners migrating into new educational spaces. Chapter 2 reviews the theories and concepts mentioned here and presents the theoretical frame of the study.



Chapter Two: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

2.0 Overview

Chapter 1 discussed the research focus and rationale of this study, situating it within Linguistic Ethnography, and provided a background to migration in South Africa and to the South African educational context, with particular attention to the apartheid legacy and the dominance of English.

The present chapter focuses on the theoretical framework of the study. The first two sections discuss globalization and its impact on learners migrating to new language spaces. They trace the shift towards the social in language studies, away from the view of languages as autonomous and free from individual intervention and towards poststructuralist views of language as a resource mobilized by social actors under particular socio-historical conditions.

Sections 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5 discuss concepts underlying the study. Key to this chapter is a view of *interaction* as the key site for identity construction, generating a social stage through which reality is constructed, shared, and made meaningful. It “has a life of its own [...]. It is a little social system with its own boundary-making tendencies; it is a little patch of commitment and loyalty with its own heroes and its own villains” (Goffman, 1967, p.113). However, the ultimate shape that these boundaries can take is constrained by broader structures and ideologies.

These sections also discuss Bourdieu’s sociological framework for understanding the differential values placed on linguistic resources as actors move across social spaces, both local and transnational.

The final section (2.6) discusses the implications of globalization, migration and identities for language policy, highlighting what and who (in terms of the Language-in-Education Policy of 1997) determines the choice of the institutional language.

2.1 Globalization and the struggle over meaning and self

As described above, this study is concerned with what happens as young learners are uprooted from one space and dropped into another where the interactional norms are unclear. Space in this sense, like Gumperz's (1982) notion of context, is not a passive décor but an active, agentive aspect of communication. Spaces organize and define sociolinguistic regimes: entering new spaces involves the imposition, negotiation or challenging of the sets of norms and rules in operation. This has effects on:

- (a) what people can or cannot do, legitimising some forms of behaviour while excluding or limiting others;
- (b) the value and uses of their sociolinguistic repertoires;
- (c) their identities, both self-constructed (inhabited) and ascribed by others (Blommaert, Slembrouck & Collins, 2005 p. 203).

A first major issue with regard to space as an agentive force in sociolinguistic processes is scale. Space has been highlighted as central to every human interaction and develops at a minute scale of social structure. However, as asserted by Blommaert, Slembrouck and Collins (2005), it also always forms part of larger patterns like the “linguistic, social, cultural and historical – and draws meaning from these larger patterns” (p.204). Individuals possess a repertoire of codes with varying degrees of competence in each and as they move across contexts, their ability to up- or downscale their meaning-making changes.

A second major consequence of transnational migration is therefore the revaluing of linguistic repertoires: what was valued and efficacious in one linguistic market may become of little or no worth in another, with severe impacts on the possibilities for identity construction. For children entering new schools, this realization is often traumatic. The linguistic resources disqualified by teachers and peers are perfectly valuable as resources per se, but they do not qualify symbolically as ‘language’ in the institution.

Thus migration processes and family networks on the move (whether chosen or forced), have powerful impacts on individual experiences, as have the political, cultural and economic power relations in which they become embedded in the new context (Burck, 2005).

Finally, individuals and families that make transnational moves must also usually challenge traditional notions of cultural identity (Bhabha, 1996; Bottomley, 1992; Chamberlain, 1997; Turner, 1991). These challenges are effected through rupturing of the normalized one-to-one

relationship between language and cultural forms, cancelling the preconceived knowledge of the individual and his or her knowledge or skill as a stable entity.

2.2 Language and identity of adolescents in the context of globalization

With the global challenges associated with late modernity, many young people have to engage in more complex forms of identity construction and patterns of cultural association than in the past (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011). This relates to Blommaert's (2010, p.1) perception of the world not as a village, but rather "a tremendously complex web of villages, towns, neighbourhoods, settlements connected by material and symbolic ties in often unpredictable ways" (Blommaert, 2010, p.1). Although globalization is often associated with worldwide economic integration and the emergence of a borderless global market, it also involves sweeping changes in social, cultural and political terrains. It can entail apparently contradictory processes of homogenization and universalization on the one hand and localization and differentiation on the other (Bornman, 2003). These processes have led to a "flourishing of discourses on identity and also to struggles of identity involving various minorities and marginalized groups" (Bornman, 2003, p.2).

Psychological perspectives on *identity* have claimed that identity goes through a variety of permutations during adolescence as the individual experiments with different identity strategies (Vandeyar, 2011). Such perspectives argue that all youth move steadily from a stage of "ethnic or racial unawareness" to one of "exploration" and to a final stage characterized by an achieved sense of racial or ethnic identity (Marcia, 1966; Erickson, 1968). Some point out that the process of identity formation, rather than being linear, is more accurately described as "spiralling" back to revisit previous stages, each time from a different vantage point (Parham, 1989). Yet others claim that identity is "an internal self-constructed, dynamic organisation of drives, abilities, beliefs and individual history" (Marcia, 1980, p.159), which facilitates psychological differentiation from others and a sense of emerging identity characterized by a "flexible unity" that makes an individual less likely to rely on others' views and expectations for self-definition.

However, poststructuralist understandings of identity challenge these views, arguing that identity formation is not simply a process by which one passes through a variety of stages on the way to achieving a stable identity. Rather it is a fluid process in which the social context

is essential for predicting which identity options might be available (Suarez-Orozco, 2000, 2004).

Whereas the term ‘identity’ used to imply continuity (that is, a solid basis in which people anchor themselves), the rapid changes that characterize the age of globalization have eroded most of the bases to which people used to attach their identities. The age-old problem of identity has consequently changed its shape and content: the construction of identity has become problematic: “a task, a struggle, a quest” (Bornman, 2003, p.6). These struggles are waged on various levels - from the individual to the local to the global - and adolescents in particular contend not only with the usual physical and psychological adjustments, but are also exposed to disturbances of the psychosocial maturation process (Mjones, 2005). These disturbances might include poverty, insecure future prospects, uncertainty, and the experience of racist abuse and/or xenophobia. In addition to the above they find themselves enmeshed in new language regimes (Kroskrity 2000).

Recent understandings see identities as produced within discourse. These identities are actively constructed, using different styles and discursive practices to adopt positions while simultaneously assigning positions to others in talk (Coupland, 2007). What is of interest here is that identity is understood not only as a set of meanings about oneself (that is, as *content*): it is also defined as a *process* which incorporates both identifying oneself and being recognized by others. It is accordingly not an isolated entity but “embedded in daily social relations [and understood] as dynamic, contextual and relational” (Andreoli, 2010, p. 1).

In sociolinguistics the study of identity has turned its attention to the study of *style* (Bucholtz, 2009). Style in traditional sociolinguistics was understood as a “uni-dimensional continuum between vernacular and standard that varies based on the degree of speaker self-monitoring in a given speech context” Bucholtz, 2009, p.146). However, recent poststructuralist theories have proposed a richer view of style as a cluster of linguistic and other semiotic practices for displaying identities in interaction (see, for example, Coupland, 2007; Eckert & Rickford, 2001; Mendoza-Denton, 2002). This view of style offers a more complex theory of identity in which sociolinguistic meaning is interpreted not through a direct mapping between linguistic forms and social categories, but rather implicitly or explicitly through the concept of “indexicality, or contextually bound meaning” (Bucholtz, 2009, p.146).

Considering the indexical theory of style, then, Bucholtz asserts that the social meaning of linguistic forms is not in its essence related to social categories such as gender, ethnicity, or region but rather to “subtler and more fleeting interactional moves through which speakers take stances, create alignments, and construct personas” (2009, p.146). The indexical processes through which speakers take stances and negotiate identities can be seen as falling into four inter-related sets:

- (a) overt mention of identity categories and labels;
- (b) implicatures and presuppositions regarding one's own or others' identity position;
- (c) displaying evaluative and epistemic orientations to ongoing talk, as well as interactional footings and participant roles; and
- d) the use of linguistic structures and systems that are ideologically associated with specific personas and groups (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 594).

With regard to (a) and (b), few features of language directly index social identity categories (Ochs, 1992, 1996). Instead, the relationship between language and social categories is mediated by social meanings at the more local level, through suggestions and assumptions regarding notions of what the self and others identify as identities. As for (b) implicatures and presuppositions: our everyday language allows for surrounding circumstances to supply the necessary details to supplement what we are saying. A great deal has to be supplied by the context, as well as gestures, eye direction, and so on, all of which require additional inferential work for interpretation (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005).

2.3 Polycentricism, indexicality, and scales in interactions

The previous section highlighted the production of identities in discourse. In multilingual contexts interactional processes of identity construction are given social forms by conditions of *polycentricity* (Blommaert 2005). Post-colonial environments are generally polycentric, and as a result, individuals in such contexts have to orient to multiple centres of indexicality. Polycentricity in this case supposes the existence of many centres, and “centres” are real or perceived centres of authority, to which people orient when they produce an utterance. Centres of authority are “complexes of norms and perceived appropriateness criteria, in effect the larger social and cultural body of authority into which we insert our immediate practices vis-à-vis our immediate addressees” (Blommaert, 2007, p. 118). According to Blommaert (2007), such authorities can be individuals (such as teachers, parents or role models), collectives (peer groups), abstract entities or ideals (the church, the nation-state, the middle-class, consumer culture).

In multilingual contexts, then, the notions of *polycentricity* and *interactional regimes* become imperative for further understanding the evaluation and negotiation of linguistic resources. The linguistic baggage people carry with them to new linguistic spaces acquires what Blommaert (2013, p.1) terms “indexical value relative to existing norms within that environment” and these, therefore, shape new norms (Blommaert, 2006).

Further, indexicality operates at different *scale* levels. Scale is defined as “differences between the range and scope of meanings and meaningful social behaviour, some of which are strictly local-situational, others being trans-local (national, transnational, ethnic, political)” (Blommaert et al., 2005, pp. 200-202). Together, the concepts of *scale* and *indexicality*, when paired with Goffmanian participation analysis, provide useful ways “of theorizing and analyzing the dynamics of immigration-based language contact, and, in particular, the temporal and spatial scaling of such dynamics” (Collins, 2007, p. 2). They enable analysis of the ways in which interactants signal alignments or misalignments to local, national or international discourses in the process of negotiating new relationships.

For analysing the interactions through which such negotiations take place, Goffman (1974, 1981) introduced the terms *frame* and *footing*. The term ‘frame’ was first used by Bateson (1972) to elaborate the relationship between the speaker, the addressed recipient, and the bystanders. The concept of frame has been used in the ethnography of speaking. It applies to the kind of activity being engaged in: for example, joking, imitating, chatting or lecturing, to name a few. Frames then become basic structures which guide the perception and representation of reality. On the whole, frames are not consciously manufactured but are unconsciously adopted in the course of communicative processes (Goffman, 1981). For Goffman (1981, p. 3) frames are the “organisational and interactional principles by which situations are defined and sustained as experiences”. Frame embodies the fact that participants possess a shared knowledge or sense of the way discourse is framed which is used to negotiate an interaction. Goffman’s point here is that “an utterance does not carve up the world beyond the speaker into precisely two parts, recipients and non-recipients, but rather opens up an array of structurally differentiated possibilities, establishing a participation framework in which the speaker will be guiding his [sic] delivery” (Goffman, 1974, p.137).

‘Footing’, on the other hand, is important to our basis of analysis as it determines the mode and frame of most interactions and the role each participant plays or not in the interaction. Footing is important for the general understanding of shifts in interaction and also for the role

of power. Instances of footing changes are conversational shifts signalled by, for example, direct or reported speech, selection of the recipient, interjections, repetitions, personal directness or involvement and emphasis (Goffman, 1981). Several aspects of footing have been highlighted by Goffman (1981) in his attempt to give us a clear insight into what footing does or does not involve:

1. Participant's alignment, or set, or stance, or posture, or projected self is somehow at issue.
2. The projection can be held across a strip of behaviour that is less long than a grammatical sentence, or longer, so sentence grammar won't help us all that much, although it seems clear that a cognitive unit of some kind is involved minimally: perhaps a "phonemic clause". Prosodic, not syntactic, segments are implied.
3. A continuum must be considered, from gross changes in stance to the most subtle shifts in tone that can be perceived.
4. For speakers, code switching is usually involved, and if not this then at least the sound markers that linguists study: pitch, volume, rhythm, stress, tonal quality.
5. The bracketing of a "higher level" phase or episode of interaction is commonly involved, the new footing having a liminal role, serving as a buffer between two more substantially sustained episodes (Goffman, 1981, p.128).

The terms 'framing' and 'footing' (Goffman, 1974, 1981) provide an analytical apparatus for examining social roles, participation alignments in any interaction and diverse multilingual code alternations: for example, the languages used and the patterns of alternation (Collins & Slembrouck (2007). Frame and footing occur together: Goffman asserts that they work hand in hand for identity formation, and no description of identity formation will allow us to do away with either of the terms. Thus a change in footing is another way of talking about a change in frame, since they occur together. In a further elaboration of interactant positioning, Goffman (1981) differentiates four participation statuses: animator, author, figure and principal. These roles Goodwin and Goodwin describe thus: first there is the animator or sounding box, secondly the author who is responsible for constructing words and sentences at issue, while the principal is the party socially responsible for what is said; and finally, the figure is a character depicted in the animator's talk (2004, pp. 222-244). A key point here is that although these positions can be filled by different people, one individual can also fill several different participation slots (Schiffrin, 1994).

2.4 'Habitus', field and markets

The question of what particular frames of participation or footings are possible for each interactant in each space is determined to a large extent by the learner's *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1984) and its intersection with different types of *capital* in a particular *field* (Bourdieu, 1986).

Habitus is defined as “the way society becomes deposited in persons in the form of lasting dispositions, or trained capacities and structured propensities to think, feel and act in determinant ways, which then guide them” (Wacquant, 2005, p. 316). Habitus in conjunction with capital, which goes beyond the notion of material assets to capital that may be social, cultural or symbolic (Bourdieu, 1986), determines the extent to which a participant is able to act in a particular field or “social or institutional arena in which people express and reproduce their dispositions” (Gaventa, 2003, p. 6). Language, as in the case of this study and its participants, represents a kind of capital amongst the users (in this case learner) and can determine the degree of power they possess.

In any interaction, therefore, frames and footing of participation are partly determined by the various types of habitus speakers bring to the interaction, their linguistic and other capital and the linguistic market in operation. Dispositions are both shaped by past events and structures and shape current practices and structures (Bourdieu, 1984, p.170). These dispositions are not fixed or permanent, and can be changed under unexpected situations or over a long historical period (Navarro, 2006). Actions and interactions are thus neither a result of free will nor determined by structures, but created by a kind of interplay between the two over time. They take place in inequitable *linguistic markets* where speech acts are assigned different symbolic values (Bourdieu, 1991, 1997). In this way, Bourdieu shows how everyday linguistic exchanges are actually situated relations between participants with different social and linguistic resources (Kerfoot, 2009). All markets experience changes which result in a shift in the connection between people’s linguistic repertoires and the linguistic competence required in a particular field, which can be incapacitating (Blommaert et al, 2005). Different language varieties then shape the potential social roles open to speakers, constituting different forms of *linguistic capital* (Bourdieu, 1977). The notion of ‘linguistic capital’ suggests here that one has differential means to operate in a particular field and that this linguistic capital has symbolic power.

Consequently, immigrant or minority languages may have very little capital in majority language markets. Those learners who are first language users and who have access to or control of the more powerful language forms tend to be more successful socially and economically, also converting their linguistic capital into social, cultural and symbolic capital more successfully than those whose languages are not valued. In seeking to prepare children for a globalized world educators and researchers must attend carefully to how schools

themselves provide differential access to the cultural knowledge that is valued and rewarded within schools (Greta & Rojas, 2006; Goodenough, 1976).

2.5 Learners' 'habitus' and strategies of disqualification

Bourdieu's (1991) work on language and symbolic power has demonstrated that language is not simply communication but also a means of flexing symbolic power. So a key determinant of interactional success in new spaces is the extent to which an individual is able to take on new dispositions - linguistic and other.

Despite the fact that all human languages are essentially equal in terms of their ability to express the entire range of their speakers' thoughts and feelings, linguistic markets are inevitably hierarchical, giving different values to different languages and people's competence in them (Bourdieu, 1991). Habitus, market and capital are generally seen as determinants for language-ideological disqualification in schools where institutional, teacher and community language ideologies lead to disqualification of some pupils' linguistic and literacy resources (Blommaert, Creve, & Willaert, 2006). A consequence of this can be the emergence of new identities and creation of new spaces. By this, I mean because of the disqualifications, the learners are forced to negotiate new identities and create new spaces of possibilities.

2.6 Language policy in Cameroon and South Africa

Linguistic dominance in Africa has its origins in conquest, military and political subjugation and economic exploitation and this has had dramatic consequences for language in education policies. Cameroon's implementation of only two official languages as media of instruction when the country has 249 indigenous languages favours French and English while all the others are ignored. Such linguistic policies have constructed and perpetuated beliefs and attitudes about languages of prestige. However, despite the fact that the two official languages are given equal status in the constitution, French dominates English in practice. Learners from the francophone region would therefore have a priori beliefs about English as a minority language which could affect the degree to which they might wish to identify with English as the target language in new South African spaces.

As already noted, Cameroon has two official languages used in all Government spheres, unlike South Africa, the new home of the learners in this study, where there are eleven official languages. However, during 1948–1994, the years of apartheid, only two languages, English and Afrikaans, were recognized as official languages in South Africa, regardless of the many other languages. With the advent of democracy, the new South African Constitution (adopted in 1996) is probably more generous to multilingualism than any other constitution in the world (LIEP, 1997): initially eleven official languages were formally adopted.

However, in terms of the Language-in-Education Policy of 1997, the choice of institutional language is determined by the School Governing Board. This has been problematic. The South African Schools Act No 84 of 1996 conferred greater powers on school governing bodies (SGBs) to determine the language policy of a school, albeit subject to several preconditions relating to the Constitution, SASA and any applicable provincial law. Numerous court cases show that this section of SASA has caused significant legal contestation. However, to a large extent the LOLT provided by a school depends on the choices made by caregivers in selecting their wards' LOLT, and the Language in Education Policy, in conferring the abovementioned rights on SGBs, places the emphasis on choice rather than on strong state intervention as a basis for determining school policy pertaining to the LOLT. Schools are required to make two major language decisions in this respect: the first at the earliest levels of schooling, and the second to determine the language in which learners will engage with knowledge at more advanced levels.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the theoretical framework of the study. First an overview of the chapter was given. Next the study was situated within globalization and the move towards viewing language and identity as social acts. Key to this chapter has been a view of interaction as the key site for identity construction mediated through the concepts of polycentricity, indexicality, and scale, coupled with Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field and capital, and highlighting a swing towards post-structuralism and multiplicity of identities. Identities are consequently not seen as fixed and static but as changing in time and space (Pavlenko, 2002; Blackledge, 2005). The chapter notes the shift in focus away from traditional concerns with linguistic difference towards the way in which meaning is constructed locally within particular linguistic and sociocultural contexts. Moreover, identity as performed in interaction suggests that identities are formed in discourse rather than being

pre-given. The learner subjects of the present study are therefore viewed through this lens: they are adapting to new language spaces and in the process interacting with new regimes of interactional practices and perceptions of what counts as acceptable language resources (Blommaert et al, 2005). Research into these and other challenges faced by these learners is reviewed in the next chapter, which focuses on studies of interactional positioning amongst multilingual learners in social and educational contexts globally and in South Africa.



Chapter Three: PREVIOUS STUDIES OF LINGUISTIC INTERACTION, IDENTITY AND POSITIONING

3.0 Overview

The previous chapter discussed and defined how this study was organized around a number of concepts such as *frame*, *footing* and *indexicality* that were central to studies of language as a positioning tool and indexer of identity in late modernity. The study, as indicated there, also uses a Bourdieuan lens for understanding the differential value placed on linguistic and other forms of capital as people move across spaces. The present chapter reviews studies of interactional positioning amongst multilingual learners in social and educational contexts in South Africa and more globally. Research of this kind will illuminate issues arising from the analysis of connections between language, ethnic relations, and the experience of social change.

Sections 3.1, 3.1.1, 3.1.2, and 3.1.3 address four key concepts in the study of interactions in multilingual contexts: *code-switching*, *crossing*, *polylingual practices* and *translanguaging*. Section 3.2 then discusses peer group socialization as venue for language interaction and positioning, while 3.3 illuminates how youngsters try to challenge and resist the monolingual norms of usage.

In 3.4 I discuss studies on multilingualism and identity negotiation in education, highlighting research that addresses the ways in which language learners understand their relationship to different socio-cultural contexts constructed across time and space.

In 3.5 I focus on the construction of power relations and opposition in peer interactions, discussing in particular the appraisal framework (Martin & White, 2005) which enables analysis of how people use language to adopt stances and to manage interpersonal positioning and relationships.

As discussed in chapters 1 and 2, the last two decades have seen a shift in understandings of identity and the second language learner. Current research advances the view that learning a second or additional language involves more than acquiring a simple skill through practices and performances (Rajadurai, 2010). Instead, it emerges through complex social interactions and is affected by power differentials that place constraints on the kinds of identities language

learners can construct. A common theme in this line of research is investigating the ways in which young people in different communities of practice strategically exploit different sets of linguistic resources for meaning-making, identity negotiations and social affiliation in their peer talk. The current study in a multilingual African context joins a growing body of literature in Europe which points to the ways in which young people's language choices and practices are socially and politically embedded in their histories of migration and implicated in relations of power, social difference and social inequality.

3.1 Concepts in linguistic interaction

In 'positioning theory' (as discussed in chapter 2) a subject position is created when people in interaction use language to negotiate and position themselves (Davies & Harré, 1990; Jaffe, 2009). While these positions are produced by discourse, they simultaneously contribute to the shaping of discourse (Davies & Harré, 1990). In each new linguistic configuration, the learners might not simply be rule-*following* agents but also "rule-breaking, rule-creating and rule-changing agents" (Coupland, 2005, p. 2). Hence, "institutionally inspired" discourses surrounding an appropriate identity for the learners may provide resources for resistance; these discourses may be offered, accepted, claimed or resisted by the individuals involved (Burr, 1995; Davies & Harré, 1999).

Such "acts of identity" (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985) can also be described as acts of *stance-taking* (Jaffe, 2009). Thus the primary goal of a stance-taking approach is to explore how "taking up particular kinds of stances is habitually and conventionally associated with particular subject positions (social roles and identities; notions of personhood) as well as interpersonal and social relations (including relations of power) broadly" (Jaffe, 2009, p. 4). An associated goal is to investigate the taking up of stances in opposition to conventions and norms operating in a particular space and to ascribed identities. An individual's linguistic repertoire to some extent determines the positions interactants are able to take up in interaction. This aligns with Bourdieu's notion of a 'linguistic market' with different values placed on different types of capital, that is, economic, cultural and social capital, each constituting an aspect of power. The next section addresses three key concepts in the study of interactions in multilingual contexts - *code-switching*, *crossing*, and *translanguaging*. With the gradual shift in paradigms and a move towards the social, post-structuralism offers a significant alternative way of thinking about language and identity from the way in which this

relationship has been conceived in traditional sociolinguistics (Pennycook, 2004; Weedon, 1997).

3.1.1 Code-switching

Code-switching (CS) has traditionally been described in a variety of ways. It has been said to reflect both the “imperfect bilingual” (Bloomfield, 1927) and the ideal bilingual (Weinreich, 1968), the former being one who has less than ideal competence in languages at his disposal and the latter being one who switches smoothly from one language to another according to appropriate changes in speech situation. In the case of a bilingual classroom, it is usually a stigmatized language practice, seen as a deviation from the norm (Boztepe, 2005; Probyn, 2009).

Sociolinguistics sees CS as a discourse phenomenon, focusing attention on how social meaning is created. CS has been described as a cover term for code mixing, borrowing and alternation and defined as “alternation of linguistic variety within the same conversation” (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p.1). It has also been described by Labov as a random and somewhat chaotic phenomenon, as seen in his description of CS as an “irregular mixture of two distinct systems” (1971, p. 457). This is contradicted by Gumperz who asserts that the mixing is not random but argues that the “motivation for code switching seems to be stylistic and metaphorical rather than grammatical” (Gumperz, 1982, p. 72).

In more positive perspectives on code-switching, it has been seen as a resource, firstly “to construct and display multiple identities, and secondly to understand multiple positions and to respond to relations of dominations between groups” (Gal, 1988, p. 247). An example of this perspective is Kyratzis’ (2010) study of peer play interactions among Latino girls in US preschools. This applies language socialization theory (Garret & Baquedano-López, 2002; Schieffelin, 2003) and Bakhtin’s (1981) concept of “heteroglossia” to understand how members of a peer group of linguistic minority children attending a bilingual Spanish-English preschool in California used bilingual Spanish-English practices among themselves. The children are portrayed as confronting polarizing discourses about national belonging. The bilingual preschool, although respecting the children’s home language and supporting their bilingual practices, is preparing them for public school education in California, which is English-only. The children use code-switching as a resource to negotiate locally shifting “frames” (Goffman, 1974) in the play interaction. Their practices of frame shifting and

“double-voicing” provide a resource for them to reflexively portray and deal with tensions between their languages (Bakhtin, 1981). Kyratzis argued that through bilingual Spanish/English negotiation of locally shifting frames and participation frameworks, group members “reflexively” portrayed the tensions between their languages during their play (2010). The children did this instinctively, since both languages were part and parcel of their lives. On the one hand, they reproduced the “hierarchical and gendered ranking of languages inscribed in monolingual discourses of dominant US society” (Kyratzis, 2010, p.1). However, Kyratzis maintains that at times they challenged regimented patterns through unmarked forms of code-switching in play practices. At this early stage in their schooling, the children’s language practices all pointed towards challenging the static unitary categories of language and identity (Bailey, 2007) and affirmed heteroglossia and cultural hybridity (Haney, 2003, p.164) within the peer group.

A second bilingual study focused on the relationship between usage patterns and macro sociolinguistic factors in Moroccan and Turkish communities in the Netherlands (Dorleijn & Nortier, 2008). It compared the code-switching practices of the two groups, in conversations as well as on the internet, and illustrated how the young Turkish-speakers had developed a “code-integrating” speech practice in which the switching between Dutch and Turkish was “unmarked”. The Moroccan group, by contrast, exploited code-switching between Dutch, Moroccan, Colloquial Moroccan Arabic and Berber (which are not mutually intelligible) for a somewhat more limited and marked range of specific functions, such as for play or for poetic purposes. The argument here was that in the case of the Turkish community, the home language was felt to be an integral part of one’s (Turkish) identity. It was unmarked because for the Dutch-Turkish bilinguals, it was a bilingual code-switching mode which was considered an in-group mode by its speakers and by (Dutch) outsiders; the latter often complained that they felt excluded in all-Turkish company because Turkish was spoken all the time (cf. Backus, 1996; Nortier & Dorleijn, 2008). For the Moroccan community, on the other hand, the home language was perceived as an extra commodity, which added something but was not an essential part of their identity. The authors offered two different metaphors for the two groups. To the youngsters of Turkish descent, the Turkish language was like a hand - a marker of an exclusive in-group identity. To those of Moroccan descent, the Arabic language was like a glove that can be put on - but also taken off again and shared with others. In the closely knit Turkish community, Turkish was an integral part of the people and they were proud of their Turkish identity. On the other hand, the Moroccans were more open to

outsiders, and thus their languages were easily taken over by other groups. In addition, their way of speaking Dutch was easily recognized and more acceptable to the Turks and outsiders than the way Turks used Dutch. It did not come as a surprise, then, that Moroccan elements were more in the limelight than Turkish elements in this Dutch multi-ethnolect (Nortier & Dorleijn, 2008, pp. 133-134). This ability to foreground particular aspects of identity through strategic use of a linguistic repertoire leads to the notion of “crossing” (Rampton, 1995), which, however, refers to the practice of using a language which is generally not thought of as “belonging” to the user (Rampton, 1995).

3.1.2. Crossing

The term *crossing* differs from code-switching, where speakers’ use of different languages is not usually viewed as marked or unusual. In crossing, as in stylization (Rampton, 1995; Reyes & Lo, 2009; Jaspers, 2005; Auer, 2006; Coupland, 2007) the “disjunction of speaker and voice draws attention to the speaker herself/himself [...] and at least momentarily refram[es] the talk as non-routine – a joke, for example, or some kind of artful performance” (Rampton & Charalambous, 2010, p. 4). Rampton’s (1995) study of multiracial adolescents in a British working-class community mixing Creole, Panjabi and Asian English showed how the young people used this mixed code to contest racial boundaries and assert a new “de-racinated” ethnicity. For him language crossing, in many instances, thus constituted an anti-racist practice and was symbolic of young people striving to redefine their identities.

In a more recent study of multilingual practices and identity negotiations among Turkish-speaking young people in a diasporic context, it was discovered that late modern urban youth may, particularly in their mutual conversations, feature linguistic features from a wide range of different “languages” (Jørgensen, 2008; Lytra & Jørgensen, 2008; Lytra & Baraç, 2009). These researchers described this phenomenon as *polylingualism*, a term inspired by Hewitt’s 1992 study *Language, Youth and the Destabilisation of Ethnicity*. A crucial point also raised in the present study is that these learners did not necessarily command all the languages employed in their interactions. In polylingual interaction the speakers do not treat sets of linguistic features (such as languages, varieties, codes) as complete and separate systems (Møller, 2008). Rather the sets of linguistic features speakers use are in constant interaction with each other and, therefore, constantly involved in processes of change. Moreover, different sets of features can form “hybrids (and layers of meaning), which makes it impossible to determine one set of features as fundamental” (Møller, 2008, p. 45). The young

speakers used the different features consciously, aware of the values ascribed to them in society at large, and of how they might exploit these values or oppose and redefine them (Lytra & Jørgensen, 2008, p. 6).

3.1.3 Language as a translingual practice: going beyond code-switching and crossing

In late modernity, at least as documented in research in Europe, urban youth have been portrayed as expressing identities and negotiating social relations in new ways. Educational systems struggle with insisting on monolingual norms, but these systems are far away from the reality of late modern urban youth and its language practices. This reality is polylingual: these youths use linguistic features which traditionally belong to different languages. Traditionally, sociolinguistic research has studied multilingualism by focusing on code-choice and code-switching as key linguistic means in identity negotiations. However, recent studies on multilingualism have examined not only code-switching but also a range of other linguistic practices such as the use of linguistic material from varieties which the speakers only command rudimentarily: for example, “new linguistic and diasporic varieties, new linguistic strategies and new identity narratives” (Lytra & Jørgensen, 2008, p. 5). Identities and their discursive constructions are thus not stable entities residing in people’s minds but are rather multiple and shifting, and are linked to relations of power in society (Lytra & Jørgensen, 2008). They vary across contexts and can be negotiated, reframed, or contested in unfolding communication.

A further dimension of this perspective is the post-colonial understanding that language is not a “hermetically sealed property” (Garcia, 2007, p.xii), nor an impermeable system, nor “a self – standing product and autonomous in status” (Canagarajah, 2013, p.7). All these perspectives clamour against the static descriptions offered by earlier scholars, questioning older paradigms that described bilingualism as a “separate duality of two languages” and “multilingualism as pluralisation of monolingualism” (Pennycook, 2010, p.132). These critiques of binary approaches would include *code melange*, the French term for language mixing, as a monolingual orientation. Thus we see the emergence of terms like *languageers*, used to describe the “new era language learners” who employ features from all their resources to make meaning; and this simultaneous use of features from different languages is described as typical human linguistic behaviour (Lytra & Jørgensen, 2008, p. 5). *Translanguaging*, a term first coined by Cen Williams (1994), differs from the notion of code-switching in that it refers

not simply to a shift or a shuttle between two languages, but to the speakers' construction and use of original and complex interrelated discursive practices that cannot be easily assigned to one or another traditional definition of language, but that make up the speakers' complete language repertoire (García & Wei, 2014, p.22).

This ability of multilingual speakers to shuttle between languages seems to indicate that they treat the diverse languages that form their repertoire as “an integrated system” (Canagarajah, 2011, p.401).

The point highlighted here is that ‘languagers’ employ whatever features are at their disposal, and do indeed know how features are believed to belong together (and in which ‘language’) and may choose to employ features from only one ‘language’. But if the speakers do the latter, it is because they expect to achieve their aims by using features from only one set and not because translanguaging is against human nature. In brief: ‘languaging’ refers to the human activity of using language to achieve social and interactional aims. Human beings use language intentionally and their use is context-bound. ‘Polylanguaging’ or ‘translanguaging’ are then the new era ‘code-switching’, and likewise include phenomena which have been termed ‘crossing’ (Rampton, 1995), ‘code-switching’, etc. All these ‘languaging’ concepts are realized in group interactions which serve as venues for *positioning* and *stance-taking*.

3.2 Peer group socialization as venue for language interaction and positioning

Schools are viewed as key institutions for socialization of youth into various identities and ideologies, as shown by research on antiracial pedagogical practices as well as reproduction and resistance within classrooms (Tochluk, 2007; Bucholtz, 2011). Schools also provide a physical site for the formation of peer cultures and for interaction across categories of social difference. Education is regarded as a powerful tool of socialization (Satin-Bajaj, 2009) and the school can thus become an agent of cultural reproduction in that it privileges students who come from homes where the language of schooling is spoken while disenfranchising those who come from homes where other languages are dominant (Vaish & Tan, 2008). Satin-Bajaj (2009) has argued that in many multilingual schools the complex experiences of immigrant learners are analysed almost exclusively in terms of progress towards reaching a measured outcome without taking into consideration the kinds of stumbling blocks which these learners encounter.

In relation to South African schools, the easing of entry to South Africa has made the country a new destination for black immigrants and as this population continues to grow, immigrant children have begun to experience South African schools in an array of uniquely challenging ways (Vandeyar, 2011). For those especially who lack the ‘linguistic capital’ and are not competent in the institutional language, this ‘linguistic market’ provokes different types of positioning. Forging a new sense of identity may be the single greatest challenge these learners face (Bajaj, 2010). In immigrants’ groupings or interactions, language as a tool for socialization also enables the visibility of peer grouping and categorization during interaction, and hence the realization that learning appropriate affective stances is an important dimension of becoming a competent social group member acquiring the *habitus* or ways of being in that world. Rather than asking how societies vary across cultural lines, the focus in current language and society studies is on how specific alignments or positions come into being and are negotiated by participants. In this process participants become mutual apprentices and help shape one another’s interactions and identities (Portecorro, Fasula & Sterpon, 2001, as cited in Goodwin, M.H & Kyratzis, 2012). Therefore, the peer group is an important context for linguistic and cultural socialization (Paugh, 2005; Garrett, 2000; Kulick, 1992).

3.3 Variation and style: challenging and resisting monolingual usage norms

Within this sociologically situated process, minority children’s interactional competence in educational settings is often inhibited by a monolingual ideology. The practices that impose unitary language exemplify what Cameron calls “verbal hygiene” (1995, p. 1), which comes into being when someone enforces particular language norms and notions about how language ought to work (Evaldsson & Cekaite, 2010). With the standard language ideology (Milroy & Milroy, 1999), there is failure to recognize variation in the language and social capital that learners bring to an educational setting (Davis, 1994, p. 120). In her investigation of language in late modernity in Luxembourg, Davis (1994) discusses how intelligence has come to mean the ability to read and write in the institutional language. Her study investigated the different forms of socialization between upper, middle and lower class communities in Luxembourg, including the extent to which the different forms that socialization takes mesh with the school norms and teacher expectations. She calls for greater responsiveness towards the different resources and types of social behaviours of learners. Also arguing against monolingual ideologies, Jorgensen (2005) showed how adolescent boys’

and girls' switches between multiple languages provided a resource for wielding power, when used as a means of resisting monolingual and adult-based norms for language usage.

In another study in a francophone school in Ontario, Heller (1999) observed the tensions between the monolingual ideology of the institution and the language use and ideologies employed by some of the students, illustrating how some students found ways of resisting the linguistic ideology inherent in the school, through the very language which oppressed them. Rampton, in the same way, showed how adolescents in a highly diverse school drew on a repertoire of languages in an effort to "affirm or contest social structure and define community" (1999, p. 229).

In a similar study using ethnography and conversation analysis in two monolingual primary schools in Sweden, Evaldsson & Cekaite (2010) illustrated how adolescents created hybrid forms of language which challenged the monolingual unitary code. Here youngsters participating in corrective routines (where the official language was Swedish) appropriated or even subverted dominant language ideologies based on the notion of a correct and appropriate form of Swedish (both at syntactic, lexical and phonetic level). These ideologies were challenged through their heteroglossic peer play practices, which were "instantiated through seemingly trivial corrective routines that involved the use of a combination of different forms of linguistic, communicative and social resources" (Evaldsson & Cekaite, 2010, p.601). The students commented on, mimicked and teased one another because of their improper use of the majority language which in this case was Swedish. They established who was in-the-know and cast others less familiar with the majority language into more subordinate positions, claiming their proficiency in the majority language and enforcing monolingual norms for language use (2010). The point here is that the children indirectly enforced the monolingual norms by their castigating one group as competent and the other as novices, which in a way contributed to their positioning and thus might sway them to use the intended variety of the institution. The informal use of language and code-switching provided the children with efficient resources in peer power struggles. In participating in these corrective routines and appropriation, which varied across contexts, the learners negotiated, reframed, or contested self and other positioning during interaction.

As the above research shows, multilingual peer groups can act upon dominant educational and linguistic ideologies as they organize their everyday emerging peer cultures. Learners find themselves entangled in discourses of past, present and future. Entangled in time,

history, and different language regimes, these learners take up multiple positions in interactions vis-à-vis their words and text, their audience and the context. This type of positioning helps to draw attention to the “dynamic aspects of encounters” (Davies & Harré, 1999, p. 32) which foreground hybridity.

3.4 Multilingualism and identity negotiation in education

Hybrid multilingual contexts have been described as “a fact of life in globalized societies which has stimulated an increasing academic interest in identity and its relationship to language use” (Miller, 2004, p. 10). However a contrasting pull in the educational arena as one of the consequences of globalization processes is the spread of English as a medium of instruction in national school systems. There is an increased demand by disadvantaged communities to gain access to English so that their children can join a workforce in which knowledge of this global language is required.

In terms of contemporary theory on language learning and teaching, research needs to address the ways in which language learners understand their relationship to the socio-cultural contexts, how that relationship is developed or constructed across time and space, and the learners’ reflexive understanding of the past and possibilities for the future (Norton, 2000). The identities assigned to or asserted by the language learner are understood and theorized as multiple and subject to change with each interaction.

A particular spatial environment organizes particular regimes of language (Blommaert et al, 2005) which can enable or disable particular linguistic identities, and these effects vary from one spatial configuration to the next. Language learning and language use are not only viewed as instrumental activities for getting things done but as a "subjective experience, linked to the speaker’s position in space, time and history and his or her history and struggles for the control of social power and cultural memory" (Kramsch, 2009, p.190). Social identities can be seen as both a resource and an outcome of interactions, socially negotiated and culturally distinct. “Who I am depends partly on where I am, with whom I am and what I can ably do there” (Carbaugh, 1996, p. 24).

Language, then, acts as a significant marker of identity, a builder of social relationships and cultural practices. For these reasons, Gee (2001) suggests that in today's fast changing and interconnected global world, researchers in a variety of areas have come to see identity as an

important analytic tool for understanding schools and society. He proposes that a focus on the contextually specific ways in which people perform and recognize identities allows a more flexible approach than the sometimes overly general and static trio of “race, class, and gender”. He defines identity, basing his notion on the recognition of individuals at a given time and place in an interaction, which can change from moment to moment and from context to context, and can of course be ambiguous or unstable. In the process of acting and interacting with others in a given context, interactants might construct several different identities at once. The premise, therefore, is that multiple identities are not only connected to who people are psychologically but to their *performance* in society. This multiplicity and varied performance of identity positions demands complex negotiations in different language contexts for multilingual learners.

The complexities of multilingual contexts also often create tensions in translating multilingual language policy to classroom linguistic practice. An important determinant of such practice is the high demand for English as offering equitable access to a globalizing economy. For example, Hornberger & Vaish (2009) looked at three cases, Singapore, India and South Africa, where English was a sought-after medium of instruction, while in none of the countries was it the most frequently spoken language of the home. Their focus was on access to the linguistic capital of English and how multilingual classroom practice tried to meet the demands of the community for that access. Using an ecological and sociolinguistic approach, they depicted tensions between multilingualism and English across these three national cases, at both policy and classroom level, based on English as medium of instruction for non-English speakers. These tensions centred on the fact that, despite India’s egalitarian Three Language Formula (TLF) of 1968, many Indian children were being educated in a language which was not their mother tongue. Secondly, Singapore’s bilingual education policy with English as medium of instruction and mother tongues taught as second languages nevertheless left the linguistic capital of multilingual children who speak a pidginized variety of English called ‘Singlish’ out of the equation, since the school medium was standard English. South Africa’s Constitution of 1993 embraced multilingualism as a national resource, raising nine major African languages to national official status alongside English and Afrikaans; yet with the freedom of movement accompanying the dismantling of apartheid, large numbers of African language-speaking parents now seek to place their children in English-medium instructional contexts (Hornberger and Vaish, 2009). Given the push for English and the simultaneous official valuing of multilingualism in all three cases,

they argue that multilingual classroom practices can be a resource through which children access Standard English while also cultivating their own local languages. Vaish and Tan (2008), using a Bourdieuan theoretical framework to analyse the relationship between ethnic groups, language use and social class in Singapore, argue that though Singapore equitably distributes the linguistic capital of English through its bilingual Language in Education Policy, children from low income homes are disadvantaged. Disadvantaged communities value a national school system that provides the linguistic capital of a powerful language at subsidized rates. However, such schooling remains a challenge for children who come from disadvantaged homes and whose dominant home language is not the medium of instruction.

Vaish and Tan (2008), though aware of the destructive nature of globalization, conclude by aligning with economists from the developing world such as Bhagwati (2004) and Nobel Laureate Sen (2002) in postulating that it is not globalization in itself that is the enemy but the inequitable distribution of its benefits. (Here we have focused similarly on the global spread of English and inequitable access to the linguistic capital it represents). Hornberger & Vaish (2009) are thus moved to ask, given the kinds of multilingual communities and policies considered above, “what media of instruction would meet the demands of the community in terms of both access to the linguistic capital of English and dissemination of curriculum content through a language comprehensible to the children?” (p.316). Thus their interest is in Bourdieu’s linguistic capital which they conclude is not as widely used in the literature as social and cultural capital, yet is central to our understanding of educational success.

Despite a progressive Language in Education Policy (LiEP) in South Africa, there is a notable hegemony of English in many schools. During the apartheid years, there were separate government departments for white, black and coloured¹ children’s schools respectively. These three departments had different funding allocations, different resources at their disposal and issued different exams. The House of Representatives (HOR) handled coloured children’s schooling, the Department of Education and Training (DET) handled black children’s schooling and the white children’s schools, which were the responsibility of

¹ The designation “coloured” was a fuzzy-edged category constructed by apartheid discourse for all those of ‘mixed’ heritage, including descendants of Indonesian and Malay slaves as well as the Khoe and San. In post-apartheid South Africa, the terms Black (capitalized or lower case), African, and coloured are used variously and never without contestation, but retained by the state in order to be able to assess development needs and implement policies of redress and equity (Kerfoot and Bello-Nonjengele, 2014).

the Department of Education, became known as Model C Schools in the run-up to democracy.

To date, the former Model C schools still typically have the best facilities, best teachers and best educational opportunities for children. Two researchers, De Klerk (2000) and Kamwangamalu (2003a; 2003b) highlighted the fact that the choice of middle-class African parents in sending their children to English medium schools is threatening the survival of African languages and leading to language disenfranchisement. However, drawing on observation and interview data from two desegregated co-educational ex-Model C high schools in Johannesburg, Ndlangamandla (2010) investigated the language practices and views towards indigenous South African languages of African learners. He found that the use of African languages enabled learners to insert new identities into this space and interrupt the exclusive power of English. Findings showed that learners often used African languages in the school space, frequently through code-switching and code-mixing. Although this paper argues that claims of language shift are not appropriate, since multilingual language behaviour points to some degree of language maintenance of African languages, it notes that some learners did acculturate completely since they maintained that their other languages were not valued and were of no use to them in their new language spaces. In a similar study, Nongogo (2007) showed how multilingual grade 9 learners at a formerly white, private school used language as an identity-building resource to position themselves and others. The article engaged with the concern that African learners attending English medium, multiracial schools were losing their proficiency in African languages. Nongogo demonstrated a range of language ideologies in play, for example, some learners retained African languages and used these as a primary marker of ethnic identities associated with ideas of ethnic purity. This purity was, however, not constructed in a staidly 'traditional' manner, but was negotiated through joking and satire. Notions of ethnic purity were also often discursively constructed through the use of English, illustrating the contradictory nature of identities.

In yet another study Makubalo (2007) investigated English language practices of pupils in a desegregated Johannesburg school, and pointed out that the learners' shifting identities were constructed through the use of different accents and different varieties of English, code-switching, proficiency in English, and the positioning of themselves or others as speakers of English and other languages. He argued that English played a significant role in how learners imagine themselves as members of the school community and, for some learners, becoming

part of the mainstream constituted an important part of their identity. He explored how multiple, and at times contradictory, identities were continually being constructed and reconstructed through learners' language practices and their positioning of themselves and others as speakers of different languages. In addition, he highlighted processes of inclusion and exclusion taking place in schools through language. In this (2007) study, the processes of inclusion and exclusion through identity negotiation were taken further by showing how at least one of the learners not only imagined himself as a member of the dominant group, but took control of his integration through his “performance” of English. English as portrayed by this particular learner was a commodity in great demand, thus indexing a key issue in schooling in South Africa which places English as an indispensable commodity, as the official language of instruction despite the fact that the majority of learners are African language speakers, frequently with very limited English proficiency.

These complex and shifting relationships between language and ethnic identity were further explored by McKinney (2007) who analysed the ways in which learners recognized and characterized the different kinds of English used around them, attaching prestige to varieties perceived as *white*. Through interviews and participant observation she explored the tensions between learners in three racially mixed schools in Johannesburg, focusing in particular on the tension between learners' valuing of what is perceived as “white” English and their labelling of black learners who “speak like a white person” or who no longer spoke African languages, either through lack of proficiency or choice, as “coconuts”. Her analysis was set against a discussion of the problematic concept of ‘race’ and of the historical classification of South African English according to race as well as the position of English in South Africa at the time (2007, p. 6). Thus in accordance with the concept of positioning, learners might on the one hand disqualify some varieties of English as “white” and label another learner as “speaking like a white”. Also the variety of English spoken by most second language learners might also have low levels of social capital, and thus be seen as an additional variety that deviated from the established standard at the school (“white English”).

This disqualification of varieties is still persistent in South Africa where significant inequity persists to this day. Makoe and McKinney (2009) investigated the relationship between language practices, identities and conditions for learning among children and youth attending four desegregated suburban schools (three secondary and one primary) in Johannesburg. In their early observation period they noticed one learner’s unusual behaviour in “actualizing the

co-existence of multiple languages in the public space of a classroom where English was undoubtedly the most highly valued but simultaneously unequally distributed resource” (Makoe & McKinney, 2009, p.81). Their interest was in the way this learner utilized her multilingual proficiency in local languages as a valuable resource to facilitate the participation of her peers in classroom life and thus to construct a classroom community. They argued that this learner’s use of hybrid discursive practices had the potential to create discursive spaces that afforded new opportunities for learning in a context where English was an unequally distributed resource.

Another study in a primary school in Cape Town, one of very few in low income neighbourhoods in South Africa, engages with Bourdieu’s notion of field as a “space of play” to explore “what happens to the educational field and the linguistic regimes operating within it in a site in which new discourses and practices of identity, language, ‘race’ and ethnicity become entangled with local economies of meaning” (Kerfoot and Bello-Nonjengele, 2014, p.1). This study draws on data from playground observations, interviews, and audio-recorded peer interactions among grade 6 learners to show how learners from groups previously separated under apartheid mobilized their linguistic repertoires in encounters across difference. In this process, they shaped new interaction orders, restructured linguistic hierarchies of value, and sometimes resignified racial categories.

Despite the acknowledged complexity of the challenges elaborated above, there is relatively little classroom-based research being conducted in South African primary schools. We know little, for example, about what kinds of interaction take place in classrooms where English is the language of learning and teaching (LOLT) and where many learners have a very limited grasp of the language, and we know little about the linguistic (and other) resources that learners bring with them to school. There is a need to emphasize the heterogeneity within the system, for there is great variation in South Africa schools as a result of both internal and transnational migration (Makoe & McKinney, 2009). Such schools can be considered a hybrid space in which elements of privilege and disadvantage, monolingual English and multilingual learners, many of whom are not proficient in the medium of instruction on entry, exist side by side. The heterogeneity within the system and in the learners themselves unavoidably leads to the need to negotiate power relations in peer interactions.

3.5 Power relations and opposition in peer interactions

Relations of power in interactions are constructed through *dialogic voicing* (Bakhtin, 1981) orchestrated through various societal discourses (Fairclough 1992, 1999). An utterance that entertains alternate positions and voices can be described as *dialogically expansive*; such utterances contrast with *dialogically contractive* statements which present only one position as correct (White, 2004b cited in Menard-Warwick, 2005, p. 536). It is thus important to analyse lexical choices “on the basis of their place, their source and their function . . . the company they keep and the relations they contract with other wordings in the text” (Macken-Horarik, 2003, p. 299). Thus, Maybin (2006) used Bakhtin’s concept of dialogism (1981, 1986) in a study of narratives told by school children to provide additional insight into the way that speakers and writers construct their perspectives on the social worlds they inhabit. Bakhtin saw all utterances, including narratives, as links in a chain, responding to previous utterances and anticipating future response and situating each narrative within the social context of its telling (Bakhtin, 1986). “Reconstructed dialogue [...] enable(s) (tellers) to play on ambiguity and explore a variety of evaluative perspectives simultaneously. In reproducing the voices of different characters, (tellers) can briefly take on and try out that character’s viewpoint” (Maybin, 1996, pp. 37-38). The evaluation in the narratives studied was often ambiguous, with issues “explored and negotiated rather than resolved” (1996, p. 47). The emotional tone of the children’s speech (e.g. gentle, gruff, hysterical) was found to be particularly important in constructing identities and exploring different points of view on social problems such as marital discord. In this way, tellers not only reported events, but also enacted them (Wortham, 2001).

The following sub-sections describe four sets of resources for analysing the negotiation of power in interaction. The first draws attention to how interactional alignments are manifested through agreement, opposition and repair and the grammar, semantics and discourse structure of casual conversation respectively.

3.5.1 Agreement, opposition and repair

As discussed above, recent interpretive approaches to the study of children's socialization argue that meaning creation is an active process by which children playfully transform and actively resist cultural categories, and where language is viewed as social action that helps shape reality (Gaskins, Miller & Corsaro, 1992). In sociolinguistics, positioning is not viewed as a fixed, stable attribute in the minds of the learners, but a process involving dialectic

relations between learners and the various worlds and experiences which they inhabit and act on (Ricento, 2003). One important condition relevant for the exercise of social control is to be able to control discourse (Van Dijk, 1989) through resisting or opposing inscribed or evoked evaluations and positionings.

There are a number of grammatical means by which interactants are able to construct opposition in interactions. One of these is directives: exaggerated use of directives is often employed by those involved in resisting positioning or jostling for social control. This jostling stems from the fact that dominated groups and their members are seldom completely powerless. Power is enacted in social interactions and groups may engage in various forms of resistance: that is, in the enactment of counter-power, which may however not always be successful. In investigating children's disputes, social researchers have proposed various definitions for arguing (Goodwin, 1990). It is defined as an arrangement of content and/or stylistic categories, a "contradicting routine" (Boggs, 1978 as cited in Goodwin, 1990, p. 143). In describing patterns of arguing among Hawaiian children, Eisenburg and Garvey (1981, p. 150) called these "adversative episodes", defined as sequences which begin with an opposition and end with a resolution or dissipation of conflict. The above definitions have been challenged by recent research that argues that it is very difficult to predict when an argument starts because any prior talk can build up to an argument or be transformed into something about which there can be dispute (Maynard, 1985b). While Eisenberg and Garvey (1981) emphasize resolution as a way of terminating disputes, this may be because their study was observed in a dyadic rather than multiparty interaction, as well as in a laboratory setting.

In interaction, there appear to be a number of phenomena relevant to the organization and interpretation of directives and how participants analyse them as embedded within larger activity structures (Goodwin, M.H, 1990). One example is that directives can be presented in the form of bald imperatives, which display high social imposition and at times may be accompanied by pejorative evaluations of the recipient which "aggravate" the desired positioning. By looking at the imperative itself as well as at the environment of occurrence, the "aggravating" speaker then portrays him/herself as someone entitled to judge recipients and to position them, linking to them in asymmetrical rather than aligning positions.

In Conversation Analysis of interactional data (see further chapter 4 section 4.3.2) these alignments can also be portrayed in preferred or dispreferred or rejected language choices; most preferred language turns have salience for agreement, while dispreferred or rejected

choices are highlighted by disagreement and dispute. In a study of agreement and disagreement in assessment sequences, Pomerantz (1984, p.64) found that disagreement was an activity to be avoided through delays, that is, prefaces such as ‘well’, ‘sometimes’, ‘I think’ that mitigated the disagreement that followed. In contrast to the findings in the Pomerantz study, opposition in interactions among Maple Street children (Goodwin, M.H, 1990) was not preceded by delays but was produced immediately. A relevant factor here is that most studies on children’s disputes have focused on interaction in the educational arena. Goodwin suggests that this setting imposes constraints on learners’ interactions that are not found in neighbourhood settings. For example Genishi & di Paolo (1982) found that the presence of teachers made it impossible for the children to formulate their own conflict solutions (Genishi & di Paolo, 1982, as cited in Goodwin, 1990). However, in Maple Street, an informal social setting, these children fought battles in which both speaker and competence were under attack (Goodwin, M.H, 1990) and the contesting parties came to agreement, and moreover agreed in a way that was not pejorative to either of them. Maynard (1985a) has however pointed out that children’s disputes need not reach any resolution because in the process of dispute building they are provided with opportunities “to produce fundamental forms of social organisation” (p.220). With regard to analysing opposition, Goodwin M.H. maintains it is not sufficient to focus exclusively on the talk through which opposition is produced; it is also necessary to take into account how actors are portrayed and constituted through talk. Thus one component of a turn might deal with something said in prior talk, while another appraises the character of the person who produced that talk. Opposition can be signalled at different places within turns and displayed in various ways: through polarity, substitution (Halliday and Hassan, 1976) or returns and disclaimers (Goodwin, 1990), as well as by repetition of part of the talk being opposed (Pomerantz, 1984, pp.83-84), or by some other-initiated repair (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974).

This section has discussed research on how relations of power are constructed in interactions. The control of discourse was also pinpointed as an exercise in social control.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed relevant research on multilingualism, language, and identity positioning at both macro and micro levels in order to highlight the ways in which local choices can index wider macro decisions. The notion of ‘positioning’ is of particular importance from this perspective because social interactions and relationships are constructed

by self- and other-positioning taken up by individuals in various ways. It is essential to take stock of the ways in which learners' educational strategies and negotiations are shaped not only by institutional structures but also by their multiple social positions in society, including race, class, gender, and sexuality. The next chapter describes and discusses the design and methodology chosen for this study.



Chapter Four: RESEARCH DESIGN AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

4.0 Overview

This chapter describes and discusses the qualitative framework of Linguistic Ethnography chosen for this study. It first considers the definition and history of Linguistic Ethnography, followed by some key principles and methods of the approach (4.1, 4.1.2, 4.1.3). It then situates the study within the qualitative paradigm, discussing its goal and purposes and also the relevance and role of Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS), the second broad plank of Linguistic Ethnography, for the study.

Sections 4.2, 4.1.2, 4.2.2 and 4.2.3 describe data collection, setting, key participants and criteria for selection, while 4.3 to 4.3.7 describe and motivate the analytical framework for interactional data: a combination of Conversation Analysis, Discourse Analysis, Systemic Functional Linguistics, and Gumperz's notions of frame and footing. The various tools used in data collection are then discussed in depth.

Section 4.4 *Reflexivity* explores the issues of subjectivity and reflexivity, noting the need for the researcher to attend closely to the ways in which knowledge creation can be influenced by personal, practical, and other factors. Section 4.5 then considers the limitations of the study, and the chapter ends with a discussion of ethical considerations relevant to this research, followed by the conclusion.

4.1 Research design: Linguistic Ethnography

This study is first of all qualitative. In this paradigm, all individuals become participants or actors in social situations. Schools are one such social situation where learners, teachers, and parents all have views of what goes on and act according to how they interpret events. A holistic description of events and procedures occurring in this natural setting was felt to be ideal for the study, given the need to provide as much interpretative depth as possible. Ethnography, which developed out of the discipline of anthropology for the studying of groups in naturalistic settings, thus provided an excellent approach for this study. However, as the study focuses on spoken interaction, I also needed an approach which would allow for detailed linguistic analysis. Linguistic Ethnography (LE) offered a framework which 'marries' linguistics with ethnography, borrowing data collection and analytical tools from

both (Wetherell, 2007). LE draws both on the humanizing potential of ethnography, “preventing linguistics from being reductive or shallow by embedding it in rich descriptions of how the users of a given variety adapt their language to different situational purposes and contexts” (Rampton, 2007, p. 10) and on the “authoritative analysis of language use made possible by linguistics and not usually available through participant observation and the taking of field notes” (Creese, 2008, p.232).

Linguistic Ethnography (LE) draws on many previous traditions in linguistic anthropology, applied linguistics and sociology (Creese, 2008). It brings together two fields of study, arguing that there is more to be gained through their joint power than separately (Creese, 2008). Ethnography thus provides linguistics with a close reading of context which is not necessarily found in some kinds of interactional analysis such as Conversation Analysis (CA), Discourse Analysis (DA), and Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), while linguistics offers ethnography a range of established procedures for identifying discursive structures, a relationship which Rampton et al (2004, p. 4) has called “tying ethnography down and opening linguistics up”.

This combination of approaches in LE highlights how language and our social lives mutually shape our day-to-day activities. Studying these activities requires an investigation of the context of communication, not making any a priori assumptions. Accordingly, LE holds that:

... the contexts for communication should be investigated rather than assumed and that meaning takes shape within specific social relations, interactional histories and institutional regimes, produced and construed by agents with expectations and repertoires that have to be grasped ethnographically; and that analysis of the internal organisation of verbal (and other kinds of semiotic) data is essential to understanding its significance and position in the world. Meaning is far more than just the ‘expression of ideas’, and biography, identifications, stance and nuance are extensively signalled in the linguistic and textual fine-grain (Rampton, 2009, p. 236).

This following of social processes across time and space to see “how agency and structure engage each other under specific political economic conditions” is the core of LE (Heller, 2011, p. 10). LE was thus well suited to investigating issues of language, interaction and identity construction in a multilingual context, particularly as “language choices, use, and attitudes are intrinsically linked to language ideologies, relations of power, political arrangements, and speakers’ identities” (Blackledge, 2005, p. 35).

A further claim for the appropriateness of Linguistic Ethnography is that it goes beyond field work methods and description to offer “real critical potential which may also offer the opportunity for practical interventions” (Rampton, Tusting, Maybin, Barwel, Creese & Lytra, 2004, p.4). This calls for both triangulation and reflexivity as strategies for enhancing validity (McMillan and Schumacher, 2006). The linguistic ethnographer’s task, therefore, is to collect both ethnographic and linguistic data. Ethnographic data includes field notes (through participant observation), interviews, and diaries while linguistic data includes texts, audio and visual recordings. Thus both ethnographic and sociolinguistic analytical tools were used, including for example, coding/categorizing, and Conversation Analysis. Each of the two theoretical traditions that make up LE is discussed below.

4.1.1 Ethnography within LE

The goal of ethnography is to explain

the meaning of language in human life, and not in the abstract, nor in the superficial phrases one might encounter in essays and textbooks, but in concrete situations, in actual human lives (Hymes, 1972, cited in Hymes 1986, p.41).

The main purpose then is to obtain a deep understanding of people and their ways of being. Ethnography as a qualitative research method for describing, analysing, and interpreting cultural organization and shared patterns of behaviour, beliefs and language - patterns that develop over time - was ideal for this study. It entails “thick description” as the core source for understanding and analysing cultural practices (Geertz, 1973). It focuses on understanding of a phenomenon through description rather than theory generation. Fieldwork and participant observation become distinguishing features, as ethnographers immerse themselves in the life of people they study (Lewis, 1985) and seek to place the phenomena studied in their social and cultural context. In this type of research, then, the context is what defines the situation. Different worlds are created by individuals each time they respond to and interpret events around them. In other words, individuals’ interactions help to shape their social worlds. Ethnography is premised then on a contextualized, naturalistic *emic* or insider orientation to the study of language and culture (Fetterman, 1998; Silverman, 2003).

The above characteristics make ethnography a demanding approach in which the researcher has to follow a back and forth path since there is generally no clear, pre-set line of inquiry and no room for pre-established truths (Blommaert, 2006). Blommaert (2006) uses a full account of a soccer game as example. In a football match, a player will not usually arrive at a

particular position by accident or luck; he is there because of the complex interlocking activities that produce the game. Ethnography tries to unlock some of the complexities at play in interactions by not interfering with the scenario, but describing and explaining it. In the process, ethnographers create a “democratic” relationship with their participants – “a mutual relation of interaction and adaptation [...] that will change both” (Hymes, 1990, p. 89).

Through close attention to situated practices, ethnography can also challenge established views not only of language but of symbolic capital in the society (Blommaert and Jie Dong , 2010), for it takes an interrogation of established norms and expectations as its starting point, viewing such norms as problems rather than as truths. Ethnography is also a crucial element in research on second language and context (Blommaert and Jie Dong, 2010) as language is never contextless in the anthropological tradition. Language in the ethnographic tradition is regarded as a resource. In any interaction and study of language, “there is always a particular function, a concrete shape, a specific mode of operation, and an identifiable set of relations between singular acts of language and wider patterns of resources and their functions” (Blommaert, 2006, p.9).

Language, then, is part of context; it plays a primary role in social behaviour, and is part of social structure and social relations. It follows that ethnography contains a perspective on language which differs from that of many other branches of the study of language. All the attributes discussed so far thus made it a suitable mode of inquiry for this study: in brief, it allowed for the exploration not only of participants’ linguistic and cultural practices but also their positioning against standards set up by mainstream society.

Further, seeing the world from an ethnographic perspective permits scholars to situate the small issues in relation to the big issues (Blommaert & Jie, 2010; Heath & Street, 2008; Blackledge & Creese, 2010). This means that, as already indicated, an ethnographic researcher should not take anything for granted, but should consider both macro issues and historical issues that impact on the local, contextual situatedness of the issues investigated. In investigating language practices, ethnography allows the researcher to see how languages are connected to “the very real conditions of people’s lives, to discover why and how language matters to them in their own terms and to watch how different processes unfold over time” (Heller, 2008, p. 250).

It is necessary, therefore, that during the research journey each ethnographer spends ample time in the field observing, interviewing and becoming familiar with context and participants in order to grasp the culture, habits, beliefs, values and language of the group under study, at both micro and macro levels. This entails long term interaction and access to participants and their beliefs and cultures. Consequently, an ethnographer needs to be either a participant (insider) or an observer (outsider), who gathers field notes and other documents, and carries out in-depth interviews to establish the meaning-making practices of participants. Considering these roles and functions of the ethnographer, it should be emphasized that most cultural and social behaviour is performed without active awareness. The assertion that ethnography is the method best suited for finding out things that are often not seen as important, but belong to the implicit structures of people's lives should reflect the ethnographer's understanding that asking people directly about such issues is very often the worst possible way of trying to find out (Blommaert, 2006). Thus, how we relate with the group under study is of prime importance to the outcome of the research.

4.1.2 Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS) within LE

Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS), the second broad plank of Linguistic Ethnography, is a qualitative, interpretive approach to the analysis of social interaction that developed at the intersection of linguistics, anthropology and sociology. It was first introduced to language study by the linguistic anthropologist John Gumperz, whose perspective of verbal communication was grounded on Hymes's earlier work on the Ethnography of Communication (EC) (1961). Gumperz (1961) postulates that Hymes's key insight was that, instead of seeking to explain talk as a direct reflection of the beliefs and values of communities, the researcher might use actual situations of speaking or, to use Jakobson's term, *speech events* (1980) as a more suitable focus of study. Such events, he suggests, were more concretely available for ethnographic investigation (Gumperz and Hymes 1964, 1972). Gumperz asserts how suggestive evidence from Garfinkel's 1967 ethnomethodological experiments indicated that sociocultural background knowledge does in fact enter into everyday decision-making. Accordingly, the key contribution of IS in spoken interactions is in illustrating ways in which "social background knowledge is implicated in the signalling and interpreting of meaning" (Bailey, 2008, pp. 2314). IS focuses not only on spoken interaction but also on sociocultural knowledge. *Framing*, a concept developed by Gumperz (see chapter 2 section 2.3) and defined as the "structures of expectations that speakers have with respect to situations, events, people, and objects" (DelPrete, 2005, p. 1), is a key notion.

If participants share common frames, and also have shared expectations, it might help ensure smooth, synchronous conversational exchanges (Gumperz, 1982). On the other hand, if these are lacking and the participants are operating under different frames, communication clashes are likely to arise, resulting in moments of tension, discomfort, and misunderstanding.

To aid interlocutors in grasping sociocultural context, speakers employ different interactional cues called “contextualization cues” (Gumperz, 1982). In sociolinguistics, contextualization refers to the use of language and discourse to signal relevant aspects of an interaction. When participants in a conversation come from different backgrounds, they may not recognize these subtle cues in one another’s speech, leading to misunderstanding (Gumperz, 1982a, b).

As a method of analysing how social knowledge and linguistic knowledge intersect in creating meaning in talk, IS contributes to investigating positioning because it can show how cultural and linguistic differences play out in interactions. IS insists on employing Conversation Analysis (CA) because of its detailed analysis of recorded naturally occurring talk, but diverges from CA in considering interpretations and sociocultural worlds outside of that talk (Bailey, 2008). IS also borrows notions such as implicature and speech acts from the philosophy of language and linguistics, but with the difference that it attends to real people in their actual interactions rather than to constructs of ideal speech (Bailey, 2008). Thus with its interpretive nature and the notions of contextualization cues and conversational inferences, IS provides a powerful framework for examining situated talk at the intersection of talk and culture.

Researchers in IS have also drawn on the tools and analytical frames offered by Discourse Analysis (DA) and the socially responsive theory of language developed within Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (Halliday, 1985). Each of these approaches to spoken data offers a different and often complementary lens on what is happening in interaction. DA complements CA: discourse analysts study larger chunks of language as they flow together. This analysis of language beyond the sentence contrasts with other form of analysis concerned with smaller pieces of language such as sounds (phonetics and phonology), parts of words (morphology), meaning (semantics), and the order of words in sentences (syntax) (Tannen, 1984). SFL complements both CA and DA by providing a detailed analytical focus on the negotiation of interpersonal meaning and the ways in which linguistic choices help construct roles and relationships (see section 3.5.2).

4.2 Data collection, setting, key participants and criteria for selection.

The data in this linguistic ethnography comprised observations in and out of the classroom and detailed field notes, audio recordings of classroom sessions and learners' conversations in both formal and informal sites, as well as interviews with learners, teachers, parents and extracurricular staff. The data consisted of 50 hours and more than 500 pages of transcribed recordings from classrooms, playground and home spaces with detailed field notes to back these up. Open-ended questions posed to learners provided useful information closely linked to their experiences, highlighting their own positions and perspectives on issues of identity and identification.

The participants were a group of selected Cameroonians, with mixed learning experiences. At first I intended to select learners from various West African countries such as Nigeria for English speakers and Cote d'Ivoire for French speakers, but was faced with challenges of gaining consent and also found this too broad an area to cover. My contact teacher in school A found it traumatizing trying to convince the parents to sign the consent forms. She had to make countless telephone calls before parents were convinced it was not a Government investigation. With all these challenges in getting learners from other West African countries, my problems were minimized when I decided to focus only on the Cameroonian learners available. As there were a substantial number of Cameroonian learners and since I was part of the Cameroonian community, it was easier for me to make home visits with these families. At this point I just tried to get as many participants (Cameroonians) as possible. The selected participants consisted of 10 learners from school A on the west coast (described in detail in chapter 5, sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2) and 10 from school B in the northern suburbs of Cape Town (described in detail in chapter 5 sections 5.3.3 and 5.3.4). The move to school B was simply based on the fact that Aline, a key participant, had relocated from school A to B four years after the study began. Also involved were the teachers and parents of my focus group, their friends (mostly South Africans, Nigerians and Congolese learners), and a group of other extracurricular staff.

The change of scene that the families of the Cameroonian learners were experiencing had been provoked by circumstances ranging from economic and political to academic. They were in this sense already not a homogeneous group and in addition they came from different backgrounds, different parts of Cameroon, and had travelled to South Africa by different routes. Earlier discussions had shown that most parents were looking for greener pastures due

to high unemployment rates in their country of origin. Learners from different parts of Cameroon spoke different indigenous languages: some, mostly the Anglophones, spoke the lingua franca Cameroonian Pidgin English (CPE) and either English or French. Two of these participants at the beginning of their stay in South Africa, one from the Bamileke region and one from Bamenda area, spoke only their home language, before gradually acquiring some English.

In school A, eight out of the ten participants were males with only two females, while the group from school B was composed of five females and five males. The gender ratio was determined by availability but I tried to achieve equal representation where possible. While age and gender are important variables in language research and the literature has shown differences between male and female talk and their language ideologies, this study does not address gender differences but rather the construction of roles and relationships which are to some extent influenced by gender.

Table 4.1 Participant profiles and self-ascribed linguistic repertoires

School	Name	Age	Gender	L1	L2	L3	L4	L5
A	Nathalie	16	Female	Bagante	French	English		
A	James	16	Male	Mbesanaku	English	CPE	French	Afrikaans
B	Aline	16	Female	Duala	French	English		
A	Jim	12	Male	Mbesanaku	English	Afrikaans		
Int Sch	John	17	Male	Kom	English			
A	Simon	16	Male	English				
A	Mark	16	Male	Bamenda	English			
A	Jude	17	Male	Bassa	French	English		
A	Mark	16	Male	Bamenda	English			
A	Jim	12	Male	Mbesanaku	English			
A	Simon	16	Male	Nkwen	English			
A	Peter	16	Noni	English				

Note: All names of participants and schools have been anonymized.

The table above presents a sample of learners' profiles and linguistic repertoires. As described later in 6.1, the profiles are a selected few, representing in a way those learners who played active roles in the interactions. Describing the setting and profiling the learners is an indication that the learners were influenced by the social and cultural context where they spent their daily lives. All the learners before relocating already had complex linguistic repertoires and were now in a situation where they were obliged either to drop some elements of this repertoire, to add on others or to develop what they had. The profiles also indicate their diversity: although all were Cameroonians, they spoke different first languages and the only lingua franca amongst them was English. Some of these immigrant learners felt more language anxiety and difficulty in adjusting to a new language space and the dominant language there than others, especially where the newcomer was a total novice and already had strong attachments to or proficiency in other languages. As seen from the profiles above, it was easier for the Anglophones to situate themselves in a South African classroom than for the Francophones.

Since all the learners in the study were minors, it was necessary to get parents' agreement for their participation, and initially this was difficult: as previously indicated, most parents thought it might be a state strategy to single them out (that is, they feared that the request was linked to issues of residence, study or work permits and xenophobia). With regards to the issue of permits and xenophobia, the new South African Constitution, together with legal and policy changes, makes specific provision for safeguarding the rights of refugees and "enshrines the rights of all people in the country" (Republic of South Africa 1996). Despite this, the established pattern of authoritarian handling of African migrants documented in the 1990s shows that state institutions such as the police and the Department of Home Affairs (the department responsible for handling migrants) have continuously acted in contradiction of the legal and policy framework (Landau, 2006a; International Federation for Human Rights, 2008).

Xenophobic practices are widespread, since police officers and the Department of Home Affairs are given excessive powers over extremely vulnerable people. Thus any visit from an unknown researcher evokes in these people memories of their encounters with these officials. It took a lot of convincing by way of numerous phone calls and meetings, to get parents to allow their children to participate.

4.2.1 Observations

Observation, as one of the ethnographic practices of collecting data, began in phase one of my school visits. As part of pre-observation strategy, I tried to familiarize myself with teachers and the learners (see chapter 5 sections 5.2). Then I followed Emerson (1995) by participating in the daily "routines of the setting, developing on-going relationships with the people and observing all the while what was going on" (p.1). Then I began writing simultaneously so as to be able to compare these early notes with changes and comments on the progress I made along the research trajectory. All accounts of the daily activities were written down, describing experiences and observations. The writing was not as straightforward and as transparent as it might seem, since it was not merely a matter of accurately capturing as closely as possible observed reality but of "putting into words" overheard talk and witnessed acts (Emerson, 1995, p.2).

4.2.2 Individual and focus group interviews

Interviews as qualitative research tools seek to describe the meanings of central themes in the life world of the subjects from their own perspectives. Researchers in the qualitative paradigm employ both unstructured and semi-structured interviews. Unstructured interviews were performed weekly in the form of informal discussions with the learners. During interviews, participants might ask for clarification, elaborate on ideas, and explain their points of view in their own words. More structured interviews were scheduled in addition at the end of the observation period as a follow-up procedure to check other information collected. However, the unstructured and more ethnographic interviews which probed questions generated through participant observation were more informative than the structured interviews where learners sometimes might have felt inhibited (See appendix B, 1 to 6 for interviews). Unstructured interviews took place in the interviewee's space and as much as possible according to the interviewee's interactional rules (cf. Briggs, 1986).

During group sessions with learners, I usually employed a casual tone to put learners at ease and tried to draw out of them as much information as possible about their past and present experiences with migration and language. These focus group interviews became a forum for our weekly chats, not bounded in this case by the language of the institution, and enabling me to learn more about their past life trajectories and current life situations. The learners were open and helped me to understand what it meant to experience classroom sessions as adolescents where they were regarded as the novices of the class. (Trajectories and different

experiences are detailed in the next chapter). Interview data can be “sites of struggle” (Pastor, 2011) where participants construct and negotiate representations of themselves and those they align with and distance themselves from. These representations serve to complement data from observations and audio-recordings where, for example, the researcher’s analysis of interactions may not be entirely accurate.

4.2.3 Audio recordings and transcriptions

Recordings are essential tools in Linguistic Ethnography research as it is simply impossible while listening to hold in mind “the transient, highly multidimensional, and often overlapping events of an interaction as they unfold in real time” (Edwards, 2007, p. 1). Transcripts are therefore invaluable. Transcription is defined as “the process of capturing the flow of discourse events in a written and spatial medium, involving in the process who said what, to whom, in what manner, and under what circumstances” (Edwards, 2007, p. 2). It is a practice central to qualitative research, yet often taken for granted (Davidson, 2009). The amount of detail necessary to create a transcript which facilitates rigorous analysis can make it a gruelling and exhausting process. Nevertheless, a transcript is inherently selective and interpretive; since the researcher chooses what he/she thinks is relevant to the progress of the study, which descriptive categories to use, and how to display the information in the written and spatial medium of a transcript. As transcription is an open-ended process, the transcript can change as the researcher's insights become progressively refined (Ehlich, 1993; Ehlich & Switalla, 1976; Gumperz & Berenz, 1993). Each piece of data chosen by the researcher affects his or her perceptions of the structure of the interaction, facilitating the detection of some patterns while others may be difficult to see.

The accuracy of transcriptions is also often affected by technical or environmental problems. The very noisy and disruptive classroom environment meant that I was not always able to record group interactions successfully. I was obliged to record several times and later had to update my recorder to ensure better recording quality. Olympic audio recorders were used in class to capture interactions and again outside to capture recreational, home and community data. These recorders were carried about by my key participants as a means of getting first-hand information. At the beginning it was problematic to get adolescents to record when I was not present because once learners were aware of the recorder, interactions became artificial. At times I wondered whether what I captured were genuine interactions from the learners or whether, despite long immersion, they still acted for my sake. Later, however, the

learners became less aware of the recorders and their interactions accordingly became more natural. Usually during classes, I would place myself in a position where I could get audible data or I would walk around to the scene of action. In the middle phase of my observation, during class or on the playground or in community gatherings, I began making spontaneous audio recordings. At the later stage of my observation, after writing extensive field notes and trying to organize my data, I began relating events, accounts and conversation to discourses in the field, and from there gradually moved to an initial analysis. Since memory could not retain the day's happening for long, the evenings were spent trying to make sense of the day and typing notes. The multiple tools of data collection enabled me to check my emerging interpretations to some extent by corroborating observations with interviews and recordings.

4.3 Analytical framework

The analytical framework I selected for the interactional data aimed to address certain key aspects of my data - lexico-grammar, structure and meaning - by illuminating the role relations which are enacted, the choices interactants make in an interaction, and the ways in which each move in casual conversation involves both taking on a speech role and positioning others (Eggins & Slade, 2006). Sequences of moves and turn allocations in the unfolding of conversational exchanges are analysed to illuminate patterns of confrontation and support as the learners explored and adjusted their alignments with one another.

In interactions, speakers draw on their knowledge and understanding of the world, but also on linguistic knowledge, hence the “crucial importance of shared knowledge in conversation” (Coulthard, 1996, p. 8). In casual conversation between friends, both participants assume a “shared awareness of the language system, a shared awareness of what has been said before, a shared awareness of cultural events and a shared awareness of very local events/circumstances” (Cauldwell & Allen, 1997, p. 21). In unmarked casual conversations, listener and speaker roles are exchanged regularly, with equal speaking rights. Participants can enter or exit the conversation, choose the next speaker, or pass the turn to someone else. However, in situations of disparate linguistic repertoires, there may be an unequal distribution of conversational rights due to power and inequality. In most critical studies of discourse the notion of power, and in particular the social power of groups or institutions, is central (Van Dijk, 1998). Power here refers to control of situations: individuals or groups can be identified as being powerful if they are able to control the acts of other groups or individuals. This ability presupposes “a power base of (privileged access to) scarce social resources, such as

force, money, status, fame, knowledge, information, ‘culture’ or indeed various forms of public discourse and communication” (Van Dijk, 1998, p. 355; see also Lukes, 1986; Wrong, 1979).

4.3.1 Analysing power and inequality in interaction

For analysing the largely unequal interactions recorded in this study, an IS analytical framework which included Conversation Analysis (CA), Discourse Analysis (DA), and Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) was used. As discussed in section 4.1.1 and 4.1.2 above, CA complements DA which is not able to portray the complexity, fluidity, and dynamism of multilingual classrooms unless it is integrated with a CA approach (Seedhouse, 2004). CA has been described as a “markedly data-centred form of DA” (Cameron, 2001, p. 87). DA in turn complements CA as it makes connections between ‘micro’ and ‘macro’ structures of conversation. SFL offers to both CA and DA additional tools for the analysis of, among other things, the negotiation of interpersonal meaning and the foregrounding of topics or themes.

Aspects of how talk works have been the subject of discussion amongst analysts from all walks of life. Within ethnomethodology, notable new ways of thinking about conversation emerged in the 1970s from Conversation Analysis, particularly in the work of Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson and their followers (Eggin & Slade, 1997). One of the strengths of Conversation Analysis is that it works with extended samples of real conversation, distinguishing it from other frames in focus and method (e.g. processes involved in social interaction) and does not include written texts or larger sociocultural phenomena. In addition, its method, following Garfinkel and Goffman's initiatives, is aimed at determining the methods and resources that the interactional participants use and rely on to produce interactional contributions and make sense of the contributions of others. Thus, Conversation Analysis focuses only on the structure and the way interactants use mood and move types and thus, for some critics, fails to make connections between 'micro' structures of conversation and the 'macro' structures of social institutions and societies (Fairclough, 1996). For Fairclough, conversation is presented in CA as a “skilled social practice existing in a social vacuum, as if talk were generally engaged in just for its own sake” (1996, p. 10). CA answers ‘what?’ questions but not ‘how?’ and ‘why?’ questions. However, as Eggin and Slade (2006, p.67) argue, in CA analysis the “mood choices in casual conversation can reveal the tensions

between equality and difference as interactants enact and construct relations of power through talk”.

Another important approach influencing the analysis of casual conversation is SFL, based on the model of “language as social semiotic” developed by M.A.K Halliday (1973, 1975, 1978, 1994; also Halliday & Hasan, 1985). In language analysis all structural-functional approaches ask just what conversational structure is, and attempt to relate the description of conversational structure to that of other units, levels, and structures of language (Eggins & Slade, 2006). However the Systemic Functional Linguistics developed by the Sydney School offers two major benefits for a CA approach:

1. It offers an integrated, comprehensive and systematic model of language which enables conversational patterns to be described and quantified at different levels and in different degrees of detail.
2. It theorizes the links between language and social life so that conversation can be approached as a way of doing social life. More specifically, casual conversation can be analyzed as involving different linguistic patterns which both enact and construct dimensions of social identity and interpersonal relations. (Eggins and Slade, 1997, p.47)

I will discuss each of the above approaches to textual analysis in turn.

4.3.2 Conversation Analysis

Conversation analysis (CA), the study of talk in interaction, was developed in the United States by Sacks and others (Eggins & Slade, 1997) and influenced by the sociological tradition of ethno-methodology which looks at people’s way of making sense of everyday life. It also draws on Garfinkel’s (1967) and Goffman’s (1967) early works. These origins underpinning CA regard talk first and foremost as a form of action and focus on discovering what people *do* with talk in the course of everyday life rather than just focusing on what they say. Natural conversation here refers to actual instances of talk. Each instance of talk is unique for it takes place in different milieus with different interactants who bring to the interaction their own personal characteristics, experiences and beliefs as well as their relationship history (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2008).

As discussed in various sections (see 1.4, 2.4, and 3.1), in any interaction participants are variously positioned either by themselves or others, and the taking-up of a particular position determines to some extent how an individual sees the world (Jaffe, 2009; Davies and Harré, 1990). Since instances of talk vary from one interaction to the next, the positioning also

varies from one episode to the next. Analysis of episodes identifies recurrent features or “generic orders of organization” (Schegloff, 2007, p.xiv) and seeks to understand how they are used in action. Six structural features are commonly used for analysis of these features of talk in interaction, namely: turn taking, action formation, sequence organization, repair, word selection, and overall structural organization of talk. These are examined in turn below.

Turn-taking

Turn-taking is defined as “a process by which interactants allocate the right or obligation to participate in an interactional activity” (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974, p. 50). Turn-taking has hugely significant interactional implications, for the participants use the system to pass conversational floors between themselves, changing the interactional effects with every move (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2008). A turn entails sequences of *moves* by a speaker during which other participants give the speaker the power to own the floor and speak, or take the floor from them. Moves are not co-extensive with exchanges, as a turn might begin with a continuation of a previous turn as a response but continue with the initiation of another turn. Claims for what is going on are supported by “going to the next turn” (Cameron, 2001, p. 87). It is in answering that the participants display their understanding of and response to the previous contributions.

The importance of turns in analysing conversation is illustrated in the way that participants attempt to use turns to control the interaction. In some conversations, especially amongst the young, there may be a large number of interruptions, overlaps and chorusing, very different from normal adult conversation patterns. Some participant turns make use of single units of talk while others have more than three units of talk. Three units signals the participants are in a position to control the interaction, which is a conclusive sign of power, portraying a level of competence and importance in the interaction. Of particular interest in interactions among youngsters is the high proportion of interruptions which can be either aligning and affiliative or aggressive and hostile (Goodwin, 1990).

In affiliative or collaborative completion, participants can come in in the middle of turn constructional units (TCUs) to finish the turns of their co-conversationalists. Acceptance then means two speakers producing a single syntactic unit, since the first speaker does not continue after completion of the sequence. Some participants show understanding of previous talk by elaborating on the content or seeking more information. On the other hand, those who are unable to follow up on a previous turn due to insufficient linguistic competence,

misreading of contextualization cues or lack of schemata are outsmarted by those in stronger positions. This often means unequal distribution of turns, rendering some speakers powerless. Power can be measured in the interaction in terms of topic control - who has more turns, clauses and control of topics being discussed, who initiates and who responds - and also through those who assume the role of 'mainstreamers' who may have more knowledge of topics and activities being discussed. Longer turns signal that the speaker has power: in other words, that they are in a position to control the conversation and portray a level of competence and importance in the interaction.

In hostile or aggressive completion, participants usurp turns and throw derogatory and mitigating statements around, or take the turn by force. Goffman has argued in analysis of face-to-face communication that much of adult conversation has an underlying concern with showing deference to the other party in interaction, and is characterized by watchful concern that potential discord does not emerge as an explicit feature of encounters (1967). In contrast, explicit conflict is common in the interaction of children (Goodwin, 1980, 1982).

Overall, then, closely examining the ways in which participants in an interaction manage turns and relate to one another can build understanding of how languages are used as a resource to negotiate social identity and interpersonal relations.

Action formation

An action usually refers to a thing done, an act with the aim of achieving something. Action formation in CA focuses on the description of the practices by which turns at talk are composed and positioned so as to realize one or another action. Turns in an interaction are fashioned in a range of ways, such as complaining, reprimanding, questioning or answering; and using both lexico-grammar and prosodic features in order to do so (Wilkinson & Kitzinger 2008). Every utterance in a conversational sequence can thus be analysed as a realization of the speaker's intent to achieve a particular purpose, a "speech act" (Searle 1976) and "the illocutionary force of many utterances is directly derivable from the linguistic form of the utterance" (Egins & Slade, 2006, p. 40). However, Searle and Austin further alerted researchers to the indirectness of many speech acts; for example, requesting a cigarette by asking: *Where are the cigarettes, David?* (Text 1.1 in chapter 1, Egins & Slade, 2006, p.40) has the same illocutionary force (to request) as the more direct alternative *Can I have a cigarette, David?* According to Austin (1962) the illocutionary force of an utterance is the speaker's intention in producing that utterance, while the act on the other hand is an

instance of a culturally defined speech act type, characterized by a particular illocutionary force: for example, promising, advising, warning etc. For this reason, Davies and Harré (1990) reject the description of conversation as a hazardous de-coding (by the hearers) of the individual social intentions of each speaker, characterizing it rather as the joint action of all the participants as they make (or attempt to make) their own and each other's actions socially determinate. Their view is that a speech-action can become a determinate speech act to the extent that it is taken up as such by all the participants.

Sequence organization

In an interaction, utterances are usually not single but appear in sequence, each being connected to the other in one way or another. They are part of a web of meaning created in the interaction in that every utterance is shaped by the interaction that went before (Stensig, 2003). Conversational speech acts occur in a sequence of utterances between two or more people, termed “recipient design” because participants in interaction unconsciously or consciously shape, or design, their speech to meet the expected needs of others in the conversation (Sacks and Schegloff, 1979). The underlying organization of conversations is an on-going turn-taking phenomenon expressly designed to keep going (Eggins and Slade, 2006). One issue then is determining how it will ever stop. It was in exploring an answer to this issue of conversational closure that CA analysts made what is often seen as their most significant contribution to the analysis of interaction: the identification of the adjacency pair, one of the most basic forms of speech that is used to produce conversation. It is a sequence of two utterances that follow one another, or are ‘adjacent’, and has two parts, a first pair part and a second pair part (Sacks and Schegloff, 1973). The adjacency pair enables an analysis of how turns at talk are shaped and how they are oriented both towards other utterances and the surrounding context (Eggins and Slade, 2006). However, this becomes much more complex in multi-party interactions where adjacency pairs may be several turns apart or may no longer be “pairs” but multiples.

Repair

Repair is a mechanism through which certain ‘troubles’ or areas of miscommunication in interaction are dealt with (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977). This is close to what is conventionally called ‘correction’. Interactions are not faultless processes and are not immune to various problems such as “mishearings, non-hearings, mis-speakings, misunderstandings, self-editings, proper word selections, term specifications, factual errors,

lack of knowledge of either language or cues of interactions amongst the participants” (Ferencík, 2005, p. 69). These trouble sources in interaction can be identified either by speakers or by listeners and require some repair work before the interaction can be pursued. Examples of *self-repair* include a speaker thinking back and inserting an utterance either to soften a blow or to replace one word for another. In *other-repair*, interlocutors can initiate repair if they deem the current speaker is having trouble remembering what has already been said or predicting what might be said later on in the conversation. Hutchby and Wooffitt (2008, p.64) distinguish four varieties of repair sequences:

Self-initiated self-repair refers to the situation where repair is both initiated and carried out by the speaker of the trouble source.

Other-initiated self-repair: Repair is carried out by speaker of the trouble source but initiated by the recipient.

Self-initiated other-repair: The speaker of a trouble source may try and get the recipient to repair the trouble, for instance, if a name is proving troublesome to remember.

Other-initiated other-repair: The recipient of a trouble source turn both initiates and carries out the repair.

Word selection

Word selection is one of the technical specifications offered by CA as a key structural feature of talk-in-interaction, and is carried out as part of turn design. It forms and shapes understanding achieved by the turn recipient and it also focuses on category-based ways of referring to non-present persons (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2008). Thus the choice of any word by an interlocutor will depend on the prior choice of that word by the speaker in the previous or an earlier turn.. The relationship between and among speakers and their social roles also determine word selection. In adolescent speech, use of colloquial language can be part of processes of identity construction.

Overall structural organization

Overall structural organization relates to how talk-in-interaction is organized into phases: most obviously, openings and closings (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). This organization is mostly determined by the participants in the interaction. On the other hand, in institutional interactions there are often component phases or activities which characteristically emerge in a particular order. For example, classroom interactions determined by the teacher have a highly structured overall organization and all participants orient to and negotiate the boundaries of each phase of the interaction.

Although some of the characteristics of extended talk (i.e. talk that “goes on over more than a single turn”) are described extensively by CA researchers, such accounts deal with the micro-features of the talk, rather than with the overall structure of such segments (Sacks, 1992b, p. 17-32). Discourse Analysis (DA) researchers on the other hand tend to focus on macro-structural aspects, also choosing more “socially/politically relevant” themes (ten Have, 2005, p. 9). In other words, while CA tends to avoid content of obvious social importance, DA tends to concentrate on such material, using conventional concepts from linguistics and critical social science as well as mostly non-interactional data to serve highly political agendas (ten Have, 2005). Thus, while its research material is discursive, DA targets exposing ideologies of groups in power as documented by official reports and press. Using CA and DA together enables the analysis of both macro-structural issues and the manner in which they are indexed in the micro-structures of conversation. Thus the combination of several frameworks in analysing the negotiation of identities is an indication that each provides only part of the picture.

4.3.3 Discourse Analysis

Conversation is always embedded in larger flows of discourse. As mentioned above, Conversation Analysis describes discourse structures at the micro level while Discourse Analysis tries to explain them in terms of properties of social interaction and, especially, social structure. To discourse analysts ‘discourse’ usually means actual instances of communicative action in the medium of language, although not all linguistic communication is spoken or written. Discourse can be defined as:

a socially accepted association amongst ways of using language, other symbolic expressions and artefacts of thinking, feeling, believing, valuing and acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or social network or to signal that one is playing a socially meaningful role. (Gee, 1996, p.131)

Discourse Analysis is sociologically oriented, for it explores how language is used in social contexts to achieve particular goals. In the field of Discourse Analysis, research spans three paradigms (Kress 2001), ranging from a focus on language beyond the sentence, to “language in use” to language as social practice (Jaworski & Coupland, 1999; Schiffrin, Tannen & Hamilton, 2001). All DA researchers seek to answer questions about social relations, such as dominance and oppression or solidarity. However the recent shift to a “language as social practice” framing has enabled a shift from viewing language as a system to one which

foregrounds the relationship between languages on the one hand and the social conditions within which it is used on the other (Kress, 2001, p. 34).

CA then is a technical study of the on-going management of interaction with turn-taking as its key concern, while DA is diverse, seeking to answer questions about the social aspects of language. Thus conversational and discourse analysis provide two complementary lenses from which to analyse language patterns in context. A third lens is provided by Systemic Functional Linguistics which enables the study of the relationship between language and its functions in social settings, that is, language as social practice.

4.3.4 Systemic Functional Linguistics

This systemic approach is now used world-wide, particularly in language education, and for purposes of discourse analysis. It offers to DA a view of language as social-semiotic (Halliday, 1978), in which “words get their meaning from activities in which they are embedded, which again are social activities with social agencies and goals” (Halliday & Hasan, 1985, p. 5). This theory of language offers a rigorous framework for analysing the language choices that speakers make. The framework consists of three metafunctions of language: to represent experience (ideational meaning), which refers to the ideas, content and subject matter that are conveyed through language; to interact with others (interpersonal meaning), which refers to the relationship between the speaker/hearer or reader/writer; and thirdly, to create coherent discourse (the textual meaning) that makes the meanings 'hang' together. The next sections consider ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings as resources for the negotiation of roles and relationships in conversation.

4.3.5 The grammar of casual conversation: enacting role relations through mood

In ideational meaning a key resource for constructing relations and expressing appraisal is *mood*. Casual conversation is motivated by interpersonal goals and from that we deduce the relationships that exist between the interactants: “the degree of affective involvement they feel for each other and also the sense of affiliation” (Eggins & Slade, 2006, p.67). These will be partly revealed through mood analysis, which involves studying the kind of clause structures chosen by interactants and displayed within each speaker turn; such choices reveal the ways in which participants enact and construct relations of power through talk. Mood includes declaratives, interrogatives and imperatives. Clauses are made up of a subject and a finite and /or predicator, together with complements and adjuncts (Eggins & Slade, 2006).

Mood types are analysed as either full or elliptical and a complete clause is described as not ellipsed (that is, with none of its components left out) and will generally have two pivotal components: a subject and a finite.

The analysis of mood choices allows for the revealing of tensions between the participants, as they enact and construct relations of power through talk (Eggins & Slade, 1997). For example, declaratives can be used in interaction to initiate exchanges by presenting information for negotiation, thus constructing the speaker as active and initiatory. The use of declaratives can also put the speaker in a powerful position by querying prior talk, challenging or counter-challenging. Polar interrogatives, on the other hand, are used to initiate an exchange by requesting information from other participants, thus positioning the speaker as dependent on the responses of others. Imperatives function in the issuing of commands, usually placing the participant in a position of power.

4.3.6 The semantics of casual conversation: encoding attitude and humour

The interactive nature of discourse, whether spoken or written, can be termed as negotiation. This negotiation very often includes appraisal, part of the system of interpersonal meaning, encompassing the study of attitudes and how they are amplified, as well as their sources (Martin & White 2005). Attitudes have to do with evaluating things, judging people's characters, and expressing feelings (Martin & Rose, 2007). Attitudinal meanings are expressed at semantic level largely through lexical selection and context, but also through humour, and the directness with which participants can speak to or laugh at (or with) each other.

4.3.7 The discourse structure of casual conversation: negotiating support and confrontation

Casual conversation is the type of talk engaged in when people are talking for the sake of talking, and is a prime site for studying processes of constructing identity and interpersonal relationships (Eggins & Slade, 1997). In casual conversation, different levels of familiarity exist amongst interactants; their talk signals the kinds of ties that exist or the involvement they have with each participant. Further, their topics (which might or might not be of mutual interest) and their choice of words signal the status of each participant, either as insider or on the periphery and consequently excluded from full participation (Eggins & Slade, 1997). To account for how people construct relationships with each other through talk, we need to go beyond the topics they talk about or the grammatical and semantic resources they employ to

the activities they are achieving as they talk to each other, the moves they make to construct coherent discourse (textual meaning). This entails labelling what interactants are doing and relating the move types to the grammatical and semantic resources they use to do them (Eggins and Slade, 1997, p. 177). A central point is that there is no one-to-one match between particular mood structures and particular discourse functions.

The following examples from an analysis of a group of friends interacting over dinner (Eggins & Slade, 1997, p.178) illustrate the case in point:

C: monitor	9b	Fay	(ii) D'you remember?
R: track: check	18	Nick	(i) Straight into the what?
R: track: probe	27	Fay	(i) because Roman lives in Denning Road also?

The above three moves are all expressed as interrogative clauses. However they each function differently. Move 9b is a monitoring move which involves monitoring the state of the interactive situation, for example, checking to see if the audience is on the same track (Eggins & Slade, 1997) and aims to elicit confirmation of points already made by the speaker. Moves 18 and 27 are both tracking moves which check, confirm, clarify or probe the content of prior moves (Eggins & Slade, 1997). 18 is used to check a detail that has been misheard and 27 is used to probe information left implicit. The use of move analysis involves “taking up a speech role and positioning other interactants into predicted speech roles” (Eggins & Slade, 1997, p. 169). Like Eggins and Slade, I will explore the unfolding of conversational exchanges in order to show how the learners take up speech roles while positioning others in joint accomplishment of turn-taking (discussed in detail in chapter 6). The analysis will then illustrate how patterns of confrontation and support expressed through conversational structure enable interactants to explore and adjust their alignments and intimacy with each other, and provide evidence of the on-going negotiation of difference. The synthesis of the analysis of speech functions, moods, moves, and appraisal illuminates the complex linguistic processes by which interactants construct different roles and negotiate different relations among themselves.

To sum up, in following Eggins and Slade, I draw on a range of functional and semiotic approaches to language to describe and explain how learners initiate and sustain interactions and position themselves in conversation in different contexts. A combination of four linguistically based analytical frames is used to enable capture of a range of overlapping and intersecting meanings from the data. Conversation Analysis is vital for the description of

discourse structure and language patterns in relation to the construction of identities. Discourse Analysis (DA) provides a theoretical frame that is useful for interpreting meaning beyond micro level linguistic choices. More specifically, it focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, legitimate, reproduce or challenge relations of power and dominance in different interactions (see section 4.6). Finally, Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) is also applied because it enables a multidimensional analysis of linguistic choices in context.

4.4 Reflexivity

During the past few decades, studies in a variety of fields, including the history, philosophy, sociology, and psychology of education have supported the contention that personal, social, and local factors influence the research process and its results (Breuer, 2002). As a result, questions of subjectivity and reflexivity encourage researchers in these fields to attend carefully to the ways in which knowledge creation can be influenced by personal, practical, and other factors. In qualitative research, since the researcher is the primary “instrument” of data collection and analysis, reflexivity is deemed essential (Glesne, 1999; Merriam, 1998; Russell & Kelly, 2002; Stake, 1995). In this type of research, through reflection, researchers may become aware of what allows them to see as well as what may inhibit their seeing (Watt, 2007; Russell & Kelly, 2002). This entails careful consideration of the phenomenon under study as well as the ways in which a researcher’s own assumptions and behaviour may be influencing the inquiry.

Taking a reflexive stance in the study, I look to Luttrell (2010) who argues that

reflexivity means questioning the already pre-conceived categorization of the ‘researched’ [...] by making the research process and decision-making visible at multiple levels: personal, methodological, theoretical, epistemological, ethical, and political. (p.4).

As researchers, we inevitably bring our biographies and our subjectivities to every stage of the research process; this influences the questions we ask and the ways in which we try to find answers to our puzzles. In the research process the subjectivity of the observer should not be seen as an unfortunate disturbance but as one element in the human interactions that make up our object of study (Luttrell, 2010). Accordingly, to highlight my own reflective stance I will discuss three relevant aspects in 5, namely: my experiences before entering the field; the relationships I had with my participants and school staff; and finally, my own positioning (see chapter 5 sections 5.1, 5.2, 5.2.1).

4.5 Limitations of the study

In every research journey there is a limit to the kind of detail and data that can be gathered. All studies have imperfections which cannot be avoided but can be minimized.

As far as the participants were concerned, my study was limited to one group of twenty immigrants aged 8-17, and their teachers, family and peers from one country in two schools. Thus my findings are not generalizable to immigrant children from other African countries or immigrants in other schools with different profiles. Understanding more about how children from other countries experience the transnational move into new schools would be an important area for future research, but was beyond the scope of the study.

From a methodological perspective, the main challenge was the multilingual data involved; I needed assistance with interpretation from others and also from a translator when transcribing observation or trying to make sense of what was going on. These language issues affected the quality and interpretation of some of my data, since I could not always get first-hand information and had to depend on others. Some other methodological limitations encountered in my study included: learners' occasional lack of openness in interviews; staff reluctance; linguistic repertoires and their effect on research focus; the prevailing noisy and disruptive conditions in the classroom and playground; and problems with recording equipment.

The first major limitation was the possibility that some learners did not feel free to divulge everything to me. This could have been influenced by the fact that I was not a teacher and some of the learners were cautioned by their parents not to give too much information to strangers because of the fear associated with their migration status. Some of the learners were happy to talk to me at once, while others were scared at first before being reassured. Those who opened up completely gave me vital information towards building up full profiles while those who were reluctant or avoided divulging everything left me with incomplete profiles. I therefore lacked complete information on their migration patterns and trajectories. At the level of interviews, I also encountered some problems: sometimes even after several months the learners were very conscious of the recorder, with the result that they did not converse naturally. It was also observed that the girls were less inclined than the boys to be interviewed, as they were very shy. Some learners would not allow me to use the recorded data but preferred that I write their given responses to questions. I did so but because of the rapid flow of their speech I sometimes failed to capture vital information.

A second issue relating to collection and availability of data was that reluctance from some members of staff sometimes impacted on the quality of data I was able to collect. The principal and most of the other staff members in school A openly told me that they felt my presence might interfere with the smooth running of the classroom and restricted me from attending all classes. This placed me from the beginning in a position where I felt I was interfering and thus unable to ‘stretch my arms’ and get as full an understanding of the issues as I had envisaged.

A further limitation of the study was that posed by English as a LoLT and thus the dominant language of use in all the classes except for the Afrikaans classes. This impacted on the participation of non-English-speaking learners. The L1 of most of the teachers was either English or Afrikaans, which represented the languages of power and became a fertile means of positioning learners. Learners who had little proficiency in the dominant language could easily be detected and stigmatized while those who could participate because of their proficiency in the LoLT generally escaped this positioning. The resultant silencing affected my research since the focus was not evenly distributed across different learners; too much attention was paid to the active rather than passive participants, as they were the ones who spoke and could be recorded.

A final problem was that my recorder at times disappointed me. Sometimes I had to resort to writing, which is difficult under playground interview conditions and led to loss of vital information. When I taped a conversation between participants, the quality of the recording was often poor. Also, the accuracy of transcription was of great importance here since I depended only on voice recorders. Without video data, my notes needed to capture everything that might help interpret a particular utterance or ‘move’. The battery was also an issue in class recordings and sometimes failed in the middle of good discussions. This often happened during day-long recording sessions and (even with the charged batteries) when I least expected it or in the middle of collecting valuable data. By the time I had quickly changed batteries and resumed recording, I had missed some pertinent information. Many times, I recorded data only to find out later that the data had not been captured.

4.6 Ethics

We cannot imagine ourselves merely pursuing operational agendas in research settings and then simply leaving the cultures of which we have become part; nor can we ignore the ethics

of research, since research is also the site of an on-going ethical event implicating all those involved (Haskell, Linds & Ippolito, 2002, p.4). Since the present study investigated minors, they were informed through their teachers, parents and school management of the purpose and nature of the research. Consent forms were provided to the different parties involved and some were translated for parents or caregivers who had little knowledge of the dominant language. The purposes of the study were explained very carefully to the research population in order to obtain permission to use their data, whether oral or written. At certain points it took a lot of convincing by both the teacher and myself to help parents understand that this was an innocent research project, not a deal with the government to implicate immigrant learners and their families. Participants were given the option of being tape-recorded or not, and they had the right to withdraw from the research project at any time or to request that any recorded data be destroyed. Permission for recording was obtained in writing before and verbally after the recording took place. By giving the learners the control over their decision to participate or not, it was hoped that some of their concerns regarding privacy and anonymity would be addressed. Participation was voluntary and permission to work with these learners in their schools was obtained from the Western Cape Education Department (WCED). In these ways I hoped to have met the essential purpose of ethical research planning: that is, to protect the welfare and rights of research participants (TerreBlanche & Durrheim, 1999).

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter focused on the methodology used in the study. It discussed the research design as well as the analytical framework. It began by considering the definition of Linguistic Ethnography, followed by some key principles and methods of the approach. It discussed both data collection and analytical tools used. LE was considered to be the most appropriate means of realizing the aims of this research because this paradigm emphasizes two key aspects of studying interactions in natural settings. The first of these is the importance of the study of human interaction which has been relatively underexplored, considering the central place it occupies in the organization of human social behaviour (Goodwin, 1990). The second key aspect emphasized by LE is that, in order to coordinate their behaviour with that of other participants, “human beings must display to each other what they are doing and how they expect others to participate in the activity of the moment” (Garfinkel, 1967 as cited in Goodwin, 1990, p. 1). The next chapter describes my trajectory in the field.

Chapter Five: IN THE FIELD

5.0 Overview

This chapter describes the researcher's trajectory in the field. The previous chapter discussed Linguistic Ethnography as an appropriate methodological and analytical framework for this study focused on language practices, and explained how recording casual interactional data, classroom interactions, interviews and focus group interviews with the young participants was motivated by the need to capture the texture of their linguistic practices among and about themselves, their situation, and the others with whom they interacted. This aligns with the notion that language cannot be separated from context. The present chapter moves the focus onto aspects of the relevant context, providing some ethnographic background on the schools and their differing impacts on the research process.

The first section (5.1) describes the school as unit of analysis and provides rationale for the choice of the two schools studied. Section 5.2 provides profiles of each school, including the socio-economic status and linguistic make-up of the school population. It also describes the varied responses to my presence as researcher and the effects of these responses on the research process, as well as providing a discussion of the limitations of the study.

Section 5.3 offers some reflections on the researcher identity construction while 5.4 to 5.5.2 describe different techniques of data collection, including field notes and thick description, interviews, and audio recordings of interactions in and out of schools.

Section 5.7 recounts some challenges encountered before and while in the field, and also reflects on my personal stance: how I found my way amidst the messiness of the research process. Section 5.8 concludes the chapter.

5.1 The global in the local: schools as units of analysis.

Schools with their densely occupied, semiotically layered populations are good places to study multiplicity and the construction of multilingual identities. The schools chosen for the study were two parallel-medium primary schools characterized by a mix of language profiles (English, Afrikaans, and isiXhosa as local South African languages, along with a range of other immigrant languages) in predominantly working class communities. Since ethnography relies on a discovery of patterns of co-occurrences in time and space, it matters greatly not

only what happens but also where and when it happens and who the participants involved are. The two schools were therefore chosen for their ability to illuminate different experiences and perspectives of migrant children. My own situation as a migrant stimulated my interest in these learners' independent ability to navigate their way through complex new environments and to imagine and create new ways of being (Maguire, 1987; 1994).

Data collection was a two-year continuous process conducted between February 2010 and June 2013, as an investigation of the shifts in learners' positioning as they became part of the new social and educational communities. The data will thus also show how context influences participation and positioning.

5.2 Schools in context: comparison between schools

Over the two years of my fieldwork I observed grades 5 to 7, in both the English (in all subjects) and Afrikaans medium classrooms. In both schools, classes were observed twice a week: Mondays and Thursdays in school A and Tuesdays and Fridays in school B. I thus accumulated 50 hours and more than 500 pages of data from the different interactional spaces. Countless visits were made and spent in each class. In the classes, my attention was on the learners and their activities and interactions during the lesson.

A key issue in both schools was integration. School A, as I learned, tried to manage the racial issue, but this was difficult as the learners appeared to stick to their ethnic groupings. This was particularly evident during the lunch breaks, when there was frequent conflict and antagonistic behaviour between groupings. In school B, however, a more carefree attitude prevailed and the ethnic grouping (also evident there) did not preclude a certain camaraderie among the learners. In both schools A and B I usually mingled with the learners during the break-times since I was already a familiar face to them. During the lunch-break I was usually invited to have tea by staff members, most of whom supplied me with vital information when they discovered what my research was all about. Levels of familiarity were different in the schools, though. (See details in section 4.2 *Data collection, setting, key participants and criteria for selection*).

It is important to note that most of my time (about 75%) was spent in school A and most of the data were obtained there, because most of my participants attended this school. School B (as already mentioned in 4.2, paragraph two) was included because one of my key

participants had relocated there. The school A participants were also the more vocal ones, and Aline, who had been vocal in school A, became less so in school B. The situation in school B (described in the chapters dealing with analysis) tended to silence learners' voices. I stayed with the same groups of learners as they progressed from grades 5 to 7 (10-16 year olds) and continued making weekly visits to both schools until June 2013.

5.2.1 School A

The first school is situated in a lower middle class west coast suburb of Cape Town (in the Western Cape Province of South Africa). The school started in 1971, housed in a building that is now the tuck-shop. At the school's inception, there was one teacher, a headmistress, and eleven children in a combined grade 1 and 2 class. From such humble beginnings the school has grown to be an established institution with approximately 1455 learners and more than 50 educators. It is made up of seven classes in each grade and each has a grade head who co-ordinates all the activities in that grade. It has enough comfortable classrooms and the teachers have a comfortable staff room and tea-room where they work and relax regularly. The school is in a quiet neighbourhood and has several entrances from the street, with an electric fence surrounding the whole campus. Entry and exit are monitored electronically, making sneaking out of the grounds impossible.

The school is ethnically diverse, representing learners from different countries and different language groups. It is a parallel medium school with English and Afrikaans as the languages of instruction and the learners are taught in either of these languages, depending on their home language and personal preference; although many have different home/first languages. In 2013 the exact learner list per learner race in school A included:

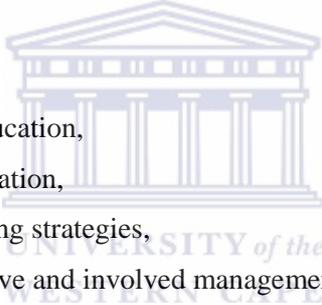
BLACK/AFRICAN	510	35.5%
COLOURED	166	11.5%
INDIAN/ASIAN	53	3.6%
WHITE	726	49.9%
TOTAL	1455	

During the years of my fieldwork, the learner-teacher ratio was about 1:30. For children who experience language barriers or other difficulties, there were extra classes in language and

mathematics. Not all the learners in the school lived in the school neighbourhood. Although the school is situated in a lower middle-class neighbourhood with fairly average economic backgrounds, there were many learners from families who were struggling financially. Of the seven classes for each grade, five were for English speaking learners and two for Afrikaans learners. In the English-medium classes, the majority of learners were isiXhosa-speaking children who travelled in from the townships, learners from other provinces in South Africa with different home languages, and foreign learners from all over the world. In other words, most of the learners in the English-medium classes did not speak English as a home language. In contrast, in the Afrikaans streams there were generally only white and 'coloured' learners who did speak Afrikaans as a home language.

Even though it is one of the biggest schools in the west coast area, school A strives to provide each child with excellent, balanced, outcomes- based education. This can be seen in the mission statement of the school:

We will by means of:



a Christian based education,
a child- centred education,
with the latest teaching strategies,
supported by a positive and involved management,

strive to prepare the child to be a balanced, well-principled individual.

The school embraces an outcomes-based curriculum in accordance with national policy and offers standard learning areas applicable to children in primary school (ages 7-16 years), including technology, art, music, drama and computer literacy. It is well equipped with a variety of sports facilities surrounding the school building. Cultural activities are also organized because teachers believe that cultural activities develop social and interpersonal skills and contribute towards positive self-esteem. The school also has an art centre for grade 4, 5, 6, and 7 learners and a well equipped computer room and library, which greatly facilitate learning.

School A: Environment and daily activities

Despite the relatively well-resourced and stable profile of the school outlined above, the classrooms in which I observed were characterized by some drama and levels of unruliness

by the senior students. An example of this is the dramatic way many teachers, especially the women, in school A welcomed me to their classes. An example:

It's good that you came because I have never seen a bunch of children like these. They really get to me; they don't listen, I give instructions and they don't follow, and truly I don't know what they want. In grade 7 they have not come to their senses; can you imagine that? We are in the middle of doing corrections of what we did yesterday, and no one seems to recall anything. These are children who are getting ready to leave the school and face higher levels of learning yet they cannot proudly say they know anything. (Teacher, grade 7, school A)

Another instance of such opening lines (from another female teacher) was: "Can you imagine? They think education is not important and already have a Bible verse that sums up their whole theory about education." The teacher went on to tell me how the learners told her every day about the freedom enjoyed by the birds of the sky. The birds (as described by the learners) were free and not tied down to any of the rules that they (the learners) experienced; in addition, the learners said, one day they would all die and then all the running up and down studying would have been for nothing. "Look at the birds of the sky; do they worry about school, or do they go around looking for work? A BIG NO! But they have good lives and are free to go wherever."

She continued, "Tell them how important education is to their lives. They want to roam the streets committing atrocities. A good education will get them away from the streets and into a better future; they don't know that, so I want you to tell them. Sorry I had to get you involved, but it's disorientating to know that in grade 7 they still don't know why they are here. Please sit down..." - for I was still standing up and had not yet taken my usual position.

After a while I developed a sense that some of these teachers were scared I might say something about their teaching standards. I reflected that perhaps they were trying to 'cosy up' to me or play on my psyche in order to mask shortcomings I might detect in their management of lessons and learners.

And so it went from day to day. Nevertheless, despite these teacher comments, compared to school B (see section 5.2.2), school A indisputably had reasonably high levels of discipline and a good degree of orderliness and security; and learners did not have the opportunity of strolling majestically out of the school as in school B. In addition, the classroom atmosphere in school A (also discussed in 5.2.2 below) was more serene and conducive to learning than

in school B, although there were frequent disruptive interludes. They also utilized two strategically placed electronic boards to convey important messages to the parents. Notably, after the dramatic 'inductions' I received from them, the teachers always continued their lesson on a different note. For example, after the scenario in which the teacher deplored learners taking the birds of the sky as their models and wanting to "roam the streets committing atrocities" (mentioned above), the class resumed work normally and there was an interactive class session as the morning progressed.

A usual scenario was the following: In class, I would greet everybody as usual and take up whatever position was allocated to me. Usually the early birds would already be seated and ready to work, and those learners who (for one reason or another) were always late would attempt to glide in. This was very distracting because the others always looked around when the door opened and the vocal and noisy ones always commented. Some latecomers attempted to sneak in quietly, some peeped and withdrew, while others just pushed forcefully without knocking, as if the classroom was their private property. I noted that those who were consistent latecomers were not dressed in the correct school uniform and thus not neatly attired. The teachers always reacted negatively to these intrusions because any interruption derailed the teaching process and teachers had to waste some valuable minutes of class time bringing the learners back to order.

As the lunch break drew near, the clock hanging at the centre of the back wall became the centre of attraction, with all eyes focused on it. When it finally touched 10:30 on the dot and the bell also rang simultaneously, the teacher ordered lunches to be taken out, but stated that those who were still working on their projects should keep working. The teacher questioned those who did not have snacks and took note so as to contact their parents later to remind them that the children must always bring along something healthy. She insisted that as punishment those who were lazy would continue working until they were finished, before going for lunch. The intercom went off and there was a long announcement in English. The queue for consultations with the teacher was lengthy, as every learner wanted 'a piece of her'. One learner, who was going on about submitting tomorrow, still raised the issue about not being able to finish, and the teacher objected with a loud NO!

Outside on the playground, it became a crazy ride because of the running, jumping, swinging and climbing, to name but a few activities. It was difficult to track any learner, especially the young ones, because they rushed about like the wind. The more mature ones hung around in

little groups discussing their private issues, be it their families, the kind of games or phones they had at home, or sometimes among the boys some dared to touch on the topic of girls. Comparisons of technological devices made those who had none jealous: as one little boy asked me, “Why is it that some children have everything and can own whatever they desire while others do not even have the basics?” The teachers, on the other hand, relocated to the tea-room to enjoy whatever it was they had in their lunch boxes while downing cups of coffee and tea. In school A I could not help but feel out of place in the tea room since I was usually the only black in the room. Throughout the period of my data collection at the school, there was no black member of staff, and the staff members were also predominantly Afrikaans-speaking.

Working with teachers in school A

With a vision of educating learners through the medium of English and Afrikaans using professional teaching skills, also teaching acceptance and respect for different cultural and religious beliefs, as well as creating a safe environment where learners can develop to their true potential and creating opportunities for learners to develop culturally, School A sought to be an exemplary site for the Western Cape Education Department (WCED).

As mentioned earlier, the staff members of A were either white or coloured (about 75% white to 25% coloured) and during lunch break I felt out of place because I was usually the only black person in the tea room. Most of the staff members were female with ages ranging from 45 to 65 years. Male staff ages ranged from the late 30s to 60s.

When I first arrived at school A in 2008, I was handed over to a white woman in her late fifties. (I know this because she shouted out in class one day that the learners wanted to send her to an early grave at 57 years old.) She spoke English, Zulu and Afrikaans, but her first language was Afrikaans. She also told me she was from the Free State, had taught there before coming to Cape Town five years previously and planned to move back. When I resumed field work in 2010 she had indeed moved back to the Free State as she had indicated in 2008. I was then handed over by the new principal to another white woman also in her mid-fifties, who also had Afrikaans as her first language and spoke English and some Xhosa. She told me she had been in school A for close to ten years and it felt like home already. We had extensive talks about the learners, especially the immigrant learners, and discussed how they were coping and the challenges they were facing.

Another teacher, the grade 7 teacher who always welcomed me dramatically (see 5.2.1) was also a white woman in her late fifties but in this case English-speaking. She had been working at the school for five years. She often asked me whether she was on the right track in her teaching, and I could only reply that I couldn't say because I was there as a researcher and not an inspector from WCED.

Some older white female teachers (in their sixties) delighted in giving as much information as I wanted for my research. Our meeting place was always the tea room and they had much to say about how learners were punished by the South African education system. They considered that the only fair solution for the immigrant learners would be for a school that accommodated the immigrants and their challenges to be made available to them.

Finally, there was a white woman in her late fifties who taught extra English classes every Wednesday, spoke English as her first language and had been in the school for close to ten years. She encouraged me to attend these classes (I was not aware of them at first), and explained to me how learners qualified for the extra classes. She also made me aware of the extra reading classes held in the library for learners with poor reading skills.

5.2.2 School B

The second school is situated in the northern suburbs, has a good teaching staff and offers subsidies to disadvantaged children. It is an independent school founded in 1998 with the aim of providing private education based on Christian principles. The school follows the curriculum of the Western Cape Education Department and all the teachers are registered with the South African Council of Educators. The teachers aspire to work together with other staff members and parents to train the whole child: body, mind and spirit. Their intention is to plant high standards of morality and wisdom in their learners. They describe the school as an extension of the home in training young people, and accordingly the parents are encouraged to participate in their child's education by supporting the school principles and being involved with their children's schoolwork on a daily basis. The goal of the school is to train the youth in the highest principles of moral character, self-discipline, individual responsibility, personal integrity, and good citizenship. They also try to accommodate diversity by ensuring that learners from all cultural backgrounds are able to communicate and learn in a friendly, warm atmosphere where mutual respect and consideration is paramount.

The school has small classrooms and attempts are made to give learners individual attention and provide a loving environment, in order to equip the children as future leaders. The intention is to enable the teachers to help the learners attain their best in an orderly but relaxed and non-threatening atmosphere. Sports offered to learners of the institution include swimming, soccer, cricket, gym, action ball, netball, and tennis. The school has a playground for the two-to-three-year-olds, a nursery school for the four-to-five year olds, a pre-primary class for the children aged five to six, a grade R class, and finally grades 1 - 7 for Junior Primary. There is also an after care and homework supervision group for the children with working parents or those who can afford it.

School B: Environment and daily activities

The school was situated in a none too quiet neighbourhood less than 200 metres from a metropolitan road and consisted of one large building with two entrances. The roadside was busy with vendors and taxi touts yelling at the top of their voices for passengers. The gate used as the main entrance was in front, facing brick multi- storey apartment buildings that had stood the test of time: this was an old neighbourhood. There was also a parking lot in front. The second entrance was situated behind the main and only building and near the playground. From my view of the gate I could see that neither the front nor the back entrance was well guarded and that they were therefore easily accessible to those who wanted to sneak out without permission from the school authorities.

A typical school day in school B began with assembly and then a march to the classrooms. Settling down was difficult because some learners screamed at the top of their voices, walking up and down, with the teacher also shouting at the top of his or her voice to get their attention. To the Cameroonian newcomers, classroom spaces in South Africa were also challenging: they came from an environment where the teacher was the paramount authority and silence was the norm in the classroom. As far as they could recall, no learners would have dared to be noisy or troublesome in class. Here, however, I often felt that actual learning hardly took place in some of the classes I visited,, especially the classrooms in which I observed, which included grades 5 to 7. Most of these learners considered themselves to be senior students and as such beyond control. A few hard-working learners tried unsuccessfully to concentrate despite their peers. Most learners, however, were noisy, often moving about, and teachers habitually shouted out loudly to get their attention. The teacher was an English-speaking man in his 60s who had been teaching since the era of apartheid when levels of

control were far higher. Distributing tasks and giving instructions became very hard for him, due to lots of random commentary. The learners hardly paid attention to these instructions but threw commentary at one another and at times the teacher became their target as well. Some learners also habitually carried on private conversations on the side, mostly in the language of their choice - in this case, isiXhosa or Afrikaans.

In one such lesson which revolved around writing a paragraph on giving birth, I became the centre of attraction because of my identity as female and a mother. All the girls wanted to know how I felt, how painful it was, and how many times I had been to the labour room. When they wanted to pursue the questioning, I turned their attention back to the teacher and the lesson, but assured them I would respond to the unending list of questions after class. It became complicated here because, as Giampapa asserts, what “being” in the field entails is complex in terms of the “ebb and flow of the researcher-participant relationship across space and time” (2011, p.132).

It also became problematic at times to negotiate my researcher identities across the diverse spaces of the field. As is evident in the teacher quotes in 5.2.1 above, teachers often saw me as a kind of confidante with whom to share their disciplinary concerns, or an ‘expert’ outsider who might have some influence over the learners in their classes. However, to take on either of these roles would have compromised my ability to interact with the learners in ways which would elicit the kind of interactional and other data I was seeking. Similarly, to become too involved in classroom activities, even when pressed by the learners, would have changed the dynamics of the lesson and my further interactions with learners beyond what I felt comfortable with. As Giampapa (2011) has argued, in “being and becoming” researchers, our histories, social and linguistic forms of capital, and identities position us in particular ways in relation to participants and the communities in which they are embedded.

Regarding the writing exercise mentioned above, the teacher took over by enquiring if the learners ever asked their parents about the experience of giving birth. There were different answers and very funny explanations. After receiving a series of extreme explanations, the teacher then turned to what they had actually written down about child bearing. He decided to move from front to back, from one learner to the next. Michelle 2, who always takes it upon herself to be the spokesman for all, stood up and explained inaudibly. The next learner had nothing to say. The next was busy writing, I do not know what. The next person said aloud that he had not written anything because he had nothing to write. Michelle 2 then gave her

explanation which prompted a lot of laughter because she talked a lot about pulling and pushing. The next learner who stood up said there was some terminology that would be easier to explain in her first language, Afrikaans. The next one told a funny abstract story not related to his own experience. This lesson sequence was just another indication of the degree of laxity in the management of the class and school as a whole.

After any question and answer session, the teacher usually thanked those who participated, evaluating them positively, especially those who shared their private family stories. After most such sessions of interactive learning, the class again resumed its noisiness and the teacher again went back to trying to maintain order in the classroom. His attempts more often than not were futile and those sitting in front elaborated to the teacher on how they were talking about “dirty stuff” and laughing. It was at such moments when the learners went beyond the limit of making noise, that I felt like trying to bring the class to order or taking over, but I knew my researcher role was framed by ethical procedures and processes linked to expected behaviours in the field.

Working with school B teachers

In school B the qualifications of the teachers ranged from Senior Primary Teachers Diploma (SPTD) to Honours in Education. In school B the coloured teachers (50% of the teaching staff) outnumbered both the whites (30%) and the blacks (20%). The black teachers included both South African nationals and foreigners from Southern Africa. The age of teachers ranged from 30 to 65.

Although I got to speak to many teachers about my research, especially during lunch break in the tea room, in their classes or in the hallway, I was in close cohort with four teachers who provided me with relevant information when needed. Each of these teachers helped me in getting all the learners’ caregivers to sign their consent forms indicating their willingness to participate in the study. The number of teachers involved gave me better opportunities to probe them for details around their experience of the learners, the school and the research. For example, I developed a good relationship with the contact teacher introduced to me by the principal as an appropriate person to discuss my research with. This white teacher in his sixties (whose first language was English) had been teaching in the school for more than twenty years. He helped me a lot with detailed information relevant to my research, and I was able to use this information to establish connections with other staff members.

Secondly, the Maths teacher, who came from neighbouring Zimbabwe, was also instrumental in providing me with relevant information. He was in his mid-thirties, a Shona speaker, and spoke a Zimbabwean variety of English. He had been at the school for only two years and was juggling his roles as full-time teacher and part-time student. As a fellow student involved in his own research process he felt very comfortable explaining his teaching practices to me.

I worked similarly closely and easily with another Zimbabwean teacher who was in his forties, spoke Shona and had been in the school for five years. He had a lot to say around comparing the South African system of education with the Zimbabwean and Cameroonian systems. He pointed out that Zimbabwe and Cameroon followed the same system because they both used the O and A level qualifications. He also criticised the lax discipline in the South African class room compared with the stringent rules in the other two countries.

Finally, I also had extensive discussions with the Afrikaans teacher, a white woman in her mid-fifties whose first language was Afrikaans and who had a habit of automatically switching to it before excusing herself, when we were in conversation. She had been in the school for six years only, but told me she did not plan on moving any time soon, since she and her husband had bought a house in the neighbourhood. She was also a very strict teacher and laid down a lot of ground rules for her classes.

5.3 Some reflections on researcher identity construction

Before entering the schools, I needed to get clearance from the principals (I had already obtained clearance from the Western Cape Education Department). I also had to visit the schools several times to discuss my planned fieldwork. It was difficult to get in touch with the principal of school A and I was granted audience only after numerous visits. Initially she was very reluctant to let me carry out my research and indicated that she thought my presence would interfere with the smooth running of the classrooms, since I would be observing grades 5 to 7 for about 12 hours a week in all. However eventually she agreed, while setting some strict and lengthy rules that I had to abide by. For example, I must be anonymous and respect learners and teachers. I assured her that nobody would notice I was there. As this was my second research encounter with the school, where I had carried out my Masters study from 2008- 2010, I had hoped that I would be accommodated more readily, but this assumption proved incorrect.

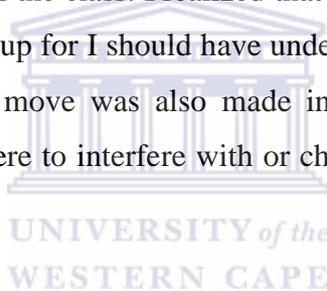
The school A secretary, for example, appeared still to regard me as an ‘intruder’. More often than not, I would sit for hours waiting to be called. She usually forgot I was sitting there before being reminded by either a glance or a reminder from me. Usually I would wait for her to call the teacher via the intercom to send a learner to take me to class, but later I decided to tell her not to worry because I knew my way around. I never ceased to wonder whether she would have reacted differently if I had spoken Afrikaans, like most of the people who approached her. Originally, the way I spoke and dressed had already told most people that I was not from ‘around here’. To reduce the perceptions of myself as a ‘foreigner’ and possible resistance by participants on the basis of ascribed race or ethnicity, I decided to act and dress casually, like most of the staff. I had realized that wearing my Cameroonian-style clothes immediately identified me as an outsider, since when I had done so all the teachers had questioned me on my attire and I had received glances all day long.

Despite the fact that this was my first encounter with school B, I did not face the challenges I had experienced with school A. To begin with, the staff community of school B was not an exclusively white and coloured² group as in school A but included many black Africans, with foreigners also part of their number. I was therefore able to fit more easily into this milieu. The principal gave my research activities the green light on my first visit while in A I had to make numerous visits before being given the go-ahead. Some of the staff members in B were also very accommodating and I made some positive acquaintances on my first visit.

My engagement with the research sites thus had to be adjusted in terms of reconsidering my first notions about my research and the different participants I was investigating. In school A, in my first encounters and chats, I realized that I was different from the group of teachers I was dealing with. The fact that the entire staff of the school were either ‘coloured’ or white and spoke largely Afrikaans, made me immediately stand out as not part of the group. In this school my identity as a black African in the tea room was visible to all, while in school B it was a different scenario. Questions like “Where are you from?” were frequently put to me. I started asking myself questions of my own: Who was I in the midst of all these issues? I knew other aspects of social categorization might play a role in the research process as well. I wondered if my gender, age, and social class might play in my favour or count against me

²² In Southern Africa ‘coloured’ is the name given to an ethnic group composed primarily of persons of mixed race. Although ‘coloureds’ form a minority group within South Africa, they are the predominant population group in the Western Cape.

here. To address silences or other possible reactions to me as a woman, possibly also a woman of a particular age, younger than the women I had to deal with (who were mostly in their fifties and sixties), I gave the minimum necessary information about my research to those who were not participants. When teachers asked if I was on teaching practice, I answered that I was doing research on immigrants. When most found out that I was doing a PhD, they seemed to react with increased distance, and so to reduce biases or gaps in the data that might arise due to perceptions of class or status difference, I made sure to show them I valued their opinions and respected their positions as the teachers of the classes I was observing; and that I would in no way violate their authority. As for sitting in on the lessons four times a week, I had particular ways of being in the classroom or playground. In the classroom sessions the teachers at first suggested that I should sit at their tables, but I realised it was distracting to the learners and even the teachers because they spent more time talking to me than to the class and the learners also spent more time looking at me than focusing on the task, so I moved to the back of the class. I realized that it was an error of judgment on my part to have sat in front of the group for I should have understood in advance that it would be distracting to the learners. This move was also made in order to signal to the staff and governing body that I was not there to interfere with or challenge anything that happened in the classroom.



The fact that in school A I mostly interacted with whites and ‘coloured’ colleagues also positioned me differently, as a black woman. My requests for interviews with teachers from these groupings met with either direct avoidance or excuses of tight schedules. In school B the situation was not as bad: although some of the teachers were cold I nevertheless was able to build supportive relationships with others - for example, the contact teacher. I found more solidarity and trust in the company of this white teacher in his sixties than anywhere else at school despite the fact that I was a black woman of a different age group and from a different background. He was open and I was not reluctant to reveal any concerns that might be sensitive and open to misunderstanding. He gave me a great deal of clarity on the learners’ profiles and their problems and struggles and, as a result, I was able to use this information to establish connections with other staff members. As already mentioned in 5.2.2, the Maths teacher in school B who also came from a neighbouring country felt very comfortable explaining his teaching practices to me because he was also a student, doing research and needed my help at some point. He knew that I was not evaluating him, although others appeared suspicious of my motives, despite assurances to the contrary. This fear of negative

evaluation might have been compounded by the fact that I was a woman, possibly younger than most of the staff in school A, possibly also better educated and from a different country.

It could be that I have read too much into the way these teachers handled my presence in the school and that this in turn impacted on the quality of my data. I tried as far as possible to be aware of all these challenges, to understand where my data might be relatively incomplete or slightly skewed because of who I am. Within this picture I was also aware of the possible limitations posed by the relationships between myself as a researcher and my participants: for example, I may have identified too strongly with immigrant learners as I had experienced similar kinds of antagonism as a foreign student, albeit at the university level.

Engaging with teachers thus sometimes forced me to collect and interpret data using different channels to those I had anticipated. It is possible that I would have done or interpreted things differently if I had spoken Afrikaans, or if I had been South African. People saw me as different and also identified me as a Cameroonian which no doubt affected their interactions with me and what and how they were prepared to share as informants.

On the other hand, my being Cameroonian probably made it easier to get information from other Cameroonians. For example, the type of responses I got from James and Aline, my two main participants, as well as the other children from Cameroon, would have posed a bigger challenge to a non-Cameroonian researcher. I could draw on my repertoire of languages to draw out information from participants where a non-Cameroonian could have encountered enormous challenges in the same situation.

All in all, when I looked at my original design, I realized that my decisions in research design had changed once I was in the field. For example, instead of being the researcher questioning for more information, I was *being questioned* as someone ‘different’ because of my nationality, way of speaking, and dress code. I had to climb down from my high horse as a PhD researcher and adjust to these perceptions of my difference. As researchers, we need to consider carefully aspects such as our place in the setting being investigated, and how individual and cultural contexts allow or constrain firstly access to participants and informants and secondly the types of relationships we can create with them. This is critical to maintaining a focus on the research agenda and design. We must, at every stage, monitor our positions in the research process. However, I had not realised the extent to which I would *be positioned* while researching positioning. I did not possess any ‘monopolistic access’

(Merton, 1972), in which the researcher is seen to possess exclusive knowledge of the community and its members, or where the researcher has privileged access and a claim to the hidden knowledge of the group. I faced several challenges here because I found myself between groups of unequal power, which included issues of race and language. This position and these issues played against me as far as some teachers and other staff members were concerned and, as described above, sometimes hindered my progress with interviews, observation, and data collection.

5.4. Notes to and from the field: knowing, doing, and writing ethnography

In view of the above and my own experiences as an immigrant in a new space, my curiosity about how multilingual children from non-mainstream backgrounds would negotiate multiple languages and school experiences in a new context intensified. My intention was to find out how they were positioned by others and the ways in which they negotiated or contested social identities. Writing down fieldwork accounts is a kind of “writing-to-learn [which] makes thinking become visible” (Lamoureux, 2010a, p. 9) every step of the way, as “it can be inspected, reviewed, held up for consideration, and viewed as a set of data” (2010a, p. 9). The quality of a research project is thus not only the result of the questions asked or concepts used; it is also the result of keeping rigorous field notes alongside thick description. The way in which observation data are recorded and collected can therefore form an essential medium through which the researcher can develop analytical ideas.

5.4.1 Finding my way amidst the messiness

At the beginning phase of fieldwork, my priority was to get an overall notion of the spaces and culture/s of the school in the process of finding my way around, registering faces and voices, and discovering itineraries to get from one place to another. At the initial stage, I observed indiscriminately: I tried to familiarize myself with the teachers, with the other staff members, and with the school environment. Knowing the teachers in both schools personally facilitated the formulation of strategies for dealing with particular sites and their challenges. In conformity with Blommaert & Rampton (2011, p.13), the investigation of particular sites and practices will often need to reckon with wider patterns of sociolinguistic stratification in societies at large, as well as with the linguistic socialization of individuals. Yet each day came with different challenges and new experiences. I slowly began to connect with the learners and listened to their thoughts. I had one-to-one sessions with both teachers and

learners, and the different responses to the interactions boosted my confidence in my ability as a researcher.

After a month of observing in each school, I assembled a group of Cameroonian learners in each school to work with. I would have loved to select according to gender, linguistic repertoire or economic status, but due to the limited number available, I was obliged to work with those I could assemble, thus ten from each of the schools. The more the number of participants involved in the study, the better opportunities for extensive probing of every single participant to express his or her detailed experiences on the topic. Thus I had to choose neighbourhoods where Cameroonians resided to make it easier for me to get access to Cameroonian learners. Since South Africa is an English-dominant country and French migrants from Cameroon have only recently started migrating to South Africa, there were more English speakers than French speakers among these learners. However, my intention was to get a mix of different Cameroonian learner language experiences.

The mix of languages involved meant that some learners already spoke English on arrival in South Africa, others similarly spoke French, and some spoke only their home language - for example, Duala - at the beginning before gradually acquiring some English. In both schools A and B the boys outnumbered the girls: eight out of the ten school A participants were males with only two females, while the group from school B was composed of five females and five males. Also involved were the teachers and extracurricular staff of my focus group, as well as their parents and parents' friends, the latter being mostly South Africans and Congolese.

For the Cameroonian families, the move to South Africa had been provoked by reasons ranging from economic or political to academic. They were therefore not a homogeneous group as they came from different backgrounds, different parts of the continent and had travelled along different routes. Discussions with them revealed that most reasons centred on the economic aspects: parents were looking for greener pastures due to high unemployment rates in Cameroon.

This and more was discovered using different data collection techniques including observation, using field notes and thick description, as well as audio recordings of interviews (structured and unstructured), classroom interactions and casual interactions. Section 5.5 below explores the experience of applying these techniques in the field.

5.5 Collection of data

The data in this study (as already mentioned) was collected through observations, interviews and audio recordings of both casual and classroom interactions. As a technique for data collection, observation is fundamental in qualitative research (Mcmillan & Schumacher, 2010). First of all, observation entails an in-depth understanding of the context and the participants therein. Interviewing, on the other hand, is often described as the “spinal cord” of qualitative research and evaluation.

5.5.1 Observation

Observation began at phase one of my school visits. In the pre-observation phase, as described above, I tried familiarizing myself with teachers and the learners from both schools A and B. Classes were observed twice a week: Mondays and Thursdays and (later) Fridays. Thus countless visits were paid to each class, given that South Africa has four school terms in a year and two semesters. The two different schools were visited twice a week from 8am to 2pm and more often up to 4pm on days when some of the learners attended extra mathematics, English or Afrikaans classes provided for struggling learners. School A was visited on Mondays and Tuesdays while B was on Thursdays and Fridays. On each visit I observed one class for the six hours of the school day (8am to 2pm) since I preferred this to moving from one class to another through the day. On Fridays when classes closed at 1.00 pm I would either chat with some learners on their way home or go back to the link teacher’s office for one of our lengthy discussions on learner progress.

In-depth observation was carried out to provide an ethnographic context for the interactional data. While most observation took place on playgrounds, at home and in community spaces, I also spent at least four hours a day in the classroom in order to thoroughly investigate interactional practices in the classroom and how these differed from settings outside it. Thus I noted the following in as much detail as possible: what was happening in the classes; what languages the learners used in class; which communicative strategies the teachers used; how they managed the learners in order to get them involved in the lesson; and how influential the teachers were in the process of learners negotiating identities.

In the classes, my attention was on the learners and their activities, the lesson and the method used to encourage learner talk. I also focused on the distribution of questions in class and the ways the teachers reacted to the learners’ responses. I usually mingled with the learners

during the breaks since I was already a familiar face to them. The mingling also extended to some staff members during the lunch break for I was usually invited to have tea (by the link teacher who, as I have already explained, was very helpful), and some teachers, especially some older ladies, supplied me with vital information when they discovered what my research was all about. In such discussions, I obtained contextual information which might otherwise have been very difficult to gather. The findings from observations were very important as they helped to confirm some of the data collected through interviews and to deepen my interpretations of interactional data.

The home and community spaces showed a different side of the learners; during the course of the study we met on a regular basis in the home space or in the school library to share immigrant experiences. In groups we would eat and laugh and do things the learners would not normally do on school premises, especially in a classroom, although our morning meetings in the school library were almost the same as home meetings, except less noisy. I was aware that the learners might not always be willing to share all their experiences with me and thus I made the atmosphere conducive by narrating some of my experiences as a tutor, student, and parent; and by emphasizing the significance of sharing with other people.

5.5.2 Audio-recordings

As already mentioned, the research was conducted in the classrooms of the grade 5 to 7 participants selected for the study. Thus countless hours of recordings were conducted in these classes, although not all were chosen for analysis. I selected what I deemed valuable data for the analysis and kept the remaining recordings aside since they might be useful for future research. During classes, then, I would usually place myself in a position where I could get audible data or walk around to the scene of action.

Interaction was recorded in various other spaces. I recorded more than 20 hours of interaction among learners in the playground of school A and about 10 hours in the playground of school B. Fewer hours were recorded in school B because (as discussed in 8.6 *Silencing*) capturing useful data there became problematic: these learners were uncontrolled and spent the better part of the day shouting at the top of their voices and walking up and down. An additional recording strategy used was to ask two learners, one from each school, to carry Olympus recorders in their pockets. These learners were selected on the basis of their maturity and understanding of the project. In addition, I visited the homes of all my learners, especially the

key participants, mostly during the weekends since fatigue and home chores prohibited any visits during school days, and recorded about ten hours of both interactional data and discussions. However, I had to do home trips some week days since the recorders were also carried home and this obliged me to follow the relevant learners home to monitor progress and change the battery if the need arose.

Recordings were also carried out in Cameroonian community gatherings. Notably, among the Cameroonian learners were friends who knew each other as a result of having the same national identity, also as a result of binding ties between the parents first of all as friends from here or home, and secondly from the community spirit as Cameroonians in a foreign land. They were fond of socializing with each other and this was boosted by the weekly and monthly associations which brought Cameroonians together. In these gatherings, most spoke different first languages and therefore translanguaging occurred between English, French and CPE. In addition, on several occasions discussions with the teachers of the grades 5 to 7, especially during class hours, provided me with some interesting highlights on learners' progress and these teachers' perceptions of the migrants in their classes (see classroom interactions in appendices A9 School A and A10 School B).

It was at the height of my data collecting, recording, and writing phase that tragedy struck.

5.6 The dark days: the doubts

The euphoria of the highlights experienced during the process described above will forever be dampened by a great tragedy and the resultant research challenges. 2011 ended on a good note with solid research progress and plans for a big thrust in 2012 already in place. Top on the agenda was producing a complete draft of my thesis by June: but that was not to be. When we are caught up in the world of research, we can forget there is a reality out there that might come banging on our doors to change the course of things. That was exactly what happened. I could not exclude this incident from my account of the research process because in a way it changed my course of thinking and my habitus. To quote Jack Canfield (2005), life unfolds in front of us like a car driving through the dark and the headlights only go a hundred feet forward, so we barely know what awaits us at the corner.

On 5th February 2012, the fateful day that changed my life forever, I was struggling to round up a chapter. My supervisor expected a draft two days hence, but I intended to send it in by

the end of the day. It started like any ordinary day, but deep in me, although caught up with the struggle to finalize a chapter, I had a feeling that something was amiss: I sensed that I was stressed not only about what I was writing but also about something else that I could not lay my hands on. The feeling was just there and with the news that followed, everything fell apart. My poor family was simply driving along an ordinary road...yes, on this fateful day: maybe thinking of what they would do when they got home; what they would eat and so on. No one suspected that for some it was going to be the last day on this earth. They were all happy and singing and I wonder whether they had the same feeling I had, because I dreamt about it. Their car went down four hundred feet into the valley, and they were dying out there in the swamp while I was doing research and oblivious to their screams and pain.

It hurts very much to think about the incident - my family perishing while I was tapping away on my computer keys. Research and all it embodied thus became a monster that had distracted me from reality and my loved ones, for while they were lamenting and dying in a valley in the middle of nowhere and in freezing temperatures, I was in a warm comfortable room in Cape Town, South Africa, typing up a chapter of my PhD thesis. Questions like, "Is it worth it?" started popping into my mind. I wondered: "Should I let go?"

These shattering events and thoughts brought on a depressing period, where nothing seemed to matter. Why was I chasing dreams and shadows while there was a reality out there? At this point in time, research and writing and whatever goes with it were all relegated to the background, for there were five lifeless ones to take care of, as well as the wounded in hospital. What was research or a PhD in face of all this? Oh my God, I felt that I could not handle it; that the long list of deaths, my beloved ones all gone, was a reality. But nobody who calls you on a Sunday afternoon to inform you that five loved ones are no more could be joking.

For a while I lived in denial, amidst litanies of "what ifs", "why's" and "if he had then it wouldn't be like this". Research was the furthest thing from my mind. All my thoughts were geared towards rushing to those who had been part of my whole existence; research was just a new relation I had made, but these people had always been part of my life. I felt guilty here because I had given them up for this new friend. I cried much and each mention of the PhD made me feel nauseous. Each day began with new unanswerable questions. Even after the funerals, nothing changed. I was still living in my world and I wanted to die. I wondered at these moments: if the ultimate end is death, why do we cling to life so much? Then I would

make up my mind to bury myself in my research, but by the end of the day, I would still be wondering about life and the ultimate end, wondering if my family members knew they were going to die on that fateful day. The headaches and the dark period became part of my life.

Then I started having visions: in one of them, I saw my little girl congratulating me for successfully obtaining my PhD, and then my sister, who started calling me ‘doctor’ the same year that I embarked on this journey, told me she knew that if there was any one who could make it, it was I. Thus it dawned on me that they would truly be proud of me, no matter where they were, and I decided then with the help of some amazing people who were with me all through this dark period, to resume - to finish as soon as possible, so that I could spend more time with those who mattered in my life. At this point, some wonderful people came into my life that also changed my way of thinking and my sense of the value of life. In addition, because they were French speakers, I discovered among them new ways of speaking with an English speaker: for example, how they double-used each word they were trying to emphasize and also how they jumbled up pure English with pidgin, and appeared to do so unconsciously. (For example, to say ‘I will die’ they will say, “*I di die na die*” or “*laf na laf*” or “*play na play*”, etc.) Thus new ways of speaking were evolving every day. This began to interest me as a new research area I could explore. I realised that I still had the zeal to go on, if I was still picking up on these phenomena, even when I had decided to give up. So, making up my mind that I would do it first of all for my aunt (also one of my best friends in this world) Margarette Wayen, Zanele my beautiful six year old drama queen, my sister Rosemary, my niece Ruth and Aidan, my six months old nephew, as well as the other wonderful people in my life, I timidly re-embarked on the research process.

5.6.1 The broken researcher and troubled research process

As outlined above, the tragic experiences I had undergone had an enormous impact on my psyche and on the research process. The ‘broken researcher’ describes the state of mind I was in when I resumed my thesis. I had been away for more than a year and thus was cut off from the entire research process and collection of data. The difficulty of this time was compounded by my experiencing not only a separation from the process but also the loss of some valuable data, together with a laptop and memory sticks. It therefore became another starting point for me. It was not easy revisiting aspects I had assumed I was done with; I had to capture some new data and transcribe again. However, it was during this period that I did most of my home visits and also much writing; and since I had been in the field for a while, it became easier to

capture what was relevant, for at this stage I could make sense of things around me. It was also a means of focusing on something and taking my mind off my sad experiences.

The visits to Cameroonian homes mentioned above became an escape route that enabled me to do extensive ethnography; spending the whole day in school and the afternoons and evenings in the homes of my participants, to avoid spending any time on my own. I became a specialist in the crossing of my 't's' and dotting of my 'i's' and progressed from beginner level to higher levels on my journey as a student and novice ethnographer, to becoming a writer and finally realizing that I had developed as researcher-writer and had made some positive improvements to the study.

5.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, the primary concern was the researcher's trajectory in the field, taking into consideration the profiles of the schools involved, perspectives on why the schools were chosen, the differing receptions afforded to a research presence and some reflections on the researcher's identity construction. The chapter also considered different techniques of data collection including field notes and thick description, interviews, and audio recordings of interactions in and out of schools. In-depth description of the site was necessary as the focus of the study was the learners' language practices in and out of the school environment and how their actions and interaction with others constructed their positioning. This aligns with the recent view that language use cannot be separated from context: therefore, utterances cannot be treated in isolation, but are embedded in context, and the meaning of an utterance involves activities in the environment in which the utterance plays a role (Levinson, 1979). Recordings of casual interactional data, classroom interactions, interviews and focus group interviews with the young migrants in different spaces were motivated by the need to capture the texture of their language about themselves, their situation, and the others with whom they interacted. This chapter has offered background on how their various perspectives and positioning can be related to context.

The next three chapters will focus on describing and analysing a set of recordings of a group of Cameroonian learners interacting with each other and with children of other nationalities in different spaces. The aim of these chapters is to illustrate the ways in which learners use linguistic resources to position themselves and others.

Chapter Six: POSITIONING AND NEW IDENTIFICATIONS IN EVERYDAY SPACES

6.0 Overview

The previous chapter traced, described and discussed the researcher's trajectory in the field. Against that background, the present chapter describes and analyses a set of recordings of a group of Cameroonian learners interacting with each other and with children of other nationalities in classroom, community and home spaces. Making use of this interactional data supplemented by observations and interviews, I illustrate the ways in which learners use linguistic resources to position themselves and others; to build, maintain and negotiate identities; and to assert or negate identifications. Through their discursive production of selves, these young adolescents - at a stage in life where they are supposed to be negotiating the normal transition from one age group to the next - are here negotiating the currents of a complex society, dealing with issues of race, language and segregation.

The first section presents profiles of some key participants, including their linguistic and socio-economic background. This is followed by a brief discussion of the different ways in which the theoretical concept of positioning can be analysed and learners' positioning discursively produced (see chapter 1.3, paragraphs 3, 4, 5 and 6); positioning which might or might not be taken up by the interlocutors.

The next two sections present two extracts from the same social gathering. These extracts are chosen to highlight the discursive construction of interactional and more lasting social roles and categorizations. For each, I use the grammar, semantics and discourse structure of casual conversation to illuminate how these learners enact role relations, encode evaluation and humour, and negotiate support and confrontation.

The final extract is an analysis of classroom data to illustrate the effect of the classroom language regime on learners.

6.1 Introduction

The linguistic issues faced by the participants in this study might be placed in two categories: first, the linguistic resources they had at their disposal and secondly, the ways they were linguistically positioned by their peers, the wider communities with which they interacted and

the staff of schools and other institutions of the dominant society. Thus as mentioned above, this analysis will focus on mood and move choices and Goffman's participation frames in order to trace the ways in which roles and relationships are constructed

The first data set is from a Cameroonian gathering involving 11 Cameroonian and two South African/Cameroonian children from different families. Here I use tools from Interactional Sociolinguistics (turns, repair, mood, and moves) in order to illuminate the construction of roles and relationships. The moves sequences involved in accomplishing turn allocations and the unfolding of conversational exchanges will illuminate patterns of confrontation and support as the learners explore and adjust their alignments with one another. Thus, I look at the sequencing of moves involved in the joint accomplishment of turn-taking or, alternatively, the rupturing of this process. In addition to this, the shifting roles witnessed in interactions enabled the use of Goffman's (1974, 1981) work on frames as a theoretical model throughout the analysis. The above analytical steps are overlaid by an analysis of how linguistic repertoires are brought into play to accomplish interactional moves and assert roles and relationships. This step by step analysis enables the portrayal of how they ascribe and are ascribed different identities in their daily interactions and negotiations. The second set is from the same gathering and I use the appraisal category of judgement to highlight the frequent use of conversational strategies such as humour, teasing and jokes in the construction of relations of solidarity as well as in cementing or contesting categorization.

The third and final set consists of classroom data and is intended to show how, in contrast to the battling for social control of informal social gatherings, classroom sessions as tools of categorization shift to an environment where speakers are bounded by rules of the institution. Since the analysis is informed by poststructuralist views of identity as multiple, negotiated in interaction (see chapter 2 section 2.2) and influenced by both micro and macro contexts, we realise that different interactional spaces afford differing opportunities for the negotiation of identities. Chapters 7 and 8 build on the analysis presented in this chapter by focusing on two key emergent themes: owning participatory spaces and defying multilingual spaces.

6.2 Learner profiles and self-ascribed linguistic repertoires.

The learners who formed part of the research project were a group of selected immigrants (see chapter 5 section 5.4.1 paragraph two for details of the selection process) from West Africa, specifically Cameroon, with mixed learning experiences. They consisted of 10

learners from school A on the West Coast (described in detail in 5.2.1) and 10 from school B in the Northern suburbs (see details about this school in 5.2.2). However as explained in the overview and introduction to the present chapter, the main focus of the analysis is on the group of 10 children from school A where I spent most of my time. School B was included later as a key participant, Aline, moved there three years after my fieldwork began. The linguistic background of the children varied considerably (see profiles below in this section). Early discussions were held with these immigrant children to explore their linguistic backgrounds, their language use and preferences and their social networks. The learner profiles below were deduced from these interactions. See table 4.1 for full profiles of participants.

Most participants in the study were the eldest of their families and all were above 13 years old. Almost three quarters of them assumed adult roles very early in life because parents were all working class. What stood out in my group of learners was that some of the learners had previously lived comfortably in their old territories because living costs were not as high there as in South Africa, and secondly because most families owned plots at home that could be cultivated to yield foodstuffs. Here luxurious living was not that easy to come by because the parents were still trying to put their feet on the ground by establishing themselves in their jobs and space. The quality of living conditions was reflected in their type of accommodation. Most of them complained that accommodation was a big problem for they were forced to share space with strangers to minimize rent; a family of four was forced to share one room since it was impossible to afford comfortable living space.

The average number in the household or family ranged from five to ten people. Most parents complained that the money spent on one room could get you a five-bedroom apartment back home. This was just one of the many challenges the learners were facing. It has been argued that in South Africa African foreigners occupy the lowest social and economic positions, and are subject to pervasive prejudice and exclusion (Harris, 2002; Warner & Finchilescu, 2003; Landau, 2006a; Nyamnjoh, 2010). Nyamnjoh classifies this as follows: “the hierarchy of humanity inherited from apartheid South Africa is replayed with white South Africans at the helm as superiors, black South Africans in the middle as superior inferiors, and Amakwerekwere as the inferior scum of humanity” (Nyamnjoh, 2010, p. 66).

With their parents thus subject to discrimination and economic oppression in the wider world, these immigrant learners had to assume adult responsibilities at a tender age: for example,

they were tasked with running their homes while parents were away trying to hustle an income, usually in minimum wage jobs. In the mornings they had to attend to their siblings before preparing for school. After school they also took care of everything by cooking and attending to the younger ones. A consequence of this was that not enough time was allocated to their studies and they struggled with their academic work. Despite the disruption caused by the experience of migrancy, however, most of the learners lived with both parents in the household, which as a local survey proves, would contrast “sharply with the experience of many local children” (Hemson, 2011, p.74). Research has shown that having two or more adults at home provides greater supervision and discipline than a one-adult family can muster (Suárez-Orozco, Rhodes & Milburn, 2009).

A second challenge was of course the school context. Three languages which are the official languages of the Western Cape and prominent languages of the school - English, Afrikaans and Xhosa - were the languages spoken there, and the language of instruction was English. Thus, following WCED and school policy, English was the language of learning and teaching to all learners no matter where they had come from and what languages were already in their repertoires. Many immigrant learners from Africa spoke English, French or African languages in the school, others in out of school spaces and in the household, but the majority of learners testified that although other languages were spoken, English was quietly taking over all the domains. My initial observations and informal conversations with the participants uncovered a few related challenges they faced. A key challenge at school was that posed by having English as LoLT. Learners were expected to use English for communication in class and also do their homework tasks and write their test and examination papers in English.

The profiles below were deduced from discussions and some one-on-one conversation with some of the key learners at the very beginning of the project. These profiles are a selected few, representing in a way those learners who played active roles in the interactions (see section 5.4.1, paragraph 2 for details on how selection was accomplished). The profiles offer the general background against which the ethnographic and interactional analysis will be built. Three French-speaking profiles are followed by four English-speaking profiles.

Nathalie was 15 years old, the eldest of four and came from a French-speaking sector of Cameroon. With both parents working full time she automatically assumed a parenting role with her siblings, which in many ways incapacitated her. She did not have enough time for her peers and her school work. At home, she spoke English because the family believed that

the more you practice a language the faster you will be able to learn and communicate in it. Nathalie recounted how in school with other children it was difficult for her and she felt lost and displaced. Her status as a foreigner made her vulnerable to discrimination and ostracism although she was liked by some of her peers. Academically she also encountered difficulties as a result of the LoLT. Amongst other difficulties she faced were isolation, alienation, and the parental ideologies of other children. However, it became clear that this young adolescent was prepared to struggle forward despite all these odds, and was also ready to seek help from friends, teachers and family. Over the five years I worked in school A, Nathalie made ample efforts to acquire the English language, in contrast with Aline.

Aline, aged 16, like Nathalie was a French speaking migrant from Cameroon. With English as the dominant language of the school, Aline was influenced by the linguistic market operating in the school and local community and her affiliation to the French language. Her trajectory from Cameroon through Congo was wrought with many changes that influenced the way she had to speak. Aline was attached to the French language because it was her second language, her first/native language being Duala. This went against the norms of the school since English was the dominant language: she was not supposed to use French in the classroom. She used French or a barely adequate mix of French and English (popularly referred to in Cameroon as ‘Franglais’) in school, home or community groupings. Her parents were always away struggling to make ends meet which also forced Aline to assume the role of mother and elder sister to her siblings.

Jude, another francophone learner, aged 16, lived with his elder sister who was the breadwinner of the family and also took care of their family back home. Although they were struggling financially, they knew they had to be brave and assume different roles because they were in a foreign land. For example, Jude was one of those who had maintained his competence in speaking four different languages from the start: English, French, first language or mother tongue and CPE. Also to his credit were his efforts to embrace diversity even though he also struggled linguistically. This can be seen in the analysis.

James, aged 16, from the English speaking sector of Cameroon, was not new to the English language. He was also born and grew up in Cameroon and at the beginning of the study in 2008 he claimed to be competent in four languages: his mother tongue Mbesa, English, CPE, and French (See details in 7.1). He later added Afrikaans. He had communicated well with his peers in Cameroon through CPE because it was a lingua franca, but on arrival in South

Africa , he was warned by his father to switch to English because his father deemed pidgin English to be a bad influence on James's mastery of the more dominant and prestigious variety prevailing here. His inability now to maintain his original mastery of his first language was the first step towards his acculturation. At first this was an issue for him because he felt deprived of something that had linked him to people close to him in his life, but eventually he became used to the idea and came to accept it. However, his variety of English was also regarded as different. From the outset at the new school, he could sometimes pick up what the teacher was saying but at other times was unable to understand her, being confused by the speed of her speech and her unfamiliar accent. James lived with his parents, younger brothers and sister. Like Nathalie and Aline, he had been obliged to assume full responsibility for the household, and on several occasions I was witness to the workload he had to carry.

Jim, James's younger brother (aged 11) becomes an important participant in the study because he incurred most of James's bullying. He lived with his parents, elder brother, younger brother and sister. He was very conscious of the fact that he was a stranger in South Africa and became very emotional when his Cameroonian identity, expressed for example in his clothes on civvies days (the last Friday of every month, when learners are allowed to wear informal attire to school if they pay R10) or his lunch box items, attracted comments by the other participants.

John, aged 17 and in grade 7, was also from the English-speaking sector of the country. He had been in South Africa longer than most of the other participants and spoke only English, so he felt himself to be more knowledgeable than the newcomers, and expected them to look up to him. The fact that his parents had long established themselves in the country and were harvesting the benefits also meant that John had some privileges or was better placed than the others and went to a better school, too. He lived with his parents and two siblings and was not burdened like the others with household chores.

Simon, aged 15, also from the English sector of the home country, had grievances against everybody. He was always at loggerheads with his peers and very judgmental. He lived with his mother who was trying to juggle being a full time mother, student and worker. He also spoke only English as a result of his long stay in South Africa.

From the profiles it can easily be deduced that in trying to build new lives in foreign countries learners face a plethora of problems stemming primarily from linguistic and cultural differences, and that language anxiety and adjustment are harder for some than for others. It became easier for the Anglophones to situate themselves in a South African classroom than the Francophones. It was a common occurrence that some learners, despite desiring to learn and speak English fluently and quickly, struggled for several years before they could understand everything that was said in their classrooms, the school playground and homes in the local community. This does not mean that they lacked a language and literacy heritage which was meaningful to them and valued by others in their own communities. At the same time that these children were making themselves familiar with the environment, they were being positioned in various ways by their peers, their teachers and their educational stakeholders. The next section portrays how these learners discursively position themselves and others and the various parameters in which they are positioned.

6.3 Learners' positioning: the discursive production of self

This theoretical concept of positioning can be analysed in a variety of ways (see 1.4, paragraphs 3, 4, 5 and 6). As already noted:

...positioning is the discursive process whereby selves are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines. There can be interactive positioning in which what one person says positions another and reflexive positioning in which one positions oneself (Davies & Harre, 1990, p. 48).

This positioning might or might not be taken up by the interlocutors.

Also in participation we take note of how the others perceive shifts; these shifts display alignments amongst the participants, whether present or absent. Change in footing (Goffman, 1974) can be displayed as an indication of alignment or non-alignment, as mentioned above, or as a resource for accomplishing actions (Garfinkel, 1967). This change can be achieved through code-switching or an array of other cues (Cromdal & Aronsson, 2000) such as names, tone, word selection, repair, actions of participants etc. Studying these features enabled an analysis of the ways in which participants “shift place frequently and delicately, and each time, in very minimal ways, express different identities” (Blommaert, 2005, p.224). Conversational data brought to light the ways in which the learner participants construct roles and relationships in interactions. I was also able to gain some understanding of the dynamic

processes of identification and alignment or non-alignment among the group of immigrant children revealed in the data.

6.3.1 Negotiating the currents of a complex society

The pathway taken by immigrant learners to negotiate the currents of identities can be particularly complex. These identities and the routes taken to get there are determined in multiple ways. We notice when going through the data that resources, experiences, stresses and trauma as well as the coping strategies that these learners bring with them play a key role, and critical to the formation of their identities is the structural and attitudinal environment within which they find themselves (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001). Their baggage does not only include aspects of personal development shared by all adolescents; they also often have to confront culture-related differences.

As will be clearly seen in the extract below (table 6.1), through their collaborative language provocations, the children not only called into question one another's language proficiency, but also positioned themselves as being in the know. The extract is drawn from a group interaction involving a number of Cameroonian learners at a social gathering, with the boys outnumbering the girls. (They are in a room apart while adults are in the other room and in the kitchen getting ready for the occasion.) The analysis will follow a step-by-step procedure which involves a preliminary characterization of actions, a sequence analysis, an analysis of turn construction and turn-taking, and an analysis of social relations. Different languages are employed during the interaction and they include English as the most dominant, French, Franglais³, some Cameroonian local languages and a few lexical items from some South African languages.

The analysis will focus on a few learners in particular but minor participants are also included because they contribute significantly to the progress of the interaction. The ages and grades of the participants varied; James was then twelve years old and in grade 3, John thirteen years old in grade 5, Simon 11 years old in grade 3, Aline thirteen years old in grade 2, Bih and Awah were here for holidays from Cameroon; in addition, Tasneema (10 years old in grade 3) and Jim (7 years old in grade 1) were present. The data interaction below indicates a

³ Franglais is seen as a new sociolinguistic phenomenon in Cameroon. Sometimes also called Camfranglais or Francanglais, it is a hybrid language developed by young Cameroonians to facilitate communication among themselves and sometimes to exclude others (Kouega, 2003).

dominance of English amongst the learners: since they all come from different language groups, the only common language they can employ is English. The fact that an interaction develops in a particular language variety, for instance, is ‘a higher-scale influence on a strictly situational event’ (Blommaert et al., 2005, p.10). As always, data analysed for this chapter will be basically interactional rather than video, because the aim was to capture naturally occurring interactions and the intrusion of a video recorder might not have produced such natural data. With the audio recorded interactions, then, I made it a point to tag along from a distance and therefore I transcribed what I remember of gestures and postures but there is not a full semiotic representation. In addition to the participants for whom I have provided profiles there were a few other participants who played active roles in construction of different alignments and relationships.

In analysing this data we will focus on the mood, moves and different frames and footings made by participants as well as the language in which they are made and finally whether there is uptake or not. We also take note here of several features of interaction amongst children: overlaps, pauses, many interruptions and dispreferred responses. Most of the turn allocations come through challenges, questions openly directed, or requests mostly realized through directives, as each speaker tried to impose their speech on the others. I also witnessed a lot of short pauses, for each speaker was in a mad haste to say something, thus overlooking adjacency pairing in interaction. There are also several instances of overlaps and interruptions, since everyone wanted to give his or her own opinion. A run through the entire extract exposed the fact that vocatives were rarely used, nor were turns often allocated to the next speaker in accordance with what are often seen as norms of interaction. Such features make it challenging to use the traditional tools of CA as suggested by Schegloff et al. (1977), for example, adjacency pairing either stretches over several turns or is non-existent. A detailed analysis follows the data.

Table 6.1 Extract 1 of learners' conversation in a community gathering, August, 2008

Key

- Turns: 1, 2, 3
- Clause: i,ii, iii
- O= opening move
- R=reacting move
- D=developing move
- P=prolonging move
- A=appending move
- s=supporting
- c=confronting

Move	Turn	Speaker	Data	Trans.	Mood
R:opinion:fact	1	Jim	i) I could have swapped (.)		decl.
Rs:track: clarify	2	James	i) Why didn't you?		int.
P:track	3	Simon	i) What are you two talking about?		int.
Rs:resolve	4	John	i) Don't know (.) mmm		decl.
P:append	5	Jim	i) As I was saying= =		non-finite
Rc:confront: opinion	6	Peter	[i) ==SHUT UP (.) ii)you two talk too]		decl.
Rc:clarify	7	James	[What?		int.
R:challenge	8	Simon	i)↑Talk sense (.)		imp.
Rc:confront	9	James	i) <>You are rude to me		decl.
Rc:challenge	10	Simon	i) So'?		int.
Rc:confront	11	John	i)↑↑Oh that's enough.		decl.
Rc:opinion	12	Jim	i) ↑He's rude (.)		decl.
Rc:D:extend	13	James	i) ↑Bloody rude (.)		decl.
Rc:monitor: P:confront	14	John	i) ↑↓Really? ii) Ok apologize to him (.) [Talking to Simon]		int. /imp.
Rc:provoke	15	Simon	i)I AM SORRY BOSS.		decl.
R:confront	16	Jim	i) ↑You see (2) ==		minor
Append: confront:track	17	John	i) ==↑↓Ok stop it (.) i) by the way what were you talking about?		imp. int.
R:resolve	18	Jim	i)I was telling (.) ii) no talking about toys (3) ==		decl,
Rc:track: clarify	19	John	i) == What about toys?		int.
P:resolve	20	Jim	i)My uncle wanted to buy one for==		decl.
Rc:confront	21	Simon	i) = =Everybody is your uncle...ii) who is your father?		decl./ int.
p:track	22	Peter	i)What do you [Interrupted by phone ringing]		int.
O:fact	23	Aline	i) <i>C'est le portable de ma mère</i> (3) ii) <i>maman ton téléphone</i> [Shouting] MAMAM MAMAM (.) MAMAM	It is my mother's phone; mama your phone!	decl.
Rc:track:	24	John	i) Do you have to be that loud? (.)		int. imp.

command			ii) go give it to her.		
	25	Aline's M	Mm-(rushes to answer call) Alo oga na how. Adeh how for you? Ok, ya account number? Yes I gettam. I sms am for you? Ok naw nawwe dey for chop tong Na yi weh you di hear noise so (3) no be na gueyme [Turns and shout to the children] SHUT UP! TAISSEZ-VOUS! I AM TALKING ON THE PHONE! AU TELEPHONE! Ok naw so (2) bye noh. ^[Turns around now and confronts the group of children]Next time molongo will talk to you not me (3) wona hear? [Leaves the room in anger].		decl. and int.
O:R:opinion	26	Simon	i) ↑Whaow! (.) Your mom's scary (.)		decl.
R:track:clarify	27	John	i). Mo what?		ellip. int.
R:response	28	Edi	Mmm ^[Inaudible whispering]		
R:D:track	29	John	i)What is molongo?	Duala for 'cane'	int.
R:track:clarify	30	Aline	i) <i>Scary veut dire quoi?</i>		int.
R:track:clarify	31	John	i)What is molongo?		int.
R:resolve	32	James	i) Scary means (.) the undertaker; i) you know (.) [Indicating arms] fear (.) frighten (.)		decl./ minor/ ellip. decl./
R:track:clarify	33	John	i) ↑What is molongo?		int.
R:resolve: elaborate	34	James	i).Cane (.)Sticks. ii)Our teacher used to beat us with molongo= =		ellip. decl./ decl.
Rc:confront	35	Aline	i) = = <i>Un bâton pour frapper les mal élevés comme toi</i> (.) [Pointing to 3		ellip. declarative
R:track:clarify	36	Simon	i)↑What was that? ii) ↑ What did she say?		int.(2)
Rs:resolve	37	James	i)< >I think she was insulting you.		decl.
R:clarify	38	John	ii) ↑How do you know?		int.
Rs:Resolve P:extend	39	James	i)I don't speak French (.) ii)< >but I think= =		decl. (2)
Rs:resolve: elaborate	40	Mark	= = i)I know (.) ii)she says you have no manners		decl. (2)
Rc:D:confront	41	Aline	i) ↑YOU RUDE TO MA MERE! (.) ii) <i>n'insulte plus ma mere</i> (.)	Don't insult my mother	decl./ imp.
Rc:D:counter: P:elaborate	42	Simon	i) That was being honest not rude (.) ii) she scared the hell (.) (Laughing) out of me.		decl.(2)
Rc:rebound: confront	43	Aline	i) ↑TA (.) <i>mère aussi</i> (.) <i>elle est costaud</i> (.) [Pauses as if searching	Your mother also..she is very	decl.(2) ellip.

			for words] ii) FAT!	fat	
Rc:resolve: challenge	44	John	i)↑Ok, that's enough (.) ii) you can't do that ==		imp./ decl.
Rc:challenge: confront	45	Simon	= = i) Foolish girl (.) ii) Let her speak (.) And in English.		ellip. decl./ imp.
Rs:D:elaborate: P: confront	46	James	i)↓↑She can't really speak English (.) ii)only tries (2) iii) don't you dare try to [		decl.(2) / imp.
R:question	47	John's Mother	[Shouting attracts attention of hostess] i) <i>Egainha</i> John?	What is happening here? John?	int.
D:resolve: elaborate	48	John	= = i)↑Don't (.) two are quarrelling.		imp.
P:track:check	49	John's Mother	i) And you can't control them eh? ii) You do weti like big man? (2) iii)Yes what did you do as the eldest?(Shouting)	CPE	int.
Rc:contradict	50	John	(Murmuring) i).So it's my fault now?		int.
Rc:command	51	John's Mother	i) Cover that your latrine (.) ii) if I hear weik again (.) iii) <i>a ma shrev wol</i> (.) I go kill somebody.	I will kill somebody	imp./ decl. (3)
R:contradict	52	John	i)But ==		minor
R:confront	53	J.M	[i)QUIET! ii) Let me (.) (Walks out)		imp.(2)
O:confront: P:extend	54	John	i)I told you guys (3) ii)now it's my fault (.) iii)continue		decl. (2) / imp.
Rc:D:contradict	55	Simon	i) She is to blame.(referring to Aline)		decl.
Rc:resolve P:extend	56	James	i) Stop it mos (.) ii) <i>oversabi</i> (.) iii) I don't know what they teach you in that your school.	'Claiming to know' in pidgin	decl. (3)
Rc:counter: extend	57	John	i) Don't talk about my school (4) ii)you know I go to a better school than yours (2) [and		imp./ decl.
R:counter: elaborate	58	James	i) [Who says? (2) ii)your school is full of ==		int./declar ative
R:track: challenge:probe	59	John	= = i) WHAT? ii) Answer me (.) yes::		ellip. int./ imp.
O:confront	60	Awah	i) ↑Stop talking mm (.) Britney Spoon [laughing]		imp.
R:track	61	Tasnee ma	i) WHAT? ii)> < What are you calling me?		int.(2)
D:resolve: elaborate	62	Awah	i)Britney Spoon(.) ii)the other one we know sings (.) iii)yes (.) iv)but	'Glutton' in CPE.	minor/ decl.

			you eat (.) v)you are a <i>choppy-choppy</i> .(Laughter)		/minor / decl. (2)
O:exclaim: command	63	John	i) Aye (.) be careful with that <i>dammé</i> (.)	'Food' in pidgin (street version).	imp.
O:exclaim:fact	64	Awah	i) Abi (2) we left without telling <i>remère</i> bye	Abi is 'okay' in Nigerian Pidgin English <i>Rémère</i> : slang for 'mother' in Franc-anglais	decl.
Rs:enhance	65	Bih	i) True oh::		ellip. decl./ excl.
D:extend	66	Awah	ii) <i>Jang mah</i> please	'Call mama please'inKom	imp.
Rc:refute: elaborate	67	Bih	i) No (.) My credit is almost finished.		decl.
D:enhance	68	Awah	i) PLEASE CALL!		imp.
R:resolve	69	Bih	(Listens to voicemail)		ellip.
Rc:confront: challenge	70	John	i) [to Bih] <i>Liar</i> (.) you didn't try (.)		ellip. decl./ decl.
R:D:resolve: elaborate	71	Bih	i) Listen (.) ok you see [Phone rings] she is calling (.) ii) /[to caller] Sorry <i>ça ma</i> mistake please; <i>ngyesi ke rush rushi</i> then I forgot (10) iv) Ok thanks <i>mah ça wah</i> understanding (10) small time noh::	L1: 'We were rushing' in Kom	imp./ decl./ ellip. decl/ decl./ minor x 2
O:challenge P: extend	72	Simon	i)Mm (.)someone has gazed (.) messed the air (.) which one? iv)WHO?[A series of "Not me"]	Gaz as used in CPE	decl.(2)/ ellip.int.
Rc:challenge	73	Awah	i)You sure say no be you?	CPE	int.
R:c:confront	74	Simon	i) ↑Don't insult me (3)		imp.
Rs: extend	75	Boy	i) When I was small eh ::(.) My mama used to think that eh (.) I had pu:ed when she smells the smell of the petrol place (.)		decl.
Rc:confront P: elaborate	76	John	i) SHOT UP! ii) When big people talk (.) twarts like you should stay mm (.)Ok	CPE street slang for a 'nobody'	imp./ decl.
Rc:confront P: D: probe	77	Awah	i)Hey (.) allow him (2) ii)What is petrol place?		xcl./ imp./ int.
R:resolve: P:elaborate	78	James	i)He means refinery (.) ii)it smells [		decl./ Decl.
O:confront: P:extend	79	John	[i)↑[to James] Look at you! (2) I know why you were so quiet.ii) EATING! (.) That is why you big so...		imp./ decl./ ellip.decl. / decl.
R:counter:	80	James	i) Leave me alone! (2) ii) <i>Chien</i>	Dog that you are	imp./

P:rechallenge			<i>comme toi.</i>		decl.
R:c:rebound	81	John	i)↑ <i>Toi aussi.</i>	You also	decl.
R:track	82	Simon	i)What is chen?		int.
R:track	83	James	i) ↑What?		ellip. int.
R:resolve	84	Simon	i) Chen!		ellip. decl.
R:c:track:check P:elaborate: confront	85	James	i) Who said chen?ii) I said <i>chien</i> (. iii)and you don't stop bugging me; iv) you are one (.) v) A DOG!	Chien-dog	i.nt. decl. (3) ellip. Decl.
R:c:confront: P:elaborate: O:fact	86	Bih	i) You talk too much in this your South Africa (2) ii)bla bla this bla bla that (.) iii) any how I am missing my fresh corn now. iv) Let me even go me back.		decl.arative/ minor/ decl./ imp.
R:P:Track: check: elaborate	87	James	i) What? (2) [Inaudible whispering] We also have it here (1.8) ii) they call it mielies (.)		ellip. int./ decl. (2)
R:D:elaborate	88	Bih	i) That your soft things (.) eisch no comparison.		decl.
R:rebound	89	James	i) So?		ellip. int.
R:resolve: P: elaborate	90	Bih	i) In Cameroon eh (2) especially now (.) we enjoy burning corn (2) ii) grandma burns the thing and gives us (.)	'Burn' here means 'roast' as used in Cameroon	decl. (2)

The entire extract is made up of 235 turns with a total number of 390 clauses; but the short piece analysed above includes 90 turns with 118 clauses. The recording began in the middle of a conversation between James and Jim, about toys. John, Simon and Peter wanted to be part of the conversation. James sought to know more from Jim by inquiring why he had not swapped toys his uncle had bought for him. However, the response did not come because John interrupted, seeking to know what the two were talking about; this is followed by non-preferred responses or “discretionary alternatives” as described by (Halliday, 1994, p. 68) such as responding “no” to questions that might require other answers or no answer at all. (For example, in written text, a recipe can be read without following the instructions, much less giving a response; however, the text itself is written as if the commands were successfully followed.) A heated argument between the learners was interrupted by the ringing of Aline’s mother’s phone, an occurrence which ultimately led to a change in topic with the other matter left unresolved, typical of adolescent interaction. After the conversation on the phone, Aline’s mother sounded a warning to the learners about their noisy chattering,

before leaving the room. This opened up the floor for interaction because Simon in turn 26 gave his opinion about Aline's mum, in a declarative statement, simply put and straight to the point with an exclamation ("Whaow! Your mum is scary") which provoked extensive talk. The next turn was an elliptical question not directly related to a previous turn, and came from John, commenting on Aline's mother's outburst. John wanted clarification on what he had heard but the next turn indicated that no one was ready to help him out of his dilemma: the only response was an "mmmm" from Edi. After a few seconds, he still insisted on finding out the meaning by repeating the question. Instead of providing an answer to his question, Aline posed another question, in two languages: 'scary' was pronounced in French-accented English and the rest ("*veut dire quoi*") was in French. She wanted to find out the meaning of 'scary' because it was used in relation to her mother, linking here to Simon's initial evaluation of Aline's mum. She was not taking this lightly because from the laughter and gestures, she suspected that her mum was being attacked. Noting Simon's tone, and her attitude towards the other members, we conclude that she could easily deduce that he was making a pejorative comment about her mother. She uses French as her linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991). The shift from English to French here was not a hierarchical shift, a case of downscaling by a French migrant, because this social space appeared to be a linguistic market under negotiation. However, French did not seem to have much exchange value: Aline did not get a response to her inquiry, since in turn 31 John repeated his question which was again ignored and instead James tried to answer Aline's inquiry in turn 32, but in English.

James here tried to establish cohesive ties by returning to an unanswered question and trying to supply information to a prior clause. He struggled through explaining what 'undertaker' means by using gestures and words synonymous with 'scary'. James's running out of words while still speaking was an indication to John that James was coming to the end of his listing of synonyms, and then John again insisted on being told what '*molongo*' meant. James now finally decided to put John out of his misery by supplying the information, as he did with Aline. However, Aline interrupted by giving an explanation, in French, with a pejorative description of Simon, aggravated by a nonverbal act of pointing. James's use of English here rather than French in reply to Aline's questions reflected both his adequate knowledge of the French language in that he understood her question and the fact that this was an English-dominated interaction; that is, he opted to use a language that the majority would understand, although still taking account of Aline's need for information.

In response to the attack from Aline described above, Simon, whose lack of French rendered him unaware of what she had said, questioned the move; in turn 36 he quickly extended an open question to no one in particular, inquiring to know what she had said. James responded by slowly trying to give an uncertain explanation. All along, James played the role of translator, although not very competently, frequently making wild guesses. This is reflected by John's, "How do you know that?" and by James then hesitantly admitting, "I don't speak French," (.) using 'but', a hesitation marker which together with 'think' and the pause, indicated his lack of confident knowledge of French. The hesitation gave Mark the opportunity to cut in on him (turn 40), offering an explanation which was Mark's first attempt to join in the interaction.

Turns 26-45 feature various insults traded by Simon and Aline:

Simon: Your mom's scary (26)

Aline: *Mal élevé* (badly brought up) (35)

Aline: TA (.) *mère aussi* (.) *elle est costaud* (.) FAT! (43)

Simon: Foolish girl (45)

After Aline's last insult, John came in to assert himself by commanding Aline to stop: "Ok that's enough!" aggravated by "you can't do that" (44). This was a clear indication of John asserting himself as a power figure in the interaction. Simon develops John's attempt to resolve the conflict but escalates it instead of resolving it by calling Aline "Foolish girl" and trying to impose his own set of linguistic norms. James leaps to her defence in turn 46, before being interrupted by John's mum who arrived to deal with the noise level.

John's mother was not a participant in the interaction but played the role of apportioning blame to John for the argument among the learners, and humiliated John who in turn faced the less powerful interactants. After the interruption from his mother, John initiated a new sequence (turn 54) by apportioning blame in his turn: "I told you guys (2) now it's my fault (2)" and Simon continued by pointing out Aline as the instigator (turn 55). In response to this, James issued a directive to Simon to stop his attacks on Aline and in the process shifted footing and frame, embedding an implied criticism of Simon's school, which John also attended, in a wider moral framework of how to behave. James and John then argued about their schools.

Awah who was one of a group of bystanders but nevertheless ratified participants (Goffman, 1981) who had been listening and occasionally chatting among themselves, was then heard for the first time in a side sequence, ordering Tasneema to stop talking (turn 60) and calling her “Britney Spoon”, a play on the name Britney Spears, a world famous pop singer who battled with her weight. Tasneema, surprised, wanted to know why she was being addressed that way, and the explanation followed, indicating a preferred response, in which Awah elaborated her taunt and again resorted to name-calling, describing Tasneema as “choppy choppy” which is pidgin for glutton. In the next turn, 63, instead of pursuing the previous discussion, John came in with another declarative, warning someone to be careful with “that *dammé*” - jargon or slang for ‘food’. An unrelated exchange followed (turns 64-71), with Awah and Bih (joined in turn 70 by John) discussing the need to contact their mother by mobile phone.

The remainder of the extract contains more contestation, with John noticeably trying to silence a younger boy (76) by saying when “elders” (referring to the older children) speak, “twarts” (street slang in CPE to signify minors or nobodies in Cameroon) like the younger boy should not speak. In this way, he moved to exclude the younger child from participation, a move contested by Awah (77). A further trading of insults between James and John followed, later reframed to include Simon (79-85).

6.3.2 Mood: negotiating social roles

Table 6.1 shows that mood choices in the extract include declaratives, interrogatives, and imperatives. Eggins and Slade (1997) define declaratives as clauses in which the structural elements of subject occur before the finite element of the clause. They are used in interaction to initiate exchanges, thus opening up arenas for negotiation. Use of declaratives puts the speaker in a powerful position to query prior talk, challenge and counter-challenge; thus he or she claims higher status or expertise than the other participants, i.e. setting him or herself up as an ‘authority’ or ‘expert’. This status can be reflected in the degree of assertiveness, which is often indicated by modality. On the other hand, interrogatives are used to initiate an exchange by requesting information from the other participant in the interaction- the ‘wh’-elicits additional information. Questioning entails then that the other participant possesses knowledge which the speaker does not have but wishes to have. In this case, the *listener* is positioned as something of an expert. The imperative mood may be used to convey a command and indicate that the speaker is in a position of greater power than the listener. This

power may be a question of authority, status or expertise. Imperatives do not contain subject or finite verbs but only a predicator plus complement and/or adjunct in some cases.

One very important category of clauses in casual conversation is that of minor clauses. These are clauses which have no mood structure, are very brief and are often formulaic. There are several types of minor clauses in English. They include exclamations and interjections like 'Wow' and 'What the hell'. However, their brevity is not due to ellipsis in that 'missing' elements of structure cannot be retrieved nor can they be negated (Eggins & Slade, 1997). Minor clauses function either as openings to negotiation or as follow-up reactions and often position the speaker as "a compliant supporter of prior interaction"(Eggins & Slade, 1997, p. 95).

Mood choices, a key resource for enacting and constructing status differences (Eggins & Slade, 1997, p. 53) are strikingly illustrated in this extract (table 6.1). The most evident pattern of mood structures is the overwhelming number of declaratives, both full and elliptical, which carried statements of position, counters, or re-challenges. This mood dominance reflects high levels of contestation and jostling for social control, also evidenced in frequent overlaps and interruptions and little attempt to abide by the rules of interaction. Learners re-positioned themselves as they shifted from one participatory framework to the next and projected identities were rarely aligned with or taken up. Table 6.2 summarizes participants' mood choices.

Table 6.2 Summary of mood choices of learners interacting in community gathering (in extract table 6.1)

Speaker	Total	John	James	Simon	Aline	Mark	Awah	Bih	Jim
Turns	90	20	16	13	5	1	7	6	6
Moves	103	36	21	17	8	1	8	8	4
Mood choices									
Declaratives total	64	12	16	9	6	2	4	10	5
Full	46	8	12	5	3	2	4	7	4
Elliptical	17	4	4	4	3			3	1
Interrogatives total	26	11	6	6	1		2		
Full	17	7	2	5	1		2		
Elliptical	9	4	4	1					
Imperatives	18	10	1	2	1		4	1	
Minor	9	1					2	4	2

The total number of turns includes 9 by peripheral participants, such as the two mothers and Peter.

There was a lot of competition between Simon, John and James but John produced the highest number of turns and moves because not only was he the eldest, but also the learners were at his home, making him host within their group. In Cameroon as in South Africa a host basically takes control of his guests, making sure they are all welcomed and in harmony. The fact that John also had a much higher number of moves than turns confirms that his turns overall were longer, he got more airspace than the others, more value from his role as a speaker.

An analysis of turn changes indicates how easily learners switched to different topics of interaction often without signalling any topic change or Turn Constructional Units (TCUs) as

boundaries. For example, the discussion about toys among James, John, Simon and Jim in table 6.1 was interrupted by Aline to announce the ringing of her mother's phone. This topic was never resumed by the learners but switched to another, initiated by Simon in turn 26, when he described Aline's mum as 'scary' because of her threat to beat them up next time they disturbed her. John also initiated another topic by trying to find out the meaning of *molongo*. Again, without resolving another ongoing argument between the others, John confronted them (turn 54) after receiving a scolding from his mum. Simon blamed Aline here for the whole scolding problem but the topic again immediately switched to a comparison between schools. In turn 60 Awah initiated yet another topic (about "Britney Spoon") but was interrupted by John (63) telling the others to be careful with their food. Awah again interrupted John in the next turn to talk about a phone call she had to make to apologize. Simon (72) accuses someone of messing the air, and thus initiated a new topic which John interrupted by challenging James about his eating. In this manner, dominant participants acted quickly to seize control of the conversation by introducing new topics.

Just as "powerful speakers in conversations have the most turns, have the longest turns, initiate conversational exchanges, control what is talked about and who talks when", they also interrupt others (Short, 1996, p. 206-7). In normal conversations, interruptions (that is, when one participant begins speaking while the other is midway through a TCU) are an explicit method of signalling non-alignment to the current speaker, and in the conversations of these adolescents it signals a jostling for power: an interruption is a hostile act, a 'violation' which ignores the current speaker's 'right' to the floor (Zimmerman & West, 1975, p. 123). There were, however, a surprisingly small number of interruptions: rather, speech was tightly latched with participants barely giving the prior speaker time to finish. Interruptions were made by John to a younger boy in turn 17, twice by Simon, also to a younger boy, and in an exchange of school-related insults by John and James (turns 57-59). It seems that there was some respect for speakers, except younger ones, in that they were generally able to finish their utterance before the next speaker jumped in.

These high levels of contestation were reflected in a large number of declaratives for challenges and counter-challenges, and also of imperatives regulating behaviour, especially by John as host. Awah's four imperatives in a much smaller number of turns, some of which were side sequences, seem to indicate that there was no gendered aspect to the spread of imperatives. Interrogatives were sometimes used by participants in this interaction to seek

information, positioning the other as a ‘knower’ (for example, John in 27, 29, 31, 33, 38), but often to clarify meaning before launching a counter-attack (Aline in 30, Simon in 36) or in exclamatives of surprise or outrage, for example, Tasneema’s “What? What are you calling me?” (Turn 61) or Simon “What was that? What did she say?” (36). There is also a *sotto voce* “So it’s my fault now?” by John, feeling aggrieved by his mother blaming him for the noise (turn 50). Others are rejoinders, dispreferred options such as Simon’s “So?” in turn 10, indexing indifference to the implied social sanction of “You are rude to me” by James (9) or James’s “Who says?” in turn 58, challenging the veracity of the previous speaker’s proposition.

James and Aline’s choices will be analysed in more detail in chapters 7 and 8 respectively. However, here one can see that James used declarative for statements of moral sanction to Simon (“You are rude to me” in turn 9), to provide answers to ‘knowledge’ questions from Aline (turn 32) and interpretations of Aline’s intentions for Simon (turn 37). Throughout he acted as mediator, not only by translating and explaining but also by challenging behaviour that he considered unfair (turns 46, 56). Aline, however, was silent except where she countered perceived threats to her mother’s dignity with loud declaratives and imperatives to not repeat the behaviour concerned.

Simon had fewer declaratives than John or James but used these to provoke others (26, 42), to label Aline as foolish (45) or to blame for the noisy dispute (55). He used imperatives to try and regulate Aline’s linguistic practices (45) and tell Awah not to insult him (74). He thus positioned himself as arbiter of the linguistic regime and as blameless in the dispute over Aline’s mother.

Mood alone is an insufficient guide to participants’ communicative intentions as any mood can be used to achieve a variety of different purposes. Analysing *moves* enables a more nuanced understanding of the negotiation of identity and the extent to which acts of identity are taken up by other participants.

6.3.3 Moves: the construction of roles and relationships

Moves label what interactants do to each other during interaction, such as questioning, challenging or supporting (see section 4.3). One speaker turn can realize several discourse moves (or speech functions) through one or more clauses and through non-verbal means. A *move* is defined here by two criteria: as “a clause which selects independently for mood”

(Martin, 1992, p. 40) and prosodic factors such as rhythm and intonation which "interact with grammatical structure to signal points of possible turn transfer" (Eggins & Slade, 1997, p. 188). Relating these move types to the grammatical and semantic resources used to realize them offers "sophisticated tools for exploring the negotiation of interpersonal relationships in talk" (Eggins & Slade, 1997, p. 177).

Table 6.3 presents a summary of moves in the extract above (table 6.1) following Eggins and Slade (1997), with the focus on a subset of sustaining moves which is vital in keeping the flow of conversation: that is, reacting moves. Reacting moves are divided into two groups: either responses geared towards completion, or rejoinders. In the latter case, rather than negotiating what is already on the table, the participant either queries it, demanding further details, challenges it, or rejects it, switching to a completely different topic. Rejoinders in turn are divided into supporting moves (Rs) which support negotiation and delay completion without expressing disagreement, and confronting moves (Rc) which challenge a prior move. Eggins and Slade (1997) note that "because they invariably lead to further talk in which positions must be justified or modified, confronting moves contribute most assertively to the negotiation of interpersonal relationships" (p. 213). Two other types of moves were analysed: opening moves, which open a new table around a proposition, and prolonging moves, where participants add to the interaction by restating the proposition or providing further information.

Opening moves as a power space

Opening moves function to open new talk around a proposition. Since they involve a speaker proposing terms for the interaction, opening moves are assertive moves to initiate, indicating a claim to a degree of control over the interaction and interactants (Eggins & Slade, 2006). Speech function moves for opening moves from extract 6.1 are summarized in the table (6.3) below. There is no clear-cut opening move, as the extract began with James and Jim in the middle of a conversation, thus the first move here relates to prior talk between the interactants. This was a conversation going on between Jim and James without the involvement of the others. Simon and the rest reacted to this negatively because they were not part of the interaction, although it was a private discussion between two brothers. The reaction to this was demands for clarification.

With regard to opening moves, John dominated with three and Aline, Awah and Simon came in next with two. These were made in response to external stimuli such as the air pollution

(72) or as part of side sequences (the mother's mobile ring in turn 23 or the need to call someone not present in turn 64). Only two were made as topic change within the flow of the main sequence, both by John, who seemed to be increasingly irritated with everyone, having just shouted at a younger boy to be quiet (76) and then attacking James for eating too much (turn 79) as well as earlier telling the others to be careful with food (63).

Table 6.3 Summary of move types by participant in table 6.1

				John	James	Simon	Aline	Awah	Bih
Opening	9			3		2	1	2	1
Support									
	Track	check		2	3	2			
		confirm							
		clarify		6	2	1	1	1	
		probe							
		monitor		1					
	Response	resolve		5	5	1		1	2
		repair							
		acquiesce							
Total support 35				16	10	4	1	2	2
Confront									
	Challenge	confront		8	2	6	2	4	1
		rebound		1	1		1		1
		counter:	elaborate	4	5	3		1	1
			extend	1	2	1		1	1
			enhance			1			

		contradict		2		1			
	Response	unresolve							
		refute							1
		rechallenge		1	1				
Total confront 54				17	11	12	3	6	5

Certain moves are not included in the above table: these were two resolving and two confronting moves by Jim, while Mark had one resolving move and Tasneema one clarifying move.

What is immediately evident is that confronting moves outweighed supporting moves for all participants, consistent with the tenor of the interaction and the ongoing negotiation of roles and relationships. Looking through table 6.3 we see there are strong indicators that John, James and Simon were the driving forces behind this conversation: the command of the conversation is further evidenced by their insistence on taking the floor whether any other speaker makes it available to them or not. The three main participants were trying to seize social control: they confronted and countered positions taken by others, which was good for the interaction, for it opened up the floor for further negotiation. Supporting moves were usually brief responses to information questions or attempts to end disputes: the majority (16) were made by John, followed by James (10).

John spent a fair amount of time clarifying (6 moves) and trying to resolve conflicts (5 moves) in line with his role as host but also had the largest number of confronting moves, partly intended to control others' behaviour and partly through engaging in sparring contests with James (56-59 and 79-81) or Bih (69). James on the other hand clarified meanings for John, Aline and Awah (32, 34, 78), explained Aline's communicative intention to Simon in 39 but also defended her assertively against Simon (46, 56). He also sparred with John about schools (57-59) and in response to John's goading him about his size (79-81). He thus took on different roles throughout the interaction, shifting footing to adapt to the sudden changes of topic and addressee/s.

Although Simon had fewer moves over all, only 4 were supporting and 12 out of 18 were confronting moves, which positioned him as a trouble-maker. This is confirmed by his interview data (2013) in which he made it a point that he “calls a spade a spade and does not want to beat about the bush.” He said, “I am not afraid of anyone” and about Aline he said, “She is too ‘nosy’ and I just want her out of my way.” Of those who made fun of him, his size, the way he speaks, dresses, etc., he said, “I don’t know but it doesn’t bother me too much. Again you get used to it (.) names people call me”. He was referring here to the general attitude of people and learners, from his situation as an immigrant in a new space. He also said that at first this got to him, but he realized “there will always be haters”, so now he “goes with the flow”.

Moves and language choice

As seen in table 6.4 below, the language of dominance was English. Most of the opening, supporting, confronting, challenging and prolonging moves were enacted in English. In all, only three moves were made in French and four in French and English, showing that there was a general orientation towards the dominant language. Another three moves were made in CPE, two by Awah, to Bih (66) and to Simon (73), and one by Bih but addressed to a caller on her mobile. In this table the interventions by the two mothers in a mixture of CPE, French and English (Aline’s mother) and CPE and English (John’s mother) are not included. They did not appear to influence the linguistic choices of those who responded. John always replied in English to his mother, a further indication that he perceived this to be the language of highest status in the setting.

There were also a small number of moves which contain different language varieties:

- Franglais: *Rémère* (mother) in turn 64;
- Cameroonian pidgin: *Small time noh* in turn 71;
- Mother tongue (Kom) mixed with English: *Jang mah* please (Call mama please) in turn 66;
- Kom language (North West province of Cameroon): *Ngyesi ke rush rushe* (we were rushing) in turn 71;
- Nigerian pidgin: *Abi* (okay) in turn 64;
- CPE: *Dammé* (slang for eating) in turn 63;
- CPE: *Oversabi* (claiming to know all) in turn 56;
- Afrikaans: *Mos* in turn 56.

As Rampton (1995) and others have pointed out, multilingual learners often choose to employ features from several languages in their language repertoires simultaneously, or from only one of these languages, to create spaces of interaction. They employ whatever features are at their disposal, regardless of whether or not these features are considered to belong together by some speakers. Therefore, in such contexts linguistic choices are often unpredictable and “the speech of bilinguals goes against the expectation that languages will neatly correspond to separate domains, and stay put where they are meant to stay put” (Heller, 2007, p. 11).

Table 6.4 Rejoinder moves and language choice in table 6.1

Speech function		English	French	English/French	CPE	Other/English
Open		8	1	-	-	
Response	Support	34		1	1	
Rejoinder	Confront	47	2	3	2	
Total		39	3	4	3	

In the extract, French came in first, with Aline’s response to her mother’s phone ringing in the middle of the others’ argument (see 6.1 turn 23): she was addressing her mother who understood French. Prior to that, she did not participate in the interaction. Her silence was not because she was amongst strangers. When she had established that Simon had appraised her mother as “scary”, a move she perceived to be uncomplimentary, she developed James’s definition of “*molongo*” in English to make a point of moral sanction against Simon, but in French. (35) Here while she ostensibly addressed Simon, her actual addressees were those in the group who understood French and would understand her intention. A few turns later when Mark had translated this for Simon, she elaborated (41), giving reasons for her sanction stated initially in English to be sure of being understood by Simon but then continuing in French, perhaps reverting to a more familiar language under the pressure of strong emotion. Responding again to Simon’s countering move in 42 and in particular to his laughter she started in French, emphasising the “*TA mère*” (your mother) in order to return the perceived insult, and translating “*costaud*” into English at the end of the move in order to be sure she was understood.

The only other occurrences of French are in a small sequence between James and John (80-81), both from the English-speaking part of Cameroon and clearly not always sure of the meaning of French utterances (37-39) but nevertheless familiar with French insults. In turn 80 James refused to align with John's implicit positioning of him as a glutton, using French to abuse him in turn.

In this interaction, the extent of learners' linguistic repertoires was less important than the ability to control the interaction. Moreover, the linguistic regime (Kroskrity, 2000) was enforced not only by Simon (45) on the receiving end of insults in French, but also later by Bih in a turn after the end of the extract where she exclaimed in irritation to Aline: "HEY! Leave people with that your French".

From the above analysis we see that Aline was positioned as imposing French when it was not appropriate and implicitly placed in the category of 'limited language proficiency in English'. This is an indication that all the learners were willing to align to the dominant language of the South African schools, with the exception of Aline.

6.3.4 Repair as positioning tool: manifesting solidarity, challenging dominant stereotypes

Repair is a way of dealing with trouble sources in interaction (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977). In all interactions repair then becomes what is usually called 'correction'. These trouble sources might be created by either current speakers or recipients in interaction and require some repair work before interaction is pursued. Participants in this interaction exploited a range of repair strategies to achieve different moves. Repair can be self-initiated as in turn 18, when Jim started by saying "I was telling (.)", then paused and self-repaired because he sensed an error, and immediately repaired with "no talking about toys (.)". Jim was aware that he was in a group where he could easily be positioned negatively if he said the wrong thing. He thus deleted a word in progress when he realised he had used the wrong word, and self-repaired in such a way that not even Simon, the ever-ready commentator, could comment on his wrong word choice: "I was telling (.) no talking about toys". But in other instances of repair in which the recipient initiated the repair, they were always followed by pejoratives or derogatory commentaries. This is illustrated markedly in turns 81-90 (table 6.1).

In the short exchange from turns 81-91 Simon was trying to find out what “*chien*” is (French for ‘dog’). He mistakenly pronounced it “*chen*”, omitting a vowel. James corrected him and confronted Simon, pointing out that he must not say “*chen*” but “*chien*” and joking that if Simon did not stop being nonsensical he would be one of the dogs. To that Bih advanced that people talk too much in South Africa and she wished to end her “*sejour*” and return home since she was only here on vacation. In this situation, participants understood the purpose of each exchange and how the interaction itself was framed. Simon deduced whether James meant his turn as an insult or placed it within the play frame. Overall, in all the recorded data, there was a lot of self repair, which would seem to confirm new and second language research theories that language learners tend to prefer self-repair over other-repair (Buckwalter, 2001; Foster & Ohta, 2005; van Lier, 1988) and secondly that L2 speakers self-repair more often than native speakers (Kormos, 2000; van Hest, 1996). Since most of these learners understood the frame of their interaction and how easily identities are ascribed in their interactions, they preferred to remedy the situations by self-repairing.

It can be seen from the analysis above that these youngsters often did not treat repairs (self- or other-repair) as problem-solving tools to enable a new flow of interaction, but as minimizing and categorizing tools. They used them, among other things, as a means of questioning each other’s national and linguistic backgrounds (see turns 93, 119, 120, 121, 122, 125 and 129, 130 and 131 in appendix A1, the longer version of table 6.1).

6.3.5 Humour, teasing and jokes in identity negotiation: the appraisal category of judgment

This appraisal category of judgment (see chapter 3 section 3.5) involves interactants expressing evaluations about the “ethics and morality or social values of people’s behaviour” (Eggins & Slade, 2006, p. 130). For example, after the phone call, Aline’s mother promised to use “*molongo*” on the learners if they misbehave again. The reaction from Aline’s mother triggered a dispute that would open up two new topics for discussion: her scary demeanour and the meaning of “*molongo*”. The first, ‘bully’ topic is introduced by Simon’s remark about Aline’s mother as being scary and thus judging her reaction. The extract below (table 6.4) is part of the same data set as the table 6.1 interaction, drawn from the Cameroon community gathering with learners but a few minutes after the end of the previous extract. It reflects the construction of group cohesion and categorizing, involving the frequent use of conversational strategies such as humour, teasing and joking. Our concern here is to see how friends in an

interaction negotiate and ascribe identities through humorous bantering. The tone of the interaction in table 6.4 below was light-hearted throughout.

The extract begins with Bih trying to get an answer to her question about what “*yehnaa*” meant.

Table 6.5 Extract 2 from social gathering, August 2008

Move	Speaker	Turn	Data	Mood
O:R:enhance	Bih	160	i) Answer now (.) bonehead.	imp.
Rc:challenge:c onfront	Peter	161	i)Hey leave me alone (.) you all suck.	imp/decl.
Rc:confront	John	162	i) ↑Glutton! [To James]	ellip. decl.
Rs: answer	Bih	163	i) In Cameroon, they call you <i>MBONGO</i> (.) ii) he ate too much (.) (Laughter) (.) iii) Here (.) they call you <i>ma kweri-kweri</i> .	decl. (3)
R:track: check	Peter	164	i) Who said? [	int.
Rc:refute: resolve	Bih	165	[i)Hey not you (.) all of us (.) ii)they call all foreigners <i>Kweri-Kweri</i> .	decl. (2)
Rc:contradict P:elaborate	Peter	166	i) I don't look like <i>Kweri-kweri</i> (.) ii)no one has never (2) ever called me that.	decl. (2)
Rs:response: extend	James	167	i) They make fun of me (.) IN SCHOOL!	decl.
R:monitor: track	Bih	168	i) ↑Who?	ellip. int.
Rs:respond :extend	James	169	i) The colour people (.) but am sure they are tired now. ii) Those ones (.) they think they are very (.) I mean the best (.).	decl. (3)
Rs:enhance	Tasneema	170	Really?	ellip. Int.
Rs:D: elaborate	James	171	i) The girls think they are (.) [	decl.
Rc:contradict	Bih	172	[i) I hate this your mmm (2) colour thing here (.).	declarative
Rs:track:check	James	173	i) What?	ellip. int.
Rs:resolve	Bih	174	i)Call them <i>métisse</i> .	decl.
Rs:track: check	Tasneema	175	i) Remember I am coloured?	incongr. Int.
Rs:resolve: prolong	James	176	i) Only your mother (.) ii) your papa is Cameroonian (.)	decl.
Rs:monitor	James	177	i) ↑So?	ellip.
Rs:resolving	Bih	178	i)You are Cameroonian.	decl.
Rs:resolve	Jim	179	i) Ok no more <i>para para</i> [slang for fighting in CPE] (.) ii) We are all <i>Kweri-kweri</i> . FULL STOP.	decl./minor

Table 6.4 shows learners claiming and disclaiming the various ethnic and racial identities ascribed to them. This kind of bantering is important, as it is a resource for achieving interpersonal work while participants appear to be doing no more than having fun. Although this is achieved in a joking manner, it contributes to participants’ negotiation of social roles and the types of bond between them. For example, turns 160 –179 above portray how the learners jokingly assign racial and national identities to one another. This is elaborated further below.

Table 6.6 Turn and move summary for Extract 2 from social gathering

Speaker	James	John	Bih	Peter	Tasneema
No of turns	7	1	7	3	2
No of moves	7	3	10	5	2

In the extract table 6.5 we see Peter, Bih, Simon, James and Tasneema in another head-to-head battle around proving who is who in their interaction. James dominated here in the number of turns he takes (see table 6.6 above), together with Bih. As in the previous extract examined (Table 6.1) we find James always among the dominant and at the centre of the interaction. He often produced both full explanatory and elliptical clauses. He also made use of a variety of imperatives and declaratives to assert his position. A turn-by-turn analysis of the extract uncovers further patterns. In turn 164 Peter’s question was interrupted when he was inquiring from Bih who calls him “ma kwere kwere”, although this was clarified in the next turn, while in 168 Bih also wanted to know who makes fun of them in school. It is seen that use of questions implies you are relinquishing your turn to another interactant, so turns 168, 173 and 177 show Peter, James and Tasneema all merely seeking information, while “Really?” (turn 170) shows Tasneema wanting an explanation of the previous turn in which James was evaluating coloured girls as thinking they are the best. Thus Tasneema’s turn here was actually a challenge which was confirmed and picked up again in turn 175 where she reminded James that she was coloured herself: in other words, warning him to think before speaking. James in turn responded that she was only “half” coloured which complicated an already complicated category. James also wanted clarification from Bih on why she hated it

that in South Africa they call people ‘coloured’ (turn 173). However Jim jokingly positioned all of them as: “Ok no more *para para* (.) We are all *Kweri-kweri* - FULL STOP”. In South Africa this term has serious political undertones and reflects discriminatory attitudes that have led to continuing assaults on migrants, resulting in persistent fears and insecurities amongst African refugees, asylum seekers and economic migrants; however, the learner interactants here claim the identity jokingly.

Table 6.7 Moves and language choice in table 6.5: Extract 2

Speech function		English	Fr/Eng	CPE	others	NV
Open		3		-	-	-
Prolong		6				
Response	confront			1	1	
Rejoinder	Track	3				
	Challenge	2		1		
Resolve		4	1			
Refute		1				
Total		19				

The above summary (table 6.7) is another indication that English has become a daily language of interaction. In both support and confrontation moves, English dominates with 19, while CPE comes in second with two, and French and other languages occupy third position with only one each. This positions the learners as orienting to the dominant variety of the school, implying a shift from other repertoires.

6.3.6. Appraisal in interaction: name-calling and categorization

As seen from the beginning of this short piece of data, the interaction is fraught with confrontations because each interactant seemed to want to be in control. For example, in 160 Bih began with an imperative accompanied by name-calling: “Answer now”, followed by a slight hesitation and then “bone-head”. Such choices of words open up spaces for

confrontation although they are jokingly assigned (see also how Peter's "you all suck" in 161 categorizes all the recipients, while "glutton" in 162 and "mbongo" - slang for 'fat individual' - categorize James).

The status of the person is challenged here, especially those in positions of power or 'mainstreamers'. John and Simon (and later, James) are seen to uphold the position of taking over and occupying new spaces. John commanded attention because of his frequent shifts of participatory frames and footings (see turns, 19, 64, 81, 84) through variables like age, privileged position and general know-how. Thus when speaking he mostly disaligned himself from the others while also positioning them as not familiar with activities, resources and ways of doing things in the new linguistic space (see for example turns 119-131, appendix A1).

6.4 Summary of features of communication in the 'social gathering' interactions

A strongly recurrent feature of these learner interactions (seen for example, in analysing the extract in table 6.1) was that of overlap and/or tightly latched speech, which is generally characteristic of adolescents' interactions. Latched speech or overlaps are discernible in turns 6, 7, 20, 21, 47, 48, 52, 57, 58, 59, 79, for example. Other instances appear in the full version of the extract in table 6.1, found in appendix A1 (for example, turns 142,143,147,148,150,157,158 and 166). Pauses in the interaction were of very short duration, the longest pause being about 5 seconds, since most of the learner interactants were in a rush to say something. As far as the progress of the interaction is concerned, the concept of adjacency pairs was respected only occasionally and for very short sequences. Even when the next speaker was signalled a priori, there were still lots of interruptions, with the result that reactions to moves often came only several turns later, if at all.

Repair as another feature of interaction and positioning ran throughout the interactions. In conversation there are ways of initiating repair or providing correction of another's speech which can either propose the initial speaker's competence to perform the correction him/herself or indicate lack of confidence in such ability (Schegloff et al., 1977). In the data analysed above some instances of repair occasioned by mispronunciation and different accents were initiated not by the initial speaker but by those who considered themselves to be more informed about the linguistic context. In some conversational contexts, conventions of repair allow initiators of the trouble source to correct the utterance themselves: to self-repair.

However, in this interaction speakers often blatantly signalled the need of a correction (see for example turns 120 to 123 in appendix A1, table 6.1) and performed that correction themselves. This could be termed an aggravated or unmodulated repair, used as a resource for holding the floor (Goodwin, 1990).

It can be concluded then that the learners in this study negotiated their way through many arguments, fighting unending wars with words, hardly ever reaching resolutions and through these processes positioning others at various times as inexpert, rude and in need of manners, gluttonous, loud, or lacking linguistic proficiency/accent/pronunciation. At the same time, they used the interaction to position themselves variously as language experts, enforcers of linguistic hierarchies, language and conflict mediators, superiors to younger children, and so on.

The next section shifts the scene of interaction from informal social gatherings to the classroom, where the learners are bound by the rules of the institution to stick to certain forms of behaviour and we see talkative learners like Simon being silenced because of the context of occurrence.

6.5 Classroom interactions: solidarity and distance

Classroom interactions were analysed in order to understand the construction of involvement and distance. This involved exploring which learners were more involved in constructive learning processes and also learners' level of competence in the language of instruction imposed, as they were obliged to interact and learn only with the institution's MoI. The questions which needed to be answered were: who can say what to whom, and in what situations?

The next interaction analysed therefore shows Simon, Peter and Jude in their grade 7 classroom, participating in a poetry session. Notably, with the shift from peer groups to classroom interactions, the positioning comes from both the peers and the teacher. The learners who had access to the various forms or genres of school discourse in English were seen by teachers and peers as the 'brilliant' ones and placed in the first row, while the less powerful learners were those with less access to various forms of text or talk. Ultimately, the powerless had literally 'nothing to say', nobody to talk to, or had to remain silent when more powerful people were speaking, as was the case for children from areas where English was

not previously used - learners such as Jude, Aline, and Nathalie. These three struggled to speak only occasionally, when they were obliged to speak to institutional representatives or with teachers. The use of code-switching was not allowed in class although in several instances some teachers unconsciously switched to their home languages (to Afrikaans, for example, in school A) for the benefit of the first language learners of that variety and to the detriment of the migrant learners. The excerpt below is taken from a longer sequence in which each of these learners had to single-handedly manage their position in a group. In informal settings these immigrant learners tended to align with one another against their friends and peers, while in the classroom setting the tendency was 'every man for himself'.

6.5.1. Reading sessions as categorizing tools

The analysis of reading sessions as tools of categorization entailed a significant contextual shift, away from an informal social setting and peer group interaction where the learners could choose, for example, to be flippant or not, to an environment where they were bound by strict rules of behaviour. This analysis is based on a grade 7 literature lesson in May 2013: a poetry reading session that was part of the homework exercise given to the learners the previous day. Since English was the language employed in the session, the learners were not allowed to use any other languages in their repertoires to facilitate learning and understanding of difficult words or concepts.

The teacher was white, in her late fifties, and easily got 'pushed to the wall' by her learners. The learners, on the other hand, easily became intimidated by the teacher raising her voice (necessitated by the learners' unruliness). I therefore knew beforehand that some of my participants who were members of this class would shy away from reading aloud: in group interviews James had brought up the issue of different accents, noting that reading sessions always ended up in name-calling, since the accents of the Cameroonian learners were totally different from the local accents and were taken by South African learners as a sign of poor English rather than as different dialects of the same language.

That particular day the teacher's welcoming words were:

It's good Miss that you came because I have never seen a bunch of children like these. They really get to me; they don't listen, I give instructions and they don't follow, and truly I don't know what they want. In grade 7 they have not come to their senses; can you imagine that? We are in the middle of doing corrections of what we did yesterday, and no one seems to recall anything. These are children who are

getting ready to leave the school and face higher levels of learning yet they cannot proudly say they know anything. (Teacher, grade 7).

The lesson started with a correction of the previous day’s English lesson and the teacher sought to focus learners on the chalkboard. The few learners who were concentrating on the English lesson offered a chorus of answers to corrections. This met with the teacher’s disapproval, since she preferred that they raise their hands and give individual responses.

Table 6.8 Classroom talk, grade 7, English and reading, May, 2013

Speaker	Spoken interaction	Context
Teacher	You don’t talk except when answer-ing a question	The teacher starts allocating questions to individuals rather than taking random answers. Only a few hands go up
Teacher	“Why is it only some hands that go up”?	The teacher guides them through the corrections.
Teacher	DON’T TURN AROUND!	The teacher is angry and raises her voice to a learner sitting in front who is talking to her friend instead of concentrating. After scolding the learner, she gives information about writing comprehension language. She calls up several learners to respond; evaluates positively to those correct/ negatively to those wrong. She starts writing on the board and talking at the same time.
Teacher	NEVER USE THE APOSTROPHE TO FORM THE PLURALS. Learn this rule class. Ex. 2 – what do you decide on? Choose the correct pronoun [Interrupted by a group of talkers in front] Are you listening or making notes or what?	
Teacher	Where is your book?	She angrily walks up to them and asks one of them
Jude	I don’t have. I don’t do my home work.	
Teacher	Same story every day. Tomorrow your work must be up to date.	She receives no response, so she turns around and directs a question to the class; she takes an object and asks:
Teacher	Will I give this to you, me or her?	

Teacher	You, me and her...What's the difference between you, me, I? Any of you speaks German or any European language?	
Learners	NO!	
Teacher	What about French? In German rules are different, Xhosa same but Afrikaans is easiest. I can see how many of you are not focusing but talking and not taking in anything	
Teacher	Three words you are always confused with are: They're, their and there ... so which are we talking about here?	Teacher goes up and starts writing on the board, talking while she writes. The learners continue talking and do not concentrate on what the teacher is saying; they are involved in their private activities.
Teacher	Good (says the teacher)	Learners shout in chorus. First one which is 'they're' and second one 'their' is shouted in chorus by the learners. The teacher does not follow up on the correct responses but moves to next section.
Teacher	Ok now class, prepare your poems.	
Random Learner	Mam which is the correct answer?	Teacher stops now to ask one learner in front
Learner 2	The second one	
Teacher	Good	Teacher walks to where I am sitting and gives me the reading assessment rubric.
Teacher to researcher	It's important for them to read because, when they learn to read, they take flights into other worlds.	She tells me this was just correction of some work given yesterday and the learners surely revised as advised to do at home. She is not happy with the learners' general performance. She explains that as seniors ready to go "out there", they should be more responsible towards the various tasks and duties allocated to them.
Teacher to class	When you don't work with the rubric, you are not serious. OBE requires you do what? You look at rubric all the time while doing your reading; you don't start an assessment if you don't have a rubric. You look at the rubric all the time. You are getting ready for another...	She walks towards the front of the class again and continues to emphasise the importance of reading with the rubric.

Teacher		The teacher is interrupted by an argument between two learners over a cable. There is a confrontation and the teacher tries to intervene, but one of the learners is very aggressive towards the teacher and walks threateningly towards her. Teacher gets hold of the cable, the learner becomes more threatening and there is an element of excitement in the class. He earns himself hours in detention and from the look of things, he is not happy about it. After neutralizing the noise, she resumes her lesson by asking different learners to stand up and read, while we (teacher, learners and myself) grade them accordingly, utilizing the rubric a rubric from the teacher
Learners		The first learner reads fluently, keeping eye contact with her audience; there is much applause. She dances back to her seat. The next is not as good as the first and this can be felt from the minimal clapping - only about three learners clap.
Teacher	Next. I AM WAITING!	No response as yet, so decides to use the list.
Teacher	Can I go down the list to see who is ready?	
Teacher	WHERE ARE YOU GOING?"	The learner who had confronted the teacher earlier walks up to the front, which provokes the teacher. He ignores the teacher and walks towards the paper stand.
Teacher	This is school property and you do not take without permission. If you need this for school work, you tell me.	
Teacher	NEXT!	This time she calls a name, but the identified learner refuses and she calls out the next.
Learner	I don't have any rubric.	Another name is called out and this learner refuses with this excuse.
Teacher	THIS IS VERY EMBARRASSING (2) THANKS VERY MUCH.	All of the learners who come up with excuses when their names are called out are boys. Another girl's name comes up and she stands to read. She starts well by reading fluently for the first half, and then loses her tempo. Either because of the way the girl reads or because the learners feel the class has been quiet for long enough, the noise bursts out again. The teacher is very angry this time, loses her temper and shouts at the class to be quiet.

Since the teacher became irritated whenever learners spoke randomly, her most frequent outburst was: "YOU DON'T TALK EXCEPT WHEN ANSWERING A QUESTION". This

indicates how in this reading session in the classroom setting, most reactions came from the teacher, in sharp contrast to the informal peer interaction in which each learner reacted vehemently against or in support of the previous move. The teacher reacted to noise in the class, non-attention to the lesson of the day, or recalcitrant behavioural patterns from learners. The reacting moves from learners were portrayed either through them clapping their support or making derogatory commentary. Those learners who did a good job with the readings earned large applause, an indication that they had been labelled as good; however, only minimal clapping followed a learner who performed less fluently, indicating that the others were comparing her reading skills unfavourably with those of the first reader. The teacher reiterated this estimation in a raised tone by saying: “YOU MUST MAINTAIN EYE CONTACT AND GOOD POSTURE WHILE READING”.

The consequence of this was that other learners now felt reluctant to volunteer because they were scared to be labelled. Thus the teacher’s next call for volunteers (“Next!”) was ignored. When no one indicated she usually said loudly: “I AM WAITING!” When there was still no response, she decided to use the register.

The key point of awareness drawn from analysis of this classroom session is that Simon, Peter and Jude were silent and did not participate, in sharp contrast to their behaviour in the informal peer gathering discussed earlier in this chapter. In the latter interaction they raised their voices freely and readily positioned one another. It was also notable in the classroom session that only white boys had read so far. From my many hours of observation, it was apparent that migrant learners had zero verbal participation in the reading sessions or in other lessons. Early in the study I realized that ‘bridging the gap between the worlds’ in a new spatial configuration posed a big challenge to the immigrant learners. They were all too conscious of their new environment with new classmates from a wide variety of cultural backgrounds, unlike the situation in Cameroon where black classmates were the norm, not the exception. Their past and present reflected two worlds significantly different in people and cultures. Coming to terms with the differences was coupled with the struggles of language acquisition and of being accepted into the mainstream culture. These learners thus faced the challenge of redefining their identities and culture and thereby enabling the creation of a “third space.” Their experience of difference unleashed an array of emotions: loneliness, shame and a sense of inequality (Taba, 1962) as they battled with failure, submissiveness, isolation (Friere, 1998), and alienation (Green, 1971).

The classroom extract also indicates that even adolescents who assertively challenge control when in a peer group interaction may accept the forms of control, name-calling and ridicule they are subjected to by the teachers or peers (from Southern Africa, Congo, Nigeria, China etc) in the classroom setting. Those who are unable to stand up and express themselves in class will put up with this situation, but unwillingly. It is therefore necessary for teachers to optimize opportunities for learners to practise speaking - something that is clearly not happening in the next extract, where Mark, a Cameroonian, is in trouble for not doing his homework. .

Table 6.9 Classroom talk, grade 4 Mathematics, October 2010

Teacher	You have ten more minutes [talking to the learners]...you have ten more minutes to work on Chapter three...if Chapter three is not done, no Chapter four...you have ten minutes to work in Chapter three...I ask you to take out your maths ...I told you to improve on your writing (.) Can't see (.) and you Brian OUT (.) I HAVE SPOKEN (.) GET (.) OUT (.) PACK YOUR BAG AND GET OUT (.) if I get up (.) [She turns around and addresses the next learner] you want to go with him?
Mark	No ma'am
Teacher	THEN SHUT UP (.) IF I GET UP, (.) YOU WILL SEE THE PRINCIPAL ON YOUR WAY OUT (.) OUT (.) OUT (.) AND YOU (.) YOU (.) I DO NOT LIKE THE FACT THAT YOU WERE NOT HERE YESTERDAY (.) AND YOU WANT TO SPEND THE WHOLE DAY ON MATH (.) IF YOU ARE GETTING 90%, THEN I WILL SAY IT IS FINE (.) BUT YOU ARE NOT [Learner mumbles inaudibly]. YOU ARE WHAT?" [Teacher shouts]. "YOU WOULDN'T EH (.) YOU WANT TO BE THE NEXT (.) YOU==
Mark	= =NO! I (.) eh
Teacher	You do not know how to (Looking at his book) Why haven't you done exercise two and three? YOU==
Mark	(.) eh
Teacher	YOU HAVE NOT!

While positive intervention in the form of instructions and guidance by the teacher is critical, if a teacher habitually overwhelms learners with negative attention and criticism they may not seek the help they need from that teacher, for fear of being positioned as inadequate. Simon, Jude, Mark and Nathalie formed part of this classroom but their voices were silenced there. The point here is to show that the classroom context in which these learners found themselves rendered most of their voices inaudible.

6.6 Interactional positioning and new identities.

We have so far explored what happens when young learners are uprooted from one space and dropped into another where the interactional norms are unclear. So the specific space in which interactions develop becomes “the nexus of influences from various scales; some strictly situational and uniquely creative; others conventional and tied to larger scales at which orders of indexicality operate” (Blommaert et al., 2005, p.204).

The analysis has indicated that levels of participation signal who dominated and why: that a field is a “space of play” but it is also “simultaneously a space of conflict and competition” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, pp.19, 17). Throughout the present chapter the learner participants are portrayed as struggling for different forms of social and symbolic capital, and those who have the linguistic and other resources to dominate are able to exert more influence in the interactions and are thus positioned in the “know zone” while those who tag behind are categorized as novices. Their supremacy is thus determined by the structure of the capital that each holds, and the relations of power between them. In this way, the field is composed of a network of objective social relations “anchored in certain forms of power (or capital)” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p.16). This account of complex linguistic identities and identifications thus adds to research in many parts of the world, illustrating the ways in which difference is positional, conditional and conjunctural (Hall, 1988). Learners are able to negotiate existing language hierarchies and new identities within the constraints of new linguistic regimes.

In these interactions we note the use of the different codes by these late modern urban youth, particularly in their mutual conversations, since they are not supposed to use other varieties in class. They utilize linguistic features from a wide range of different “languages”, (Lytra & Jorgensen, 2008, p. 8). These learners at this stage do not necessarily “command” all these languages, and the languages may not “belong” to them (Rampton, 1995; Lytra & Jorgensen, 2008), but the young speakers may still use the features. These are polylingual practices which enable them to use linguistic features from a range of different language varieties (Hewitt, 1992; Jorgensen, 2008; Møller, 2008). These features are not treated as rigidly defined sets (such as languages, varieties, codes, etc) but are in constant interaction with each other and therefore constantly involved in processes of change (Møller, 2008). English invasion is evident above as it becomes one of the dominant and powerful languages. Languages that previously marked these learners’ interactions (such as French for Aline, Jude

and Nathalie, and CPE for the Cameroonian English speakers) have all been relegated to the background. Thus the linguistic capital of those languages has lost value in the new market (Bourdieu, 1982). The languages these learners had acquired before migrating to English-dominant institutions or market places differ in both norms and values from the dispositions of the new space or what is expected of them in this context. Bourdieu extends this notion by asserting that a certain linguistic expression can perform an action only as far as there is a shared disposition, a habitus already shared in communication (1982; Duranti, 1997, p. 45). Thus some learners take the knowledge of the dominant group to be the only way, forgetting that the others have different dispositions.

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter has presented and analysed a group of Cameroonian learners in interaction among themselves and some South Africans, in two different settings. It has shown how they negotiated their identities in informal social interaction and in the daily classroom experience at school, while positioning and being positioned. It has portrayed the learners struggling for different forms of capital, highlighting the different interactional strategies and viewpoints of the learners in coping with categorization, and charting their use of an overwhelming number of confronting moves often using declaratives, both full and elliptical, carrying statements of position, rebounds and counter-challenges. Power was measured in the sample interactions in terms of topic control (who had more turns, clauses and control of topics being discussed, who initiated and who responded) but also through those who positioned themselves as 'mainstreamers', as having more knowledge of activities being discussed. This degree of power also varied from one context to the next, for some learners had more power in the out-of-school context while their voices became silent in the institutional arena. From the analysis we also deduced that these immigrant learners paid attention to the negative discourses surrounding them, and how they were positioned because of them. The standards set up by society and school on cultural and linguistic homogeneity in preference to diversity were highlighted here and from the analysis in the final section above we can deduce that this school was not ready to deal with diversity.

Chapter Seven: OWNING PARTICIPATORY SPACES

7.0 Overview

This chapter will build on the analysis in the previous chapter by focusing on one key participant, James, from the English speaking sector of Cameroon. My interest centres on the interactional and other means by which James positions himself and is positioned within wider institutional and societal discourses. Data was collected during six years of fieldwork, starting in 2007 when James was in grade 1 and continuing until 2013 when he was in grade 7. The chapter begins with James's learner profile, which includes his linguistic and personal background. Next I present and analyse eleven sets of data from the school playground, classrooms and community gatherings. Interactional data are supplemented by observations and interviews. Each data set is intended to foreground different aspects of the interactional construction of roles and relationships and the identities asserted or ascribed during his six years' trajectory through the school.

The first data presents James in a 25 minute recording with three friends, all from South Africa, during the lunch break. This took place eight months into his enrolment as a learner in the school and several months after his arrival in Cape Town. It shows him entering new spaces, tentative and eager to fit in at the beginning of his "sejour" in a South African school. Later data show him gradually increasing in assertiveness and authority as he becomes a fully fledged member of his peer group. In each case, interactions are analysed in terms of turn-taking, mood choice, moves and other tools such as lexical choice to illustrate the means by which James either aligned with his interactants or enacted difference in his daily negotiations.

The chapter ends with a discussion of themes arising from the data.

7.1 Talking about James: learner profile, habitus and languages.

James was born in Cameroon and grew up there until the age of nine when his family moved to South Africa for economic reasons. He lived with his parents, younger brothers and sister. The father was a chauffeur in the movie industry while the mother was a street trader and student at the same time. Because his parents were always away struggling to make ends meet, James was left with the task of cleaning, cooking and taking care of his siblings from an early age. Linguistically, James claimed to be competent in four languages: his first

language (Mbesa), English, CPE and French. Mbesa had been his family language in Cameroon, where English was a language of learning and teaching at his school and CPE was a lingua franca used with his peers locally, while French was taught in schools as a compulsory language (Cameroon being a bilingual country). However, on relocating to South Africa James's father warned him to avoid using CPE, feeling that it would be detrimental to his English, and urged him to use English as the dominant and prestigious variety (see a full account in chapter 6, including the data extract in table 6.1 and analysis in 6.3.1). However, the variety of English spoken by the Cameroonian learners, presumably a Cameroonian 'school' variety, differed from the South African school variety. This meant that at the beginning James could at times pick up what the teacher was saying but at other times was unable to understand the teacher because of the speed and accent of her spoken English.

Thus the move to South Africa involved profound changes in his linguistic repertoire. He soon accepted his diminished ability to further develop his family language, which was the Mbesa language. He had communicated well with his peers in CPE in Cameroon before relocation, and the Pidgin/ English controversy with his father bothered him at first, since he was being deprived of something that formerly linked him to people close to him. However he eventually became used to the idea of switching to English and came to accept it. In one of our encounters, he even confessed that it was no big deal because people do not speak those varieties here and he had developed new networks. This can be deduced from the following short discussion with James concerning languages in his repertoire, which took place towards the end of my fieldwork after James had been in the school for six years:

James	When i first came here everything was an issue for me you know (.) like (.) of course I know
Re	How do you mean an issue? You know this is not our first chat (.) I remember the first time there were some complaints; yes
James	Yes I mean like friends, the school, the teacher, my mum (.) like (.) I mean everybody
Re	Yes?
James	The way I talked, the way I acted (.) what am I saying, everything (.)

Re	Yes? And oh I also remember your pidgin issue (.) you were into it at that time.
James	Yes and my parents had a big (.) yes totally against it that it spoilt my English (.) especially my dad (.) but it was then though (.) Pidgin use to be a language for me and friends in Cameroon (.) they all still in Cameroon (.) here we speak only English and other languages in my school are Afrikaans and Xhosa and that I can't speak (.) well (.) just, (.) just a little
Re	And now? How are you handling that now? Still a team player? I remember you could speak pidgin and your mother tongue, English while the others you just understood (.)
James	Cant anymore [laughs] then I could not now (.) I hardly hang around people who speak that though (.) in school nobody does and my parents are hardly around although they wouldn't speak pidgin with me (.) so I don't get to speak any other language but English (.) my grandma and mum do try though but I can seem to get hold of that language again.

James's comments above about the languages in his repertoire - that he no longer interacted with people who spoke the languages he used to speak, so he saw no need to hang on to them - thus illustrate how when the field changes, the value of the linguistic capital also changes. English therefore became his language of interaction and learning. However, he went on to say that

“Maybe when it all started (.) My teachers used to yap yap and I didn't get to understand all what they said (.) I struggled to make sense of what they were saying (.) my friends had a problem with the way I spoke (.) as in my kind of English (.) no (.) My accent (.) like this was supposed to be this and I said this, my teachers, I can't get into that now (.) I remember one day I was struggling to explain some food item from my country (2) some years back (smiling) and it escalated into some kind of comedy centric issue (.) they were on me like (laughs)”.

When he was asked to further clarify the issue of his variety of English and how others regarded him, James said, “Not really, but I was not good at anything, was a bully, was a (.) What can I say? But here I am (2) and my mum too”. Among his grievances, he noted the setback to his educational career caused by his being placed in grade 1 when he had been a class five pupil in Cameroon and two years away from secondary education (South African

grade 5 is equivalent to the Cameroonian class five at primary school level; Cameroonian children spend five years in secondary school and two years in high school before entering the university.) He expressed himself on this issue as follows:

James	“No I can’t get into that now (.) but I was not good at anything (.) but long story short, Why was I put in grade 1, when in Cameroon I was already in class five? Two years from secondary school (.) Yes (.) or should I say college? Here I am today in grade 7, while in Cameroon I should have been in form three, four now?”
Re	But academically it was good for you to fit into the South African system?
James	I would have been ok no matter where (.) Why not grade 3? ONE? It was like I didn’t know anything. At least now they think I know (.) and I don’t really care what anyone thinks of me now, (.) Because I know, I know. They even rank me as one of the best now.

In his disappointment at being downgraded, James claimed he was not an empty slate and was capable of passing no matter what grade he was put in, even boasting that he was now ranked as one of the best. Overall, his proficiency in English, the institutional language, played in his favour while the loss of CPE and other languages in his repertoire were not an issue to him because they played no role in his day to day activities. The market value of those languages in the educational field was zero.

Academically James had some problems: for example, he encountered a lot of difficulties in dealing with Afrikaans, as well as with some new literacy practices such as researching projects on the internet and undertaking some other personal research projects. (In Cameroon computer literacy had not been part of the curriculum.) He also experienced some challenges with writing in English, although less so than many other immigrant learners as he was already able to communicate well in English. The following section captures some of the dynamics of the new school spaces with which James engaged.

7.2 Entering a new space: playground interaction 1, 2008.

The extract below is taken from a 25 minutes recording of James and a few friends talking during the lunch break. It took place eight months into his enrolment as a learner in a Cape Flats School and several months after his arrival in Cape Town. As usual, these learners' origin, beliefs and values were a subject of discussion. The interaction was carried out entirely in English despite the multilingual repertoires of learners in the interaction; the first languages they claimed for themselves were Mbesa from the North West region of Cameroon (James), isiXhosa (Sipho), and Afrikaans (Brian). The exception here was Tony whose first language was English, also the only language in his repertoire. These learners had just left class for the long break, to eat what their parents had packed for them or what they had bought from the tuck shop.

Table 7.1 James and his peers during lunch break, 2008.

Legends used in Table 7.1 (and all subsequent transcripts):

Turns: 1,2,3 etc.

Clauses: i,ii, iii

O = opening move

R = reacting move

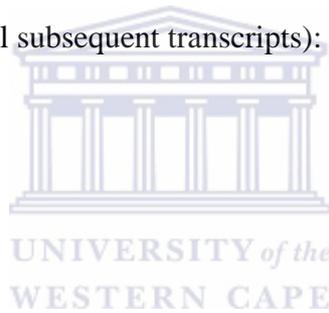
D = developing move

P = prolonging move

A = appending move

s = supporting

c = confronting



Move	Turn	Speaker	Data	Mood
O:opinon:track:check	26a	Tony	i).Ok (.) game over (.) Come (.)	decl./ imp
	26b		What did you buy?	int.
R:monitor:elaborate	27	James	i).Why? I don't have money (.) my mother doesn't give me money (.) just a lunch box (.)	ellip. int./decl.x2
R:monitor	28	Tony	i).Why?	ellip. int.
R:D:elaborate	29	James	i).That giving me money will make me to (.) to (.) like money (.)	decl.
R:Track:check	30	Tony	i).What's wrong with ↑“LIKING MONEY”?	int.
R:elaborate	31	James	i).Will steal if I don't have (.)ii) no if she don't have	decl.

R:track:check	32	Sipho	i).So we are bad (.) ne?	int.
R:refute:justify:monitor	33	James	i).↑No! No please! That is not (.)ii) I didn't say that (.) sorry (2) please?	excl./decl./int.
R:sresolve:refute	34	Brian	i).It's ok (.) that is not how he meant it (.) he = =	decl.
R:resolve	35	Tony/Sipho	= =ALRIGHT.	Minor.
R:elaborate	36	James	i).They (.) I mean my mother = =	decl.
Rc: elaborate	37	Brian	= = i).↑Please (.) leave your mum, out of this = =	decl.
R:elaborate:facts	38	James	= =i).She doesn't give me money (2) ii) just food.	decl.
R:resole:probe	39	Tony	i).Ok! FINE (.) ii) what type of food?	minor/int.
R:resolve	40	James	i).Cameroonian food.	ellip. decl.
R:resolve:elaborate	41	Sipho	i). GOOD! You must bring us some food (1.5) ↑ii) your own food (.)yes.	minor/decl.
P:confirm:re-challenge	42	James	i).Our food is (.) ii) NO! You can't eat (.) I mean our food (.)	decl. /x2.
R:confront	43	Tony	i).↑You see = =	imp.
R:challenge	44	James	= = i)↑You see = =	imp.
R:track:confront	45	Brian	= = i).WHAT? selfish guy.	ellip. int./decl.
R:confirm:confront	46	James	i).↑I am serious (.)you can't (2).	decl./imp.
R:challenge: extend	47	Tony	i).↑Try me (.) you ate mine the other day (.) = =	imp./decl.
R:confirm:extend	48a	James	= = i).Ok (2) wait (.) but that was chicken (.)	minor/imp./decl.
	48b		ii)Do you know ↓coco (.) yes coco (pronounces as this than cocoa).	int.
R:track:check	49	Tony	i).WHAT? (ii)As in hot chocolate?	ellip int x2.
R:refute:elaborate	50	James	i).NO (.) not hot chocolate (.)ii) I didn't say choco (.) ↑I said coco (.) as in cooking (.) and eating (2) (Surely expecting one to own up).	decl.x3
R:refute:opinion:counter	51	Tony	i).↑No (.) you are confusing us here (.) GUYS!	decl./minor
R:acknowledge:track:check	52	James	i).You see (.) ii) You do not know it (.) iii) How you can then eat it (.)	minor/ /decl./ int

R:track:extend	53	Tony	So Coco (.) is in English? (.) You know we don't speak your= =	int./decl.
P:elaborate	54a)	James	= =i).Cocoa as in cocoyam (.) ii) it is a tuber (.)iii) it's not my language (.) iv)cocoa is (.) some people call it cocoyam(2).	decl.x5
	54b		i).They use it to cook many dishes (2) like like (.) like 'Achu' ekwang' (.)ii) ekwang' is cocoa and (.) leaves (.) in Cameroon (2) we= =	
R:track:check	55	Brian	= =WHAT? ↑ Leaves?	int.
R:challenge:track:rej	56	James	What (.) leaves? [Mimicking him] (.) why can't you listen (2) I want to= =	int./decl.
R:challenge:track	57	Brian	= =i).What about cockroaches?	int.
R:confront	58	Sipho	ii) STOP IT!	imp.
P:extend	59	Tony	i).Coco goes with = =	decl.
R:confront	60	James	= = i) it's over (.) not saying a word again.	excl. /decl.
Rc:refute:confront:challenge	61	Sipho	i) No! ↑ii) Leave him alone iii) let him do it (.)iv) Say it (.)	imp./decl./imp.
R:track	62	Tony	i) ↑What? (.)	int.
R: refute: confront	63	James	i) (.)I don't want to (.)ii) they are jerks (.) assholes= =	decl.(2)
R:challenge:track:chack	64	Tony	= = i).Your grand mum will be crying now (.) (ii)What? (.)iii) What did you call me again?	decl./int. x 2
R:confront	65	Sipho	i) Leave him alone!	imp.
P:elaborate	66	Brian	i)Your mother should cook some South African food.	decl.
R:refute extend	67	James	i) She can't (.)ii) We don't like it in our house (.)iii) When we first came here we had problems eating food here (.)	decl.(3)
R:track:monitor	68	Brian	i) Why?	int.
R:rebound:refute	69	James	i) Why not? ii) We don't like it.	int./decl.
R:monitor:Prolonging	70	Tony	↑i) Why?	ellip. int.
R:rebound:elaborate	71	James	i) Why not? ii) We were not use to (.)iii) so we don't like it.	int./ decl.(2)

R:fact: extend	72	Tony	i) Foreigners like a lot of spicy food (.) ii) my mum say they also like fried food (.) iii) not healthy (.)	decl.(3)
R:fact:elaborate:banter	73	James	i) We cook mostly Cameroonian food in our house (.)ii) My mum buys from Maitland (.) iii) and from Salt River (.) funny name (.)	decl.x3
R:track:check	74	Tony	i) Why do you say that?	int.
R:track:check	75	James	i) Is there a river that has salt there?	int.
R:track:check	76	Tony	i) What do you think?	int.
R:track:check	77	James	i) And you?	int.
R:rebound:check	78	Tony	i) And you too?	int.
R:rebound	79	James	i) Good for you!	excl.
R:challenge detach	80	Sipho	i) You two make me laugh (.) ii) Like to argue over stupid (.) iii) No! Nothing (.)	decl.(2) minor
P:confront	81	Tony	I) Yes you know all doctor (.)	decl.
Append:rebound:elaborate	82	Sipho	i)Whatever (.) talking about food again (.)ii) But you should eat some of our food (.)	decl.(2)
P:refute:extend	83	James	i) She can't eat (.)ii) She can't eat South African food (.)iii) so we don't cook it (.) iv)or eat ==	decl.(3)
O:I:track	84	Tony	i)Oh did you see that?	int.
R:track:check	85	James	i) What?	int.
R:resolve` :track	86	Tony	i) The babe (.) she's hot huh?	decl./int.

The language used to open this sequence of interaction is English, the common language amongst these learners from different language backgrounds, and the MoI of the school. This is an indication that all the learners were willing to align to the dominant language of the space: James, Sipho and Brian showed no resistance to embracing new languages. James, his back-ground, food preferences and ways of doing things were clearly the topics of discussion among his peers. It was lunch break and his friends wanted to know what he had bought, but he replied that his mother did not give him money for school, but rather a packed lunch. Tony wanted to know why and James explained that she thought giving him money would promote a love of money. Tony insisted on knowing what was wrong with “liking money”, raising his voice here to clarify his point. James explained that his mother felt as part of Cameroonian upbringing that encouraging your children with money at an early age pushes

children towards a love of money which might ultimately lead to stealing. Tony immediately concluded that James was insinuating that South Africans were bad because they spent money every day. James retaliated by explaining that this was not his point; and he was supported in this by Siphho. The James we see at this early stage of his South African life had a lot of justifying and explaining to do as well as having to deal with derogatory allegations. We can deduce from the data that his tone was not assertive but defensive and that he was geared to retaliate against some of Tony's allegations.

The large number of overlaps and interruptions in the extract indicate that all interactants were eager to give their opinions or explanations. For example, James interrupted Brian (turn 38) after Brian tried to order him to leave his mum out of his explanations (turn 37). Turn 38 shows James breaking in hastily to justify his last move by explaining that his mother gave him only food and not money. Other instances of interruptions can be seen in turns 43, 44, 45, 47, 48, 54, 57, 58, 59, 60, 63, 64, 83 and 84. James interrupted the most with five interruptions, followed by Brian with four and then Tony with three, while Siphho came in with one exclamation. James's high interruption score reflects his efforts to defend himself against all the allegations coming from Tony and Brian.

7.3. Analysing for mood and power

Table 7.2 below summarizes the mood choices of the main interactants, to illustrate how James slowly and timidly tried to navigate his positioning at this early stage of his *sejour* in the school.

Table 7.2 Summary of turns, clauses, moves and mood choices

Mood	James	Tony	Siphho	Brian
No of turns	22	17	7	7
No of clauses	58	30	14	10
No. of moves	53	30	12	11
Declaratives	31	11	3	4
Interrogatives	5	13	1	5

Imperatives	5	1	1	
Exclamations	3	2	3	0
Minor	2	2		
Total moves				

Table 7.2 indicates that James had much more talk time than the rest, with 22 turns, 58 clauses and 53 moves, while Tony came in second with 17 turns, 30 clauses with 30 different moves, and indications that he also played a dominant role in the interaction. Siphon and Brian each had seven turns, thus were not as active as Tony and James. James's 58 clauses indicate how long he held the floor. However, as discussed further in 7.4 below, most of these moves were responses, in which he tried to defend or elaborate positions: see for example turns 29, 38, 42, 48a, 50, 52, 54a, 63, and 67. Similarly, his interrogatives were probing rather than challenging (turns 27, 52, 56), unlike Tony's. His imperatives were used for emphasis and for getting his peers' attention rather than for social control: see turns 33, 44, 46, 48a, and 52. The large number of declaratives he employed here was more defensive than assertive: being the newcomer, he had to explain himself as he had a lot of explaining to do to his peers, being the newcomer to the territory: compare for example Tony's declarative and imperative in turns 26a and b with James's declaratives in 29, 31, 33, 36, 38, 42, 46, 48a and b, 52, 54a and b, 56, 60, 63, 67 and 69. There is a lot of 'we' choice here and a clear indication that James is being differentiated from the rest.

The interaction of grammatical, semantic and discourse patterns create meaning which can only fully be appreciated when we are able to analyse linguistic choices at all three levels. Analysing discursive moves therefore helps to illuminate patterns of confrontation and support as the conversational exchanges unfold and James explores and adjusts his alignments with peers and teachers. As seen above, each grammatical pattern employed by the different learners positions themselves and others differently, and their different choices drive the interaction forward.

7.3.1 Moves: negotiating social spaces

In contrast to the interaction between Cameroonian learners in a community space (see table 6.1) analysed in chapter 6, the interaction under focus here had some semblance of orderliness and pairing because there were only four interactants in the conversation. Most of the turn allocations arose through challenges. From James there were high levels of elaboration and refuting moves, since he had to give detailed explanations to clarify his responses to the challenges from Tony and Brian. The refutations reflect the fact that the South African ways of the other learners and James's Cameroonian cultural practices did not align in certain respects.

Moves are realised in interactions when interactants speak to one another; they either challenge or support utilising grammatical or semantic resources to realise them, what Eggins and Slade, 1997, p. 177) described as “sophisticated tools for exploring the negotiation of interpersonal relationships in talk”. Moves have been categorized following Eggins and Slade (1977) with a focus on the subset of ‘sustaining’ moves, to keep conversation going and reacting moves which are either responses or rejoinders.

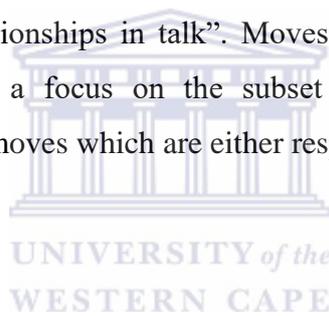


Figure 1 Reacting moves: Rejoinder speech functions in conversation

(adapted by Kerfoot and Bello-Nonjengele 2015 from Eggins and Slade, 1997: 209, Figure 5.5)

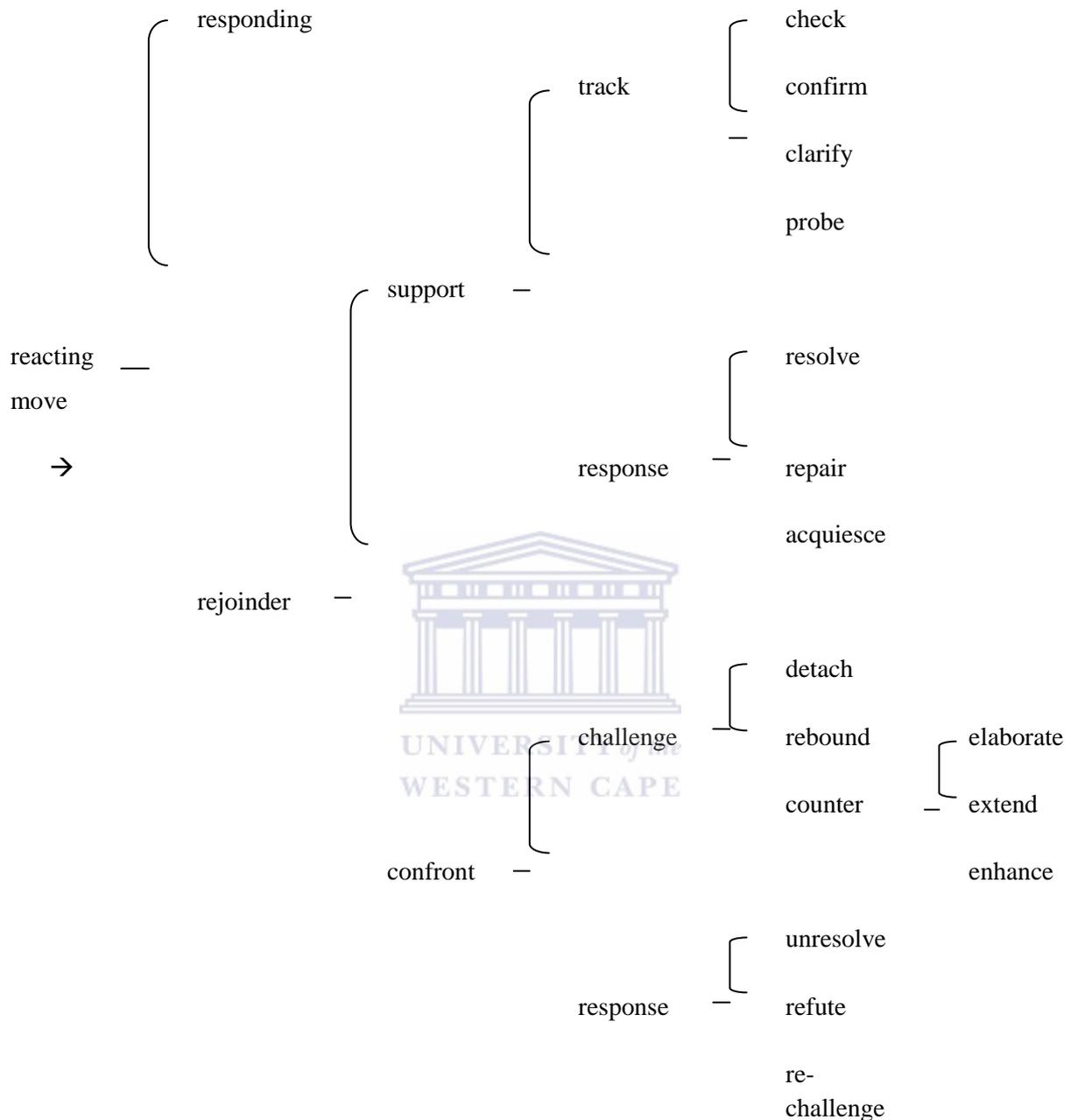


Table 7.3 shows that most of the moves made by these learners are rejoinders (see also figure 1 above). Rejoinders keep channels open, either by sustaining the interaction without implying any interpersonal confrontation (Rs) or by challenging a prior move (Rc): that is, by querying it or rejecting it and offering alternatives (Eggins & Slade, 1997)

Table 7.3 Summary of types of moves: Negotiating spaces

				James	Tony	Sipho	Brian
Opening	9						
Support							
	Track	check		8	12	1	4
		confirm		4	1		
		clarify		2			
		probe			1		
		monitor		1	4		
	Response	resolve		3	4	2	
		repair					
		acquiesce		2			
Total support 49				20	22	3	4
Confront							
	Challenge	confront		6	4	4	1
		rebound		1		1	
		counter:	elaborate	8	1	3	1
			extend	3	4		
			enhance	1		1	
		contradict		1		1	
	Response	unresolve					
		refute		6	1	2	1
		rechallenge		1			
Total confront 52				27	10	12	3

. Most of the rejoinders were confronting rather than supporting moves, reflecting the nature of this conversation. Since challenging moves “invariably lead to further talk in which positions must be justified or modified, ...[they] contribute most assertively to the negotiation of interpersonal relationships” (Eggin & Slade, 1997, p. 213).

All the moves were realized in English as the dominant language of the space, except for one instance (turn 32) where Siphon employed a local expression ("So we are bad né?") in response to James's explaining why his mother did not usually give him money. The all-English nature of the interaction also reflects James's choice of friends with whom he had the dominant language in common, suggesting that he wanted to be part of the dominant group. As already noted, James also did most of the talking since he, his Cameroonian family dishes and aspects of his culture were the focus of this interaction. There is evidence of him trying very hard to fit in while also defending his ways and culture. We see him 'going with the flow' in the encounter, but gradually shifting from the position of mere follower to that of one who sets his own rules or standards; he gave reasons for his defensiveness and explained why he would not allow Tony to impose his will on him (see turns 29, 38, 42, 48a, 50, 52, 54a, 63, 67.).

James, then, dominated the conversation in terms of his high number of moves, having much to explain to the others. His many refuting moves reflected the large number of challenges put to him, especially by Tony, and he often elaborated on his refuting responses when he felt confident that they were correct (turns 27, 29, 31, 38, 50, 54a and b, 67, 71, 73 and 83). However, he often also added to the other interactants' understanding by providing further information: for example, turns 67, 48a and b.

Tony, on the other hand, dominated the conversation through his tracking moves: he questioned every move James made, and most of the time did so tauntingly. He thus indicated that he was a figure to reckon with in the group power structure. He wanted to be on top of the game by being in control. Since James had much to say to explain his culture to others, he dominates in the number of moves while Tony comes in second with 30 and Siphon and Brian come in timidly with 12 and 11 moves. James had to defend himself against Tony's constant raised tone, each time indicating his defensive stance; and the events surrounding the utterances indicated that Tony's raised tone (as in turns 30, 39, 43, 47, 49 51 and 62) was embedded within more than just a conversation with peers. More precisely, by linking his utterances to the whole notion of himself being a local and James a foreigner, Tony presented himself clearly as the authority who needed to be answered to. At first Brian appeared to be aligning with James (taking his side in turn 34 by trying to clarify James's meaning to the others), but later he aligned with Tony in teasing James.

As seen from his high number of turns and clauses, James dominated in terms of clarifying and elaborating moves, since the entire extract remains focused on him and his background. On the other hand, Tony dominated in tracking moves, challenging James at almost every turn, while Sipho's moves were mostly commands directed towards Tony and Brian to admonish them for confronting and taunting James. Tony and Brian were both disposed to express their opinions about James and confront and intimidate him. At the level of questioning and seeking clarification, Tony dominates; while James dominates at the level of supplying information. Tony's repeated assertion of his own view reflects his confrontational relationship with James.

In a nutshell, there were a significant number of confronting, challenging and rebounding moves in this interaction, reflecting the high levels of confrontation in the interaction and also an unwillingness to negotiate what the other interactants put on the table. Overall, James was able either to confirm, refute, extend or elaborate what his peers directed at him, generally confirming his Cameroonian identity. As already indicated, James gradually fitted into this territory because he was able to express himself fluently in the dominant and institutional language. The James we see here is not intimidated, because he knows the language of interaction; but compared to the later James he is still at a crossroads, since he still explains himself and justifies his moves. This is also highlighted in the next extract examined here. In this next data set, I reconsider the Table 6.1 *Extract of learners' conversation in a community gathering* presented in Chapter 6, with a focus on James's role in that interaction.

7.4 Negotiating a social space: shifting frames.

As described in 6.3.1, this next interaction took place at a largely Cameroonian community gathering hosted by a Cameroonian. The participants were James, John, Simon, Aline, Bih, Awah, and Tasneema. This gathering took place in John's parents' house, where the adults engaged in a frenzy of activity. Of the learners, James and Jim were Cameroonian brothers while Tasneema was of mixed parentage (her father being from Cameroon and her mother a 'coloured' South African). The learners brought together here in conversation came from different schools. Some were longstanding friends who knew each other way back in Cameroon, others had become acquainted on arrival here, while some had only just met and others had been born and bred in South Africa. All were English second language speakers except Aline who was an English third language speaker, French being her second language.

Awah and Bih had just flown in from Cameroon to spend their three months' vacation with their parents. John was the young host.

The focus of the analysis here, unlike that in chapter 6, falls on James alone, probing the ways he positions himself and others in interaction. The full extract in chapter 6 (see table 6.1) and discussed here from James's perspective, shows how these learners make use of different grammatical mood choices, including large numbers of rejoinder moves which reveal tensions between equality and difference, as they enact and construct relations of power through talk (Eggins & Slade, 2006, p. 67). The recording begins in the middle of a conversation between James and Jim (about toys) which became an issue for John, Simon and Peter who wanted to be part of the conversation. James sought to know more from Jim by asking why he did not swap the toys. The response did not come, however, because he was interrupted by John who wanted to know what the two were talking about; this was followed by non-preferred responses or 'discretionary alternatives' (Halliday, 1994, p. 68). A striking feature of this exchange was the high degree of jostling and a general disregard for rules of interaction.

There were noticeable shifts in James's positioning and participation status from earlier interactions: he animated, he initiated. He emerges as an authoritative figure and principal in this interaction, allowing none of the other participants to subvert his powerful position. The summary in Table 7.4 below highlights the shifts and mood choices that characterized the interaction.

The entire extract is made up of 235 turns with a total number of 390 clauses; but the short piece analysed above shows 90 turns and 130 clauses. This piece of data exhibited issues of power, portraying how James's roles in an interaction and participation framework were generated within the talk as he shifted from one role to the next, rather than "prefixed or given" (Cromdal & Aronsson, 2000, p. 435). The summary shows both James and John in dominant positions, considered quantitatively from the number of turns they took and the number of clauses and moves they produced.

The subjects most frequently discussed in this extract are participants' pasts, their schools, their day-to-day encounters and their opinions of one another. The detailed analysis of this interaction in section 6.3.1 has already indicated how learners use linguistic resources to position themselves and others. However, here the focus narrows down to James as one of

the key participants, showing how he navigated his way through various languages and the currents of a complex society, using the strategies available to him. By this time James had developed more purchase on English, which had always been part of his repertoire. (He commented in his latest interview that at the beginning his peers and even teachers had had problems with the way he spoke, because his accent and pronunciation differed from the local variety. This is reflected in the extract presented in Table 7.1, turns 48b to 53, where James and Tony wrangled about the way he pronounced ‘cocoyam’ as well as in turn 125 of the full extract 6.1 (see appendix A1) where he argued with John about the pronunciation of ‘chocolate’.)

While it is apparent from this extract (table 6.1) that the learner participants were not strangers to one another, different levels of familiarity operated amongst them and through their talk they were able to signal and explore different ways in which each one present was involved with others. The choice of topic provides a device for signalling one's status as a core insider while simultaneously excluding some interactants from full participation (Eggs & Slade, 2006, p. 174). In this interaction (table 6.1) James proved he was an active participant; although he initiated few turn sequences compared to the others, he picked up on the others' initiatives and extended (turn 39), elaborated (turns 46, 58, 78, 85, 87) and resolved issues (turn 32, when he explained to Aline what ‘scary’ meant). Other instances of follow-up on moves include turns 34, 37, 78 and 85, which also show James constructing different types of relationship with the other participants. We see him defending (coming in strongly for Aline, especially against Simon's challenging and confronting statements: see turns 26-46 in table 6.1), explaining (what ‘scary’ means, for Aline in turn 32; also the meaning of ‘molongo’, to John in turn 34), reprimanding (pulling Simon up for being officious and troublemaking, in turn 56). When John retaliated (turn 57) thinking he, rather than Simon, was being addressed, James then confronted John for making claims about his school being better than the others’.

A picture thus emerges of James as confrontational and challenging towards those he viewed as competition, but protective towards the less powerful (see turns 46, 56, 78, 80 etc.). Later, he challenged John's attempt to belittle other learners for their style of speech (see turn 150 Appendix A1). James here questioned John's assumption that his own accent was superior and went on to taunt John when he raised his voice to challenge the other learners. In conversation, we can measure power in terms of topic control, which James clearly

demonstrated here. However, James was matched with participants who knew how to keep a conversation going actively, so that he found it necessary to shift position from one frame to the next.

Table 7.4 Mood choices of learners in interaction in community gathering

Speaker	Total	John	James	Simon	Aline	Mark	Awah	Bih	Jim
Turns:	90	20	16	15	5	1	7	7	6
Clauses	130								
Moves	119	29	35	19	8	3	7	14	4
Declaratives	60	13	14	10	6	1	6	6	4
Full	43	9	11	6	4	1	5	4	3
Elliptical	15	4	3	4			1	2	1
Interrogatives: Full	15	7	2	5	1				
Elliptical	10	4	4	1			1		
Exclamation	2	2							
Imperatives	7	5	1	1					
Minor	1	1							

Overall, conversational patterns were not evenly distributed among interactants. Of the three most active participants (James, Simon and John) James spoke most (35 moves) with the other two producing an almost equal number of moves (29 and 19 respectively), reflecting their dominant role in the interaction, and once again bringing patterns of unequal power to the conversation. However, the three were involved in the conversation in different ways.

7.5 Moves in interaction: resisting positioning and gaining social control.

As described above, James's roles in the interaction were multiple and these were largely carried through declaratives deployed to challenge and confront but also to explain and defend. His interrogatives move into a challenging description of the recipient (for example, in turn 85), which is a positioning.

James's number of moves and the range of his mood choices reflected in table 7.4 show him to be a team player who, although a more recent immigrant than most of the learners in the

study, had proved that he was able to manage his linguistic spaces. On the other hand, he also showed a level of authority through his use of declaratives in dominating even top players like John who had been in the country longer. James in effect demonstrated here that he could be a new leader. Table 7.5 below summarizes the moves of the same interaction in a community gathering.

Table 7.5 Summary of move types by participant: learners in community gathering, 2008 (same as table 6.3 reproduced here for ease of reference)

				John	James	Simon	Aline	Awah	Bih
Opening	9			3		2	1	2	1
Support									
	Track	check		2	3	2			
		confirm							
		clarify		6	2	1	1	1	
		probe							
		monitor		1					
	Response	resolve		5	5	1		1	2
		repair							
		acquiesce							
Total support 35				16	10	4	1	2	2
Confront									
	Challenge	confront		8	2	6	2	4	1
		rebound		1	1		1		1
		counter:	elaborate	4	5	3		1	1
			extend	1	2	1		1	1
			enhance			1			
		contradict		2		1			
	Response	unresolve							

		refute							1
		rechallenge		1	1				
Total confront 54				17	11	12	3	6	5

Most of the opening, supporting, confronting, challenging and prolonging moves identified on the above table were made in English. In all James had 30 moves, most of which were in English with only one made in Franglais out of the eight moves made in French. This is an indication of the general orientation towards the dominant language. As already mentioned in chapter 6, the young participants easily switched conversational topics without signalling any topic change of TCU boundaries. For example in table 6.1 in chapter 6, the aggravated argument that began the extract between James, John, Simon, Jim and Peter was never resumed. Most of the moves that James made were resolving or tracking moves, followed in number by confronting and challenging moves; thus he shifted from the position of resolving to tracking because he wanted to be in the know, and not to be left behind. He resolved rising issues more often than the other participants, dominating with five resolving moves while the others came in with two and one respectively.

Table 7.6 Varying linguistic resources: English invasion

(same table as in chapter 6 table 6.4, reproduced here for ease of reference)

Speech function		English	French	English/French	CPE	Other/English
Open		8	1	-	-	
Response	Support	34		1	1	
Rejoinder	Confront	47	2	3	2	
Total		39	3	4	3	

In these interactions we note the use of the different codes by these late modern urban youth, particularly in their playground or social conversations, as they were not supposed to interact with different varieties in class. As discussed in chapter 6 section 6.3.2 *Moves: the construction of roles and relationships* under paragraph 8 (*Moves and language choice*), they utilized linguistic features from a wide range of different “languages” (Lytra & Jorgensen, 2008, p. 8). These learners at this stage did not necessarily “command” all these languages, and the languages may not have “belonged” to them, (cf. Rampton, 1995; Lytra & Jorgensen,

2008), but the young speakers could still use the features. Such features are not treated as discrete sets of linguistic features by these learners (such as languages, varieties, codes, etc) but are in constant interaction with each other and, therefore, constantly involved in processes of change (Møller, 2008). Nevertheless, English invasion – the increasing dominance and power of English - is evident in this interaction. Languages that previously marked their interactions (French for Aline, Jude and Nathalie and CPE for the Cameroonian English speakers) have all been relegated to the background. Thus the linguistic capital of those languages has lost value in the new market (Bourdieu, 1982). The languages these learners had acquired before their transnational movement into English-dominant institutions or market places differ in both norms and values from the dispositions of the new space or what is expected of them in this context. As Bourdieu (1982) notes, a certain linguistic expression can perform an action only to the extent to which there is a shared disposition, a habitus already shared in communication. Thus some learners take the knowledge of the dominant group to be the only way, forgetting that the others have different dispositions. In the third data set presented below, James is seen interacting with his peers on the playground three years after the interaction presented in section 7.1. Here we see his gradual integration into the mainstream discourses and his ability to manipulate and manage everyday spaces.

7.6 Managing everyday spaces

The extract below shows James interacting with his peers on the playground. They were at liberty to mingle here because they had just left class and were out for the midday lunch break. The interaction is between James and his peers during their second break. James, Tony and others involved here had been mates for four years, thus were not strangers to one another. This piece then contrasts with data presented in Table 7.1 *James and his peers during lunch break, 2008*, in which James appeared as a recent newcomer who was trying to explain his ways, beliefs and practices to his peers. In the interaction presented in table 6.1 *Learners' conversation in a community gathering, 2008* (here discussed in 7.4), which occurred later in 2008 than the first 'lunch break' interaction (table 7.1), the topic had gradually shifted from James and his belief system and ways of doing things, to concerns relevant to the entire group mentioned above and its members in absentia. However the various interactions reflected in both tables 7.1 (lunch break, 2008) and 6.1 (community gathering, 2008) seemed to indicate that James had no set allegiances yet and did not hang out with a few particular friends. This could be inferred from the variety of participants in his

interactions, although there were a few regulars. The present extract (Table 7.7 *Managing everyday spaces* below) and the analysis that follows show that this older James is now a crowd puller: he leads and the others follow.

Table 7.7 Managing everyday spaces, 2011

Move	Speaker	Turn	Data	Mood
Rc:O:confront: track check	James	1	i) There, you see (2) ii) he going playing (2) ↑iii) Hey Jesse, you coming or not?	decl./int.
Rc:refute: elaborate	Tony	2	No he's not my friend anymore (.)	decl.
Rs:extend:track	James	3	i) Before he used to be ok (.) ii) but now he's changing (.) iii) you see the way he goes right?	decl.x2/int.
Low tone	Ha	4	[Ha (James's classmate responds but in low volume)]	
Rs: counter: elaborate	Tony	5	↑i) He's so cheeky (.) ii) He'll give me a heart attack.	decl.x2
R:track	James	6	i) Who?	ellip. int.
Rc:rebound :track	Lumi	7	i) Stop talking nonsense (.) ii) which one is mine?	decl./int.
Rc:confront support	James	8	↑ i) Wait leave her she's talking!	decl.
Rc:response challenge	Ha	9	i)Ah, ah (.) she's yours bra!	minor/decl.
R:refute:justify extend	James	10	i) ↑No way, (.) i) I don't even like her.	decl.
P:track check	Tony	11	i) So who's (.)?	ellip. int.
R:confirm	Ha	12	i) I see it now (.) = =	decl.
A:elaborate:monitor	James	13	= =i) We talking about him, why is he = =	decl.
Rc:response:challenge: confront	Tony	14	= = i) So rude! ii) I'm not worried about him (.) ↑ iii) just shut up.	decl.x2
R:refute	James	15	i) No!	minor
R:response:extend	Tony	16	i) That's the way that I want it.	decl.
Low tone			Learners chatting amongst one another on low tone.	
R:track:elaborate	James	17	i) Guess what? (2) ii) I'll tell you the truth.	int./decl.
O:response:clarify	Ha	18	i) They probably down there.	decl.
R:track	James	19	i) Who? i) Kyle (.)	int./minor
P:extend	Ha	20	i) you used to (.) here	decl.
R:track-check	James	21	i) Who?	ellip. int.
R:resolve	Ha	22	i) You!	minor
O:refute:extend: elaborate	James	23	i) Max (2) don't do it (.) ii) jump on it (.) Take window Max (.) Max, you can make it (3) C'mon dude!	imp.x3/ decl./imp.
O:R:track	Tony	24	i) Where's Thandi?	int.

R:c:refute:O:extend: confirm	James	25	i)I don't know.[James, Tony and Max are having a conversation in low volume] ii) But that's what my auntie gave me (.) iii) Please iv) There's HA!	decl.x2/ minor/excl.
R:confront	Lumi	26	i) S.T.O.P (.) stop, stop![All other learners are talking and laughing amongst one another].	imp.x3
O:I:fact:extend	James	27	[Talking to his classmates]: i) I brought my phone to school today (2) ii) but without my simcard.	decl.
R:Append:extend	Tony	28	i) He got that phone from (1.5) ii) hey! Look at your phone man!	decl./minor /imp.
R:Append:extend	Peter	29	i) I still got my phone in my bag. [And then they continue their conversation in low volume].	decl.
R:track:extend	James	30	i) Are you on Mxit ⁴ ? (.) ii) Just listen!	int./imp.
R:refute	Tony	31	i) ↑Not now!	minor
R:counter	Tamia	32	i) Well I can't (.) = =	decl.
R:confirm:elaborate: track	James	33	i) = =Even me (.) ii) I did that as well (.)[The conversations continue amongst the learners but in a high tone and their words are scrambled]. iii) Ha, aren't you changing?	minor/decl. /int.
R:resolve:refute: elaborate	Ha	34	i) Of course (.) ii) I don't have my (.) iii) now I have to go home and get my stuff.	decl.x2
R:contradict:resolve	Tamia	35	i) Well (.) I have my stuff.	decl.
R:challenge	Ha	36	That was the last time (.) = =	decl.
R:acknowledge	James	37	= = i) I knew it!	decl.
R:rebound	Jack	38	i) Let's get someone to help	decl.
R:track:clarify	Tamia	39	Bru (.) did you see that?	int.
R:probe check	James	40	Then tell her!	decl.
Rs: acquiesce	Ha	41	I'm gonna tell her (.)	decl.
R:counter	Tamia	42	Yoh (.) look at that my bra.	minor/decl.
R:confirm	Ha	43	That was Mandy = =	decl.
O:check:challenge	James	44a	= =Hey Bule, You'd better stand here, hey!	decl.
O:monitor	James	44b	Kayla! [Learners are laughing and screaming at each other]	minor
O:response	Jack	45	I have a = =	ellip decl.

⁴ Mxit is a South African created mobile social network. It works on over 10,000 different handsets and mobile devices, including tablets.

R:track check: elaborate	James	46a	= =You have what? It's getting too long dude. [Learners, all boys are talking, laughing and screaming to each other in loud tones]	int./decl.
O:probe:track:check: extend	James	46b	Hey bru (.) that dude was fast hey? I'm talking about Jack and him = =	decl.x2
R:challenge:track: check	Jack	47	↑What are you freaking hell (2) Do you know how fast he is?	int.x2
R:track:check	Ha	48	i)And you flipping throw me with stones?	decl.
R:resolve:counter	James	49	i)YA but still = =	minor
Rc:confront:elaborate	Tony	50	= =i) You mad! ii) Now the damn leg's sore (.)	decl.x2
R:elaborate:O:track: clarify	James	51	i).He's very fast hey? (2) ii) I haven't seen Dave man! iii) You and Dave were standing at the corner (.)	incon-gr. int./ decl.x2

In summarizing the moves above (see Table 7.8 below for this summary), we notice the comfortable position James had managed to secure for himself in the current school space; he was no longer intimidated by anyone, he had now occupied his territory and was managing his space and interactions with authority.

Table 7.8 Managing everyday spaces; moves summary

			James	Tony	Ha	Lumi	Tamia	Jack	Peter
Opening			3						
Support									
	Track	check	11	2	1		1	1	
		confirm	3		2				
		clarify	2	1	1		1		
		probe	1	1				1	
		monitor	4		2		1		
	Response	resolve	1						
		repair							

		acquiesce		1						
Total support 41				26	4	6		3	2	
Confront										
	Challenge	confront		4	3			4	1	
		rebound		1					1	
		counter:	elaborate	5	1	3	1	1		1
			extend	7	2	1		1		
			enhance				1			1
		contradict		2			1			1
	Response	unresolve								
		refute		4	2	1				
		rechallenge								
Total confront 54				23	8	5	2	6	2	3

In this encounter James was seen to initiate moves in all his interactions, as any confident participant might do. Here I briefly describe some key moments in the interaction.

As it opened, James was trying to get one of their friends, Jesse, to be part of their group, but he ran off to play with others. This was frowned upon by Tony who described Jesse as cheeky and said he would give him a heart attack. A side comment was made by Lumi (turn 7) who seemed to have been talking with Harriet. James picked up on that and they immediately switched from discussing Jesse to James's relation with Lumi: James here commanded Ha to stop talking while Lumi was in the process of saying something. Ha jumped to the conclusion that James and Lumi had a 'thing' going, but James contradicted this, saying that he did not even like her. Tony tried to pursue this issue but was interrupted by Ha, who was interrupted by James in turn in order to clarify the situation. The conversation seems to have gradually shifted back to Jesse. Tony interrupted James to describe Jesse as rude, before he ordered James to shut up. James retaliated with a refusal and

in raised tones, but Tony retorted that was how he wanted it. They talked to one another in low tones for a few minutes, before James reopened their discussion with a tracking and responding move (see turns 1 and 3).

From that point the learner group moved in and out of different topics; however, what stood out here was the ease with which James was able to manage these everyday interactions by changing either the topic or the frame as he desired. He was at the forefront of all his interactions in this sequence, and seemed to lead with others following. The fact that all his interactions developed in the same language variety, which was the dominant language, reflects a “higher-scale influence on a strictly situational event” (Blommaert et al., 2005, p. 204). James’s shift from his CPE and other languages to the prestigious variety of the new space is thus a hierarchical shift, a case of “up-scaling from a local-individual to a trans-local, institutional and transnational order” (ibid, p.205). He was now classified amongst the school elite and thus he had achieved a level of agency.

The very act of speaking in front of others who can perceive such an act establishes the speaker as “a being whose existence must be reckoned in terms of his or her communicative goals and abilities” (Duranti, 2012, p. 455). Language use implies that its users are entities that must also possess other human qualities including the ability to affect their own and others’ ways of being. James here demonstrated that his communicative abilities had progressed along this scale of influence. He made use of prolonging moves to hold onto the turn, continuing over possible turn boundaries (for example, turns 44a, b, and 46a, b). In opening up an interaction, he took up a speech role and positioned others into predicted speech roles. For example, the opening move when James directed the attention of his peers to Jesse, by saying, “There you see, he going playing” was for the others to take note and they did so. The reaction from Tony or any of the other participants was to be expected, because James had focused their attention in the first place.

All opening, prolonging and other moves by all the learners in this interaction were made in English. This would seem to indicate both James’s increasing familiarity with the variety of English recognised in the school and his growing ability to use the language to achieve his social aims. A few slang terms or swear words provoke disputes and provide a way for children to negotiate how they stand in relation to one another in group interactions (Goodwin, 1990, 2006). Disputes, slang, pejorative description and swear words are also characteristics of youth varieties worldwide and are accordingly employed by these learners,

especially the now more confident, assertive James (turns, 1, 3, 8, 10, 23, 44a and 46a and b) at the later stages of his *sejour* in a Cape Town primary school, as a way of confronting these spatial challenges. He also uses expressions from other languages in the school such as *bru* (a shortened form of the word for ‘brother’, used in Kaaps Afrikaans varieties) which indexes peer group solidarity (turn 46 b).

The fifth data set shows James interacting with his peers as they are on their way home from school. It illuminates in particular his gradual shift from the periphery to the centre.

7.7 Moving from the periphery to the centre: playground data 3, 2011

In this extract (table 7.9) James and his friends are engaged in their usual play and banter. Their topics in the previous extract examined here (table 7.7) involved mostly issues to do with themselves and friends in absentia. Here they discuss their school day-to-day activities and the means of transport they or their families make use of every day. There are fewer allusions to James and his origins than previously. While there is still some curiosity about him and his way of life, the former derogatory tone is absent.

Table 7.9 Moves in interaction: occupying more spaces, 2011

James and classmates at the end of the day				
Moves	Turns	speaker	Data	Mood
			[One or more children talking outdoors (very windy)]	
O:R:track clarify	1	James	i).Are you going to another school?	int.
R:refute:extend	2	Tony	i).No, they're (.) low volume	ellip. decl.
O:track	3	James	i).How are you bra?!	int.
R:response	4	Celine	YOH [Screaming] (.)	minor
O:enhance	5	Dan	i).↑Throw it higher (.) higher (.) HIGHER!	decl./imp.
R:refute:contradict	6	James	i).No give!	imp
R:rebound	7	Dan	i) ↑Hey, just pass that ball again!	decl.
R:Contradict	8	James	i).I gave it back to you (2) ii).I gave it back to you (.) long[whistling blowing]	decl.x2/ minor
			[Somewhere on the school grounds someone's blowing a whistle] Whistle goes on	
R:D:enhance	9	Dan	i).I left it outside.	decl.
O:I:track:confront challenge	10	Tony	i). JA? Come' on try it (.) ii).Do it (.) iii) yes, do it!	minor/decl. /imp.x2

R:refute:counter	11	Dan	i). No, I don't need to do it (.)	decl.
R:track	12	Tony	i). WHAT?!	ellip. decl.
			[All laughing together]	
O:track check	13	James	i).Fred (.) Fred (.) you walk with now?	int.
R:refute	14	Fred	i).Oh no bru!	excl.
R:challenge:track	15	James	i). I was just asking dude (.) ii).Do you live in Parklands?	decl./int.
<u>R:resolve:extend</u>	16	Dan	I don't take a taxi (1.5) I take the My City bus.	decl.x2
R:D:elaborate	17	James	i). Taxi? ↑man is very expensive (.) ii). But my mom (.) I don't think my mom will take a taxi again (.) iii).My mom hates (.) my mom hates a taxi!	ellip. int./decl.x3
R:enhance	18	Tony	↑Oh wow!	minor
R:append:elaborate:track	19	James	i).You know how (.) you know why she won't take a taxi? (2) ii).You know the way some taxis, they turn (.) iii).The what? What?!	decl.x3/int. x2
R:track	20	Tony	i).You know those Modern ones right?	decl.
R:response:confirm	21	James	i).Yes! The modern one.	minor/decl
R:monitor	22	Tony	i).That's like a Toyota?	incong. int.
R:confirm	23	James	i).JA that one JA!	minor/decl. /minor
R:D::elaborate	24	Dan	i).If you take a meter taxi (.)low volume	decl.
R:confirm	25	James	JA, JA (.)[Tony says something in very low volume]	minor x2
R:P:extend	26	Dan	i).Those taxis drive 24 hours.	decl.
R:refute:counter	27	James	i). Not all these big buses (.)	decl.
P:append:extend	28	Dan	i).Like a meter taxi, they do drive 24 hours (.)	decl.
R: challenge:refute	29	Tony	i). Hey bru, I'm not talking about (.)	decl.
R: challenge:refute	30	Tim	i).Bru (2) But I'm telling you (1.5) about Durban (.) [low volume]	minor/decl.
R:refute:counter	31	Dan	i).It's not Durban.	decl.
R:c:track:counter	32	James	i). What you talking about Durban? (.) ii).We talking about Cape Town bru.	int./decl.
R:extend	33	Dan	i).↑↓The other two (.) [in low volume]	decl.
R:Challenge	34	Tony	i).So what?	ellip. int.
R:resolve:extend	35	Dan	i).Cheer's guy's, I'm gone (.) boy, cheers guys [Getting onto a bus]	decl./minor
R:response	36	James	Bye Dan (2)	minor
R:enhance	37	Tony	BYE	minor
O:track	38	Sipho	i). In what grade is your brother?	int.
R:response resolve	39	James	He's in grade 3.	decl.
R:contradict	40	Frank	i).I thought he was in grade 4.	decl.
R:response::elaborate	41a	James	i).He will go to grade 4, if he makes it! (1.5) ↑ ii).Look here (1) this my brother (.) Check (.) check!	decl./ imp./decl./ imp. x2
R:D:elaborate:ex	41b	James	i). The thing is (.) when he was in grade 2 (.) ii)	decl.x3

tend			now he's in grade 3 (.) iii) he think he's a star. Iv).Now in grade 3, you should see how he acts	
R:elaborate	41c	James	i).He doesn't listen to his teacher (.) ii) Everyday he (.) in break he goes to the hall, and he works ok, iii) but is just the way he behaves in class.	decl.x3
R:confirm:extended	41d	James	i).There's he yes (.) JA (.) ii) Comes out first!	decl.x2/ minor/decl.
O:I:clarify	41e	James	i).Yoh! Look at all these grades 7's!	minor/decl.
D:enhance	41f	James+	i).Check out the teachers.	decl.
R:acquiece	42	Frank	Yoh!	minor
O:track check	43	James	i). Did you make that?	int.
R:reponse confirm	44	Tim	JA	minor
R:enhance: extend	45	James	i).Aah! Here (.) take one, I'll buy another one.	minor/imp./ decl.
O:probe	46	Sipho	(2) Bru? (2)	minor
R:response	47	James	i).We could've passed bru.	decl.
R:confront	48	Sipho	i). No, are you mad!	decl.
R:enhance	49	James	i).Yoh, we missed it. [Lots of laughs and a car passes by]	minor/decl.
R:enhance	50	Frank	i).Hey! Kom, kom, kom! [Speaking in Afrikaans]The traffic noise is quite loud and more friends join the group.	minor
R:c:confront: track	51a	Celine	i) I'll trap you two, I'll trap! ii) Now you running away?	decl.x2
O:track check	51b	Celine	i).How many pancakes have you got?	int.
R:resolve:track	52	James	i).Two (.) Is it low sugar?	minor/int.
R:track	53	Sipho	i).Can I have a bite?	int.
R: comply confirm	54	James	Yes!	minor
R:track:check	55	Sipho	i).Is this how you eat it?	int.
R:refute:extend elaborate	56	James	Nope! i) Because my mum is here (2) ii) My Auntie makes it NICE (.) with cinnamon and all that.	minor/ decl.x3
D:enhance	57	Sipho	i).My mom made this.	decl.
O:I:confirm	58	James	i).There's Tess!	decl.
O:check check	59	Frank	i). Have you spoken to Eric?	int.
R:response	60	James	i).Maybe he's (.) me= =	decl.
	61	Frank	= =Mumbling something in Afrikaans and James's replying in low volume whisper	
O: elaborate	62	James	i).You put syrup (.) then caramel.	decl.
R:elaborate: extend	63	Frank	i).My mom makes it different, ii) she puts bananas inside.	decl.x2
R:track check	64	James	i).What about yogurt?	int.

R: elaborate: extend	65	Celine	i) You take your bowl, and mix your pancakes, and ii) then you take your ice cream and melt your chocolate and pour over you pancake.	decl.x2
R:probe	66	James	Yoh!	minor
R:resp:enhance	67	Celine	i).That's how my mom makes it.	decl.
O:track check	68	James	i).You walking like you going two ways?	decl.
R:resp:offer	69	Jim	i). I'm walking straight! [Now they're walking without talking]	decl.

The extract is a general discussion of things happening around Tony, Celine, Dan, Fred, Tim, Siphon, Frank, and James. James's knowledge of his surrounding and also his ways of commenting about these events reflect his gradual shift to the centre, made up of mainstreamers. The number of moves he attained in the interaction is an indication of his level of involvement and his animating and creative role. In addition, the fact that all the learners involved are picking up on his moves shows some level of recognition.

Table 7.10 Occupying more spaces, 2011: summary of moves

			James	Tony	Celine	Dan	Fred	Tim	Siphon	Frank
Opening			7	1	1	1			2	1
Support										
	Track	check	11	5	2				4	1
		confirm	6		1			1	1	
		clarify	4	2		1				
		probe	1						1	
		monitor				1				
	Response	resolve	2	1	1	2		1		
		repair								
		acquiesce	1							
Total support 63			32	9	5	5		2	8	2

Confront											
	Challenge	confront		1	2	1			1	1	
		rebound			1		1				
		counter:	elaborate	10	5	1	2				1
			extend	7	2		4				1
			enhance	4		2	3				1
		contradict		2							1
	Response	unresolve									
		refute		4			2	1	1	1	
		rechallenge			1						
Total confront 65				28	11	4	12	1	2	2	4

The summary table here indicates that in terms of volume, James was the most dominant speaker in the number of turns, surpassing the others with 32 turns and 60 moves while Fred was the least active with one turn. Even Tony, in the past James's arch interpreter and dictionary, follows James with a meagre 9 turns and 20 moves. Those with the most turns usually produce the highest clauses and highest number of moves, giving more information than the other participants and controlling the flow of discourse more. James's control and dominance was obvious in his tendency to hold longest to a turn (see turn 43a to 43f). He held the floor centrally, supplying information in response to most of the tracking moves in the interaction, and also tracking others quite frequently. His high-level interrogative role was also evident in the way in which he ignored sequences and formulated utterances which constrained others' talk and defied conventional conversation practices (see turns 1, 3, 13, 15, 19, 32, 52, and 64 for the tracking moves and 6, 8, 19, 21, 25, 27, 39, 41a to f., 45, 47, 49 and 51 for the responding moves). The learners in this interaction are aware of their differences in language, thus there seemed to be a quiet understanding to speak only English as the language of interaction to the exclusion of Cameroonian or other South African languages. The high level of opening moves was an indication that these learners were negotiating terms

for the interaction. Egging & Slade describe opening moves as generally assertive moves to make, showing claims to a “degree of control over the interaction” (2006, p.194), and James here topped the league. In summary, he dominated in all spheres with the highest number of opening, tracking and resolving moves - a clear indication that he was increasingly in control of his environment.

The summary of moves above goes to confirm that James was no longer a timid newcomer but a power participant. He monitored, tracked, rebounded and used most of the possible moves in interaction. In all, the table shows that he had 60 moves, an indication that he dominated at all levels. This is followed, for example, by Dan with a mere 17 moves. This interaction served as an indication that James was a powerful contestant who not only occupied but owned his spaces.

7.7.1 Exploring linguistic resources

A further feature of this particular interaction was the use of features from a local language. At points in the interaction where some of the learners wanted to make extensive use of Afrikaans because they knew that James was at a deficit in this respect, it was done in low tones amongst particular individuals, but few expressions of Afrikaans were used overall, as in turns 3,14, 29, 30, 32, and 50).

In other instances of conversation with peers and friends or family, the degree to which James utilized features from other languages depended on the context and the participants. In the interaction with his Cameroonian brothers and sisters, he played around with French and CPE (See chapter 6, the extract in Table 6.1.) because they could easily make sense of what he was saying. On the other hand, in a purely South African peer group, he gradually began to make use of features of local languages in order to position himself as one of the group, an indication that choice of language and positioning is relational and spatial. This tendency was also explored at home with siblings in that they started incorporating elements of the local languages into their speech; they made use of Afrikaans, one of the dominant languages in their school, particularly. The next extract involves James and his sibling Jim and mama the aunt. They were at home having a discussion about their daily activities during which the word ‘*onderbroekies*’ was used by Jim, who went further to explain that it meant ‘underpants’ in Afrikaans.

Table 7.11 Attempting new repertoires, 2011

Move	Speaker	Turn	Data	
O:I:check	James	150	i).Jim I have so many questions about the boondocks [this is a television show for the young].	decl.
O:track	Jim	151	i).Guess what I found?	int.
R:re-track	James	152	i).What?	ellip int.
R:resp:resolve	Jim	153	i).James's <i>onderbroekies</i> (.)	decl.
R:Track:nv	James	154	[Laughing|i). What?	int.
R:elaborate	Jim	155	i).He keeps all his <i>onderbroekies</i> in the down room.	decl.
R:extend	James	156	i). <i>onderbroekies</i> is Afrikaans.	decl.
R:counter	Jim	157	i).I know underbrukies (.)	decl.
A:track	Mama	158	i).What is underbrukies?	int.
R:resp:resolve	Jim	159	i).Underwear mama (.) Afrikaans for under wear.	decl. x2

Here, then, James and Jim shifted from English to Afrikaans, another prestigious majority code: a further indication that they were gradually relinquishing their original varieties. Instead of maintaining these languages, they crossed to other languages, a practice which Rampton considers emblematic of young people striving to redefine their identities (1995). The next piece of data portrays James exercising his ability to dominate and occupy more spaces, but now in the home space, where he attempted name-calling as one of the strategies of resisting positioning.

7.8 Name-calling and authoritativeness as integrative tools and strategies of adaptation

The interaction that appears in the next extract (table 7.12) took place between James, his younger sibling Jim and their mama. The focus of the interaction was on happenings in their school which included their relationship with the other learners and how they dealt with their differences. They were in the kitchen having an on-going chat while undertaking some household chores. Mama was in the process of cooking while the boys were helping out. They spoke only English; an indication that English had by now invaded all territories including spaces that were formerly reserved for other languages. This interaction took place in 2011 when James, in grade 5, was gradually scaffolding his way towards owning more participatory spaces.

Table 7.12 Making his mark in new spaces, 2011

Move		Speaker	Data	Mood
O:track:extend: nv		Jim	i) What's up? [A burst of laughter at the same time] and yeh not that kind of thing.	int./decl.
O:check		James	i) Mama there's a (.) On you. [In a loud tone].	decl.
O:I:Track: track check		Mama	i) Where is my phone? (2) ii)Why do you call somebody a neat freak Jim?	int.x2
R:refute:track		Jim	i) No (.) because (.) mama who else acts like this?Hah hah. Who?	decl./minor/ ellip. int.
R:track		Mama	i) How?	ellip. decl.
R:resolve: extend		Jim	i) ↑Like this (.) anytime he sees (.) like= =	decl.
R:confront		James	i) = = YOU ARE LYING JIM	decl.
R:confront		Mama	i) ↑James don't shout!	imp.
D:extend		Jim	i) One day somebody walked passed like (.) cause hey!	decl.
R:track: challenge: extend nv		James	i) ↑Jim guess what? ii) You are lying! (2) mama (.) iii) you know there now (.) iv) when you go to Mrs. A's class now (.) and you sit right in front now (.) v) the two short ones (.) vi) the one with the glasses now mama (.) [Laughter]	int./ decl.x3
R:probe		Mama	Yeah (.)	minor
R:response		James	Yah.	minor
R:monitor check		Mama	i) That's the freak?	decl.
R:track		Jim	i) What is this?	int.
R:confirm		James	i) The two shortest people in class.	decl.
R:enhance		Jim	i) I say they are short.	decl.
R:elaborate: track		James	i) The one with the glasses is one the smartest (.) eeh mama?	decl./ellip. int.
R:enhance		Mama	i) Cause he is a neat freak!	decl.
R:extend: elaborate:nv		Jim	Mama they tease him (.) all grade 7s must tease the one with glasses [laughter]	decl. x2
R:track: track: counter refute: extend		Mama	i) But you wanted glasses [laughter] ii) Can I have that pot? iii) Not that one (.) the small pot behind on the down shelf.	int./ decl. x2
R:elaborate		Jim	i) Everyone in my class now wants glasses.	decl.
R:response		Mama	Mmmmmm	minor
P:track		James	i) Mama guess what.	decl.
P:elaborate		Jim	i) All the grade 4s that wear glasses they will tease them to death.	decl.
R:probe		Mama	Mmmmmm	minor
P:extend		James	i) It's always war every day with the grade 4s and the grade 5s.	decl.
R:track		Mama	i) Why?	ellip. int.
R:response		James	i)Because the grade 4s now, (.) comes	decl.

clarify			to the grades 5 territory	
P:elaborate		Jim	i) When the grade 4s attack the grade 5s, the grade 5s attack (.)= =	decl.
P:track		James	i) = = Yoh mama guess what?	interrog.
R:rebound		Mama	i) What?	ellip.int.
R:extend:track: elaborate: elaborate		James	i) Yoh mama you should have seen (.) ii) you know Toni? (.) iii) He almost got suspended. iv) He actually gave a grade 4 like this (.v)) GET OUT OF HERE!	decl. /int./ decl. x2
R:extend		Jim	[talking at same moment with James] i)The grade 4s ran away	decl.decl.
P:extend: elaborate		James	i) He knocked out two teeth and ii) the guy's nose was bleeding.	decl.
R:confirm		Mama	i) He's a bully	decl.
R:elaborate: extend		Jim	i) Mama look (.) ii) he is in the rugby team (.) iii) he hit the boy so hard.	decl.
R:confirm: confront		James	i) That was a grade 4 (.) ii) MAMA LOOK HERE!	decl./ imp.
R:confront		Mama	i) Don't shout.	imp.
R:extend: elaborate: challenge		Jim	i) He hit the ↑ii) He wouldn't dare (.) iii) You are freaking dump (3) iv) Mama word on the street is that Jim is gonna be a neat freak very soon [laughter] (.)NO!	decl.x4/ minor
R:confront: extend		Mama	i) I want you guys to be serious (.) ii) I don't want clowning.	decl.x2
R:confront: extend		James	i) JIM LISTEN TO MAMA (.) ii) word on the street is that you are going to get Jim glasses (.) very soon (.) iii) eeh mama is that true?	decl.x2/ int.
R:refute		Mama	NO!	minor
R:extend:nv: elaborate		Jim	i) That glasses (.) mama's glasses damaged my eyes (.) ii) that teaches that I should not wear mama's glasses in serious time (laughter]	decl. x2
R:confront: extend: challenge		James	i) ↑Jim stop joking now (.) ii) mama just said that you must stop (.) iii) YOU DONT LISTEN.	decl. x3
O:I:check		Jim	i) That guava messed up my mouth.	decl.
R:confront		James	i) YOU think I care?	incongr. int.
R:extend		Jim	Ehh= =	minor
R:confront: track		James	i) = = JIM LISTEN TO MAMA (5) ii) mama you know why I said Tas had a tough time in grade 3?	decl./int.
R:refute		Mama	Ye ye [refusal]	minor
R:resolve: extend		James	i) My friends they look good (.) ii) they are horrible mama (.) iii) they tease Tas.	decl. x2
R:elaborate: extend		James/jim	[Chorus answers here. (.) [James carries on] i)They call her types of names (.) ii) she was not meant for grade 3 (.) iii) too hard (.) iv)she couldn't handle it (.) v) they had to	decl. x4

			give her grade 1.	
R:extend: elaborate		Jim	i) Mama look here! (.) ii) In school A (.) if a boy can't handle (.) if he gets lower than 10 in their test (.)	imp./decl.
R:Append: elaborate		James	i) Carlos left grade 5 because he didn't also know ii) They wanted to move Tas.	decl.
R:Append: enhance		Jim	i) Mama Carlos doesn't know how to spell laugh	decl.
R:track		Mama	i) She was too old for grade 1 eh?	incongr. int.
R:demand: elaborate		Jim	i) Mama look (.) ii) this is how Carlos spells (.) laf.	imp./decl.
R:track:track check:append		Mama	i) Why can't they help her? (.) ii) Why do they want to move her back?	int.x2
R:demand: extend: elaborate		Jim	i) Mama look (.) ii) this is how Carlos spells laugh (.) iii) he spelt it like (.) mama, mama eh iv) He was still new to the school (.) laf,	imp. /decl.x3/ minor
R:confront		James	i) Don't lie (.) don't lie Jim	imp. x2
R:confirm		Jim	Lafed [that is how they spelt and pronounced laugh]	minor
R:track		James	i) How do you spell laugh?	int.
R:track probe		Jim	Eh?	minor
R:track		James	i) How do you spell laugh?	int..
R:resolve: confirm		Jim	i) L.A.U.G.H and that is all.	decl.
R:track		Mama	i) How do you spell it? LAF= =	int.
R:refute		Jim	i) = = Because he didn't= =	decl.
R:counter		James	i) = = Carlos is much smarter than you and much= =	decl.
R:Track		Mama	i) = = Why did you say that?	int.
R:confirm		James	i) Its true actually (.)= =	decl.
R:track:check		Mama	i) = =Why?	ellip. int.
R:Resolve		James	i) The only thing he needed is spelling (.)ii) he knows Geography= =	decl. x2
R:confirm: extend		Jim	i) = = He knows everything (.) ii) he knows his maths (.) iii) all he needs is spelling (.) iv) he fails his English test.	decl. x4
R:opinion		James	S can beat you by= =	decl.
R:resolve		Jim	i) = = I know!	excl.
R:track		James	i) mama guess what?	decl.
R:Track		Mama	i) What?	ellip.int.
R:O:opinion		James	i) Everybody knows me as Moses in grade 5.	decl.
R:track		Mama	i) Why?	ellip. int.
R:resolve		James	i) I remind the teacher of a very smart boy that he calls Moses.	decl.
R:extend		Jim	i) In the old days (.)==	decl.
R:register		James	i) So now my name is Moses.	decl.

This was one of numerous types of interaction that took place at home and in the above James was in grade 5, having been five years and a couple of months in South Africa. He had

once been against name-calling, but now the hunted had become the hunter. He brought up this point in his last interview in which he reiterated that at first it bothered him that people called him names, but now he could not be bothered. In turn 41, for example, he confronted Jim, demanding that he listen to their Mama and not persist with his clowning, and jokingly used the positioning word again: “Jim was gonna be a neat freak soon”.

Table 7.13 Invading the home space

				James	Jim	Mama
Opening				2E	1E	1E
Support						
	Track	check		9E	5E	6E
		confirm		2E		
		clarify		4E	2E	
		probe		1E		
		monitor		1E	1E	
	Response	resolve		5E	4E	1E
		repair				
		acquiesce				
Total support 45				24	13	8
Confront						
	Challenge	confront		12E	1E	3E
		rebound		2E		
		counter:	elaborate	9E	4E	2E
			extend	9E	2E	
			enhance		1E	
		contradict				
	Response	unresolve				
		refute	1E	1E		
		rechallenge				
Total confront 46				33E	8E	5E

Looking through the extract 7.11 above, it again becomes apparent that James had dominated in this interaction as in all the others: he dominated with 31 turns, 54 clauses and 57 moves, showing unequal power relations in distribution. Although he competed with Jim in some turns, he dominated in the number of moves and hence dominated the interaction. He used different types of moves to assert his superiority and his know-how. The high levels of tracking moves are just one indication that he verified information put on the table for negotiation before taking it up to extend or elaborate on. In another home interaction below (table 7.14), James still asserted his superiority at all levels of the interaction. Here his commanding stance was presented through the use of commands and loud voice tones.

His commanding stance and authority were also witnessed at home with his siblings, where in addition there was no adult intrusion. Three different sets of conversation were going on in the extract presented in table 7.14 below; one between James and Kate, a second between James and Jim and a small embedded sequence between Hart and Jim. James was playing his authoritative role with Kate, the little sister, as usual, while engaged in a game with both Jim and Hart.

Table 7.14 Home dominance, 2013

Move	Turn	Speaker	Data	Mood
O:check		Jim	Yoh yoh yoh Good	minor
		1b	Pull back (2) play	
			Chatting in low tone and baby making sounds; others are playing and exclaiming; music.	
R:check		James	KATE KATE KATE (in loud voice)	minor
R:check		Jim	[Inaudible] (.) oh my thing!	excl.
R:enhance		Hart	Push push push [in loud tone]	minor
R:track monitor		Jim	i).My turn noh?	incongr. int.
R:		James	look AT!	imp.
R:enhance		Jim	PLAY!	minor
O:Confront		James	i).KATE YOU NEVER LISTEN [in loud tone]	decl.

R:challenge		Jim	[Jim talking too much noise] i). Hey just put it back in there you messed.	decl.
R:confront		James	i). KATE KATE KATE STAND UP [in loud tone]	minor/imp.
A:check		Jim	Your ball!	decl.
A:confront		James	i).KATE KATE you never listen	minor/decl.
R:check:confront	a	Jim	i).Yoh there is a little bit of grass inside – ii).noh just put it back inside you messed.	decl.x2
R:check:monitor	b	Jim	i).Keep it in her pocket.	decl.
R:confront:check		Jim	i).Your ball Silly (.) I don't know how I missed.	decl.
R:challenge		James	Typical!	minor
R:counter:elaborate		Jim	i).It's not a miss when the ball had gone all through this (.)	decl.
R:confront challenge:exend	a	James	i).Give it KATE – ii).go back and listen.	decl.
R challenge	b	James	Baby crying (.) i).Listen!	minor
R:confront:challenge	c	James	i).Listen here – STOP IT!	imp.x2
		Jim	Baby shouting; Jim exclaiming	
R:refute	a	James	i).You can't take away that –[in loud tone]	decl.
A:confront	b	James	i). Get back here, ii).get back here [in loud tone; voice is always raised]	imp.x2
A:challenge:confront	c	James	i).You don't know how to play (.) ii).Put it back here.	decl./imp.
		Jim	[Chatting but not audible]	
R:confront	19	James	i).play with this ii).(.) play with this.	imp.x2
R:check	20	Kate	[Screaming] Yoh Yoh Yoh	minor
R:check	21	James	Yoh.	minor

R:check	22	Kate	Yoh, yoh.	
A:Confront	23	James	i).Let go, let go KATE.	imp.x2
			(con. between James/Jim inaudible)	
R:confront	24	James	i).KATE! You don't listen.	decl.
R:check	25	Kate	Hey hey hey.	minor
		Jim	Not audible	
			Baby screaming	minor
		Jim	in loud tone not audible.	
		James	screaming in loud tone.	
			Talking inaudible because of noise.	
R:monitor	26		[Baby singing] – na na na	minor
		Jim/ James	Jim/James – not audible.	
R:check	27	James	You missed	decl.
R:check	28	Jim	[Not audible] YOH YOH	minor
R:check	29	Baby	[Baby talking] – yoh hoh daddy daddy daddy.	minor
R:refute	30	Hart	i).NO NO it's mine	decl.
		James	[Mimicking cry baby in raised voice]	minor
R:	31	Aunty	[Instructions from inside to stop screaming and finishes with] i) I beg I don tire.	
R:response	32	Jim	i)Yes mama.	minor
			Baby screaming	
			[Baby screaming]	
			[reprimanding James]	

James asserted his authority here by challenging and confronting his siblings. This was apparent several times in his commands and demands. In a loud tone he ordered the young ones, taking over completely as a figure of authority. These repeated sequences of commands are seen in turns 2, 8, 10, 12, 17a and c, 23 and 24). Thus James here portrayed himself discursively as an imposing participant.

Table 7.15 Home dominance moves

				James	Jim	Hart	Kate
Opening							
Support							
	Track	check		3E	4E		1
		confirm					
		clarify					
		probe					
		monitor					
	Response	resolve			1E		
		repair					
		acquiesce					
Total support 45				3	5		1
Confront							
	Challenge	confront		11E	2E		
		rebound					
		counter:	elaborate		4E		
			extend	1E			
			enhance			1E	
		contradict					
	Response	unresolve					
		refute		1E			1
		rechallenge		1E			
Total confront 46				14	6	1	1

James dominated in the number of moves here with 17 against Jim's 11. Most of James's moves were commands and tracking moves, indicating his persistent follow-up on all matters up for negotiation. In both home interactions analysed above (see Tables 7.12 and 7.14) he

portrayed this ability (much less apparent in the other learners) to amplify, clarify and illustrate whatever was on the table for consideration.

Notably, the analysis reveals that the directives in all the interactions in which James participated were achieved through the use of loudly spoken imperatives. This aggravated use of demands and directives extended beyond the school borders to the home space, in which James assumed total control. As the school data will indicate, these demands and authoritative behaviours cannot be as freely exercised by James on the school premises, where such behaviour is constrained by ground rules imposed by the institutional order. On several occasions during my school visits, I witnessed both physical punishment and detention given to James because of his domineering stance. Overall, however, the analysis thus far has brought to the fore James's dominance at all levels of interaction. At home and in the school playground his supremacy prevailed. The next section illustrates James' positioning inside the classroom itself.

7.9 Analysing classroom participation: voice and audibility

In this section I identify voice and assertiveness as factors that seemed to influence participation and the ability to be heard in the classroom. These factors (mentioned in earlier chapters) revolve around the fact that teaching learners in an EFL context involves certain difficulties: namely, what it takes to get these learners involved and prepare them to use the target language (in this case, English) so that they are able to participate in conversations both in and out of class. This then throws the spotlight on existing classroom norms and practices filled with ideologies and beliefs (Blommaert et al, 2005; Robertson, 1990; Slembrouck, 2001). Thus in their current circumstances, the communicative encounters and overall performances of these learners were bound to reflect difficulties. Although this research did not aim to investigate academic performance, my observations showed that the LOLT impacted negatively on the performance and positioning of learners. This was particularly evident in the Afrikaans classroom discussed below.

7.9.1. Ideological stances towards Afrikaans held by James and other learners

Most of the participants in this study seemed to have a relatively negative stance towards Afrikaans; however here my focus is more particularly on James's response to it. In this section I first describe a typical grade 5 Afrikaans lesson in August, 2011 and then go on to describe James's own struggle with the language.

The Afrikaans teacher had her feet planted firmly on the ground, giving the learners no room to manoeuvre. She greeted the learners in Afrikaans, apparently to signal the subject focus for the lesson period, but switched to English (for the benefit of all learners) to check whether all their books were out. When their response brought a series of ‘no’s’, she exploded with anger. Learners responded to this by quietly doing what was ordered of them. She then went around checking their books, chatting to some in Afrikaans. She walked to the board, cleaned it, wrote a few things up, and started explaining some rules to the learners. Since it was the beginning of the school term, she explained to them what had to be covered in terms one and two; and revised a few grammatical rules such as the formation of plurals and diminutives, antonyms, and comparatives. For example:

Meervoude	bv.	boek	boeke	
Verkleinwoorde	bv.	boek	boekkie	
Teenoorgesteldes	bv.	oud-jonk		
Trappe van vergelyking	bv.	Klein	kleiner	kleinste

The lesson continued with one of the learners putting up her hand to verify what the teacher had written at the end because she could not make out the letters. The teacher used both English and Afrikaans when addressing the learners as part of her explanations, to the benefit of all during the Afrikaans lesson: for example, “Ok, dankie tog and that’s not all; just wanted you to finish writing”. This was an example of translanguaging or translingual practice (Canagarajah 2011, García & Wei 2014). Thus like many a multilingual speaker, the teacher had shuttled between the two languages, English and Afrikaans. However, most of the exchanges between teacher and learners took place entirely in Afrikaans, and those who were not fluent remained silent and seemed confused for the most part. I was in the same shoes as these lost learners, for I knew nothing of Afrikaans.

The class was very quiet and for the first time that day, I saw learners keeping to themselves, not even talking to their neighbours. The teacher quietly went around, checking their books; walked up to the board, asked whether all had copied into their books. She resumed her Afrikaans routine again and raised her book to show, I presumed, that that was what they had to do. She was standing at the front of the class and announcing that corrections of work were to be done immediately. However some learners said they had left their books at home. She gave a deaf ear to that and instructed those who had their books to do corrections with their pencils. The answers were given in Afrikaans and she pointed to the spelling. Tasneema read

her answer to the whole class; there was a lot of fidgeting going on at the back of the class. This attracted the teacher's attention and she wanted to know what was going on and who did not have the work sheet. She repeated this in Afrikaans. She then directed the question, now in English, to a particular learner: "Mark, do you have the work sheet?" and repeated a second time, "Do you?" This time she was walking towards him, saying "Certainly, no!" And then turned to another: "Do you?" He said yes, so the teacher instructed him to read with Mark. She noticed that another learner was restless and asked him to join the other learners because she wanted all to participate, get the right answer and the right pronunciation.

Some learners at the back of the class started chatting instead of concentrating on the different rules and the teacher reprimanded them; some laughed at a wrong pronunciation and the teacher was irritated with that. Another learner made an incorrect attempt and the teacher repaired, offering the correct pronunciation:

kuya -goeie

The learner who had attempted was guided along by the teacher to avoid laughter and ridicule from the others. The teacher wrote on the board:

wyd – wye

maklik – maklike

pragtig – pragtige

Taking note of giggling and laughter, the teacher again addressed the class in English. She told them that none of them in the class spoke Afrikaans well and admonished them: "Even if you are a competent and are excellent, you don't laugh at others".

The teacher, doing most of the talking, continued to reprimand the learners either for not participating or for laughing at their peers' wrong attempts at answering questions. I also took note that Afrikaans as a subject posed problems not only for foreigners but also for Afrikaans first language learners. They might be able to speak the language at home or in the playground, but it posed a big challenge for them in the classroom: most of them struggled with the subject in and out of class.

Going through some of James's Afrikaans language scripts I realized how great his struggles with the language were. For example, in samples of Afrikaans exercises done in grade 6 in October 2012 James performed below average in all (see appendix D for sample scripts (D1,

D3, D5). He acknowledged that no matter how much you revised the lessons, it was difficult to get a good grade. He also mentioned in one of our chats that he felt his brain shut down each time they were supposed to have Afrikaans, because he knew it was an impossibility to for him to be an A learner in Afrikaans. However, this did not stop him from claiming his ability in Afrikaans, and also attempting to use features of the language in his daily interactions. Nevertheless, for most of the exercises which required him to select the right answer (as can be seen in the D1), James did mostly guesswork, hoping it was the correct answer. He said he could only remember going through the Afrikaans textbook a couple of times because it was a waste of time, and added that he was always happy to come across multiple choice exercises, since guesswork was his strong point. He said that at first he would translate the words into English and try to make sense of the words and sentences, but in the process of translating meaning he would get lost and ultimately the answers would come out wrong because of the many phases they had gone through.

Another important point he raised about Afrikaans was that at first he had been excited about it because the first words he learned in Afrikaans were English borrowed words - for example, 'skool' and 'school', 'board' as 'bord' - but when they started learning other words and he saw that 'black' in Afrikaans was nowhere near 'black' but was 'suat'[swart], his brain collapsed. Thus his conclusion was that you expect all these words to be similar, but when there are many deviations, your thought path deviates too.

When I chatted to the teacher about the challenges for learners, she told me that even when learners did corrections in class and had to copy these into their homework books, they copied incorrectly while in other subjects they performed excellently and were hardly monitored in correction exercises. It seems thus that this excessive failure rate in Afrikaans could be partly attributed to lack of interest rather than lack of ability. Many complained that Afrikaans was not 'speak able' but only good for swearing, which surprised me coming from such young learners. One teacher even complained that the learners in her class were so lukewarm when it came to Afrikaans that when asked to read a passage in Afrikaans, they read English instead.

However, it is clear that James wished to perform well to maintain his academic identity as an A student and was disheartened by his failure, even though Afrikaans had very little symbolic capital amongst his peers. His desire to be positively appraised and seen as a strong learner is also evident in this extract from an English class, where the teacher was doing

revision on the use of past tense in sentence construction. James was selected by the teacher to make a sentence with the past tense of *spend*. He was very angry with his teacher because he was evaluated negatively as he repeatedly gave the wrong answer: “I spended my money yesterday.”

The teacher was not happy for she had corrected this several times in previous classes. So she asked: “Can you tell what I said about the past tense rules the other day?”

There was no answer from James. The teacher prolonged the move by calling out his name again, but receiving no answer, she extended the question to the rest of the class. Here she received several chorus responses and so gave a positive evaluation.

Looking at the above reactions to Afrikaans and the struggles by teachers and learners with lessons in Afrikaans, it is very important for language policy-makers and planners to ensure that policies reflect "the needs of the people, and not the interests of any particular language" (Webb, 1996, p. 186). In contrast to their response to Afrikaans, most of the migrant learners in the class portrayed very positive stances towards English. Most of them said they loved English because it would help them in their future plans, like getting good jobs and travelling around the world; moreover, most computer and TV programmes were in English which made it important to speak the language. Very few revealed negative stances towards English or were investing in English purely for instrumental and social reasons, especially in creating new relationships.

7.9.2 Evaluating classroom interaction: the struggle for more space

The extract below (see table 7.17) shows James in a different light, as one of the best maths students in his class. He proved himself, unlike the others, to be attentive to both the teachers and his peers by responding to questions posed by either.

In the data and analysis session below, the teacher uses the familiar drilling and repetition method to test learners' knowledge, and acknowledges and evaluates their abilities and interactions. The session analysed here took place in the grade 5 class of Mrs A, a white female in her late fifties. James was then a member of the class.

The learners followed the lesson, their daily maths drill, attentively, since she did not tolerate any form of disorderliness in her class. The session started with whole class answer session; the teacher's purpose here was to involve all her learners in the class activity so as to enable

active participation from all. She asked questions and all of the learners had to answer simultaneously. Although not identified as an individual here, James formed part of the question/ answer session, participating actively in the whole class responses.

Table 7.16 Classroom interaction, grade 5, Mathematics, 2011

Learners: 4.	B	answering
Teacher: $8 \times 5?$	A	questioning
Learners: 13	B	answering
Teacher: $5 \times 4?$	A	questioning
Learners: 20	B	answering
Teacher: $8 \times 4?$	A	questioning
Learners: 32	B	answering
Teacher: $8 \times 4?$	A	questioning
Learners: 32	B	answering
Teacher: $8 \times 4?$	A	questioning
Learners: 32	B	answering
Teacher: $8 \times 4?$	A	questioning
Learners: 32	B	answering
Teacher: $8 \times 4?$	A	questioning
Learners: 32	B	answering
Teacher: $9 \times 5?$	A	questioning
Learners: 45	B	answering

The session continued for the next ten minutes and provoked participation from all the learners, as the teacher monitored all the learners and sent those who did not participate to the C row, a position which signified weak and slow learners. It also gave opportunity for learner-learner positioning because learners would make snide comments to those giving wrong answers. The comments in turn provoked those learners, reluctant to be positioned, to withdraw from participation.

In the following example from another one hour mathematics class session in the same grade and with the same teacher, James proves his mastery in negotiating powerful identities for

himself by claiming this classroom space: the teacher as authority initiates the session and is normally the one to select speakers (McHoul, 1978). However, here James took the gap to show his expertise: he volunteered the information, showing that the space was no longer a mystery to him but territory in which he could negotiate and navigate his way.

Table 7.17 James moves into the gap, grade 5, Mathematics, 2011

Move	Speaker	Data
Track: check	Teacher	If I have to work out, on the board quickly (.)
Prolong: check	Teacher	If these are the widths, if these are the lines ↑(.)
R:response	James	Not over the line (.)
R:evaluation:	Teacher	Right! Now quickly look.

On occasions like this learners often pounce on the opportunity to assign names to others and make derogatory comments. Most learners were scared of being assigned names, thus avoided response sessions in the classroom. However, James developed his own mechanisms of adaptation for these situations. While incidents such as corrections from teachers and comments from his friends silenced him in the short term, these did not seem to affect him permanently, as seen above in his ready contribution.

In the following extracts from recordings made a few months later, we see how James's proven expertise had raised him to the position of English instructor to his mother and a grading by his grade 6 teacher as the best learner in class. James's knowledge and competence allowed him to be instructor to his mates too; turns 364 to 366 (See full extract of 7.16 appendix B1 Classroom data school A for full transcript) show him explaining the rules of the subject to his classmates:

Teacher: Any number, sum with 100's or 1000's, you go to page 9 and find all your answers and equal [what does this mean?]

James (to his classmate): Just draw a line in full, if you look at it on that side!

James also takes it on himself to assert authority in controlling others' behaviour:

Teacher in conversation with one of the other teachers. [Two girls having a conversation in a low volume].

James (talking to his classmate and pointing to what he is about to do): Rob! No, don't do that!

James's prior knowledge of the institutionally dominant language thus played in his favour and positively affected many areas of his life, including his overall educational performance. He and his siblings even became English teachers to their mother:

Mrs M: "But what I can add here is that their language (.) English language his has improved (.) comparing the quality or should I say class of English (.) they speak better and more maturely (.). At times they even correct me (.) mama that's not how they say it (.) then they give the correct pronunciation (.). I am usually embarrassed (.) they never did this back home."

On another occasion:

Mrs M: "My son explains words to me (.). Especially when we are watching TV (.) they do not speak pidgin again (.) here in school (.) shops, home, all over only English or they speak English (.) in their school work they are also very creative (.) in art work (.) drawing (.) in Cameroon their work was usually arithmetic, English, while here they are taught to be creative (.) they do a lots of things they never did at home (.) and they do not speak pidgin again."

James proved to the school administration that had viewed his literacy levels as inadequate on his arrival that he could give them a run for their money. This should serve as an indication to school authorities to value what the migrant learners carry in their linguistic and literacy repertoire. Standards should not be measured only against the language criteria for entry but should also reflect the rich linguistic resources and knowledge that learners have in store.

7.10 Changing linguistic repertoires, new practices, new identities

It is apparent so far that James came increasingly to dominate in all his interactions. He tended increasingly to make use of imperatives and declaratives, rather than interrogatives, which indicated an intention to claim and hold onto the floor. Thus his ideologies and practices were characterized by fluidity rather than unity, aligning with the poststructuralist view which depicts the individual as diverse rather than centred (Norton, 1993, 1995, 1997, 2000; Weedon, 1987; Peirce, 1995).

The following interview with James in September 2013 outlines some of the linguistic struggles he had and how he viewed his current repertoire.

Table 7.18 No longer struggling: interview with James, September 2013

Re	Hellooo James, or should I say nigga? (Laughs). It's me and you again nigga. Got your swag on? So tell me; we have had so many encounters or should I say chit chats (laughter again). I see there has been a lot of changes...both physically, intellectually and all what, not to count but a few. Ok let's hear it out (2) so how is everything (2) you know what I mean. Languages, friends, bookwork, etc.
James	Whoa swag? [Laughs at that]
Researcher	Swagalicious [laughter continues]
James:	Ok you got me on that one (2)
Re	Ok let's get it on (2) languages, friends, bookwork (.) tell me about it.
James	When I first came here everything was an issue for me you know (.) like (.) of course I know.
Re	How do you mean an issue? You know this is not our first chat (.) I remember the first time there were some complaints; yes.
James	Yes I mean like friends, the school, the teacher, my mum (.) like (.) I mean everybody
Re	Yes?
James	The way I talked, the way I acted (.) what am I saying, everything (.)
Re	Yes? And oh I also remember your pidgin issue (.) you were into it at that time.
James	Yes and my parents had a big (.) yes totally against it that it spoilt my English (.) especially my dad (.) but it was then though (.)Pidgin use to be a language for me and friends in Cameroon (.) they all still in Cameroon (.) here we speak only English and other languages in my school are Afrikaans and Xhosa and that I can't speak (.) well (.) just,(.) just a little.
Re	And now? How are you handling that now? Still a team player? I remember you could speak pidgin and your mother tongue, English while the others you just understood (.)
James	Cant anymore [laughs] then I could not now (.) I hardly hang around people who speak that though (.) in school nobody does and my parents are hardly around although they wouldn't speak pidgin with me (.) so I don't get to speak any other language but English (.) my grandma and mum do try though but I can seem to get hold of that language again.

As far as languages in his repertoire are concerned, he thus no longer interacted with people who spoke the languages he used to speak, so he saw no need to hang on to them, thus illustrating that when the field changes, the value attached to different forms of linguistic capital also changes. English then became his language of interaction and learning.

He perceived himself to have not been good at anything when he started grade 1 in the middle of 2007. He was humiliated by both his peers and teachers, and even his family, but he was able to stand and be strong despite all odds. In later years he came to be branded by both his peers and siblings as a bully, because of his build, his domineering stance and the fact that he could defend himself in the institutional language. He had come to develop an ability to participate academically in English, thus being heard to a greater degree in class:

Lots of things are different here (.) but I like it and coping for that matter (.) I am the best now remember? (Indexing his position at the top of his class)

In fact, he made use of the school space to his advantage, for it is often the case that schools are the only opportunity for immigrants to engage in the local society. The school in this case served as an agency of acculturation which shaped immigrant children as well as their motivations and aspirations to learn. In his own words, he claimed:

“That’s how we roll here (.) They don’t really care (.) lots of things are different here (.) but I like it and coping for that matter (.) am the best now remember?”

His voice also developed in social interactions, often overriding the voices of others. His ability to use the dominant language opened up doors and spaces for him; at the start of his schooling most of what expressed his identity as a black West African Cameroonian was rejected by peers, but later it became accepted by them. At first he felt alienated, but unlike Aline as discussed in chapter 8, he used this response to fuel his endeavour to build an impenetrable wall around himself as a strategy of adaptation. He did not defy the new spaces but instead tried to take ownership, both in and out of school.

His predominant language in all interactions was English: it became the only lingua franca utilized by all the learners. The language used in most interactions then was shaped by individual and societal forces (Coulmas, 1997), which forced him and others to utilize the dominant variety.

7.11 Conclusion

This chapter has traced James's journey from the first months in a new country to six years later when he had managed to become an accepted and dominant member of a peer group. It has shown how he used his linguistic repertoire to negotiate this path from marginalization to integration, minimizing some elements while foregrounding and expanding others by, for example, 'crossing' (Rampton, 1995, 2006) into languages such as Afrikaans and isiXhosa which he did not know and which did not 'belong' to him but did 'belong' to some of his peers. Since he was able to speak, read, and write in the Cameroonian variety of English it did not take him long to acquire the local South African 'street' variety as well as the more formal schooled variety of English and to be assimilated into the dominant order in playgrounds and in the classroom. Of course some elements of 'foreignness' lingered in his speech practices but reactions to these by interlocutors gradually diminished.

The chapter has revealed in particular the ways in which James developed an increasingly authoritative and often adversarial stance in interactions across spaces, which Vandeyar (2011) attributes to immigrant learners who structure their identities around a process of rejection by institutions of the dominant culture. It is argued that such learners respond to negative social mirroring by developing a defensively oppositional stance and are likely to act out in their behaviours (Aronowitz, 1984; Garcia-Coll & Magnuson, 1997). This may be a partial explanation for James's responses to new normative environments.

James has shown that although he initially formed part of a less powerful minority in school, he was able to develop strategies to push his way through interactive spaces and to negotiate identities as a translator, a bully, a 'know-it-all' learner, to name but a few. Usually the less powerful have literally 'nothing to say' and nobody to talk to, or must remain silent when more powerful people are speaking. However, James was able to overcome this positioning and became part of the mainstream, even dominating those originally described as the mainstreamers, thus overcoming ethnic and linguistic division and providing a glimpse of one of the processes involved in the "emergence of new ethnicities and mixed solidarities" (Rampton, 2006, p. 415).

The next chapter describes the very different trajectory of Aline, another Cameroonian youngster but with a different linguistic repertoire and differently configured opportunities for the construction of social and academic identities.

Chapter Eight: DEFYING MULTILINGUAL SPACES

8.0 Overview

The previous chapter analysed a young migrant learner who, despite various challenges, embraced change and made his way successfully into new linguistic spaces. This chapter focuses on Aline, a French speaking learner from Douala, the Littoral province of Cameroon and portrays her use of discursive strategies to negotiate different subject positions, often seeming to resist the acquisition of dominant languages or language varieties in new spaces and to negotiate positions in order to maintain her previous linguistic repertoire. In contrast to James (described in the previous chapter), Aline was a relatively new English learner and thus faced challenges with both communicating and creating allegiances in the new space.

In order to introduce Aline I start with her profile, which provides details of her trajectory to and between South African primary schools. This profile is developed over time through interviews, observations and three sets of interactional data and reflects her origins, beliefs and practices as well as the repertoires available to her. Data presented will show her interactions in the classroom, on the playground, and in a social gathering at the home of a fellow Cameroonian family. Although a significantly smaller amount of data is available for Aline than for James due to the fact that she was often silent in peer interactions, each data set presented here foregrounds different aspects of Aline's positioning by self and others,

The first data set considered is from a Cameroonian gathering involving 11 Cameroonian and two South African/Cameroonian children from different families. This extract was analysed in chapter 6 but the focus there was on the interaction as a whole and the various forms of positioning taking place across the group. Here I focus particularly on Aline's mood and move choices in order to illuminate her interactional strategies. This is followed by an extract of a conversation between Aline and two South African friends which took place in the playground during a lunch break. Aline is placed on the defensive with regard to her proficiency in English and her academic performance. The moves sequences involved in accomplishing turn allocations and the unfolding of conversational exchanges will illuminate patterns of confrontation and support as the learners explore and adjust their alignments with one another. The third data set is from a classroom setting and aims to illuminate some of the

challenges for newcomers in South African classrooms and the consequences for Aline. The chapter ends with a discussion of themes arising from the data.

8.1 Introduction

In schools, immigrant learners face a constant struggle to insert themselves into existing orders of interaction or to negotiate new ones. School discourses surrounding an appropriate identity for the learners may thus provide resources for acceptance, resistance, or negotiation of identities and identification. The joint actions of the school (that is, the official policy and practices and the classroom teachers) create a language hierarchy which often places minority languages at the bottom.

Aline was briefly introduced in chapter 6 (see table 6.1). Here I expand on her experiences of language and schooling. Over the past decade, despite an official policy of bilingualism in the Cameroonian education system, due to the political dominance of French, Francophones have tended to assume that English was beneath them and have made little effort to acquire it (Echu, 2003). From personal experience as a learner in the Cameroonian educational system, I have seen that Anglophones usually make efforts to acquire French and often become assimilated into French culture to the extent that they identify themselves as Francophones, showing a more positive attitude towards this language than the Francophones do towards English. The investment of English speakers in Cameroon into the French culture is both educational and social as a requirement for academic success and for the construction of a successful social identity. Francophones like Aline who originally placed little value on English in Cameroon are now obliged to use this same language in South Africa, as they find themselves in an English dominated country with a very different linguistic market. Aline, therefore, suffered in this regard because she had little incentive while in Cameroon to acquire any English. Language and constructing a new linguistic identity became two of the biggest challenges she faced in South Africa. In this new linguistic configuration, she became a new language learner and had to suffer and negotiate her way through new language spaces.

8.2 Talking about Aline: learner profile and linguistic repertoire

The French-speaking participants in this study included Aline, Nathalie and Jude: in Cameroon they had had very little exposure to English, this being limited to a one hour language period per day, at school. However, while Jude and Nathalie appeared to be

struggling to become part of the mainstream, Aline reacted differently. One of the reasons for selecting her for this study was that she was a relatively new English language learner compared to Jude and Nathalie who, although also French speaking, had already made ample efforts to acquire and speak the English language. As detailed in chapter 1, all the participants had several languages in their repertoires, usually their mother tongue and one or both of the two official languages in Cameroon. Aline, born and brought up in the French speaking part of Cameroon until the age of 10, understood and spoke her first language, Duala. She undertook her childhood literacy practices in French, her second language. Thus before leaving Cameroon she was a competent speaker of both French and Duala. She did not speak CPE like James and the other learners from the English speaking regions because in Douala it was popular only in regions where Anglophones resided or in the motor parks and market places, being a lingua franca for the Anglophones only.

It became integrative for Aline's mother to speak CPE in South Africa, however: the majority of Cameroonians here were English speakers and used CPE as a lingua franca in their community, for example in Cameroonian community gatherings. Aline's mother was also in the process of learning English for instrumental purposes; and notably, most Cameroonian parents know the detrimental effects of CPE on English in our society and would forbid their children to speak it.

Aline had left Cameroon in 'cour moyen deux' (equivalent to grade 6 in South Africa), which was just a step from secondary education. Her family's first stop was in Congo Brazzaville. In the Congo she progressed again to 'cour moyen un', the equivalent of grade 7 in South Africa, and thus saw herself as a 'senior'. At the beginning of this study, Aline had been in South Africa only a few months and after being evaluated against South African standards, had been placed in grade 1 along with the six-year-old learners. The evaluation was conducted immediately on admission to determine appropriate grade placement for learners, and consisted of papers testing their abilities in language and mathematics. Aline was evaluated as below South African education standards with little proficiency in either of these learning areas. The dramatic drop in status which resulted from this evaluation had a profound effect on her, making her linguistic repertoire and intelligence invisible, as will be outlined below.

8.3 Interactional data excerpt 1: Questioning, challenging and resisting the norms

The extract below is part of a longer interaction (see the table 6.1 extract and the full transcript in appendix A1) among a group of Cameroonian learners in a social gathering; with the boys outnumbering the girls and dominating the interaction with regard to both gender relations and power relations. Some general strategies of positioning by key participants are analysed in chapter 6. For the sake of contextual clarity, I revisit some key features of the interaction here.

The interaction took place at a community gathering hosted by a Cameroonian and largely attended by Cameroonians. As a means of maintaining unity amongst Cameroonians in Cape Town, many cultivated the habit of getting together to celebrate new born babies (what we locally call “born house”), or to mark other events such as the funerals of loved ones back home, birthdays, arrivals of family members, awards, or just holding monthly meetings hosted by different Cameroonians (see section 6.3, paragraphs 1, 2 and 3). While the adults were busy setting things up for the occasion, the young, mostly learners from different schools, were brought together in conversation. They were differently acquainted; some were longstanding friends way back from Cameroon; others got acquainted on arrival here while some had just met. Some of those present were born and bred in South Africa although with one Cameroonian parent; all were speakers of English as an additional language with different degrees of fluency. John was the young host, because this gathering was in his house; James and Jim are brothers while Tasneema is of mixed parentage, as her father is from Cameroon and her mother a 'coloured' South African. (For more details, see *Learner profiles and self-ascribed linguistic repertoires*, chapter 6, section 6.1.)

As shown in the analysis in chapter 6, alignments and positioning were achieved deliberately and playfully, with learners commenting reflexively on their performances and *habitus*. It was obvious from the interaction that the language of common interest here was English and thus everyone in and around was obliged to speak English to be part of the community. As will be seen from the interaction, however, Aline’s resistance to the linguistic regime under construction indexed her questioning of what appeared to go unquestioned: that is, the dominance of English in all spaces.

The analysis will follow a step-by-step procedure which involves an analysis of Aline’s turn construction and turn-taking, mood and move choices, and the social relations constructed,

showing how roles in interaction and participation frameworks are generated within talk rather than “prefixed or given” (Cromdal & Aronsson, 2000, p. 435). I first present a portion of the extract presented in chapter 6, followed by an analysis of mood and move choices.

Table 8.1 Shortened extract of community gathering, 2008: focus on Aline

Turns; 1,2,3
 Clauses: i.ii, iii
 O= opening move
 R=reacting move
 P=Prolonging move
 A=Appending move
 s=supporting
 c=confronting

Move	Turn	Speaker	Data	Trans.	Mood
O:R:check	26	SIMON	i) ↑Whaow! (.) Your mom’s scary (.)		decl.
R:track:clarify	27	JOHN	i). Mo what?		ellip. int.
R:response	28	EDI	Mmm ^[Inaudible whispering]		
R:D:track	29	JOHN	i)What is molongo?	Duala for cane	int..
R:track:clarify	30	ALINE	i) Scary veut dire quoi?		int..
R:track:clarify	31	JOHN	i)What is molongo?		int..
R:resolve	32	JAMES	i)Scary means (.) the undertaker; ii) you know (.) [Indicating arms] fear (.) frighten (.)		decl./ minor/ ellip. decl./
R:track:clarify	33	JOHN	i) ↑What is molongo?		int.
R:resolve: elaborate	34	JAMES	i).Cane (.)Sticks. ii)Our teacher used to beat us with molongo= =		decl.
Rc:confront	35	ALINE	i)Un bâton pour frapper les mal élevés comme toi (.) [Pointing to 3	A cane to beat badly brought up people like you	decl.
R:track:clarify	36	SIMON	i)↑What was that? ii) ↑ What did she say?		int.(2)
Rs:resolve	37	JAMES	i)< >I think she was insulting you.		decl.
R:clarify	38	JOHN	ii) ↑How do you know?		int.

Rc:Resolve P:extend	39	JAMES	i)I don't speak French (.) ii)< >but I think= =		decl.x2
Rs:resolve: elaborate	40	MARK	= = i)I know (.) ii) She says you have no manners.		decl.x2
Rc:D:confront: challenge	41	ALINE	i)↑YOU RUDE TO MA MERE! (.) ii) n'insulte plus ma mere (.)	Don't insult my mother	decl./ imp.
Rc:D:counter: P:elaborate	42	SIMON	i)That was being honest not rude (.) ii) she scared the hell (.) (Laughing) out of me.		decl.x2
Rc:rebound: confront	43	ALINE	i) ↑TA (.) mère aussi (.) elle est costaud (.) [Pauses as if searching for words] ii) FAT!	Your mother also ...she is very fat	decl.x2 ellip.
Rc:command: challenge	44	JOHN	i)↑Ok, that's enough (.) ii) you can't do that = =		imp.x2
Rc:rechallenge:	45	SIMON	= = i) Foolish girl (.) ii) Let her speak (.) And in English.		decl./ imp.
Rs:D:elaborate: P: challenge	46	JAMES	i)↓↑She can't really speak English (.) ii)only tries (2) iii) don't you dare try to [		decl.x2/ imp.
R:track	47	John's mother	[Shouting attracts attention of hostess] i) Egainha John?	What is happening here John?	int.

Table 8.1 was first analysed in chapter 6, focusing on the self- and other-positioning of all participants in the interaction, but here the focus narrows down to Aline. Quantitatively (as discussed in chapter 6 section 6.3.1), John and James dominated in turns and also produced the most clauses, showing their dominant role in the interaction and thus bringing to the conversation patterns of unequal power. The summary above indicates that Aline contributed much less than John, James and Simon to the interaction but about the same as Mark, Awah and Jim. We see from turn 1-23 that Aline did not at first emerge as part of the interactive group; she only joined the interaction when her mother's phone rang and she interrupted Peter's speech in progress to alert her mother. The interruption was not meant to usurp Peter's turn, but was produced simply in response to a stimulus. After calling out to her mother, she again resumed her silence. Aline received a scolding from John for raising her voice too high, but received this in silence (See 6.1 turn 24). Then, after the exclamatory “Whaow! Your mom’s scary” by Simon, she reappeared in turn 30, asking the meaning of ‘scary’ when she

realized that Simon was talking about her mother. She was unable to get a response for her inquiry because John simultaneously wanted to know what ‘*molongo*’⁵ was. In turn 32 James started to give an explanation of what ‘scary’ meant but was interrupted by John again who insisted on knowing what ‘*molongo*’ was. In turn 34 she finally got to know what ‘scary’ meant and her response to that was a repetition of James’s English language explanation of ‘*molongo*’ but in French, arguing that it was an instrument to deal with badly brought up children like Simon. Her response was not understood by many, including Simon, since she spoke in French; Simon tried to find out in the next turn what Aline had said, using an open question directed to no one in particular. James then suggested in turn 37 that he thought Aline was insulting Simon. The use of ‘think’ indicated he was not too sure. John questioned his response by asking how he knew what Aline was saying. This indicated that despite being Cameroonian, he and Simon were from a non-French speaking zone and had been living abroad for many years, thus minimizing their chances of learning the language. This contrasts with other Anglophone citizens in Cameroon (as mentioned earlier) who accommodate to the linguistic hierarchies in place and become French speakers. Mark came to their rescue in turn 40, claiming knowledge of the French language by openly declaring he knew what Aline was saying and giving an explanation. Aline justified her insults by exclaiming loudly in English that Simon had been rude to her mother and continuing with an imperative in French not to insult her mother again. Simon in turn tried laughingly to justify himself by saying he was simply honest and not rude. Aline retaliated, perhaps more to the laughing tone than to the propositional content which she may not fully have understood, by calling Simon’s mother *costaud* in French, then, realizing she did not get across to him, repeated the word in English, and in a loud tone: “FAT”. In response to this new insult, Simon again retaliated by calling her a “foolish girl” and trying to enforce a linguistic regime for the interactional space: “Let her speak. And in English.” (See 8.1 turn 45.)

The table below repeats the mood analysis of table 6.1 for easy access.

⁵ Duala for ‘cane’, used mostly by teachers in the classroom to bring learners to order.

Table 8.2 Summary of turns, moves and mood choices

(See appendix A1 for full extract of Cameroonian learners in a community gathering)

Speaker	Total	John	James	Simon	Aline	Mark	Awah	Bih	Jim
Turns	90	20	16	13	5	1	7	6	6
Moves	103	36	21	17	8	2	8	8	4
Mood choices									
Declaratives total	64	12	16	9	6	2	4	10	5
Full	46	8	12	5	3	1	4	7	4
Elliptical	17	4	4	4	3	1		3	1
Interrogatives total	26	11	6	6	1		2		
Full	17	7	2	5	1		2		
Elliptical	9	4	4	1					
Imperatives	18	10	1	2	1		4	1	
Minor	9	1					2	4	2

Note: The total turns include 9 by peripheral participants such as the two mothers and Peter.

As can be seen in table 8.2, most of Aline's mood choices were full declaratives, for she had a score to settle with Simon and was therefore concerned to get her meaning across forcefully. They were counter-challenges to Simon, trying to assert her status as someone who could set the moral ground rules for the interaction. She also used an imperative in turn 41 to make it clear to Simon that the “interaction order” (Goffman, 1983) should not include insults. The workings of the interaction order as postulated by Goffman (1983) are viewed as the “consequences of systems of enabling conventions, in the sense of the ground rules for a game, the provisions of a traffic code or the rules of syntax of a language” (p.5). And he pursues that the “individuals who systematically violate the norms of the interaction order may nonetheless be dependent on them most of the time, including some of the time

during which they are actively engaged in violations” (p.5). Aline’s only interrogative was a request for word meaning before launching her defence of her mother. Her shifts from English to French and back were not hierarchical because the linguistic market for French as code choice was practically non-existent in this interaction. Instead they showed attempts to assert participation rights, drawing on all the resources available to her.

8.3.1 Analysing moves

As already mentioned in chapter 6 (see section 6.3.2, table 6.2), moves analysed in the extract below are characterized following Eggins and Slade (1997) with a focus on a subset of sustaining moves which is vital in keeping flow of conversation: reacting moves. A reacting move is usually either a response geared towards completion or a rejoinder on terms set up by the previous speaker. In the case of rejoinder speech functions, rather than negotiating what is already on the table speakers either query it, demanding further details, or reject it outright, offering a new space for engagement. Rejoinders can be either supporting (Rs) which support negotiation and delay completion without expressing disagreement or confronting (Rc) which challenge a prior move. Because they usually lead to “further talk in which positions must be justified or modified, confronting moves contribute most assertively to the negotiation of interpersonal relationships” (Eggins and Slade, 1997, p. 213). Prolonging moves in the extract are also analysed: here participants add to interaction by seeking, restating or providing further information within the same turn, using this as a way of holding onto the turn.

The analysis draws on table 8.1 where the moves are labelled in the left hand column and on the move summary in table 8.3 below.

Table 8.3 Summary of move types by participant

				John	James	Simon	Aline	Awah	Bih
Opening	9			3		2	1	2	1
Support									
	Track	check		2	3	2			
		confirm							
		clarify		6	2	1	1	1	
		probe							
		monitor		1					
	Response	resolve		5	5	1		1	2
		repair							
		acquiesce							
Total support 35				16	10	4	1	2	2
Confront									
	Challenge	confront		8	2	6	2	4	1
		rebound		1	1		1		1
		counter:	elaborate	4	5	3		1	1
			extend	1	2	1		1	1
			enhance			1			
		contradict		2		1			
	Response	unresolve							
		refute							1
		rechallenge		1	1				
Total confront 54				17	11	12	3	6	5

Overall, Aline made one clarifying move and three challenging moves in response to Simon’s evaluation of her mother which she perceived as being negative. As already indicated, her first contribution to the interaction in turn 23 (“*C’est le portable de ma mere*”, offered to no one in particular) interrupted Peter’s inquiry but was not a challenge, confrontation or deliberate taking over of his turn. This response move made in French can be interpreted as

an indication that her lack of participation in the chitchat was because she felt her English language resources to be lacking. From my observations and interactions with Aline, I knew that English in school and in most spaces posed a challenge for her. Despite being amidst her friends who had spoken only English so far and her mother busy in the other room speaking CPE, she addressed her mother in French. Here she obviously knew that her mother understood and spoke the French language well, and perhaps chose this language rather than Duala as an attempt to use a language with a perceived higher symbolic value than Duala.

Aline's clarifying move (turn 30) to establish the meaning of 'scary' was not immediately responded to as a result of John's almost simultaneous tracking and clarifying moves to seek the meaning of '*molongo*'. Both moves were interrogatives, an indication that both were opening up spaces for the other participants to come in. Aline however was first establishing the ground from which to launch an attack against Simon which then developed through the subsequent turns, with John and James acting as translators and mediators.

In her first confronting move in turn 35, she elaborated on James' English language definition of *molongo* but turned it into a judgment of Simon as badly brought up. Here she unhesitatingly used French even though some interactants might not understand what she was saying. She spoke quickly, loudly and in a declarative tone, first of all to be heard and secondly in retaliation. This reaction to Simon's commentary thus showed her leaping to her mother's defence. Simon was lost and had to find out from the others what Aline had said in turn (35). James was uncertain about this but attempted a definition, prefacing it with the word 'think' which indicated his uncertainty. In the next turn Mark explained fully what Aline had said.

Her second confronting move picked up on and extended James' and Mark's explanations to Simon (turns 37 and 40) of her words in turn 35. It is clear that she followed the intervening interaction as she took the floor at an appropriate time and repeated and extended the theme of rudeness. Here she shouted in English to be sure of being understood, followed by an imperative in French which echoed James's English use of the word 'insult' in turn 37. She thus justified her judgment of Simon as badly brought up by arguing that he had been rude to her mother.

Her final rebound move in turn 43 was a response to Simon's laughing elaboration of his position in turn 42 where once again she perceived him to be insulting her mother. Here she

began in French with an emphasis on ‘YOUR mother’ to return the insult, calling her fat and translating the word into English to be sure of being understood.

In her last interview four years after this exchange she described her relationships with other learners:

Nous sommes en bon termes (.) sauf le clown là qu'on appelle Simon (.) Eishh je ne sais si on l'injecte ou pas mais lui c'est number one. Je ne peux te dire son problème mais en tout cas je lui donne ça part. Ils se manquent les gens (.) lui il pense qu'il est que (.) même broken English c'est le nom qu'il m'a donné. Il n'a pas le respect (.) le gars là (.)

[We are all on good terms except that clown called Simon. I don't know if someone injects him or not (i.e. that he is on drugs) but he is one of a kind. I can't say what his problem is but I always give it back to him. He makes fun of people, who does he think he is; broken English is the name he has named me. That guy respects no one].

Here she was referring to an ongoing antagonistic relationship: she was at loggerheads with Simon because he was insulting, continually drawing attention to her lack of proficiency in English. While this could index broader historical differences between Francophones and Anglophones in Cameroon, it seemed rather to be an individual animosity, since Aline did not have contentious relationships with other Cameroonian Anglophones.

In the interaction analysed above (see table 8.3) what apparently mattered to Aline was not the building of alliances. She was more concerned to react to challenges or confrontations directed at her or her mother. Throughout, she acted assertively, using the linguistic resources at her disposal. Her lack of proficiency in the English language did not inhibit her here in expressing herself and even positioning and categorizing others (see turns 35 and 41). It did not bother her that Simon challenged and confronted her each time she spoke French, and her responses show that she was able to stand her ground and launch counter-attacks if need be. She was not overly concerned about politeness nor did she seem to conform to interactional patterns traditionally associated with young female children (see Goodwin, 1990, p.45).

Nevertheless, what is also clear is that on many occasions she struggled to communicate with her friends. In the longer extract (See appendix A1 for full transcript) apart from a very few cases, Aline was the only one who switched between French and English. It is noteworthy from this interaction that there was always some derogatory commentary directed towards Aline when she spoke French. (See section 6.31 for commentary). We also see how she

became quite sensitive sometimes, when she did not understand what others were talking about. She had both a linguistic and cultural struggle, and this will also be illustrated in the next piece of data, in an interaction with her classmates on the school playground.

8.4 Interactional data excerpt 2: ambivalent identity claims

This next short extract from a conversation with peers was recorded about two years after Aline’s arrival in South Africa while she was in grade 2 at School A. The interaction took place during lunch break on the playground. She was with two South Africans friends. Michelle was a very outspoken ‘coloured’ South African while Kelly, described by Michelle as ‘the quiet type’, was soft spoken and did not say much. Michelle and Kelly were in grade 2 with Aline and had easily bonded with her as friends. Their interactions were not based on new relations because they had been friends for close to a year. Here Aline takes up a less assertive position than in the previous extract, but still defends herself strongly= the whole focus of the interaction is on her and most of the questions are directed to her.

This interaction was different from those that took place in the classroom or home settings. In both the home space and classrooms, there were authority figures who dictated the language regime to a large extent; in the classroom, for example, learners were bound by the institutional code to make use of the LoLT, and at home the status difference between them and their parents forced them to use more formal registers and certain languages.

The interaction began when Aline approached me with two of her friends. Her use of French in response to an inquiry from me triggered the first of a sequence of attacks by Michelle which occurred in two waves (reflected in the text in turns 21-32 and turns 50-67) separated by a patch of quiet water where participants compared origins, trajectories and ages. It is important to note that these attacks were delivered and received in a light-hearted, joking manner so that much of the sting was removed. The cumulative effect is however a devastating assault on Aline’s ability to speak for herself, to describe her own experiences, as well as a damaging appraisal of her linguistic and academic abilities.

Table 8.4 Playground interaction, Aline, November 2008

Move	Turn	Speaker	Data	Translation	Mood
	1-4	Researcher & teacher	<i>[discuss the class that has just ended]</i>		
O:initiate	5	Aline	<i>[comes from behind]</i> Hi auntie.		minor

Res:reply P: probe P: elaborate	6	R	i). Hi sweetheart, ii) how are you today? (.) iii) I saw = =		minor/ int./ decl.
O:initiate	7	Michelle	= =Hi (.)		minor
Res:reply P: probe x2 P: extend C: monitor	8	R	i).How are you? ii). And your name (.)iii) what's your name?[turns to teacher]iv)This is my friend's daughter and one of my kids (.) v)you know the]		int./ellip. int./ /int./ decl./ minor
Res:answer	9	Michelle	[i).Michelle.		minor
O:initiate	10	T	i).I will see you at the coffee room?		int.
Res:affirm: Res: acknowledge P: probe P: probe	11	R	i).Now now (3)ii) lovely name (.) iii)and you sweetheart (.) what's yours?		minor/ellip. decl./ int.
Res:reply	12	Kelly	i).Kelly [almost inaudible]		minor
O:initiate	13	R	i).Where have you been?		int.
Res:s:reply	14	Aline	i) I had <i>fièvre</i> [	I had a fever	decl.
Rej:s:check	15	R	[i).Not malaria I hope?		ellip. int.
Res:s:affirm P: D: elaborate P: D: extend	16	Aline	i). <i>Non</i> (.) ii) <i>juste cold</i> , iii) <i>bon</i> I stay home.	No just a cold. So...	minor/ellip. decl./ decl.
O: clarify	17	Michelle	i). Is this your mummy?		int.
Res:c:disagree P: elaborate P: disagree P: elaborate	18	Aline	i). <i>Non</i> (.) ii) ma mum auntie (.) iii) <i>non non</i> iv) friend		minor/ellip. decl./ minor/ ellip. decl.
Res:D: P:extend P:extend P: probe	19	R	i).Talking of your mum (.) ii) I saw her here the other day (.) iii) your papa too (.) ↑iv) problems?		minor/decl./ ellip. decl./ ellip./int.
Res:c: disagree: P: enhance	20	Aline	i) <i>Non</i> (.) ii) <i>Le professeur voulait parler avec eux.</i>		minor/decl.
Rej:c:confront :challenge P: elaborate P: elaborate P: enhance O: query	21	Michelle	i).There she goes again (.) ii) packler packler (.) iii) she is always packlaying (.) (Laughter) iv) Says she speaks French (2) v) do you speak French also?		decl./ellip. decl./decl. x2/int.
Res:reply P: reply	22	R	i) <i>Mais oui bien sur</i> (.) ii) yes of course (.) iii) I did French in	of course	ellip. decl.x2 /decl.x2/

P: extend P: extend C: monitor			school iv) and I am a Cameroonian also (2); v)>< enough about me. How is everything?		ellip. decl./int.
Res:affirm	23	Chorus	↑Fine!		minor
Rej:c:track probe P:extend	24	Michelle	i)↑Are you sure? ii)You were just complaining a moment ago (2)		int./decl.
Rej:s: track probe x 2	25	R	About what? Schoolwork?		ellip. int.x2
Res:s:D: elaborate P: extend	26	Michelle	i).She was saying it was boring here and ii) she hates the fact that = =		decl.x2
Rej:c: confront P: extend P: rechallenge	27	Aline	= =i). <i>N'écoute pas</i> (2) ii) <i>je n'ai rien dit</i> (3) iii) SHE LIE TOO MUCH	Don't listen to her	imp./decl..x2
Rej:c:refute P: extend P: rechallenge	28	Michelle	i)↑Oh no! ii) You know I am not LYING (2) iii) tell her the truth.		minor/ decl./imp.
Rej:c:rechalle nge x 2	29	Aline	i)↑ <i>Quoi?</i> (.)ii) ↑WHAT?		ellip. int.x2
C:monitor	30	R	i).I am listening (.)		decl.
C:append	31	Aline	(2) ↑Yes? [to Michelle]		ellip. int.
Res:s:develop P: extend x3 P: enhance	32	Michelle	i) ↑Ok (.) let me help her (.) ii) she hates Afrikaans and Math (.) iii) she is trying in English now (.) iv) she never spoke when she first came (.) v) I also don't like Afrikaans.		minor/imp./ decl.x4
Rej:s:track:ch eck C: monitor P: extend	33	R	i) Are you Afrikaner? ii) I mean is Afrikaans your first language? iii) Do you speak it at home (.) with your family?		int.x3
Res:reply: affirm P: extend x 2	34	Michelle	i) Yes ii) and I am from Cape town (.) iii) here.		ellip. decl./ decl./ ellip. decl.
O:int.iate: query P: extend	35	R	i) And you Kelly? (.) ii) why are you so quiet?		ellip. int./int.
Res:c:reply P: extend x 2	36	Michelle	i) You don't know that (.) ii) she is one of its kind (.) iii) the shy type (.)		decl.x2/ ellip. decl.
Res:s:affirm	37	Kelly	(3)i)Yes I am from Cape Town [inaudibly]		decl.
Rej:s:track: probe P: extend	38	Aline	i)Quoi? (.) ii)↑Cape Town?		int./ ellip. int.
Rej:s:track:ch eck	39	R	i) Have you always been in Cape Town? [To Michelle and Kelly]		int.

Res:s: affirm P:extend	40	Michelle	i) Never left Cape Town (.) ii) and Kelly too.		ellip. decl.x2
Res:s:develop P:extend x4	41	Aline	[i) Two year now (.) ii) I come in grade 2 (.) à douze ans (2) iii) Au Cameroon I was in Cours moyen deux (2)classe six (5) [pronounced six as in French] las yer I was in Milliton and my parents [French pronunciation] arrive to Packlands (2) Je devais changer (2) hhh. change [withFrench pr].	At 12 years. In Cameroon.... I had to change	ellip. decl./ decl.x5
Rej:s:track check	42	Res	i) How old are you?		int.
Res:s: answer P: enhance	43	Aline	i) <i>Presque quatorze ans</i> (.) ii)Old <i>en primaire</i> school.	Nearly 14 years. Old in primary school	ellip. decl. x2
O: int.iate: query P: elaborate	44	Michelle	i) ↑And you? ii) How old are you? [to researcher]		ellip int./int.
Rej:c: challenge: counter P: enhance x2	45	Aline	i) <i>Tu ne dois pas</i> (2) she is big (2) ↑ <i>Adulte</i>	You must not	imp./decl./ ellip. decl.
Rej:s:track:cla rify	46	Michelle	i) So you have been here for ten years?		int.
Rej:c::refute P:extend x3 P: enhance	47	R	i) No ii)She said two years (2) iii) she was born in Cameroon iv) and she just came here (.) v) so can't be ten (.)		minor/ decl.x4
Rej:s:repair Rej:s:check	48	Michelle	i) I was joking (.) ii) where is Cameroon?		decl./int.
Res:c:disenga ge	49	R	i)Ask your friend.		imp.
Rej:c:challeng e: counter	50	Michelle	i) She will never succeed in that her broken English.		decl.
Rej:c:rebound	51	Aline	i) You foolish hhh. [		ellip. decl.
Rej:c:rebound : P:extend	52	Michelle	[i)See who is calling names (.) ii) you were two years in grade 2		decl.x2
Rej:c:rebound x 2	53	Aline	i) Et puis? (1.5) ii) ↑so? [		ellip. int.x2
Rej:s:resolve Rej:s:probe	54	R	[i) It's alright (.) how are you coping?		decl./int.
Res:s: answer	55	Aline	i) ↑Fine [		minor
Rej:c:contra- dict	56	Michelle	[i) She is a bit slow in maths (.) ii)very slow I mean (.) in her		decl./ ellip decl.

P:extend			work		
Rej:c:refute: P:elaborate	57	Aline and Kelly	i)NO! OH NO (.)ii) NO YOU DONT (2x) [<i>all came in exclaiming</i>]		minor/imp. x2
Rej:c::counter: enhance	58	Aline	i)><I hate Afrikaans [		decl.
Rej:c: contradict: Rej:c: rechallenge	59	Michelle	[i) Oh no (.)ii) tell her the truth.		minor/imp.
Rej:c:confront	60	Kelly	i) Don't you dare mmm (.)		imp.
Rej:c:rebound: P:extend	61	Michelle	i)Not only Afrikaans (.) you make mistakes ...		ellip. decl./ decl.
Rej:c:rebound: P: extend: clarify x2	62	Aline	i) <i>Je suis</i> (.) I am <i>un peu</i> (2) I mean (.) ha (.) problems in some place (.)	I am a bit	ellip. decl. x2/decl.
Rej:s:track: check	63	R	i) On what?		ellip. int.
Res:s:answer	64	Kelly	i) Mostly Afrikaans		ellip. decl.
Rej:c:refute: P:extend	65	Michelle	i) ↑NO! ii) She is also slow in maths (.) and in doing her homework [<i>Laughs</i>]		minor/ decl.
Rej:c:rechall- enge	66	Aline	↑Shot up!		imp.
Rej:c:counter: extend	67	Michelle	i)I am <u>concerned</u> (.) really <u>concerned</u> for her(2) ii) doesn't ask for help [<i>receives a punch</i>]		decl. x2
Rej:c:rebound P: elaborate	68	Aline	i) You lie (2) ii) I ask teacher		decl.x2
Rej:s:resolve: P:elaborate O: query	69	R	i) Ok don't worry ii)we will sort you out. iii) You need to see your teachers or friends who can help (.) when you have problems (.) iv)Have you all eaten?		imp./decl. x2/int.
Res:s: answer	70	All	YES		ellip. decl.
Res:s:D:elaborate P: extend	71	R	i)Good (.)ii) break will soon be over (.) iii)why don't you just go relax in front of your class while I catch up with Ms. Brian?		minor/ decl./int.
Res:s:agree	72	Aline	i) Ok (.) bye auntie		minor
Rej:c::refute	73	Michelle	i) ↑She is not your auntie		decl.
Rej:c:rebound	74	Aline	i) ↑Yes she is		decl.
Res:s:agree P:elaborate P:monitor	75	R	i)Yes Michelle, (.)ii)I might not be her blood auntie, iii)but in Cameroon it's normal to address me like that because of respect		ellip. decl./ decl.x3 / ellip. int.

			as her mum's friend (.) iv)and here we consider each Cameroonian family (.) v) Understood?	
Res:c: Disengage	76	Michelle	i)↑Whatever (2)	minor
Res:s:register P:extend	77	R	i) As you wish ii) and see you later my dears (.) iii) I need to run (.)iv)Bye!	minor/ imp./decl./ minor
R:greetings	78	All	Bye	minor

In this interaction we see Aline constantly on the defensive against a barrage of criticism from Michelle, a barrage so intense that even Kelly, positioned by Michelle as ‘the quiet type’, is moved to defend Aline at key points (turns 57, 60). However, as mentioned above, the tone throughout was playful, punctuated by laughter and exclamations. Faces at times suggested surprise - for example Michelle in turn 52 on being called foolish and Aline in turn 45 when Michelle asked me how old I was - but never anger or distress. Despite the intensive negative evaluation of her linguistic repertoire (French and English) and of her academic performance, Aline stayed cheerful. In fact, I never witnessed her being overtly upset with Michelle but she may have been saving face to some extent in my presence.

Michelle’s denigration of Aline’s linguistic repertoire was carried out as follows: in turn 21 she mimicked Aline’s French, mocking her laughingly and hinting at a dubious claim: the clause “says she speaks French” presents the proposition as arguable, hinting at a possible lack of veracity. In turn 46 she suggested that Aline has been in Cape Town for ten years, later labelled as a joke in turn 48. However, the implicature or indirect meaning seemed to be that she should therefore be doing much better in English, as this was followed in turn 50 by her labelling of Aline’s English as “broken”, and her stating that Aline would therefore never succeed in explaining where Cameroon was. This implied a double lack of capacity: linguistic and consequently epistemic. The modal ‘will’ followed by ‘never succeed’ is categorical, closing down all possibility.

This negative valuation of Aline’s epistemic ability was applied also to her capacity to do mathematics and Afrikaans in turns 32, 56, 61, 65. In 32 Michelle animated Aline’s voice again: “let me help her”. She was animator and author, the selector of the sentiments expressed and the order in which they were presented, but simultaneously suggesting that Aline was the principal responsible for the words in the first place and committing her to this

position. Halfway through this turn, she changed footing and presented her own account of Aline's actions when she had arrived at the school and added, perhaps in an attempt to mitigate, that she herself did not like Afrikaans (clauses iv and v). Despite Kelly's attempt in turn 64 to limit the difficulties to Afrikaans where many other learners struggle and so to reduce Aline's isolation, Michelle insisted that Aline was slow in mathematics as well, and expanded this judgment to include doing homework in general. Aline's entire academic identity was thus disparaged, constituting very serious acts of negative identity ascription, albeit carried out in a joking manner.

A second feature of Michelle's positioning of Aline is a constant questioning of her ability to speak for herself and a frequent usurping of Aline's turns in order to speak for her. In turn 24 she questioned Aline's assertion that she was fine and thereby her ability to articulate her own state of being and in turn 26 she seized Aline's turn, animating her voice and denying her the chance to speak for herself. Here it is of interest that "speaking for another" (Schiffrin 1993) who is present in a judgmental rather than supportive manner is traditionally associated with male stances (M.H. Goodwin, 1998). This has been shown not to hold true for girl talk in research by Goodwin: similarly, in this case, Michelle was clearly 'speaking for' Aline judgmentally and in order to position herself as more knowledgeable than Aline about Aline's own feelings. In turn 28 she did not respond to Aline's obvious discomfort but took an even more serious step by implying that Aline was lying about her own feelings, exhorting her here and in turn 59 to "tell her the truth", thus positioning her as untruthful. All in all, Michelle suggested that not only did Aline lack academic capacity ("slow", "broken English", making mistakes) but also moral standing.

Aline's reactions were to contradict Michelle and challenge her veracity, telling me not to listen to her (turn 27), to call her foolish (turn 51), to question the relevance of her proposition (turn 53), to mitigate (turn 58) by claiming an affective reason for her lack of success in Afrikaans, to claim repeatedly to be fine (turns 23, 55) admitting only "problems in some places" (turn 62), to tell Michelle to shut up (turn 66), and finally to accuse Michelle again of lying (turn 68).

Michelle in turn refused to take up Aline's own projected stances of coping and having only minor problems. The punch Aline gave Michelle in turn 67 when Michelle professed concern for her and claimed she "doesn't ask for help" is an indication of an embodied frustration.

Michelle further used evaluative lexis (Martin, 2003; Martin & White, 2005) to manage interpersonal positioning and relationships. For example, in turn 50 she described Aline’s type of English as the “broken” variety and in turn 56 (repeated in 65) called her “a bit slow in maths”, amplified into “very slow”. In retaliation, Aline called Michelle “foolish” in turn 51, told her to shut up in 66, and together with Kelly in turn 57 told her not to dare go any further down that line of talk. Aline thus defended herself assertively throughout.

The next table summarizes the mood choices of Aline and her interactants in order to highlight their role in constructing relations of power.

Table 8.5 Mood analysis

Mood D	Aline	Res	Michelle	Kelly	Teacher
No of turns (n78)	22 (29%)	23(30%)	25(32%)	4(5%)	3(4%)
No of clauses (n152)	39 (26%)	59(39%)	45 (29%)	6(4%)	3(2%)
Declaratives total	24		32	2	
Full	16		24	1	
Elliptical	8		8	1	
Interrogatives total	7		7		
Polar Full	0		5		
Polar Elliptical	1		0		
Wh- Full	1		1		
Wh- Elliptical	5		1		
Imperatives	5		3	3	
Exclamatives	1				
Minor	7		6	2	

Note: The researcher’s mood choices in this interaction are only of interest in the ways in which they are taken up by the learner participants so are not analysed quantitatively here.

The excerpt in table 8.5 centred on Aline but was dominated by Michelle negatively evaluating Aline’s lack of linguistic resources and academic performance. Michelle rejected everything the other interactants proposed and gave her opinion freely, putting Aline in an uncomfortably vulnerable position. Michelle’s dominance is reflected in her number of declaratives (25% more than Aline, and two-thirds of them full declaratives), indicating a confident holding of the floor. Many of these declaratives carry categorical statements of

appraisal, positioning her as the only source of authority. She used relatively few interrogatives. Those that were used were factual inquiries (17, 21v, 44, 46) or, in turn 24, her questioning of Aline's ability to evaluate her own state of mind ("Are you sure?"). At no stage did she ask Aline a question which would allow her to elaborate or expand on her own perspectives. Imperatives are Michelle's twice-repeated exhortation "tell her the truth" (28, 59) and "let me help her" (32): a response to Aline's two interrogatives in 29 and 31 questioning Michelle's version of the truth and to my indication that I was ready to hear what Aline had to say (30). These imperatives positioned Aline as unwilling to disclose her true feelings and as needing assistance to explain her own reality.

The majority of Aline's declaratives were also full, containing responses to my questions or counters to Michelle's assertions, elaborating her position. While she used an equal number of interrogatives, these were nearly all elliptical polar or wh- questions often expressing surprise, outrage or disbelief at what Michelle had said: turn 29 "What?" in French, was repeated loudly in English and on a rising intonation, implying "what do you mean?" and followed by "Yes?" in turn 31, implying "I am listening". See also turn 53, with the challenge of "*Et puis? So?*". Here she was not producing full clauses, that is, attempting to initiate a new topic or exchange or wishing to establish material to be reacted to (Eggin & Slade, 1997, p. 89), but rather reacting elliptically to prior initiations. She did however use a larger number of imperatives than Michelle and one exclamative. Her imperatives were intended to regulate or prevent Michelle's assertions (27, 57, 66). Her exclamative "You foolish hhh" (51) encoded a judgment of Michelle which was intended to discount the latter's appraisal of Aline's English as "broken" and her consequent inability to succeed in explaining where Cameroon is.

As discussed elsewhere in this thesis, analysis of mood does not on its own sufficiently illuminate the construction of relationships through discourse, as a single mood may be used in a variety of interactional moves. The next section presents a detailed move analysis followed by a shorter summary to show the contrasts between Michelle and Aline's moves more strongly. This is followed by an analysis of Aline's moves in responding to different participants, thereafter breaking this analysis down further to look at which moves are carried out in which language and her linguistic choices in responding to different participants.

8.4.1 Analysing moves

Tables 8.6 and 8.7 below show that Michelle had the largest number of prolonging moves (19) where she held onto the floor and elaborated or extended her points with additional information. She also made a high number of confronting Rejoinder moves (17), the most aggressive form of interaction, as compared to Aline's 12. Only 17% (8) of her moves were responding rather than rejoinder moves. By contrast, Aline's largest number of moves were support moves in the responding category (14) indicating that overall she tried to align with other participants where possible and only turned to confronting moves when provoked. Four of her responding moves were confronting in the sense of merely disagreeing with the propositions advanced by the previous speaker (turn 18, where Michelle asked if I was Aline's mother and turn 20, where I asked if there were problems). These were moves which completed an exchange rather than opening space for continued engagement. When provoked, she used confronting Rejoinder moves to challenge the veracity of Michelle's propositions (for example, turns 27, 29, 51, 53, 66, 68) and put the ball back in Michelle's court. She did not bow down to any of Michelle's challenges: each time Michelle challenged and confronted her, Aline stood up to her.

Table 8.6 Summary of moves in playground interaction (table 8.4) from turn 5 onwards

E: English

F: French

EF: translingual beginning with English

FE: translingual beginning with French.

MOVES		Michelle	Aline	Kelly	Res
Opening moves		3	1E		5
Continuing moves					
	monitor	1			2
	prolong	1	1E		4
	elaborate	7			2
	extend	4			6
	enhance	4	2E , 2EF, 1F		2
	append		1E		
REACTING MOVES					
Responding moves: move towards completion					
Support					
	develop				

	elaborate	2			2
	extend		4E, 4FE, 1EF	1	8
	enhance		1FE		
	engage				1
	register				1
	reply				
	answer	2	1EF, 1F	1	4E 1F
	acknowledge				2
	affirm	2	3E, 1F	2	1
Confront					
	disengage				1
	reply				
	disagree	1	1F		
	disavow		2FE		
Rejoinder moves: prolong the exchange					
Support	track				
	check	2	1FE		5
	clarify	1			
	probe		1FE		2
	response				
	resolve				3
	repair	1			
Confront	challenge	1			
	contradict	2	2E 2F		
	detach	1			
	rebound	1	1E 1FE 1F		
	counter	5	1F		
	response				
	refute	2		1	1
	rechallenge	2	2E 1FE	1	

Table 8.7 Summary of moves by participant

MOVES		Michelle	Aline	Kelly	R
Opening		3	1	0	3
Continuing/ prolonging		19	9	0	16
Responding	Support	7	14	4	19
	Confront	1	4	0	0
	Total responding	8	18	4	
Rejoinder	Support	2	2	0	10
	Confront	15	10	2	1
	Total rejoinder	17	12	2	
Total		47	40	6	49

The above summary, although illuminating in the overall division of moves, is deceptive as it does not show specific and very different patterns of responses to different participants.

Table 8.8 below shows that Aline used confronting rejoinder moves only to Michelle. To me and to Kelly she used exclusively responding or support moves. As mentioned above, the Responding move to me which is analysed as ‘confront’ is merely a factual denial of the proposition in the previous turn (Turn 20). This pattern indicates that where she felt her interactants to be supportive she responded accordingly, rather than being uniformly confrontational as extract 8.1 might have led us to believe. Of course my presence affected all participants’ interactive patterns, but Aline’s responses to Michelle and to Kelly were representative of those I observed over several months until she left for School B.

Table 8.8 also shows that she used a fair number of prolonging moves (9) in relation to both me and Michelle, in order to enhance her position by clarifying or restating information. These are discussed in more detail as part of the analysis of language choice below. Michelle however used a far greater number of prolonging moves (19: see table 8.8), reflecting her

ability to hold onto her turns and use them to change the footing or participation framework (see turns 21 and 32, for example).

Table 8.8 Aline’s reacting moves by participant showing prolonging moves as well (P)

Aline’s moves		Researcher	Michelle	Kelly
Responding	Support	3, 1 +1P, 1+P4		
	Confront	1+1P	1+3P	
Rejoinder	Support			1+1P
	Confront		7, 1+1P, 1+2P (x 4)	
Total		4	13	1

8.5 Linguistic choices in moves

In terms of linguistic choices for moves, Aline used both French and English throughout with no clear pattern of language choice for any particular interactant/group of interactants or discursive purpose (tables 8.9 and 8.10). Her code choice appeared to be driven on the whole both by pragmatic considerations – whichever combination of languages would enable her to take up her turn and get her meaning across – and by consideration for her audience: even when she was addressing me and knew that I would understand French, she still endeavoured to use some English as Michelle and Kelly were ratified participants in the interaction (e.g. turns 16, 43). It appears as if when provoked she usually responded instantly in French. This could be because her reaction time would be slower if accessing affective lexical information in a less familiar language (Pavlenko, 2008). The degree of affective arousal may play a part here as the more provoked she was the more likely it seemed that she would begin her rejoinder in French, regardless of the interactants’ ability to understand her (turns 27, 29, 45, and 53). At other times where the emotional temperature was lower, she used English first or only (14, 31, 55, and 74). However, this latter interpretation of lower affect does not hold for turns 51, 66 or 68 (“You foolish”, “Shot up”, “You lie”), which were responses to extreme

provocation. Here perhaps she had acquired these emotion-laden English words through frequent exposure to them on the playground and in social settings. Extract 6.1 for example contains the taunt “foolish girl” (turn 45). ‘Shut up’ was also frequently used by teachers to noisy learners.

Table 8.9 Aline’s moves by language

MOVES		French	English	French/ English	English /French
Opening			1		
Continuing/prolonging		1	5		3
Responding	Support	2	6	5	1
	Confront	2		2	
Rejoinder	Support			2	
	Confront	3	5	2	
Total		8	17	11	4

Table 8.10 Aline’s reacting moves showing linguistic choices in response to participants

Aline’s moves in response to:		Researcher	Michelle	Kelly
Responding	Support	E/F (14) F/E + (P) F/E (16) E +(P)E/F,F/E,E,F/E (41) F+(P)E/F/E (43) E (55, 72)		

	Confront	F+(P)F (20)	F/E +(P)F/E (18) F+ (P) E/F (45)	
Rejoinder	Support		F/E (29)	F+(P)E
	Confront		F +(P) F, E (27) E (31, 51) F/E (53,57,58) F/E/F +(P)E(62) E (66, 74) E + (P) E (68)	

Note. Turn numbers are shown in brackets.

Table 8.10 above shows the extent to which Aline’s lack of linguistic resources was an impediment. There were only four moves which were carried out entirely in English. These were a single word (55), a formulaic utterance (72), a short exclamative (51), an imperative (66) and a counter (“Yes she is”, turn 74). Any utterance that required elaboration was laboriously constructed, using whatever features of English she could muster supplemented by French (turns 41, 43, and 62). This lack of ‘legitimate’ linguistic resources made it hard for her to defend positions in opposition to the identities constructed for her by Michelle and to construct desired identities for herself: for example, an academically coping identity. It was thus easy for Michelle to ignore her attempts at self-positioning and the only person who ‘took up’ these attempts was Kelly.

Aline thus remained between worlds, neither a full participant in new social groups nor a complete outsider, as seen by her friendship with Kelly and Michelle. Her claims to any identity - academic, linguistic or social - were under constant scrutiny from her peers, with the effect that she was not able to assert either a Cameroonian or a new South African identity but remained simply ‘other’.

What is crucial to note here is the role of her linguistic repertoire in constraining the construction of new roles and identities. This location between worlds did however enable her to take on the role of intercultural mediator, particularly with regard to cultural differences when addressing or talking to adults. In South Africa it is increasingly normal for young adolescents to call adults by their names and to use a relatively casual register, while

where Aline came from this was taboo. For instance, in turn 45 she protected me from Michelle's question about my age that she feared I might find disrespectful, explaining to Michelle that she should not ask personal questions of adults. Moreover, Cameroonian children are required to make use of honorific markers when they address adults in interaction, so when (turn 72) Aline called me auntie and Michelle challenged declaratively "She is not your auntie", Aline replied that I was (74), although without further elaboration.

In this interaction overall, she was more interactive and open, and played a more active role than in the previous extract from the community gathering (table 8.1), despite the fact that she was not amidst her Cameroonian peers. Her tone, although assertive, reflected the joking, bantering note in which the entire interaction was carried out. Here, therefore, she was audible, because she was less restricted in her use of different languages, as opposed to the classroom situation.

The next section illustrates Aline as a silent participant in the classroom, positioned this way by the situation in the new school B. Her trajectory through school is thus diametrically opposed to that of James as described in chapter 7, section 7.9.

8.6 Silencing

The data sample discussed here comes from field notes in school B, taken during observations six months after Aline had moved to this school. After leaving school A she had been out of school for some time because of her struggles with language, mathematics, Afrikaans and other extra-curricular factors. Starting in this new school was therefore more than usually challenging.

I spent about 80 hours observing in school B, usually four hours a day in the classroom in order to thoroughly investigate interactional practices. These included grade 4 English, Maths, General Knowledge, Science and Afrikaans classes. The extract in table 8.11 represents a typical example of a classroom session in which Aline took part.

School B might not be a former 'model C' (or 'white') school, superior in terms of infrastructure and discipline, but compared to Cameroonian schools the infrastructure was good. Despite this, levels of disorder were high. The classrooms were always untidy, with papers littered all over the floor. One section of the classroom contained an ill proportioned

shelf where the learners dumped their books, which were not properly arranged. Unlike in school A where bags were lined outside the door to avoid disorder in the classrooms, school B bags were all over the floor, making it impossible to move around. The recent move to school B was disorienting and difficult for Aline because she had left her companions behind and had to deal with the noisy classroom situation. She had not made any friends and kept to herself. As already mentioned in chapter 5 section 5.3.4, the normal scenario in school B was learners shouting in loud tones about a pen being stolen or about food or asking for writing materials, interrupting the smooth running of the classroom. Usually the lesson would resume after each interruption but the constant noise was still deadening and the teacher often lost his temper, asking the noisy learners why they could not behave so as to enable other voices to be heard: “Please give others a chance to talk (.) And it’s rude when you keep on interrupting”.

There were a number of learners who did not seem able to control themselves and spent the better part of the day screaming at the top of their voices and walking up and down, with the teacher also shouting at the top of his voice to get their attention. On this day, like many others, the teacher from the next class had to intervene to quieten the noise level.

Table 8.11 Transcript of classroom interaction, Life Orientation, grade 5, August 2012

Speaker	Data
Tasneema	We are ready to (.) In our (.)
Learner	Uncle Tom, I know husky with one red eye and one blue.
Learner	I know (.)
	[Everyone in class now talking simultaneously]
Learner	What do you have to have to[
	[Another Teacher entering the classroom]
Teacher 2	Hey class! You guys are making too much noise here.
Chorus	Learners, all greeting the teacher at the same time] (Rhyme)
	(Classroom is much quieter now that the other teacher walked in.)

Learner	Learner talking in low volume tone to another student.
	[Someone paging roughly through a book]
	Learners trying to get the teacher's attention and asking him a question in low tone volume]
Uncle Tom	[Uncle Tom, talking to one of the learners] Yes; now you can rewind it, very good!
Travers	Uncle Tom, Christopher is saying here if (.) if, how come if she can (.)
Learner	Not she (.)
Learner	I'm not (.) [Talking in Afrikaans in an angry tone].
Learner	<>I'm not saying (.) [in low volume]
Learner	He's already right by me (.)
Uncle Tom	[Teacher talking to researcher] I like them to discuss but not every-one likes the noise (.)
Gwen	Mmm (.)
Uncle Tom	You can't expect them to be quiet all the time; I could close the door to prevent the noise from going out.
	[Researcher sharing laughter with the teacher].
Learners	Learners all talking amongst one another and they're getting louder]

The short extract above typified the challenging encounters that this kind of classroom space in South Africa posed for newcomers. The Cameroonians, for example, came from an environment where the teacher was the paramount authority and a classroom space was a quiet graveyard, metaphorically speaking. As far as they recalled, no Cameroonian learners had ever dared to challenge the authority of teachers or to be noisy or troublesome in the presence of the teacher. It was hard to know whether learning took place in the classroom situation reflected above because the noise continued non-stop. Giving out work and shouting

out instructions became a dilemma for the teacher: few learners listened and there was a lot of random commentary. Learners looked elsewhere rather than at the teacher and chatted in other languages. Some learners played pranks on one another and even on the teacher. A few hardworking learners tried unsuccessfully to concentrate. Those who felt like going out quietly walked out of the class and sometimes out of the school. Most of the classes I visited reflected such ‘learning’ situations.

During these classes, Aline sat at the back in a corner near a group of girls who hardly spoke or made noise but were the hard workers in the class, as I came to realize. She and the girl she sat next to hardly ever spoke to each other. She had recently moved to this school and had not made any friends.

In an interview later that year, she confirmed the learning conditions:

Les profs de mon nouveau école n'ont pas le temp (.) À School A c'était différent parce que (.) ok there the teacher try to look you (.) te point.er pour parler (.) Ici c'est une autre histoire (.) le (.) le (.) the teacher no have time.

[The teachers in my new school do not have time (.) In school A it was different because ok there the teachers try to look at you and point at you to speak. Here it is another story (.) the (.) the (.) the teachers do not have time]

She took advantage of the disorder in class to stay in her own world. Those that were called upon to speak were those that gave silly answers, made a noise or otherwise sought attention. The quiet ones were left alone. Thus learners like Aline became silenced because firstly, no one paid attention and secondly, they often lacked the appropriate linguistic repertoire and linguistic support to participate. Here she was once again unable to construct a successful academic identity.

8.7 Linguistic repertoires in new spaces

Aline, to a far greater extent than James, was affected by the ‘two worlds, two cultures, two languages’ syndrome resulting from globalization and increasing transnational migration. As we have seen, she continued to use the language she was competent in, despite knowing that she might not be understood, and used her linguistic repertoire to the best of her ability to construct desired identities in different spaces. However, these identities were rarely taken up by her peers. Her linguistic choices, that is, the attempts to speak English as much as possible (reflected in the school playground data and even with a French-speaking researcher present) could be seen as a result of her evaluation of the linguistic market operating in the

school and local community and her consequent attempts to adapt her linguistic *habitus* (the dispositions to “speak in certain ways” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 145)) acquired in her trajectory from Cameroon, to Congo and then South Africa. Nevertheless, her ambivalent reactions to the linguistic and other demands of new spaces are evident in all recorded extracts: she was not willing to compromise and succumb like James to the perceived language of power in the country and the school. She continued to assert a French linguistic identity in diasporic social spaces. At school, even when conversing with South African peers who could not understand her, her practices were translingual, not only because of her inadequate English language proficiency but also to construct opposition to the ways in which she was positioned. In the linguistic configuration created by the school, new learners might thus not all be “rule- following agents but ... also rule-breaking, rule-creating and rule-changing agents” (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999, p.2). She was still at the periphery of language in the new space but she sought nevertheless to assert herself and to perform acts of identity that positioned her differently.

All the above analysis then has brought to the fore Aline’s struggles in new participatory spaces. Outside the classroom her voice could be heard because she could use her repertoire more freely to defend her ties to other spaces of interaction. However in the classroom, due to the prevailing linguistic regime and lack of institutional support for access to English, she became a silent participant.

8.8 Conclusion

This chapter has shown how Aline navigated her way through new multilingual spaces and endeavoured to convert her linguistic capital on new linguistic markets. While she tried hard to succeed both educationally and socially, her efforts were more often than not met with censure, even if veiled by a joking tone. Her attempts to construct new social and academic identities were mostly thwarted and she therefore resorted to defensive strategies to preserve face. The data analysed in this chapter show her using her repertoire to fight profound battles of loss, alienation and displacement.

Each interaction showed her juggling multiple centres of indexicality (Blommaert, 2005; Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck, 2004): Cameroonian cultural systems of norms and values, local orders of interaction, institutional requirements. She either refused to orient to new centres of indexicality, as in the social gathering extract (table 8.1), or held both in

tension (table 8.4), continuing to impose aspects of her own repertoire and thus maintaining her languages of inheritance and expertise unlike James who, as seen in the previous chapter, gradually acquired the requisite capital for conversion into social and cultural capital in his new environment.



Chapter Nine: DISCUSSIONS AND FINDINGS

9.0 Introduction

The study has shown how young immigrant learners moving into new linguistic, social and educational spaces are positioned, and position themselves, in relation to dominant discourses and corresponding practices. The intentions of the study were to provide greater understanding of language use and its social meanings amongst immigrant adolescents in a particular South African school context, where language is identified as instrument, carrier and product of social relations. A secondary aspect was the hope that such understandings might enable the development of productive modes of intervention within language policy and practice.

Analysis of casual and pedagogic interactions in this thesis has enabled an exploration firstly of how patterns of distribution of linguistic resources constrained or enabled interactive possibilities, and secondly of the consequences in terms of the identities imposed on, assumed, or negotiated by learners (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Building on the review of literature, methodology and analysis in the study, a summary of these processes as evinced in the data is presented in the next section in answer to my research questions.

For convenience, my research questions are restated below:

- a) How do immigrant learners use their linguistic repertoires to construct, negotiate or contest identities in new school spaces?
- b) How do different spaces enable or constrain the new identities negotiated?
- c) What are the implications for language learning policy and practice?

9.1 Using linguistic repertoires to construct, negotiate or contest identities in new spaces

As discussed in chapters 2, 3, 6, 7 and 8, identities and their discursive constructions are not just stable entities residing in people's minds, but instead are multiple and shifting and linked to relations of power in society (Lytra & Jørgensen, 2008). They vary across contexts and can be negotiated, reframed, or contested in unfolding communication.

This study demonstrates throughout that all the participants possessed several languages in their repertoires which they deployed as needed, depending on the interlocutor and the discursive intention as well as their level of proficiency in a particular language. As they became more immersed in their new contexts, youngsters like James increasingly ‘crossed’ into new local languages and varieties even when they did not control all features of the code concerned. This “out-group use of prestigious [...] codes” (Rampton, 1995) indexed membership of a desired peer group, hard won after an initial period of exclusion and a long period of apprenticeship. Only Aline did not seem to follow this path: her energies were fully taken up by her struggles with English.

Key features of interaction among the young participants noted in the data presented here were similar to those identified by Goodwin (1990): a large number of interruptions and dispreferred responses, rapid turn and topic change, the use of self-repair to pre-empt other-repair. This data differs from that of Goodwin (1990), Pomerantz (1984) and Schegloff (2000a, 2000b), in that it is multilingual and therefore indicates that participants had additional stance resources (Jaffe, 2009). However, the study also indicates that these stance resources were used less and less frequently over the years in all contexts of interaction, even the home; other polylingual practices replaced them to some extent, but the general trend was towards a monolingual norm.

Identities performed in different spaces also shifted, gradually downplaying aspects which indexed “foreignness” and representing themselves as different from what their personal visible or audible characteristics would suggest, therefore supporting poststructuralist views that there is nothing given or “natural” about being part of a social category or group (Hinnenkamp, 2003).

Notably, neither the school nor the parents recognized the value of these learners’ multilingual repertoires as resources for learning that are crucial to the negotiation of different identity options, both as learners and recognizable individuals. The Language-in-Education Policy and often the parents substantially constrained participants in exploring and exploiting, in their daily interactions, the different languages available to them in their repertoires. Parental or familial language ideologies often reinforced institutional hierarchies. Regimes in place in one institutional space thus carried over to home and social settings, creating an increasingly hegemonic effect.

Research question a) explored above in 9.1 is more fully discussed in 9.2 in relation to the constraints and affordances of particular spaces for stance-taking and identity construction.

9.2 The role of space in enabling or constraining the construction of new identities

An important point here is that linguistic repertoires should not be conceived of in static terms as they too are subject to “constant realignment and revaluation as a result of individuals’ geographical and social mobility” (Vigouroux, 2005, p. 253). Thus at this point I emphasize the notion that space affects what languages people are able to deploy although people in interaction also semiotically create and modify space: language users choose whether to abide by the rules of a particular space or to contest or modify these rules, if they have the social and cultural capital to do so. This section contains a discussion of findings for James and Aline as key participants in relation to social, home, playground and classroom spaces.

9.2.1 Social and home settings

The long conversation extract from a social gathering in a Cameroonian home (table 6.1), although largely in English, contains several Cameroonian languages. These, for example CPE and Mbesa, appear without comment, although in side sequences not addressed to the group as a whole. One could argue that this interaction represents a third space characterized by ‘disorder of discourse’ (Wodak, 2011) in which both formal and informal versions of English and French coupled with CPE and other languages are used and in which the possibilities for identity construction are relatively unconstrained. However, all the youngsters except Aline, even those from francophone parts of Cameroon, used English when addressing the whole group. This is evidence of increasing assimilation to the dominant language hierarchies even at a relatively early stage of their time in South Africa, and could be seen as a penetration of both macrosocial and institutional discourses into informal social settings.

Aline in this extract is clearly constrained from full participation by her fledgling knowledge of English. This does not however prevent her from asserting herself forcefully in French and whatever English language knowledge she can muster, thus disturbing the implicit language hierarchy in place. This use of French is contested only by Simon who tries to reinforce an ‘English only’ rule while others object, pointing out that Aline does not speak English sufficiently well. It is Aline’s discursive intention rather than the language used which

attracts John's censure as the host responsible for ensuring harmonious group relations: her right to defend her mother or to use French is not disputed, but her counter-attack is. So here some participants align with Aline's performed identity as French speaker and champion of her mother. The norms of interaction amongst this group of youngsters are still fluid to some degree, allowing some room for negotiation.

James uses his knowledge of French, even while denying that he speaks the language, to juggle several roles: that of translator or interpreter, conflict resolver, defender of Aline. However, he speaks only English, asserting an identity for himself as embedded in local norms and at ease thus.

At home, all parents attempted to provide support for their children by using more English and actively discouraging the use of other varieties or languages.

9.2.2 Classroom and playground

In the classroom teachers implemented a monolingual norm, occasionally using Afrikaans to reinforce or clarify concepts or regulate behaviour, but making no space for other languages. This practice silenced many participants initially and some like Aline for several years.

Aline for example spoke French or a mixture of French and English most of the time. In addition, she seldom interacted with friends either in or out of the classroom, in schools A or B. In class the most one could get from her was a 'yes', while on the playground, she lingered on her own or sought someone who could interact with her in the French language. Most of the time, as we saw, she spoke only when spoken to or when provoked. Her silence in the classroom and her struggles with English made it easy for her to be positioned institutionally as "struggling" academically, a positioning which was carried into social interactions in the playground with peers. Here her linguistic and academic identities were under constant attack. Although this peer positioning was achieved in a joking manner, it contributed to the kinds of social roles she was able to assert and the types of bond constructed with peers.

The predominant impression from the data is of someone trapped between two worlds, unable to assert any identity unproblematically. Her stances on the playground were rarely 'taken up' by interactants. The differences in ways of being and speaking together with her lack of linguistic resources were felt through all Aline's spaces of interaction.

James, on the other hand, became increasingly audible in the classroom as his confidence in his control of the schooled variety of English increased. From having to drop several grades on arrival, he became the top pupil in his class and was able to assert an identity as a successful learner and mentor to others. On the playground, his ability to add to his repertoire led eventually to full acceptance by his peer group where he became a dominant member: features of his 'Cameroonian-ness' attracted less and less attention.

James like many others embraced the fact that he was being assimilated into different language practices. At the end of this study, he asserted that he was not bothered by the fact that he was no longer able to speak several languages that he had previously spoken, firstly because his parents were opposed to his speaking CPE (in case it affected his school English) and secondly because he hardly made use of those varieties in South Africa. His friends in South Africa were not CPE speakers. So he replaced these elements of his repertoire with new ones, adding some Afrikaans and isiXhosa, in addition to a new variety of English. Thus his repertoire expanded, in contrast to Aline's which contracted.

9.2.3 Same country of origin, differing trajectories

What is key here is the role of the linguistic repertoire in determining the trajectory of the two key participants across social and educational spaces and their profound and long-lasting role in educational inclusion and success. After three years, Aline had had to repeat one grade twice and was still struggling, while James had shot to the top of his class. It is important to note that Aline had been successful in school in Cameroon. Neither gender nor class seemed to play a role in these differing paths to academic success: both learners came from households where both parents worked and each shared equal responsibilities at home, a fact much resented by James. They were the same age and from similar socio-economic backgrounds. Both appeared to be equally invested in their schooling, so lack of motivation cannot be a factor.

What was remarkable was that despite all her struggles Aline continued to try. She continuously rejected identities imposed on her by her peers although she very seldom had sufficient linguistic resources to hold the floor. In school spaces the additional stance resource in her repertoire, French, was without value and at home she was discouraged from using it. Thus she lost her languages of expertise (French), inheritance (Duala), and group interaction (CPE) but was unable to acquire the linguistic capital valued on the new market sufficiently quickly to construct desired identities. Normative judgments of her linguistic and

academic performance positioned her as ‘without voice’, indicating a lack of confidence in her ability to speak for herself or even to tell the ‘truth’ about herself, and thus adding social sanction to academic failure. There was evidence in all school spaces of a profound lack of recognition of the self Aline wished to perform; her use of French wherever possible indexed a lost world of competence, of an identity as a successful learner. She remained on the outside.

Despite this positioning, she nevertheless asserted herself strongly in interactions, questioning and challenging others, and played a variety of roles, for example, moral arbiter, moderator of interactional rules and intercultural mediator.

James on the other hand moved relatively quickly from the periphery to the centre. His trajectory showed a gradual increase in interactional roles and a shift from defensive to oppositional and dominating stances, to the extent of attracting institutional sanctions. These stances were increasingly taken up and aligned with by his peers. By the end of the study, he dominated all his interactional spaces and had equal status as insider in his peer group and in his classroom.

9.3 Implications for language learning policy and practice

South African sociolinguistic space does not take into consideration transnational migration and its impact on the education of the migrant. As regards the Language in Education Policy, the underlying principle for implementation by schools is to maintain home language(s) while providing access to and the effective acquisition of additional language(s) (DoE, 1997). But the languages do not include immigrant languages nor does the policy consider immigrants in its implementation. Despite a policy of multilingualism and respect of languages in education in South Africa, immigrant learners in this study were marginalized. The language of instruction was English: those who had limited proficiency in this language were negatively positioned by the teachers and other institutional authorities, placed in grades with much younger children and offered little or no support to achieve a grade-appropriate level in English.

There is thus a failure “to recognize and exploit the variation in the language and social capital that learners bring to educational settings” (Davis, 1991, p. 120). What should be of primordial importance here is greater responsiveness towards the different resources that learners bring: their different linguistic repertoires and diverse accents and ways of speaking

should not be regarded as communication problems but as “untapped resources” (ibid.). Recent research in language and education has shown the need to release English language teachers and learners from the oppressive hold of native speaker norms in favour of models and pedagogies that can help eradicate the ‘native and non-native’ distinction (Cook, 1999; Davies, 1999; Leung et al., 1997; Pakir, 1999) and offer scope for more multilingual pedagogies.

9.4 Conclusion

We have seen how mainstream linguistic hierarchies in schools and outside them positioned new immigrant learners as marginal with the consequent development of identities as outsiders, often accompanied by stigmas and stereotypes, at least in the initial stages of their immersion in schools. Cultural, linguistic and interactional practices that deviated from mainstream standards legitimated in the institutional context were challenged, negatively evaluated and often rejected (compare with Haglund, 2005). For some like Aline the effects were more long term and therefore more damaging.

Day-to-day acts of positioning take place in inequitable ‘markets’. These markets are fertile grounds for social stratification where speech acts and the languages in which they are realized are assigned different symbolic values (Bourdieu 1991, 1997). Mastery of the ‘legitimate’ language or languages is then often a pre-condition for claiming symbolic and material resources, as clearly seen in the case of James and Aline.

Highlighted in the chapters of analysis is the notion that the South African sociolinguistic environment has affected the identities and linguistic practices of the Cameroonian immigrant learners. The data showed that English had taken over all domains. Both the linguistic hierarchies in place and the school policy were draining the other languages from these learners’ repertoires.

9.5 Recommendations

This study was exploratory and several areas of research could be envisaged as fertile fields of application. Educational practice and language policy are obvious targets here in relation to language practices.

Despite the right to the use of the mother tongue enshrined in the Constitution and in language policy, immigrant learners do not have this option in classrooms and, increasingly, at home. It is vital here that these learners are accorded room to use their different linguistic abilities rather than being subsumed into a monolingual language process. If the language learning was additive as stipulated by the constitution and policy, Aline would have access to teaching in French as well as support in English to bring her to age-appropriate grade level. While a minimum number of learners might be necessary to justify the availability of teaching in a language such as French, such a policy is supported by a growing body of international research which shows substantial academic gains by learners able to learn in a language spoken at home (for example Alidou et al., 2006; Thomas & Collier, 2002) and various UNESCO recommendations (2003, 2008, 2011, for example).

It is understandable that the South African language context and history of apartheid have also led to unintended and continuing negative attitudes towards indigenous languages, including migrant languages, regarding these languages firstly as not scientific and secondly as trouble sources in education (Tatah, 2010). In the context of the school, the policies and decisions made at a wider level, including by school governing body and other role players, can also impact negatively on schools and learner populations. However, policy discourses after democracy seem to recognize language as a right and view language as a resource. In order to maintain the high quality of languages that immigrant learners have in their repertoires, persuasion should come from both home and school to promote ongoing use of the different languages. It has been noted in various language studies that a second language is successfully acquired if the first language is anchored in place (Cummins, 1980, 2000; Hornberger, 1997b; Tucker, Hamayan & Genesee, 1976). If a policy of additive language learning were fully implemented, the institution, the parents, the environment and, crucially, many learners would benefit.

In the classroom, immigrant learners would benefit from approaches or pedagogies which embrace the range of needs, interests and orientations to be found amongst them (Powell & Caseau, 2004). For example, the widespread adoption of 'language experience' approaches, using events and experiences from learners' lives, would be a significant step towards respecting the backgrounds and contemporary circumstances of all learners. This strategy develops and reinforces learning by using personal experiences and natural language. In using learner experience in learning, oral language skills are developed and reinforced enabling

them to explore, think and talk, thus acknowledging their individual worth, honouring their cultural identity and improving self-confidence (Lacuesta, 2014). This promotes classroom involvement across the population and helping to facilitate peer acceptance within the group.

With regard to language in the classroom, options available for teachers are to maximize plurilingual practices in their classrooms, such as translanguaging (Williams, 1994; Garcia, 2009) or word borrowing. It is, of course, important for the teacher to simultaneously promote target language use. Learners may, however, have the freedom to use their first language in order to engage in learning. Teachers may need to use the students' own language when the discussion is more active and involving issues of culture, identity, etc. Where s/he does not speak this language, innovative options such as peer group tasks and the use of mobile technologies such as Google Translate could be explored. The driver for language choice should be the depth and richness of discussion and the learning which needs to be achieved (Liddicoat, 2007)

The above advantages will increase the possibility of meeting the basic needs of learners and also of enabling linguistic minorities to achieve greater self-representation in the dominant discourse (Miller, 2004), since linguistic relations are social relations: language has power to legitimate and maintain ideologies. Simply changing the language of instruction without resolving other pressing social and political issues such as xenophobia is not likely to result in significant improvement in the various subject positions and educational services. The silencing of voices of subordinate groups whose first language is not English can be seen as a 'racialising' practice. Speaking itself is a critical tool of representation; we represent and negotiate our beings, and position others, through speaking and hearing.

Finally, learners should be able to be proud of their identities and parents should encourage the use of all languages at home and should assist their children when they have difficulties. Parents as well as teachers should not only assist in assimilation, but also in valuing languages of inheritance. Teachers need to include exercises that allow immigrant learners to express their feelings as they 're-create' themselves in their new country and offer them support in confronting evaluations of their linguistic performance and attitudes towards it.

It is hoped, then, that the study will help families and schools to realize the variety of ways in which linguistic repertoires influence school performance, both social and educational, and to find ways of using these repertoires for development and learning. In this way, they might

contribute to learners' ability to construct for themselves strong identities as learners and valued social beings.



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Appendix A: INTERACTIONAL DATA (TRANSCRIPTS)

Transcription conventions

STANDARD ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION/RP

[] IPA Phonetic Transcription (revised to 1979)

Conversational features

(.) Pause of less than a second

(1.5) approximate length of pause in seconds

= = overlapping turns [

CAPITALS loud

↑↓ Rising and falling intonation

() speech inaudible

(text) speech hard to discern, analyst's guess

((text:)) 'stage directions'

Legends used in the study

Table 7.1a

Turns; 1,2,3

Clause: i,ii, iii

O= opening move

R=reacting move

D=Developing move

P=Prolonging move

A=Appending move

s=supporting

c=confronting



Appendix A1 : Cameroonian learners in a social gathering, August 2008

Table 6.1

Move	Turn	Speaker	Data	Trans.	Mood
R:opinion:fact	1	Jim	i) I could have swapped (.)		Decl
Rs:track:clarify	2	James	i) Why didn't you?		Interrogative
P:track	3	Simon	i) What are you two talking about?		Interrogative
Rs:resolve	4	John	i) Don't know (.) mmm		Decl
P:append	5	Jim	i) As I was saying= =		Non-finite
Rc:confront:opinion	6	Peter	[i)=SHUT UP (.) ii)you two talk too]		Decl
Rc:clarify	7	James	[What?		Interrogative
R:challenge	8	Simon	i) ↑Talk sense (.)		Imperative
Rc:confront	9	James	i) <>You are rude to me		Decl
Rc:challenge	10	Simon	i) So'?		Interrogative
Rc:confront	11	John	i) ↑↑Oh that's enough.		Decl
Rc:opinion	12	Jim	i) ↑He's rude (.)		Decl
Rc:D:extend	13	James	i) ↑Bloody rude (.)		Decl
Rc:monitor:P:confront	14	John	i) ↑↓Really? ii) Ok apologize to him (.) [Talking to Simon]		Int/imperative
Rc:provoke	15	Simon	i)I AM SORRY BOSS.		Decl
R:confront	16	Jim	i) ↑You see (2) ==		Minor

Append: confront:track	17	John	i) ==↑↓Ok stop it (.) i) by the way what were you talking about?		Imperative Interrogative
R:resolve	18	Jim	i)I was telling (.) ii) no talking about toys (3) ==		Decl3
Rc:track: clarify	19	John	i) == What about toys?		Interrogative
P:resolve	20	Jim	i)My uncle wanted to buy one for==		Decl
Rc:confront	21	Simon	i) = =Everybody is your uncle...ii) who is your father?		Declarative/ Interrogative
p:track	22	Peter	i)What do you [Interrupted by phone ringing]		Interrogative
O:fact	23	Aline	i) C'est le portable de ma mère (3) ii) maman ton téléphone [Shouting] MAMAM MAMAM (.) MAMAM	It is my mother's phone; mama your phone!	Decl (2)
Rc:track: command	24	John	i) Do you have to be that loud? (.) ii) go give it to her.		Interrogative Imperative
	25	Aline's M	Mm-(Rushes to answer call) Alo oga na how .Adeh how for you? Ok, ya account number?Yes I gettam.I sms am for you? Ok naw nawwe dey for chop tong Na yi weh you di hear noise so (3) no be na gueyme [Turns and shout to the children] SHUT UP! TAISSEZ-VOUS! I AM TALKING ON THE PHONE! AU TELEPHONE! Ok naw so (2) bye noh. ^ [Turns around now and confronts the group of children]Next time molongo will talk to you not me (3) wona hear? [Leaves the room in anger].		Decl and interr
O:R:opinion	26	Simon	i) ↑Whaow! (.) Your mom's scary (.)		Decl
R:track:clarify	27	John	i). Mo what?		Elliptical inter
R:response	28	Edi	Mmm ^[Inaudible whispering]		
R:D:track	29	John	i)What is molongo?	Duala for cane	Interrogative
R:track:clarify	30	Aline	i) Scary veut dire quoi?		Interrogative
R:track:clarify	31	John	i)What is molongo?		Interrogative
R:resolve	32	James	i) Scary means (.) the undertaker; i) you know (.) [Indicating arms] fear (.) frighten (.)		Decl minor/ ellip decl./
R:track:clarify	33	John	i) ↑What is molongo?		Interrogative
R:resolve: elaborate	34	James	i).Cane (.)Sticks. ii)Our teacher used to beat us with molongo= =		Ellip decl/decl
Rc:confront	35	Aline	i) = =Un bâton pour frapper les mal élevés comme toi (.) [Pointing to 3		Ellip. decl
R:track:clarify	36	Simon	i) ↑What was that? ii) ↑ What did she say?		Interrogative (2)
Rs:resolve	37	James	i) <>I think she was insulting you.		Decl
R:clarify	38	John	ii) ↑How do you know?		Interrogative
Rs:Resolve P:extend	39	James	i)I don't speak French (.) ii)< >but I think= =		Decl (2)
Rs:resolve: elaborate	40	Mark	= = i) I know (.) ii)she says you have no manners		Decl (2)
Rc:D:confront	41	Aline	i) ↑YOU RUDE TO MA MERE! (.) ii) n'insulte plus ma mere (.)	Don't insult my mother	Declimperative
Rc:D:counter: P:elaborate	42	Simon	i) That was being honest not rude (.) ii) she scared the hell (.) (Laughing) out of me.		Decl (2)
Rc:rebound: confront	43	Aline	i) ↑TA (.) mère aussi (.) elle est costaud (.) [Pauses as if searching for words] ii) FAT!	Your mother also..she is very fat	Decl (2) ellip
Rc:resolve:	44	John	i)↑Ok, that's enough (.) ii) you can't do that = =		Imperative/

Challenge					declarative
Rc:challenge:confront	45	Simon	= = i) Foolish girl (.) ii) Let her speak (.) And in English.		Ellip. decl/Impe
Rs:D:elaborate: P:confront	46	James	i)↓↑She can't really speak English (.) ii)only tries (2) iii) don't you dare try to [		Decl (2)/imp
R:question	47	John's Mother	[Shouting attracts attention of hostess] i) Egainha John?	What is happening here John?	Inter
D:resolve:elaborate	48	John	= = i)↑Don't (.) two are quarrelling.		Imp
P:track:check	49	John's Mother	i) And you can't control them eh? ii) You do weti like big man? (2) iii)Yes what did you do as the eldest?(Shouting)	CPE	Inter
Rc:contradict	50	John	(Murmuring) i).So it's my fault now?		Inter
Rc:command	51	John's Mother	i) Cover that your latrine (.) ii) if I hear weik again (.) iii)a ma shrev wol (.) I go kill somebody.	I will kill somebody	Imp/Decl (3)
R:contradict	52	John	i)But = =		Minor
R:confront	53	J.M	[i)QUIET! ii) Let me (.) (Walks out)		Imp (2)
O:confront: P:extend	54	John	i)I told you guys (3)ii)now it's my fault (.) iii)continue		Decl (2) / Imp
Rc:D:contradict	55	Simon	i) She is to blame.(referring to Aline)		Decl
Rc:resolve P:extend	56	James	i) Stop it mos (.) ii) oversabi (.) iii) I don't know what they teach you in that your school.	'Claiming to know'in pidgin	Decl (3)
Rc:counter:extend	57	John	i) Don't talk about my school (4) ii)you know I go to a better school than yours (2) [and		Imp/Decl
R:counter:elaborate	58	James	i) [Who says? (2) ii)your school is full of = =		Int/Decl
R:track: challenge:probe	59	John	= = i) WHAT? ii) Answer me (.) yes::		Ell inter/Imp
O:confront	60	Awah	i) ↑Stop talking mm (.) Britney Spoon [laughing]		Imp
R:track	61	Tasneema	i) WHAT? ii)> < What are you calling me?		Inter (2)
D:resolve:elaborate	62	Awah	i)Britney Spoon(.) ii)the other one we know sings (.) iii)yes (.) iv)but you eat (.) v)you are a choppy-choppy.(Laughter)	Glutton in CPE.	Minor/Decl/minor/decl (2)
O:exclaim:command	63	John	i) Aye (.) be careful with that dammé (.)	Food in informal language	Imp
O:exclaim:fact	64	Awah	i) Abi (2) we left without telling rémère bye	Abi means okay in Nigerian Pidgin English. Rénière is slang for mother in Franc-anglais	Decl
Rs:enhance	65	Bih	i) True oh::		Ellip. decl/Excl
D:extend	66	Awah	ii)Jang mah please	Call mama please in Kom	Imp
Rc:refute:	67	Bih	i) No (.) My credit is almost finished.		Decl

Elaborate					
D:enhance	68	Awah	i) PLEASE CALL!		Imp
R:resolve	69	Bih	(Listens to voicemail)		Ellip
Rc:confront: challenge	70	John	i) [to Bih] Liar (.) you didn't try (.)		Ellip decl/ Decl
R:D:resolve: elaborate	71	Bih	i) Listen (.) ok you see [Phone rings] she is calling (.) ii) /[to caller] Sorry ça ma mistake please; ngyesi ke rush rushi then I forgot (10) iv) Ok thanks mah ça wah understanding (10) small time noh:.	L1We were rushing	Imp/Decl/ellip decl/decl/minor x 2
O:challenge P: extend	72	Simon	i)Mm (someone has gazed (.) messed the air (.) which one? iv)WHO?[A series of 'not me']	Gaz as used in CPE	Decl (2) / ellip inter
Rc:challenge	73	Awah	i) You sure say no be you?	CPE	Interr
R:c:confront	74	Simon	i) ↑Don't insult me (3)		Imp
Rs: extend	75	Boy	i) When I was small eh :.(.) My mama used to think that eh (.) I had pu:ed when she smells the smell of the petrol place (.)		Decl
Rc:confront P: elaborate	76	John	i) SHOT UP! ii) When big people talk (.) thwarts like you should stay mm (.)Ok		Imp/decl
Rc:confront P: D: probe	77	Awah	i)Hey (.) allow him (2) ii)What is petrol place?		Excl/ Imp/ Interr
R:resolve: P:elaborate	78	James	i)He means refinery (.) ii)it smells [		Decl/decl
O:confront: P:extend	79	John	[i)↑[to James] Look at you! (2) I know why you were so quiet.ii) EATING! (.) That is why you big so...		Imp/Decl/Ellip decl/ Decl
R:counter: P:rechallenge	80	James	i) Leave me alone! (2) ii) Chien comme toi.	Dog that you are	Imp/decl.
R:c:rebound	81	John	i) ↑Toi aussi.	You also	Decl
R:track	82	Simon	i)What is chen?		Inter
R:track	83	James	i) ↑What?		Ellip int
R:resolve	84	Simon	i) Chen!		Ellip decl
R:c:track:check P:elaborate: confront	85	James	i) Who said chen?ii) I said chien (.) iii)and you don't stop bugging me; iv) you are one (.) v) A DOG!	Chien-dog	Inter Decl (3) Ellip decl
R:c:confront: P:elaborate: O:fact	86	Bih	i) You talk too much in this your South Africa (2) ii)bla bla this bla bla that (.) iii) any how I am missing my fresh corn now. iv) Let me even go me back.		Decl/ minor/decl/ /imp
R:P:Track: check: elaborate	87	James	i) What? (2) [Inaudible whispering] We also have it here (1.8) ii) they call it mielies (.)		Ellip int/ Decl (2)
R:D:elaborate	88	Bih	i) That your soft things (.) eisch no comparison.		decl
R:rebound	89	James	i) So?		Ellip int
R:resolve:exte nd:elaborate	90	Bih	i) In Cameroon eh (2) especially now (.) we enjoy burning corn (2) ii) grandma burns the thing and gives us (.)	Burn here means roast as used in Cameroon	Decl (2)
R:track	91	James	i)To do what?		Inter
R:response:	92	Bih	i)To eat nah.		Decl
R:track monitor	93	James	i) Burnt?		Ellip
R:response	94	Bih	i) Say something nah...		Decl
R:Track check	95	Awah	i) What?		Ellip
R:confront	96	Bih	i)Give it to him nah...		Decl
R:confront	97	Awah	i)↑Leave people (.) you too		Decl
R:challenge	98	Bih	i) Who is holding you (2) ii)thank god I will soon go me back.		Interrogative Decl
R:append	99	James	i) You can also do it here.		Decl

response				
R:track check	100	Awah	i) WHAT?	Elliptical interrogative
R:track extend	101	Bih	i) Where? Do you have three stones here? I) I mean fireside (2) fire wood kitchen (.) have not seen it.	Ell. Int.Decl
R:refute: extend	102	James	i) No! But we have microwaves (.) ii)don't look at me that way (.) iii) it's true	Polar Decl
Rs: extend	103	Aline	i) Ma mère aussi (2) elle fait toujours dans le microwave (2) ii)it's good...	Decls
R:confront	104	Bih	i) HEY! Leave people with that your French	Minor Imperative
R:response:extend	105	Aline	i) But we are Camerounais, nest-ce pas?	Tagged Int.
R:track:confront	106	Bih	i) SO? Must u remind me? (.) I KNOW!	Ell. Int.
O:fact;elaborate	107	Boy	i) You know when mama bought JP chips (.) In pick n pay?[laughter] ii)Baby Hev walloped everything.	Decl (2)
R: confront: track	108	John	i) So what has chips got to do with (.) what again? Ok Cameroon?	Interrogative
R:O: confront: track	109	James	i) Someone has motohed (2) mmm... awful... ii) ↑who has shat that shit?	Decl ii)Interrogative
R:response	110	Aline	i) Sûrement Hart (.)	Decl
R: confront: challenge	111	James	i) ↑↓Hey hey hey don't call names	i)Minor ii)Imperative
R:response: extend: elaborate	112	Bih	i) ↑One thing I hate (2) <u>really hate</u> about this ya South Africa (.) is that (2) you people don't have respect (5) ii) <u>true</u> ... small children just talking carelessly (.)	Decl
R:append: elaborate	113	Awah	i) Its true (.) ↑you see small thwarts just calling big people their names.	Decl
R:confront	114	Bih	i)Just talking carelessly	Decl
R:track	115	Awah	i)What's the difference nah::?	Interrogative
R:clarify: extend	116	Bih	i) One chochoro called my mama by her name (2) ii) I nearly spanked her	
R:track:extend clarify	117	Awah	i) WHAT? Mama is even young (.) ii) what about grandma? iii) She calls her 'my daughter', but she calls her by name (.)	Decl Interrogative Decl
R:challenging: justify	118	Simon	i) So? Is it not her name?	Polar Interrogative
R:justify: extend: confront	119	Bih	i) WHAT? Only in movies does that happen? ii) You bi na black man oh:(2) no forget oh (.)Hey don't touch my glofs...	Polar Decl Decl
R:track	120	John	i) Gloves or glofs?	elliptical
R:track	121	Bih	i) ↑What?	Elliptical wh-int
R:track check	122	John	i) I said gloves or glofs?	Interrogative
R:confront: challenge	123	Awah	i) Don't over claim ho (2.5) ii) you think you over know heh iii) always correcting people...	Decl x3
R:confront: extend	124	Bih	i) ↑Don't what me (.) at least when I say glofs nah (.) you understand nah!	Decl
R:clarify: extend	125	John	i)You speak funny in that your Cameroon (2) i)you call choc'late...chocolate	Declx2
R:track	126	Bih	i) Are you also not Cameroonian?	Polar Interrogative

R:track challenge	127	Jim	i) SO?		elliptical
R:confront: extend	128	Bih	i) ↓↑Leave Cameroon (.) I like my Cameroon (.)		Decl
R:challenge	129	Awah	i) You speak as if you are South African		Decl
Rs:confirm: elaborate	130	James	i) True (2) and he over corrects people (.) ii) you are too book conscious... iii). Leave people alone		Declx3
R:clarify: extend	131	John	i) Yeh I think so (.) for now maybe (2) ii)I live here (.) I AM SOUTH AFRICAN		Decl
R:confront: extend	132	Bih	I) See this villageois (.) running from your country		Decl
R:O:track check	133	Adult	[Entrance of elder- quiet] i) Hey where's Paul?		Interrogative
R:response :clarify	134	John	i) Hiding (.) didn't want to mbolo		Decl
R:track check	135	Adult	i)Hey Paul how mbolo... salaire never tomber?		Interrogative
R:response	136	Paul	i)I de wait am with blood for yeux (eyes in French)		Decl
R;resolve	137	Adult	i) We go outside (2) I want make we talk (Walking out)		Decl
R:O:fact	138	Simon	i) I hate Sundays (.)		Decl
R:track	139	James	i) Why? (.)		Elliptical
R:response :clarify	140	Simon	i) School tomorrow idiots...		Decl
R:track	141	James	i) Why?		Elliptical
R:challenge: extend	142	Simon	i)Don't pretend (.) and also most of you [		Decl
R:track	143	Simon	[i)Why? I love school (.)		Elliptical Decl
Rs:clarify	144	Aline	i) Moi aussi (2) Je n'aime pas [		Decl
R:Challenge	145	John	[i)You aient our [		Decl
R:confront	146	Simon	[i)Fork off (.) don't pretend!		Decl
R:refute	147	John	i) Hey (.) not me (.) I [		Decl
R:rechallenge	148	Simon	[i)These two are always [		Decl
R:challenge	149	John	[i)Don't you dare [		Imp
R:confront	150	James	[i) YES WHAT?		Ellip
R:confront	151	John	i)↑You are a jerk (.) not talking to you (.)		Decl
R:track	152	Aline	i)ET Britney? (What about Br?)		Interr
R:track	153	Tasnee ma	i) WHAT? [Shouting]		Ellip
R:response :clarify	154	Awah	i) And Britney spoon (2) fights with your food [Laughter] ii)Stop laughing in Afrikaans.		Decl
R:response: confront	156	Simon	i) Yehnaa (.) always does that (.) Fork off! (.) don't pretend.		Decl
R:refute	157	John	i)Hey (.) not me (.) I [		Minor/ Decl
R:confront	158	Simon	[i)These two are always [		Decl
R:track	159	Bih	i) What is yehnaa?		Interr
R:track	160	Peter	i) Hey?		Ellip

O:R:confront	161	Bih	i) Answer now (.) bonehead		Decl
R:c:challenge:confront	162	Peter	i)Hey leave me alone (.) you all suck		Decl
R:confront	163		i) ↑Glutton!		Decl
O:R:prolong	164	Bih	i) In Cameroon:: they call you MBONGO (.) ii) he ate too much... (Laughter)... ii)Here (.) they call you 'ma kweri-kweri'		Decl x3
R:track:check	165	Peter	i)Who said [		Ellip
Rc:refute:resolve	166	Bih	[i)Hey not you (.) all of us... ii) they call all foreigners 'Kweri-Kweri'...		Decl
Rc:prolong:conradict	167	Peter	i) I don't look like Kweri-kweri... ii)no one has never (2) ever called me that		Decl
O:R:response:prolong	168	James	i) They make fun of me (.) IN SCHOOL!		Decl
R:monitor:track	169	Bih	i)↑Who?		Ellip
R:prolong	170	James	i) The colour people (.) but am sure they are tired now. ii) Those ones (.) they think they are very (.) I mean the best (.)		Declx3
R:enhance	171	Tasneema	i) ↑↓Remember am coloured...		Decl
R:D:prolong:elaborate	172	James	i) The girls think they are (.) [		Decl
R:contradict	173	Bih	[i) I hate this your mmm (2) colour thing here (.)		Decl
R:track:check	174	James	i) What?		Ellip
R:resolve	175	Bih	i)Call them métisse...		Decl
R:track check	176	Tasneema	i) Remember I am coloured?		Inter
R:resolve:prolong	177	James	i) Only your mother (.) your papa is Cameroonian (.)		Interr
R:track	178	Tas	i) ↑So?		Ellip
R:monitor	179	James	i)You are Cameroonian		Decl
R:resolving	180	Bih	i) Ok no more Para Para (.) we are all 'Kweri-kweri' FULL STOP.		Imp
R:confront	181	Jim	i) ↑Hey (.) puke face...		Decl
R:track	182	James	i) ↑What? Sque... [A big sigh]		Ellip
O:Confirm	183	Jim	i) YOU! [New entrance]		Ellip
R:track	184	James	i) ↑Hey what's up girl?		Inter
R:monitor:track	185	Sandy	i) ↑Hello everyone (.) (Shouts) WHO IS THIS?		Decl /Interr
R:agree	186	Bih	i) Me nah::		Decl
R:confront	187	Sandy	i) Cut friend (.) you are no longer my best boo::		Decl
R:track	188	Bih	i) ↑Why?		Polar
R:response:track	189	Sandy	[Turns to another] i) Hey long time oh:: where you dey hide?		Interr
R:response	190	Jim	i) Around girl!		Excl
R:response contradict	191	James	No party, we don't meet		Decl
R:resolve:extend	192	Sandy	i)Hi everyone (.) you know my mum nah:: (.) always the last (.) > < no please let me finish... ii)we gonna go late to richness and heaven [laughter]		Decl

R:track monitor	193	Sandy	i) Aline ça va ? ça fait longtemps (2)		Inter
R:counter extend	194	Jim	i) Yes teacher you have taken over (.) TALK!		Decl
R:track:track check: extend	195	Sandy	i) ↑HEY WHO IS THIS? [Shouting] ii) how pays nah massa (.) and you people didn't tell me (2) ↑ this my strongest paddy man (.)		Inter dec
R:response: clarify:extend	196	Awah	i) I asked about you nah:: to my mother (.) ii)says she didn't have time to take me to your place (.) iii)that it was too far:: Kos what?		Decl (3) Interr
R:response: track	197	Sandy	i)KUILSRIVER! WELCOMOO (.) How Foncha street?		Excl Inter
R:response	198	Awah	i)Fine oh (2) I glad for see you too::		Decl
R:track	199	Bih	i) Hey Paul let me test;		Decl
R:track	200	Paul	i) ↑What?		Polar
R:response:ext end	201	Bih	i)Your chicken nah::am a visitor nah::		Decl
R:challenge: track:repair	202	Paul	i) Don't' even try (.)Always testing (.) are you a teacher? TASTE!		Decl (2)
R:response :clarify	203	Sandy	i) Hey you're going back when?		Decl/ interr
R:confront	204	Paul	i)↑Put people down		Decl
R:resolve	205	John	i) Am gonna go get more chicken.		Decl
R:confront: extend	206	Paul	i) Don't look at my eru (.) ii)go and take yours...		Decl
R:resolve extend	207	Bih	i) Its finish (.) ii) they gave me rice (.)↑ I hate rice nah...		Decl
R:track confront:track check	208	John	i) So? How is it our problem? Or Public problem?		Polar/ Inter
R:challenge	209	Bih	i) ↑Feignant		Minor
R:confront: callenge	210	John	i) Don't talk to me like that (1.5) ii)I am your elder...		Decl
R:challenge	211	Bih	i) > <Elder my foot!		Excl
R:confrim	212	John	i) I am one year older than you		Decl
R:track	213	James	i) ↑So?		Polar
R:clarify	214	Bih	i)I am twelve		Decl
R:response: contradict	215	John	i) I am quarter to thirteen (.) I am your elder		Interr
R:challenge	216	Bih	i)You are my elder eh::ii)OK! When is your birth day?		Decl/ Inter
R:confront: extend	217	James	i)But you look too big for your age (2) ii)you look like a man (.) tall		Decl (2)
R:comply	218	John	i)Fine fine fine		Minor
R: track	219	James	i) Why did you people come so late?		Inter
R:response: clarify:extend	220	Bih	i) We were writing exams (.) ↑that's why ii) next time we will come quicker		Decl (2)
R:track: Confront: challenge :track: extend	221	A parent	i) Which side my bag dey? ii) wanna move this buttocks them (.) iii) find say make I go (.) my road far (Where is my bag...you people should remove this your bums...I think we should go because we live far away)		i)Inter/ ii)Decl
R:O:confront: track:extend	222	Host	[Voice from afar]] i) ↑Paul bring that opener. i) Who make this doughnut? iii) Fine plenty (.) na ma		i)Decl/ ii)Inter

			best thing this. (Who made this doughnuts...they are delicious and my favourite)		
R:confront: elaborate: extend	223	A parent	i)Wona chop quick, quick make we go (.) ii)stop for drink that mimbo iii)you go scatter ma matras with pise (.) iv)Finish how place di cold so (.) (Eat fast lets go. Stop drinking ...you will spoil my beddings with urine especially now when places are so cold)		Declx4
R:track	224	Bih	i) Mama can I drink wine, (laughter for Hev was 4 years old).		Decl
R:challenge :track:confront	225	A parent	i)> < You di craze! ii) you want dey like your papa noh?drunka man!(Are you mad? Do you want to be like your father? A drunkard?)		Decl (2) Interr
R:	226	All	(Laughter) oooh!		Minor
R: O:	227	A parent	i) OK bro (.) find make we waka... ii)we road far way (.) Bye (Ok brother I think we should go for we have a long way to go).		Decl
R:proposal	228	Paul	i)↓↑No forget that my thing oh (Donot forget that my thing)		Decl
R:response	229	A parent	i) Yes I go remember putt am for mo to::		Decl
R:confirm	230	Paul	i)Ok (.)bye Spoon		Decl
R:response	231	A parent	i) We are late (2) I get to go finish my work (.)Hey carry pikin		Decl
Farewells	232	Chorus	i) Bye-bye (.) Bye-bye!		Minor
R:confront	233	Paul	i)Britney Nyeak		Decl
R:track	234	Re	i) What is nyeak?		Int.
R:resolve	235	Paul	Nyeak is a mouse in Afrikaans		Decl
R:clarify: extend	236	Re	i)E find make we go too:: I get for ready for myself and then for pikin them too:: OK time to go children		Decl
Fairwells	237		i)BYE [Departures]		minor

Appendix A2: Entering new spaces: James and his peers during lunch break, 2008

Table 7.1.

JAMES WITH FRIENDS DURING BREAK:				
Move	Turn	Speaker/Language	Talk	CA
O:track	1 S1	Tony	Where were you?	int
O:track	2	Tony	Where were you?	int
R:response	3	James	Around	minor
R:confirm:track	4	Tony	Just our guy (.) right guys?	Decl/int
R:confirm	5	Chorus	Oh Sure.	Minor

R:track:extend	6	James	Have you seen my brother around here? I (.) I went to their class and was told he is out here	Int/decl
R:check	7	Brian	Hi stranger	Minor
R:confront	8	James	Don't call me stranger	Decl
R:confirm:track check	9	Brian	Good (.) Don't ask us questions (.) right guys?	Decl/int
R:resolve confirm	10	All	Chorus-Oh sure (.) (Laughter)	Minor
R:track	11	Tony	And why are you looking for your brother?	Int
R:resolve:track	12	James	Just checking on him (.) Do you have a problemo with that?	Decl/int
R:resolve clarify	13	Tony	Not me the principal has	Decl
R:track	14	James	Why?	Int
R:track check	15	Tony	What did the principal say about that, guys?	Int
R:challenge:extend:track	16	Brian	Let the kids grow up (.) Doesn't need your pampering (.) Right?	Decl
R:confirm:confront:track	17	Tony	But of course (.) the reverend didn't hear that (.) did he?	Decl
R:clarify	18	James	He is my brother	decl
R:confirm:track	19	Tony	Ho sure (.) we don't have brothers (.) do we?	decl/int
R:rechallenge:confront	20	James	Don't make me disappoint my grandmother by being nasty to you (.) you are such prick.	decl x2
R:counter:confront:track	21	Tony	Now you have disappointed her (.) don't look at me like a PRICK (.) she wouldn't wanna hear that, would she?	Decl x3/int
R:confront	22	James	Stop it you looser (.) I	Imp
R:probe	23	Tony	Really?	Ellip Int

R:confront	24	Sipho	Stop it guys (.) stop it!	Imp
O:track	25		What?	Ellip Int
O:opinion:track:check	26a	Tony		
	26b		i).Ok (.) game over (.) Come (.) What did you buy?	decl/ imp int.
R:monitor:elaborate	27	James	i).Why? I don't have money (.) my mother doesn't give me money (.) just a lunch box (.)	ellip int/decl.x2
R:monitor	28	Tony	i).Why?	ellip int.
R:D:elaborate	29	James	i).That giving me money will make me to (.) to (.) like money (.)	decl.
R:Track:check	30	Tony	i).What's wrong with ↑“LIKING MONEY”?	int.
R:elaborate	31	James	i).Will steal if I don't have (.)ii) no if she don't have	decl.
R:track:check	32	Sipho	i).So we are bad (.) ne?	int.
R:refute:justify:monitor	33	James	i).↑No! No please! That is not (.)ii) I didn't say that (.) sorry (2) please?	excl./decl./int.
R:sresolve:refute	34	Brian	i).It's ok (.) that is not how he meant it (.) he = =	decl.
R:resolve	35	Tony/Sipho	= =ALRIGHT	minor
R:elaborate	36	James	i).They (.) I mean my mother = =	decl.
Rc: elaborate	37	Brian	= = i).↑Please (.) leave your mum, out of this = =	decl.
R:elaborate:facts	38	James	= =i).She doesn't give me money (2) ii) just food.	decl.
R:resole:probe	39	Tony		
			i).Ok! FINE (.) ii) what type of food?	minor/int.
R:resolve	40	James	i).Cameroonian food	ellip decl.
R:resolve:elaborate	41	Sipho		
			i). GOOD! You must bring us some food (1.5) ↑ii) your own food (.)yes	minor/decl.
P:confirm:re-challenge	42	James	i).Our food is (.) ii) NO! You can't eat (.) I mean our food (.)	decl. /x2.
R:confront	43	Tony	i).↑You see = =	imp.
R:challenge	44	James	= = i)↑You see = =	imp.
R:track:confront	45	Brian	= = i).WHAT? selfish guy	ellip int./decl.
R:confirm:confront	46	James	i).↑I am serious (.)you can't (2)	decl./imp

R:challenge: extend	47	Tony	i).↑Try me (.) you ate mine the other day (.) = =	imp./decl.
R:confirm:extend	48a	James	= = i).Ok (2) wait (.) but that was chicken (.)	minor/imp/decl.
	48b		ii)Do you know ↓coco (.) yes coco (pronounces as this than cocoa)	int..
R:track:check	49	Tony	i).WHAT? (ii)As in hot chocolate?	ellip int x2.
R:refute:elaborate	50	James	i).NO (.) not hot chocolate (.)ii) I didn't say choco (.) ↑I said coco (.) as in cooking (.) and eating (2) (Surely expecting one to own up)	decl.x3
R:refute:opinion:counter	51	Tony	i).↑No (.) you are confusing us here (.) GUYS!	decl./minor
R:acknowledge:track:check	52	James	i).You see (.) ii) You do not know it (.) iii) How you can then eat it (.)	minor/ /decl./ int
R:track:extend	53	Tony	So Coco (.) is in English? (.) You know we don't speak your= =	int./decl.
R:P:elaborate:clarify	54a)	James	= =i).Cocoa as in cocoyam (.) ii) it is a tuber (.)iii) it's not my language (.) iv)cocoa is (.) some people call it cocoyam(2)	decl.x5
	54b		i).They use it to cook many dishes (2) like like (.) like 'Achu' ekwang' (.)ii) ekwang' is cocoa and (.) leaves (.) in Cameroon (2) we= =	
R:track:check	55	Brian	= =WHAT? ↑ Leaves?	int.
R:challenge:track:rej	56	James	What (.) leaves? [Mimicking him] (.) why can't you listen (2) I want to= =	int./decl
R:challenge:track	57	Brian	= =i).What about cockroaches?	int.
R:confront	58	Sipho	ii) STOP IT!	imp.
P:extend	59	Tony	i).Coco goes with = =	decl.
R:confront	60	James	= = i) it's over (.) not saying a word again	excl. /decl
Rc:refute:confront:challenge	61	Sipho	i) No! ↑ii) Leave him alone iii) let him do it (.)iv) Say it (.)	imp./decl/imp.
R:track	62	Tony	i) ↑What? (.)	int.
R: refute: confront	63	James	i) (.)I don't want to (.)ii) they are jerks (.) assholes= =	decl.(2)

R:challenge:track:chack	64	Tony	= = i).Your grand mum will be crying now (.) (ii)What? (.)iii) What did you call me again?	decl./int. x 2
R:confront	65	Sipho	Leave him alone!	imp.
P:elaborate	66	Brian	i)Your mother should cook some South African food	decl.
R:refute extend	67	James	i) She can't (.)ii) We don't like it in our house (.)iii) When we first came here we had problems eating food here (.)	decl.(3)
R:track:monitor	68	Brian	Why?	int.
R:rebound:refute	69	James	i) Why not? ii) We don't like it	int./decl.
R:monitor:Prolonging	70	Ton	↑i) Why?	ellip int.
R:rebound:elaborate	71	James	i) Why not? ii) We were not use to (.)iii) so we don't like it	int./ decl.(2)
R:fact: extend	72	Tony	i) Foreigners like a lot of spicy food (.) ii) my mum say they also like fried food (.) iii) not healthy (.)	decl.(3)
R:fact:elaborate:banter	73	James	i) We cook mostly Cameroonian food in our house (.)ii) My mum buys from Maitland (.) iii) and from Salt River (.) funny name (.)	decl.x3
R:track:check	74	Tony	i) Why do you say that?	int.
R:track:check	75	James	i) Is there a river that has salt there?	int.
R:track:check	76	Tony	i) What do you think?	int.
R:track:check	77	James	i) And you?	int.
R:rebound:check	78	Tony	i) And you too?	int.
R:rebound	79	James	i) Good for you!	excl.
R:challenge detach	80	Sipho	i) You two make me laugh (.) ii) Like to argue over stupid (.) iii) No! Nothing (.)	decl.(2) minor
P:confront	81	Tony	I) Yes you know all doctor (.)	decl.
Append:rebound:elaborate	82	Sipho	i)Whatever (.) talking about food again (.)ii) But you should eat some of our food (.)	decl.(2)
P:refute:extend	83	James	i) She can't eat (.)ii) She can't eat South African food (.)iii) so we don't cook it (.) iv)or eat ==	decl.(3)
O:I:track	84	Tony	i)Oh did you see that?	int.
R:track:check	85	James	i) What?	int.

R:resolve`track	86	Tony	i) The babe (.) she's hot huh?	decl./int.
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Appendix A3: Managing every day spaces, James in 2011

Table 7.7

Move	Speaker	Turn	Data	Mood
Rc:O:confront: track check	James	1	i) There, you see (2) ii) he going playing (2) ↑iii) Hey Jesse, you coming or not?	decl/int
Rc:refute: elaborate	Tony	2	No he's not my friend anymore (.)	decl
Rs:extend:track	James	3	i) Before he used to be ok (.) ii) but now he's changing (.) iii) you see the way he goes right?	decl.x2/int
Low tone	Ha	4	[Ha (James's classmate responds but in low volume)]	
Rs: counter: elaborate	Tony	5	↑i) He's so cheeky (.) ii) He'll give me a heart attack.	declx2
R:track	James	6	i) Who?	ellip int
Rc:rebound :track	Lumi	7	i) Stop talking nonsense (.) ii) which one is mine?	decl/int
Rc:confront support	James	8	↑ i) Wait leave her she's talking!	decl
Rc:response challenge	Ha	9	i)Ah, ah (.) she's yours bra!	minor/decl
R:refute:justify extend	James	10	i) ↑No way, (.) i) I don't even like her.	decl
P:track check	Tony	11	i) So who's (.)?	ellip int
R:confirm	Ha	12	i) I see it now (.) = =	decl
A:elaborate:monitor	James	13	= =i) We talking about him, why is he = =	decl
Rc:response:challenge:confront	Tony	14	= = i) So rude! ii) I'm not worried about him (.) ↑ iii) just shut up.	decl.x2
R:refute	James	15	i) No!	minor
R:response:extend	Tony	16	i) That's the way that I want it.	decl
Low tone			Learners chatting amongst one another on low tone	
R:track:elaborate	James	17	i) Guess what? (2) ii) I'll tell you the truth.	int/decl
O:response:clarify	Ha	18	i) They probably down there.	decl

R:track	James	19	i) Who? i) Kyle (.)	int/minor
P:extend	Ha	20	i) you used to (.) here	decl
R:track-check	James	21	i) Who?	ellip int
R:resolve	Ha	22	i) You!	minor
O:refute:extend:elaborate	James	23	i) Max (2) don't do it (.) ii) jump on it (.) Take window Max (.) Max, you can make it (3) C'mon dude!	imp.x3/decl./imp.
O:R:track	Tony	24	i) Where's Thandi?	int.
R:c:refute:O:extend:confirm	James	25	i) I don't know.[James, Tony and Max are having a conversation in low volume] ii) But that's what my auntie gave me (.) iii) Please iv) There's HA!	decl.x2/min or/excl.
R:confront	Lumi	26	i) S.T.O.P (.) stop, stop![All other learners are talking and laughing amongst one another].	imp.x3
O:I:fact:extend	James	27	[Talking to his classmates]: i) I brought my phone to school today (2) ii) but without my simcard.	decl.
R:Append:extend	Tony	28	i) He got that phone from (1.5) ii) hey! Look at your phone man!	decl./minor/imp.
R:Append:extend	Peter	29	i) I still got my phone in my bag. [And then they continue their conversation in low volume].	decl.
R:track:extend	James	30	i) Are you on Mxit ⁶ ? (.) ii) Just listen!	int./imp.
R:refute	Tony	31	i) ↑Not now!	minor
R:counter	Tamia	32	i) Well I can't (.) = =	decl.
R:confirm:elaborate:track	James	33	i) = =Even me (.) ii) I did that as well (.) [The conversations continue amongst the learners but in a high tone and their words are scrambled]. iii) Ha, aren't you changing?	minor/decl./int.
R:resolve:refute:elaborate	Ha	34	i) Of course (.) ii) I don't have my (.) iii) now I have to go home and get my stuff.	decl.x2
R:contradict:resolve	Tamia	35	i) Well (.) I have my stuff.	decl.
R:challenge	Ha	36	That was the last time (.) = =	decl.
R:acknowledge	James	37	= = i) I knew it!	decl.
R:rebound	jack	38	i) Let's get someone to help	decl.

R:track:clarify	Tamia	39	i) Bru (.) did you see that?	int.
R:probe check	Jase	40	i) Then tell her!	decl.
Rs: acquiesce	Ha	41	i) I'm gonna tell her (.)	decl.
R:counter	Tamia	42	i) Yoh (.) look at that my bra.	minor/decl
R:confirm	Ha	43	That was Mandy = =	decl.
O:check:challenge	James	44a	= =Hey Bule, You'd better stand here, hey!	decl.
O:monitor	James	44b	Kayla! [Learners are laughing and screaming at each other]	minor
O:response	jack	45	I have a = =	ellip decl.
R:track check: elaborate	James	46a	= =You have what? It's getting too long dude. [Learners, all boys are talking, laughing and screaming to each other in loud tones]	int./decl.
O:probe:track:check:extend	James	46b	Hey bru (.) that dude was fast hey? I'm talking about Jack and him = =	decl.x2
R:challenge:track:check	jack	47	i) ↑What are you freaking hell (2) ii) Do you know how fast he is?	int.x2
R:track:check	Ha	48	i) And you flipping throw me with stones?	decl.
R:resolve:counter	James	49	i) YA but still = =	minor
Rc:confront:elaborate	Tony	50	= =i) You mad! ii) Now the damn leg's sore (.)	decl.x2
R:elaborate:O:track:clarify	James	51	i).He's very fast hey? (2) ii) I haven't seen Dave man! iii) You and Dave were standing at the corner (.)	incon-gruent int./ decl.x2

Appendix A4: Moves in interaction: James occupying more spaces

Table 7.9

James and classmates at the end of the day				
Moves	Turns	speaker	Data	Mood
			[One or more children talking outdoors (very windy)]	
O:R:track clarify	1	James	i).Are you going to another school?	int
R:refute:extend	2	Tony	i).No, they're (.) low volume	ellip decl
O:track	3	James	i).How are you bra?!	int
R:response	4	Celine	YOH [Screaming] (.)	minor
O:enhance	5	Dan	i).↑Throw it higher (.) higher (.) HIGHER!	decl/imp
R:refute:contracdi	6	James	i).No give!	imp

ct				
R:rebound	7	Dan	i) ↑Hey, just pass that ball again!	decl
R:Contradict	8	James	i).I gave it back to you (2) ii).I gave it back to you (.) long[whistling blowing]	decl.x2/minor
			[Somewhere on the school grounds someone's blowing a whistle] Whistle goes on	
R:D:enhance	9	Dan	i).I left it outside.	decl
O:I:track: confront challenge	10	Tony	i). JA? Come' on try it (.) ii).Do it (.) iii) yes, do it!	minor/decl /imp2
R:refute: counter	11	Dan	i). No, I don't need to do it (.)	decl
R:track	12	Tony	i). WHAT?!	ellip decl
			[All laughing together]	
O:track check	13	James	i).Fred (.) Fred (.) you walk with now?	int
R:refute	14	Fred	i).Oh no bru!	excl
R:challenge:track	15	James	i). I was just asking dude (.) ii).Do you live in Parklands?	decl/int
<u>R:resolve:extend</u>	16	Dan	I don't take a taxi (1.5) I take the My City bus.	decl.(2)
R:D:elaborate	17	James	i). Taxi? ↑man is very expensive (.) ii). But my mom (.) I don't think my mom will take a taxi again (.) iii).My mom hates (.) my mom hates a taxi!	ellip int/decl.(3)
R:enhance	18	Tony	↑Oh wow!	minor
R:append:elaborate:track	19	James	i).You know how (.) you know why she won't take a taxi? (2) ii).You know the way some taxis, they turn (.) iii).The what? What?!	decl.(3)/intx 2
R:track	20	Tony	i).You know those Modern ones right?	decl
R:response:confirm	21	James	i).Yes! The modern one.	minor/decl
R:monitor	22	Tony	i).That's like a Toyota?	incog int
R:confirm	23	James	i).JA that one JA!	minor/decl/ minor
R:D::elaborate	24	Dan	i).If you take a meter taxi (.)low volume	decl
R:confirm	25	James	JA, JA (.)[Tony says something in very low volume]	minor x2
R:P:extend	26	Dan	i).Those taxis drive 24 hours.	decl
R:refute:counter	27	James	i). Not all these big buses (.)	decl

P:append:extend	3.28	Dan	i).Like a meter taxi, they do drive 24 hours (.)	decl
R: challenge:refute	4.29	Tony	i). Hey bru, I'm not talking about (.)	decl
R: challenge:refute	5.30	Tim	i).Bru (2) But I'm telling you (1.5) about Durban (.) [low volume]	minor/decl
R:refute:counter	5.31	Dan	i).It's not Durban.	decl
R:c:track:counter	7.32	James	i). What you talking about Durban? (.) ii).We talking about Cape Town bru.	int/decl
R:extend	8.33	Dan	i).↑↓The other two (.) [in low volume]	decl
R:Challenge	9.34	Tony	i).So what?	ellip int
R:resolve:extend	10.35	Dan	i).Cheer's guy's, I'm gone (.) boy, cheers guys [Getting onto a bus]	decl/minor
R:response	11.36	James	Bye Dan (2)	minor
R:enhance	12.37	Tony	BYE	minor
O:track	13.38	Sipho	i). In what grade is your brother?	interrog
R:response resolve	14.39	James	He's in grade 3.	decl
R:contradict	15.40	Frank	i).I thought he was in grade 4.	decl
R:response::elaborate	41a	James	i).He will go to grade 4, if he makes it! (1.5) ↑ ii).Look here (1) this my brother (.) Check (.) check!	decl./imp/decl/imp x2
R:D:elaborate:extend	41b	James	i). The thing is (.) when he was in grade 2 (.) ii) now he's in grade 3 (.) iii) he think he's a star. Iv).Now in grade 3, you should see how he acts	decl.(3)
R:elaborate	41c	James	i).He doesn't listen to his teacher (.) ii) Everyday he (.) in break he goes to the hall, and he works ok, iii) but is just the way he behaves in class.	decl.(3)
R:confirm:extend	41d	James	i).There's he yes (.) JA (.) ii) Comes out first!	decl.(2)/minor/decl
O:I:clarify	5.41e	James	i).Yoh! Look at all these grades 7's!	minor/decl
D:enhance	41f	James	i).Check out the teachers.	decl
R:acquiece	7.42	Frank	Yoh!	minor
O:track check	8.43	James	i). Did you make that?	int
R:reponse confirm	9.44	Tim	JA	minor
R:enhance:extend	10.45	James	i).Aah! Here (.) take one, I'll buy another one.	minor/imp/decl
O:probe	11.46	Sipho	(2) Bru? (2)	minor

R:response	2.47	James	i).We could've passed bru	decl
R:confront	3.48	Sipho	i). No, are you mad!	decl
R:enhance	4.49	James	i).Yoh, we missed it. [Lots of laughs and a car passes by]	minor/decl
R:enhance	5.50	Frank	i).Hey! Kom, kom, kom! [Speaking in Afrikaans]The traffic noise is quite loud and more friends join the group	minor
R:c:confront:track	5.51a	Celine	i) I'll trap you two, I'll trap! ii) Now you running away?	decl.(2)
O:track check	7.51b	Celine	i).How many pancakes have you got?	interrog
R:resolve:track	8.52	James	i).Two (.) Is it low sugar?	minor/interr og
R:track	9.53	Sipho	i).Can I have a bite?	interrog
R: comply confirm	10.54	James	Yes!	minor
R:track:check	11.55	Sipho	i).Is this how you eat it?	interrog
R:refute:extend elaborate	12.56	James	Nope! i) Because my mum is here (2) ii) My Auntie makes it NICE (.) with cinnamon and all that.	minor/decl.(3)
D:enhance	13.57	Sipho	i).My mom made this.	decl
O:I:confirm	14.58	James	i).There's Tess!	decl
O:check check	15.59	Frank	i). Have you spoken to Eric?	interrog
R:response	16.60	James	i).Maybe he's (.) me= \neq he	decl
	17.61	Frank	= \neq Mumbling something in Afrikaans and James's replying in low volume whisper	
O: elaborate	18.62	James	i).You put syrup (.) then caramel.	decl
R:elaborate:extend	19.63	Frank	i).My mom makes it different, ii) she puts bananas inside.	declx2
R:track check	20.64	James	i).What about yogurt?	interrog
R: elaborate: extend	21.65	Celine	i) You take your bowl, and mix your pancakes, and ii) then you take your ice cream and melt your chocolate and pour over you pancake.	declx2
R:probe	22.66	James	Yoh!	minor
R:resp:enhance	23.67	Celine	i).That's how my mom makes it.	decl
O:trackcheck	24.68	James	i).You walking like you going two ways?	decl
R:resp:offer	25.69	Jim	i). I'm walking straight! [Now they're walking without talking]	decl

Appendix A5: James attempting new repertoires, 2011

Table 7.11

Move	Speaker	Turn	Data	
O:I:check	James	150	i).Jim I have so many questions about the boondocks [this is a television show for the young].	decl.
O:track	Jim	151	i).Guess what I found?	int.
R:re-track	James	152	i).What?	ellip int.
R:resp:resolve	Jim	153	i).James's <i>onderbroekies</i> (.)	decl.
R:Track:nv	James	154	[Laughing]i). What?	int.
R:elaborate	Jim	155	i).He keeps all his <i>onderbroekies</i> in the down room	decl.
R:extend	James	156	i). <i>onderbroekies</i> is Afrikaans.	decl.
R:counter	Jim	157	i).I know underbrukies (.)	decl.
A:track	Mama	158	i).What is underbrukies?	int.
R:resp:resolve	Jim	159	i).Underwear mama (.) Afrikaans for under wear.	decl. x2

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Appendix A6: James making his mark in new spaces, 2011

Table 7.12

Move		Speaker	Data	Mood
O:track:extend:nv	82.	Jim	i) What's up? [A burst of laughter at the same time] and yeh not that kind of thing.	Int./decl.
O:check	83.	James	i) Mama there's a (.) On you. [In a loud tone].	Decl.
O:I:Track:track check	84.	Mama	i) Where is my phone? (2) ii)Why do you call somebody a neat freak Jim?	Int.x2
R:refute:track	85.	Jim	i) No (.) because (.) mama who else acts like this?Hah hah. Who?	Decl./minor/ellip interr
R:track	86.	Mama	i) How?	Elliptical Decl.
R:resolve:extend	87.	Jim	i) ↑Like this (.) anytime he sees (.) like= =	Decl.
R:confront	88.	James	i) = = YOU ARE LYING JIM	Decl.
R:confront	89.	Mama	i) ↑James don't shout	Imp.
D:extend	90.	Jim	i) One day somebody walked passed like (.) cause hey!	Decl.

R:track:challenge: extend nv	91.	James	i) ↑Jim guess what? ii) You are lying! (2) mama (.) iii) you know there now (.) iv) when you go to Mrs. A's class now (.) and you sit right in front now (.) v) the two short ones (.) vi) the one with the glasses now mama (.) [Laughter]	Interrog/Decl.x3
R:probe	92.	Mama	Yeah (.)	Minor
R:response	93.	James	Yah	Minor
R:monitor check	94.	Mama	i) That's the freak?	Decl.
R:track	95.	Jim	i) What is this?	Int.
R:confirm	96.	James	i) The two shortest people in class	Decl.
R:enhance	97.	Jim	i) I say they are short	Decl.
R:elaborate:track	98.	James	i) The one with the glasses is one the smartest (.) eeh mama?	Decl./Ellip int
R:enhance	99.	Mama	i) Cause he is a neat freak!	Decl.
R:extend:elaborate :nv	100.	Jim	Mama they tease him (.) all grade sevens must tease the one with glasses [laughter]	Decl. x2
R:track: track: counter refute: extend	101.	Mama	i) But you wanted glasses [laughter] ii) Can I have that pot? iii) Not that one (.) the small pot behind on the down shelf.	Int./Decl. x2
R:elaborate	102.	Jim	i) Everyone in my class now wants glasses	Decl.
R:response	103.	Mama	Mmmmmm	Minor
P:track	104.	James	i) Mama guess what	Decl.
P:elaborate	105.	Jim	i) All the grades fours that wear glasses they will tease them to death	Decl.
R:probe	106.	Mama	Mmmmmm	Minor
P:extend	107.	James	i) It's always war every day with the grade fours and the grade fives.	Decl.
R:track	108.	Mama	i) Why?	Elliptical Int.
R:response clarify	109.	James	i)Because the grades 4's now, (.) comes to the grades five territory	Decl.
P:elaborate	110.	Jim	i) When the grade fours attack the grade fives, the grade 5's attack (.)= =	Decl.
P:track	111.	James	i) = = Yoh mama guess what?	Int.
R:rebound	112.	Mama	i) What?	Ellip Int.
R:extend:track:ela borate:elaborate	113.	James	i) Yoh mama you should have seen (.) ii) you know Toni? (.) iii) He almost got suspended. iv) He actually gave a grade 4 like this (.)v) GET OUT OF HERE!	Decl./int./decl. x2

R:extend	114.	Jim	[talking at same moment with James] i)The grade 4's ran away	Decl.Decl.
P:extend:elaborate	115.	James	i) He knocked out two teeth and ii) the guy's nose was bleeding	Decl.
R:confirm	116.	Mama	i) He's a bully	Decl.
R:elaborate:extend	117.	Jim	i) Mama look (.) ii) he is in the rugby team (.) iii) he hit the boy so hard	Decl.
R:confirm:confront	118.	James	i) That was a grade four (.) ii) MAMA LOOK HERE!	Decl./Imp
R:confront	119.	Mama	i) Don't shout	Imp.
R:extend:elaborate:challenge	120.	Jim	i) He hit the ↑ii) He wouldn't dare (.) iii) You are freaking dump (3) iv) Mama word on the street is that Jim is gonna be a neat freak very soon [laughter] (.)NO!	Decl.x4/minor
R:confront:extend	121.	Mama	i) I want you guys to be serious (.) ii) I don't want clowning	Decl.x2
R:confront:extend	122.	James	i) JIM LISTEN TO MAMA (.) ii) word on the street is that you are going to get Jim glasses (.) very soon (.) iii) eeh mama is that true?	Decl.x2/interrog
R:refute	123.	Mama	NO!	Minor
R:extend:nv:elaborate	124.	Jim	i) That glasses (.) mama's glasses damaged my eyes (.) ii) that teaches that I should not wear mama's glasses in serious time [laughter]	Decl. x2
R:confront:extend:challenge	125.	James	i) ↑Jim stop joking now (.) ii) mama just said that you must stop (.) iii) YOU DONT LISTEN.	Decl. x3
O:I:check	126.	Jim	i) That guava messed up my mouth	Decl.
R:confront	127.	James	i) YOU think I care?	Incongruent Int.
R:extend	128.	Jim	Ehh= =	Minor
R:confront:track	129.	James	i) = = JIM LISTEN TO MAMA (5) ii) mama you know why I said Tas had a tough time in grade 3?	Decl/Int.
R:refute	130.	Mama	Ye ye [refusal]	Minor
R:resolve:extend	131.	James	i) My friends they look good (.) ii) they are horrible mama (.) iii) they tease Tas	Decl. x2
R:elaborate:extend	132.	James/jim	[Chorus answers here. (.) [James carries on] i)They call her types of names (.) ii) she was not meant for grade 3 (.) iii) too hard (.) iv)she couldn't handle it (.) v) they had to give her grade one	Decl. x4

R:extend:elaborate	133.	Jim	i) Mama look here! (.) ii) In school A (.) if a boy can't handle (.) if he gets lower than 10 in their test (.)	Imp./Decl.
R:Append:elaborate	134.	James	i) Carlos left grade five because he didn't also know ii) They wanted to move Tas	Decl.
R:Append:enhance	135.	Jim	i) Mama Carlos doesn't know how to spell laugh	Decl.
R:track	136.	Mama	i) She was too old for grade One eh?	Incongruent Int.
R:demand:elaborate	137.	Jim	i) Mama look (.) ii) this is how Carlos spells (.) laf	Imp./Decl.
R:track:track check:append	138.	Mama	i) Why can't they help her? (.) ii) Why do they want to move her back?	Int.x2
R:demand:extend:elaborate	139.	Jim	i) Mama look (.) ii) this is how Carlos spells laugh (.) iii) he spelt it like (.) mama, mama eh iv) He was still new to the school (.) laf,	Imp/Decl.x3/minor
R:confront	140.	James	i) Don't lie (.) don't lie Jim	Imp. x2
R:confirm	141.	Jim	ii) Lafed [that is how they spelt and pronounced laugh]	Minor
R:track	142.	James	i) How do you spell laugh?	Int.
R:track probe	143.	Jim	Eh?	Minor
R:track	144.	James	i) How do you spell laugh?	Int.
R:resolve:confirm	145.	Jim	i) L.A.U.G.H and that is all.	Decl.
R:track	146.	Mama	i) How do you spell it? LAF= =	Int.
R:refute	147.	Jim	i) = = Because he didn't= =	Decl.
R:counter	148.	James	i) = = Carlos is much smarter than you and much= =	Decl.
R:Track	149.	Mama	i) = = Why did you say that?	Int.
R:confirm	150.	James	i) Its true actually (.)= =	Decl.
R:track:check	151.	Mama	i) = =Why?	Elliptic Int.
R:Resolve	152.	James	i) The only thing he needed is spelling (.)ii) he knows Geography= =	Decl. x2
R:confirm:extend	153.	Jim	i) = = He knows everything (.) ii) he knows his maths (.) iii) all he needs is spelling (.) iv) he fails his English test.	Decl. x4
R:opinion	154.	James	S can beat you by= =	Decl.
R:resolve	155.	Jim	i) = = I know!	Exclamation
R:track	156.	James	i)mama guess what	Decl.
R:Track	157.	Mama	i) What?	Elliptical Int.

R:O:opinion	158.	James	i)Everybody knows me as Moses in Grade Five	Decl.
R:track	159.	Mama	i) Why?	Elliptical interr
R:resolve	160.	James	i)I remind the teacher of a very smart boy that he calls Moses	Decl.
R:extend	161.	Jim	i) In the old days (.)==	Decl.
R:register	162.	James	i)So now my name is Moses	Decl.

Appendix A7: Home dominance, James 2013

Table 7.14

Move	Turn	Speaker	data	Mood
O:check	19.	Jim	Yoh yoh yoh Good	Minor
		1b	Pull back (2) play	
			Chatting in low tone and baby making sounds; others are playing and exclaiming; music	
R:check	20.	James	KATE KATE KATE (in loud voice)	Minor
R:check	21.	Jim	[Inaudible] (.) oh my thing	Exclamation
R:enhance	22.	Hart	Push push push [in loud tone]	Minor
R:track monitor	23.	Jim	i).My turn noh?	Incongr int
R:	24.	James	look AT	Imp
R:enhance	25.	Jim	PLAY!	Minor
O:Confront	26.	James	i).KATE YOU NEVER LISTEN [in loud tone]	Decl.
R:challenge	27.	Jim	[Jim talking too much noise] i). Hey just put it back in there you messed	Decl.
R:confront	28.	James	i). KATE KATE KATE STAND UP [in loud tone]	Minor/imp
A:check	29.	Jim	Your ball!	Decl.
A:confront	30.	James	i).KATE KATE you	Minor/decl

			never listen	
R:check:confront	31. a	Jim	i).Yoh there is a little bit of grass inside – ii).noh just put it back inside you messed	Decl.x2
R:checkmonitor	b	Jim	i).Keep it in her pocket	Decl.
R:confront:check	32.	Jim	i).Your ball Silly (.) I don't know how I missed	Decl.
R:challenge	33.	James	Typical!	Minor
R:counter:elaborate	34.	Jim	i).It's not a miss when the ball had gone all through this (.)	Decl.
R:confront challenge:exend	35.	James	i).Give it KATE – ii).go back and listen	Decl.
R challenge	b	James	Baby crying (.) i).Listen!	Minor
R:confront:challenge	c	James	i).Listen here – STOP IT	Imp.x2
		Jim	Baby shouting; Jim exclaiming	
R:refute	36. a	James	i).You can't take away that –[in loud tone]	Decl.
A:confront	b	James	i). Get back here, ii).get back here [in loud tone; voice is always raised]	Decl.x2
A:challenge:confront	c	James	i).You don't know how to play (.) ii).Put it back here	Decl./Imp.
		Jim	[Chatting but not audible]	
R:confront	19	James	i).play with this ii).(.) play with this	Imp.x2
R:check	20	Kate	[Screaming] Yoh Yoh Yoh	Minor
R:check	21	James	Yoh	Minor
R:check	22	Kate	Yoh, yoh	
A:Confront	23	James	i).Let go, let go KATE	Imp.x2
			(con. between James/Jim inaudible)	
R:confront	24	James	i).KATE! You don't	Decl.

			listen	
R:check	25	Kate	Hey hey hey	Minor
		Jim	Not audible	
			Baby screaming	Minor
		Jim	in loud tone not audible	
		James	screaming in loud tone	
			Talking inaudible because of noise	
R:monitor	26		[Baby singing] – na na na	Minor
		Jim/James	Jim/James – not audible	
R:check	27	James	You missed	Decl.
R:check	28	Jim	[Not audible] YOH YOH	Minor
R:check	29	Baby	[Baby talking] – yoh hoh daddy daddy daddy	Minor
R:refute	30	Hart	i).NO NO it's mine	Decl.
		James	[Mimicking cry baby in raised voice]	Minor
R:	31	Aunty	[Instructions from inside to stop screaming and finishes with] i) I beg I don tire	
R:response	32	Jim	i)Yes mama	Minor
			Baby screaming	
			[Baby screaming]	
			[reprimanding James]	

Appendix A8: Playground interaction, Aline, November 2008

Table 8.4

Move	Turn	Speaker	Data	Translation	Mood
	1-4	Researcher & teacher	[<i>discuss the class that has just ended</i>]		
O: initiate	5	Aline	[<i>comes from behind</i>] Hi auntie.		minor
Res: reply P: probe P: elaborate	6	R	i). Hi sweetheart, ii) how are you today? (.) iii) I saw = =		minor/ int./ decl.
O: initiate	7	Michelle	= =Hi (.)		minor
Res: reply P: probe x2 P: extend C: monitor	8	R	i). How are you? ii). And your name (.) iii) what's your name? [<i>turns to teacher</i>] iv) This is my friend's daughter and one of my kids (.) v) you know the]		int./ ellip. int./ /int./ decl./ minor
Res: answer	9	Michelle	[i). Michelle.		minor
O: initiate	10	T	i). I will see you at the coffee room?		int.
Res: affirm: Res: acknowledge P: probe P: probe	11	R	i). Now now (3) ii) lovely name (.) iii) and you sweetheart (.) what's yours?		minor/ ellip. decl./ int.
Res: reply	12	Kelly	i). Kelly [almost inaudible]		minor
O: initiate	13	R	i). Where have you been?		int.
Res: s: reply	14	Aline	i) I had <i>fièvre</i> [	I had a fever	decl.
Rej: s: check	15	R	[i). Not malaria I hope?		ellip. int.
Res: s: affirm P: D: elaborate P: D: extend	16	Aline	i). <i>Non</i> (.) ii) <i>juste cold</i> , iii) <i>bon</i> I stay home.	No just a cold. So...	minor/ ellip. decl./ decl.
O: clarify	17	Michelle	i). Is this your mummy?		int.
Res: c: disagree P: elaborate P: disagree P: elaborate	18	Aline	i). <i>Non</i> (.) ii) ma mum auntie (.) iii) <i>non non</i> iv) friend		minor/ ellip. decl./ minor/ ellip. decl.
Res: D: P: extend P: extend P: probe	19	R	i). Talking of your mum (.) ii) I saw her here the other day (.) iii) your papa too (.) ↑ iv) problems?		minor/ decl./ ellip. decl./ ellip./ int.
Res: c: disagree: P: enhance	20	Aline	i) <i>Non</i> (.) ii) <i>Le professeur voulait parler avec eux</i> .		minor/ decl.

Rej:c:confront :challenge P: elaborate P: elaborate P: enhance O: query	21	Michelle	i).There she goes again (.) ii) packler packler (.) iii) she is always packlaying (.) (Laughter) iv) Says she speaks French (2) v) do you speak French also?		decl./ellip. decl./decl. x2/int.
Res:reply P: reply P: extend P: extend C: monitor	22	R	i) <i>Mais oui bien sur</i> (.) ii) yes of course (.) iii) I did French in school iv) and I am a Cameroonian also (2); v)>< enough about me. How is everything?	of course	ellip. decl.x2 /decl.x2/ ellip. decl./int.
Res:affirm	23	Chorus	↑Fine!		minor
Rej:c:track probe P:extend	24	Michelle	i)↑Are you sure? ii)You were just complaining a moment ago (2)		int./decl.
Rej:s: track probe x 2	25	R	About what? Schoolwork?		ellip. int.x2
Res:s:D: elaborate P: extend	26	Michelle	i).She was saying it was boring here and ii) she hates the fact that = =		decl.x2
Rej:c: confront P: extend P: rechallenge	27	Aline	= =i). <i>N'écoute pas</i> (2) ii) <i>je n'ai rien dit</i> (3) iii) SHE LIE TOO MUCH	Don't listen to her	imp./decl..x2
Rej:c:refute P: extend P: rechallenge	28	Michelle	i)↑Oh no! ii) You know I am not LYING (2) iii) tell her the truth.		minor/ decl./imp.
Rej:c:rechalle nge x 2	29	Aline	i)↑ <i>Quoi?</i> (.)ii) ↑WHAT?		ellip. int.x2
C:monitor	30	R	i).I am listening (.)		decl.
C:append	31	Aline	(2) ↑Yes? [to Michelle]		ellip. int.
Res:s:develop P: extend x3 P: enhance	32	Michelle	i) ↑Ok (.) let me help her (.) ii) she hates Afrikaans and Math (.) iii) she is trying in English now (.) iv) she never spoke when she first came (.) v) I also don't like Afrikaans.		minor/imp./ decl.x4
Rej:s:track:ch eck C: monitor P: extend	33	R	i) Are you Afrikaner? ii) I mean is Afrikaans your first language? iii) Do you speak it at home (.) with your family?		int.x3
Res:reply: affirm P: extend x 2	34	Michelle	i) Yes ii) and I am from Cape town (.) iii) here.		ellip. decl./ decl./ ellip. decl.
O:int.iate: query P: extend	35	R	i) And you Kelly? (.) ii) why are you so quiet?		ellip. int./int.
Res:c:reply P: extend x 2	36	Michelle	i) You don't know that (.) ii) she is one of its kind (.) iii) the shy type (.)		decl.x2/ ellip. decl.

Res:s:affirm	37	Kelly	(3)i)Yes I am from Cape Town [inaudibly]		decl.
Rej:s:track: probe P: extend	38	Aline	i)Quoi? (.) ii)↑Cape Town?		int./ ellip. int.
Rej:s:track:ch eck	39	R	i) Have you always been in Cape Town? [To Michelle and Kelly]		int.
Res:s: affirm P:extend	40	Michelle	i) Never left Cape Town (.) ii) and Kelly too.		ellip. decl.x2
Res:s:develop P:extend x4	41	Aline	[i) Two year now (.) ii) I come in grade 2 (.) à douze ans (2) iii) Au Cameroon I was in Cours moyen deux (2)classe six (5) [pronounced six as in French] las yer I was in Milliton and my parents [French pronunciation] arrive to Packlands (2) Je devais changer (2) hhh. change [withFrench pr].	At 12 years. In Cameroon.. .. I had to change	ellip. decl./ decl.x5
Rej:s:track check	42	Res	i) How old are you?		int.
Res:s: answer P: enhance	43	Aline	i) <i>Presque quatorze ans</i> (.) ii)Old <i>en primaire</i> school.	Nearly 14 years. Old in primary school	ellip. decl. x2
O: int.iate: query P: elaborate	44	Michelle	i) ↑And you? ii) How old are you? [to researcher]		ellip int./int.
Rej:c: challenge: counter P: enhance x2	45	Aline	i) <i>Tu ne dois pas</i> (2) she is big (2) ↑ <i>Adulte</i>	You must not	imp./decl./ ellip. decl.
Rej:s:track:cla rify	46	Michelle	i) So you have been here for ten years?		int.
Rej:c::refute P:extend x3 P: enhance	47	R	i) No ii)She said two years (2) iii) she was born in Cameroon iv) and she just came here (.) v) so can't be ten (.)		minor/ decl.x4
Rej:s:repair Rej:s:check	48	Michelle	i) I was joking (.) ii) where is Cameroon?		decl./int.
Res:c:disenga ge	49	R	i)Ask your friend.		imp.
Rej:c:challeng e: counter	50	Michelle	i) She will never succeed in that her broken English.		decl.
Rej:c:rebound	51	Aline	i) You foolish hhh. [		ellip. decl.
Rej:c:rebound : P:extend	52	Michelle	[i)See who is calling names (.) ii) you were two years in grade 2		decl.x2
Rej:c:rebound	53	Aline	i) Et puis? (1.5) ii) ↑so? [		ellip. int.x2

x 2					
Rej:s:resolve Rej:s:probe	54	R	[i] It's alright (.) how are you coping?		decl./int.
Res:s: answer	55	Aline	i) ↑Fine [		minor
Rej:c:contra- dict P:extend	56	Michelle	[i] She is a bit slow in maths (.) ii)very slow I mean (.) in her work		decl./ ellip decl.
Rej:c:refute: P:elaborate	57	Aline and Kelly	i)NO! OH NO (.)ii) NO YOU DONT (2x) [<i>all came in exclaiming</i>]		minor/imp. x2
Rej:c::counter: enhance	58	Aline	i)><I hate Afrikaans [		decl.
Rej:c: contradict: Rej:c: rechallenge	59	Michelle	[i] Oh no (.)ii) tell her the truth.		minor/imp.
Rej:c:confront	60	Kelly	i) Don't you dare mmm (.)		imp.
Rej:c:rebound: P:extend	61	Michelle	i)Not only Afrikaans (.) you make mistakes ...		ellip. decl./ decl.
Rej:c:rebound: P: extend: clarify x2	62	Aline	i) <i>Je suis</i> (.) I am <i>un peu</i> (2) I mean (.) ha (.) problems in some place (.)	I am a bit	ellip. decl. x2/decl.
Rej:s:track: check	63	R	i) On what?		ellip. int.
Res:s:answer	64	Kelly	i) Mostly Afrikaans		ellip. decl.
Rej:c:refute: P:extend	65	Michelle	i) ↑NO! ii) She is also slow in maths (.) and in doing her homework [<i>Laughs</i>]		minor/ decl.
Rej:c:rechall- enge	66	Aline	↑Shot up!		imp.
Rej:c:counter: extend	67	Michelle	i)I am <u>concerned</u> (.) really <u>concerned</u> for her(2) ii) doesn't ask for help [<i>receives a punch</i>]		decl. x2
Rej:c:rebound P: elaborate	68	Aline	i) You lie (2) ii) I ask teacher		decl.x2
Rej:s:resolve: P:elaborate O: query	69	R	i) Ok don't worry ii)we will sort you out. iii) You need to see your teachers or friends who can help (.) when you have problems (.) iv)Have you all eaten?		imp./decl. x2/int.
Res:s: answer	70	All	YES		ellip. decl.
Res:s:D:elabor ate P: extend	71	R	i)Good (.)ii) break will soon be over (.) iii)why don't you just go relax in front of your class while I catch up with Ms. Brian?		minor/ decl./int.
Res:s:agree	72	Aline	i) Ok (.) bye auntie		minor

Rej:c::refute	73	Michelle	i) ↑She is not your auntie		decl.
Rej:c:rebound	74	Aline	i) ↑Yes she is		decl.
Res:s:agree P:elaborate P:monitor	75	R	i)Yes Michelle, (.)ii)I might not be her blood auntie, iii)but in Cameroon it's normal to address me like that because of respect as her mum's friend (.) iv)and here we consider each Cameroonian family (.) v) Understood?		ellip. decl./ decl.x3 / ellip. int.
Res:c: Disengage	76	Michelle	i)↑Whatever (2)		minor
Res:s:register P:extend	77	R	i) As you wish ii) and see you later my dears (.) iii) I need to run (.)iv)Bye!		minor/ imp./decl./ minor
R:greetings	78	All	Bye		minor



Appendix A9: Classroom interaction: James's class, grade 5 (School A)

Speaker	Turn	Data
Teacher	1.	Teacher asked a question to her students.
All	2.	All learners answering simultaneously: 55.
Teacher	3.	Teacher asking another question low volume...
Learners	4.	Learners: 4.
Teacher	5.	Teacher: 8x5?
Learners	6.	Learners: 13
Teacher	7.	Teacher: 5x4?
Learners	8.	Learners: 20
Teacher	9.	Teacher: 8x4?
Learners	10.	Learners: 32
Teacher	11.	Teacher: 8x4?
Learners	12.	Learners: 32
Teacher	13.	Teacher: 8x4?
Learners	14.	Learners: 32
Teacher	15.	Teacher: 8x4?
Learners	16.	Learners: 32
Teacher	17.	Teacher: 8x4?
Learners	18.	Learners: 32
Teacher	19.	Teacher: 9x5?
Learners	20.	Learners: 45
Teacher	21.	Teacher: 35 divided by 5?
Learners	22.	Learners: 7

Teacher	23.	Teacher: 30 divided by 5?
Learners	24.	Learners: 6
Teacher	25.	Teacher: 55 divided by 5?
Learners	26.	Learners: 11
Teacher	27.	Teacher: 50 divided by 5
Learners	28.	Learners: 3
Teacher	29.	Teacher: 3×5 ?
Learners	30.	Learners: 15
Teacher	31.	Teacher: 4×5 ?
Learners	32.	Learners: 20
Teacher	33.	Teacher: 2×5 ?
Learners	34.	Learners: 10
Teacher	35.	Teacher: 1×5 ?
Learners	36.	Learners: 5
Teacher	37.	Teacher: 7×5 ?
Learners	38.	Learners: 35
Teacher	39.	Teacher: 5×5 ?
Learners	40.	Learners: 25
Teacher	41.	Teacher: 25 divided by 5?
Learners	42.	Learners: 5
Teacher	43.	Teacher: 45 divided by 5?
Learners	44.	Learners: 9
Teacher	45.	Teacher: JA C? 10 divided by 5?
Learners	46.	Learners: 2
Teacher	47.	Teacher: 45 by 5?



Learners	48.	Learners: Ace
Teacher	49.	Teacher: 35 divided by 5?
Learners	50.	Learners: 7
Teacher	51.	Teacher: 8x5?
Learners	52.	Learners: 40
Teacher	53.	Teacher: 15 divide by 5?
Learners	54.	Learners: 10
Teacher	55.	Teacher: 12x5?
Learners	56.	Learners: 60
(The	57.	(The Teacher stop's asking questions as there an interruption in class)
Learner	58.	Learner speaking in low volume tone with her teacher
And	59.	And you have no-where else to go, I'm sorry (.) how you going to an interview?
↑Boy	60.	↑Boy M, boy M!!
i	61.	i) Its Boy L Miss (.)
Learners	62.	Learners all talking at the same time.
i	63.	i) And you've never seen an elephant before?
i	64.	i) I've seen one!
(girl	65.	(girl) i) I've seen a cheetah!
	66.	Now all Learners want to talk at the same time
	67.	↑You so shortgat!
All	68.	All Learners laughing at the other learner.
	69.	And before (.) Must I say 5?
[Learners	70.	[Learners all answering simultaneously] NO!
i	71.	i) I want you all to listen quickly.
i	72.	i) Everybody, everybody face me quickly
i	73.	i) Boy M! I'm waiting, sit up straight
i	74.	i) Because we have to (.) low volume (.) I expect you to behave (.) watch out Sara!

Extremely	75.	Extremely well, if you want to show off, because all of a sudden, we have a very attractive young man (.) [Learners all thinking it's funny and laughing!]
i	76.	i) And very attractive young girls in our class, then you are not (.)
She	77.	She's a prefect, she can control her (.)
i	78.	i) Look at me! Boy M, it starts right now!
i	79.	i) Nobody wants to show off, ii) you don't need to show off, iii) you are all little darlings, iv) don't show off! (. v) Alright?
i	80.	i) Now I would like to make one move with you quickly, (. ii) I'm going to move you two right at the back and then I would like Moses (1.5) [
(All	81.	(All learners laughing as the teacher couldn't remember his name)
i	82.	i) And give your desk to Siphon (.) and then Rush, you can sit next to Siphon.
(Learners	83.	(Learners now all hustling around the classroom as they changing seats and there's a lot of noise)
i	84.	i) This desk is tiny (.)
i	85.	i) I can't sit here (.)
i	86.	i) I'll sit there (.)
i	87.	i) she's just like my Afrikaans Teacher (.)
i	88.	i) Right! ii) Everyone listen here quickly
i	89.	i) it's too small!
i	90.	i) You know what? ii) I will make a plan (. Mmm, fetch me (.)
i	91.	i) LISTEN, SIMON, SIMON!
i	92.	i) Mmm (. Are you in charge here Max?
i	93.	i) No (. [Laughing]
i	94.	i) Well, I hope not!
i	95.	i) I'm not having him next to you (. ii) Thank you!
i	96.	i) Mmm (. You can come sit here next to (.)
[Learners	97.	[Learners still hustling around but not saying anything]
i	98.	i) Right, everybody take a look here quickly (. I'm waiting!
i	99.	i) That I can't (. Boy M, Boy M, just move a little quickly;
Anybody	100.	Anybody that's going to disappoint me, now, today.
i	101.	i) Don't sell my baked cake, Alright?
Yo	102.	Yo!

i	103.	i) We have so much to do and I haven't got time (.)
i	104.	i) Move to your desks, ii) everybody in a desk here thanks you (.)
i	105.	i) Celine, I don't think you should (.)
i	106.	i) Right! ii) This morning we went off on our 4 rules, iii) let's take a look at it.
i	107.	i) Face here quickly, everyone!
i	108.	i) I said clear your desk like everyone else.
(Tables	109.	(Tables and chairs moving around and noisy)
i	110.	i) Big or small equal the fractions? Quickly (.) We have 4 rules so far (.)
i	111.	i) Whitney, did you set the chart?
Teacher	112.	Teacher and students talking simultaneously as in rhyming their schoolwork.
i	113.	i) Again?
Teacher	114.	Teacher and Learners talking simultaneously as in rhyming their schoolwork.
ii	115.	ii) Do they know?
Yes	116.	Yes!
i	117.	i) Shhh! Now listen!
Teacher	118.	Teacher pointing to two of the Learner: I can't remember your name (2) what's your name?
Ojong	119.	Ojong (2)
Teacher	120.	Teacher asking the other Learner: i) And you?
Christia n	121.	Christian.
i	122.	i) Ok, tell me quickly, what does LCD stand for?
i	123.	i) Lowest Common Article.
i	124.	i) Can you see why some need it in grade 7? i) Can you see what I told you?
Right	125.	Right! Can you tell me what the lowest common is on these two?
Student s	126.	Students whispering.
i	127.	i) Ma'm, should I take this chair back?
i	128.	i) No, it must go back to the office.
i	129.	i) Miss, my mom's coming today.
i	130.	i) I know she's coming. ii) Luckily I made the appointment.
Learner s	131.	Learners, now ruffling around the classroom, chatting to one another.
i	132.	i) Girl Z I got 4 tickets (.)

i	133.	i) Right! (2) ii) Thank you.
Teacher	134.	Teacher asking a boy in the class: i) Is there anything wrong?
i	135.	i) Oh, I don't know anything about that.
i	136.	i) You don't know about the LCD, ii) so I'll mark you absent,iii) go to the back!
i	137.	i) Go to answers quickly, hurry up!
[Learners	138.	[Learners whispering to one another]
i	139.	i) Ok! We are going to (.) we are going to (.)
(Learners	140.	(Learners now all quiet and not saying a word)
i	141.	i) Boy M, I wanna see your face, ii) sit on that side, iii) and sit flat please!
i	142.	i) Is everyone here?
i	143.	i) Miss, can you see if I sit in the middle?
i	144.	i) I can see you very well.
(Teacher	145.	(Teacher motioning everyone to their seats and asking if all to be quiet.)
i	146.	i) If we have (.) for an equal, our first step that we've got, we write down our 4 moves, now we said (.)
i	147.	i) Just move that sweetie
Learners	148.	Learners all laughing as the teacher said something funny.
i	149.	i) You have to write it down (.) ii) you have to write it down, iii) and then write digits (.)Half form, from small to big in LCD. iv) You have to do that! V) YOU HAVE TOO!
i	150.	i) If you don't, I can guarantee you that (.) I (.) ii) you are not gonna have it right!
i	151.	i) So you have to make a list to see which one fits,(.) in which rule.
Teacher	152.	Teacher talking to one of the students: i) ↑Put that away <u>NOW</u> , (.) ii) I know you have one of those and iii) its lovely but put it away now!
i	153.	i) On the board quickly, (.) ii) I'm going to now ask and you will have to tell me which ball I have to follow, here.
(Learners	154.	(Learners all quiet waiting on their teacher to finish with her writing on the board)
i	155.	i)Right! i) First up, which ball?
(learner	156.	(Learner)i) It says here below the line (2) the smaller the numbers, the larger the fraction.
i	157.	i) Right! ii) When you see it, you encircle that. Iii) That's your first rule.
i	158.	i) Everybody say it with me (.)

Learners	159.	Learners and Teacher rhyming the words all together: i) The smaller the numbers the larger the fractions.
i	160.	i) Now if you want to know (.) have we got another little one that's being operating?
(Learners)	161.	(Learners now all laughing)
i	162.	i) Hey! ii) I count to 1 and then it must be gone!
Learners	163.	Learners all saying simultaneously: ONE
i	164.	i) Bring that Duracell battery and ii) then you have to go!
(Learners)	165.	(Learners still laughing)
i	166.	i) Right! (.)
i	167.	i) And then you can switch it on and off.
Teacher	168.	Teacher: And then you can go (.) the smaller the number the larger the fraction.
i	169.	i) Right, grade as from 5, those of you who don't know how to use the big and small it equals itself. i) Quickly look here!
i	170.	i) If it's like a noun, the big (.) here (.)
i	171.	i) Now, C, the big noun goes is close one, ii) the small noun is close to (.)
i	172.	i) Right! Ii) That's how you should remember it!
i	173.	i) You don't have to think of bigger smaller equals, ii) it's a noun that's open on that side and a noun that's close on that side (.)
i	174.	i) The big noun shows to the big one the small to the small one (.)
i	175.	i) ↑ Yes Boy J?
<> i	176.	<> i) My grade three Teacher (.)
i	177.	i) I know about your grade three teacher!
i	178.	i) I'm not in grade three, (.) I'm in grade five (.)
i	179.	i) Right! All the digits have to drop, say no!
i	180.	i) Look at it here!
i	181.	i) Are one of them equal to a Half or a whole?
All	182.	All answering simultaneously) NO!
i	183.	i) Can I change (.) now you must watch? L, you weren't here. Can I change the small one to the big one? I can't hey?
Learners	184.	Learners all answering simultaneously) NO!
Teacher	185.	Teacher and students rhyming the words together simultaneously: LCM

i	186.	i) In between that (.) I quickly want to (.) low volume
i	187.	i) If I do that stuff, three quarters and five sixes, (.) remove now, is LCM, and
That	188.	That stands for lowest Common Article.
Teacher	189.	Teacher: I want you to just to attend tomorrow's Math's class.Ok you check for tomorrow afternoon?
(Girl	190.	(Girl) mmm (.)?
i	191.	i) At 2o'clock, asked Granny, she can fetch you at 3, alright...then I want to let Ben exactly know what's going on?
i	192.	i) It might still not be completely finish by the end of the day
(boy	193.	(boy) my mom (.)
i	194.	i) I take the biggest number below the line, Hap! And I count the sixes, 6 4, 18, 84, 30, 86 (.)
(A	195.	(A bell goes off and it's disturbing the conversation the teacher's having with the students)
i	196.	i) Can four go in there and in there and in there?
i	197.	i) NO (.)
i	198.	i) Now you already know (.) Ok, now put up your hand and quickly tell me, what is a multiple?
Ok	199.	Ok, James?
i	200.	i) [Mumbling something in low volume]
i	201.	i) Ha (.) that you count. ii) You count a multiple of 5, iii) I count in 5's, iv) you count a multiple of 6, v) I count in 6's. Vi) Now lowest mean smallest.
i	202.	i) And Camerita, you not listening (.) Girl S!
i	203.	i) Camerita means what they both have in common. ii) If I ask you, why are you two friends?
Both	204.	Both Learners answering, but in low volume.
i	205.	i) You have something in common, right?
i	206.	i) Now the lowest common multiple meaning (.) the multiple has six to go into
i	207.	i) Ha! Ii) I can't teach like this, iii) you not acting responsible. iv) Even if you know, alright?
i	208.	i) Got it! ii) Otherwise you then distract me, alright? Iii) I can't do it like this alright?
i	209.	i) Close the door (.) Yes?
Learner	210.	Learner (girl) Saying something to the teacher but in low volume.
i	211.	i)↑↓ Who are you?
(Learne rs	212.	(Learners all laughing and now starting to talk simultaneously and making a noise)
i	213.	i) Right!
Learner	214.	Learner (Z) (2)

i	215.	i) No, you'll end up with a couple more (.)
(Learners)	216.	(Learners laughing once more at their teacher's reaction)
(Teacher)	217.	(Teacher asking a question related to math's but in low volume)
Learner	218.	Learner (Lisette) i) times three (.)
i	219.	i) Yes, times three.
Learners	220.	Learners starting to chat amongst themselves and not listening
i	221.	i) Lie, what do I do with six that's equal?
Learner	222.	Learner (L) times three...
Learner	223.	Learner (Joe) no, times two (.)
(Learners)	224.	(Learners are all talking and being noisy)
i	225.	i) I'm waiting?
i	226.	i) Instead of three quarters, I do now have what left, ii) 9 balls, instead of 5 sixes what have I got (.) iii) And 9 balls are smaller than 10 balls and therefore (.) is smaller than 5 sixes.
i	227.	i) Fold your arms!
i	228.	i) This one, other digits...
(Learners)	229.	(Learners whispering and are distracting the class)
Teacher	230.	I said fold your arms?
(Teacher)	231.	(Teacher asking a question but in low volume)
NO	232.	NO!
Teacher	233.	Are one of them a half or a whole?
NO	234.	NO!
i	235.	i) Can I change the small one to the big one?
Learners	236.	Learners answering simultaneously: YES
i	237.	i) So I am going to now convert the big one first to (.)
i	238.	i) And I would you all to look, ii) see here! iii) What do I have to do to get three four's? (.) Times four. iv) What I'll do with the bottom (.)
Learner	239.	Learner mmm(.)?
8x	240.	8x4?
8	241.	

i	242.	i) Don't shout out?
i	243.	i) On that side I now have, 8 12's and on this side, Girl Sh, 7 12's
(Learner	244.	(Learner coughing and there are chairs that's being moved around)
These	245.	These digits, at the top all the same?
Learners	246.	Learners: NO
Teacher	247.	Group six, did you do it?
Teacher	248.	Are one of them equal to a half?
Learner	249.	Yes
Teacher	250.	Are you group six now?
Learners	251.	YES, thirteen over 6
Teacher	252.	That is exactly a half!
Teacher	253.	What do I do now, explain, Hap?
Teacher	254.	I go to the other fraction and I compare, what's ...Hap?
Teacher	255.	What's wrong with 9?
Learner	256.	(Hap) it's a full half.
Teacher	257.	So it's bigger than a half, the open half...
Teacher	258.	Right, Next one... Are the other digits all the same?
Learners	259.	: YES
Teacher	260.	I'll encircle it.
Learner	261.	(girl) that digits are all the same...below the line, the lower the number, the bigger the fraction.
Teacher	262.	Teacher and Learners rhyming the words: The smaller the number the bigger the fraction.
Teacher	263.	The bigger the fraction, the larger the number.
Teacher	264.	You don't say the smaller the fraction... look at me, you must still determine which fraction is either the smaller or bigger, the smaller the number might be alright, the bigger or the larger the fraction.
Teacher	265.	You got it?
Teacher	266.	Right now please...you are going to get an exercise now with provisions; you know that we do provision now and then...
Teacher	267.	You've got a page now, page 13...that on the one side, that you have to complete, in other words the top or the bottom has been left out and you have to make time to get it right and then you have the 4 rules that you now have, in that section.

Teacher	268.	Before...look at me quickly?
Teacher	269.	Before you start with page thirteen, can you remember there were provision sums at the bottom?
Learners	270.	Learners all murmuring...
Teacher	271.	But do like you do multi...before you start with page thirteen?
Teacher	272.	When I turn my back now, and your hand out these books...
Learners	273.	Learners talking quietly...
Teacher	274.	boy (A)?
Learners	275.	Learners whispering to one another
Teacher	276.	A can you open those windows please?
(Teacher)	277.	(Teacher's talking to the learners but there is too much noise in the classroom)
Learner	278.	Learner (girl) Miss, I don't want to be the only one?
(Still)	279.	(Still a lot of noise going on and can't hear what the teacher's saying)
Teacher	280.	Quietly... I need...
Teacher	281.	Girl M! Just drop that quickly and come here?
Teacher	282.	Everybody face here quickly?
(Learners)	283.	(Learners shuffling books around and being noisy)
Teacher	284.	I'm waiting...I said stop with that now, I'm waiting?
Teacher	285.	Settle back. You do not talk now; you get your book and (.) thank you.
(Learners)	286.	(Learners still talking and ignoring their teacher)
Teacher	287.	Just hold on a second...thank you
Teacher	288.	Now all of you look here quickly
Teacher	289.	Many of you has still got work to finish of yesterday, because I did not have time to mark it like I told you and we can do it today.
Teacher	290.	You now start with whatever you still had to complete (.) I'm gonna hand this out now now...
Teacher	291.	There's no talking in my math's...
Learner	292.	Learner (Girl T) Miss (.) asking a question to his teacher in low volume...
Teacher	293.	I know, I'm gonna explain now, she know she's got to wait a minute.
Teacher	294.	Thank you,Girl K... no one else...

(Learners	295.	(Learners, two boys whispering to one another)
Teacher	296.	No-one talks!
(Learners	297.	(Learners shuffling books around and talking quite loud now)
Classroom	298.	Classroom door opening...
Teacher	299.	Boy Pr, can I have your attention, I quickly want to send you to Mr C and just ask him Mrs M would just like to know when do we have to hand...When do we hand this in? Thank you.
Teacher	300.	Now I Girl C?
Learners	301.	Learners (Girl C) Answering her teacher but in low volume...
Teacher	302.	Pardon (.) how many 100 are...I will explain them because there are children who are starting to finish.
Learners	303.	Learners (boy whispering to James) aren't you supposed to start at the bottom...
Teacher	304.	No talking guys!
Teacher	305.	Go get your sheet because you won't be able to how many pages you
Need	306.	Need.
Learner	307.	Learner (Girl T) I just forget it...
Learner	308.	Learner (Boy C how does she do that...and then stick it on.
Teacher	309.	Boy Ca, thank you!
Teacher	310.	Are all the pencils sharp?
Learners	311.	YES!
(Shuffling	312.	(Shuffling of books, pens and chairs being shifted around)
Teacher	313.	Thank you.
Learners	314.	Learners (Boy Ca) Mine's sharp!
Teacher	315.	AH AH! AH AH!
i	316.	i) What's wrong now? (Talking to his friend)
Teacher	317.	Everybody quickly to your desk's now...quickly my loviess?
Teacher	318.	As you now see on the left-hand side, how many...
Teacher	319.	Now please have a look on page 13, everybody with me?

Teacher	320.	On the left hand side you'll see you have the full... a blank space.
Learner	321.	Learner (Girl T) Space, space?
Teacher	322.	60 times 32? Can you remember the catch; there is nothing I can do with 32 to get 48, what is the catch?
Teacher	323.	One fraction is either a half or a whole.
Teacher	324.	Look at number 2, what do I do with 9 to get 1 divide by 9
Teacher	325.	Teacher and students answering simultaneously: If I get the number or if I give you a number, the answer is one...
Teacher	326.	And you know you have divide it by that number, what I do at the top, I do at the bottom.
Teacher	327.	Quickly look at Umm number 12, write down on the left hand side?
Teacher	328.	What do I do with 16, to get what? I have divided by 16.
Teacher	329.	Now you have to divide 64 by 60, and do you know you're 16 times table?
Teacher	330.	Add 16 and 60, then what do you get?
	331.	More than one Learner answering: 32
Teacher	332.	And then you add 16, what do you get?
Teacher	333.	Teacher and Learners answering simultaneously: 48
Teacher	334.	Add another 16
	335.	More than one Learner: 64
i	336.	i) How many groups?
	337.	More than one Learner: 4
Teacher	338.	If you get to 15,
	339.	16 or 17, just add 60 every time, have you got it, everyone?
Teacher	340.	Right, now quietly everybody?
Teacher	341.	On the right hand side you are going to write your four rules, which I have here... LCM
Teacher	342.	Teacher: And you have to have that by next week Friday
Teacher	343.	Talking to one of her students: Can you just do me a very big favor, please?
Teacher	344.	If you can go to these two classes, those two classes and the two grade 5's classes, tell them Mrs A says by next week Friday or this Friday I suppose, JA, alright, thank you?
Teacher	345.	On your right hand side, we have three quarters and 15...you ask yourselves like this, are the digits at the top the same?
Learners	346.	Learners all answering simultaneously: NO
i	347.	i) Are they equal to half half?
Learner	348.	NO

s		
Teacher	349.	i) Is it small too big?
	350.	NO!
Teacher	351.	i) YES (.) then you write (.) look at me quickly! i) Put three there next to number 1, a little three in pencil, then you'll know. Which rules do I now apply there?
Teacher	352.	Teacher and students: Rule 3
Learners	353.	(boy) Aaah! (As if in pain)
i	354.	i) And rule 3 and 4 (.) these 2, quickly look here!
i	355.	i) With rule 1 and 2, I do not have to work out the line page. Number 3 and 4 I have to work out the line page. Have you got it?
i	356.	i) Number 2, are the...all the same? NO...
Number	357.	Number 4, where are you gonna go back to?
Page	358.	Page 9, can you remember?
On	359.	On page 9, you had this, quickly look, quickly look here?
i	360.	i) If you have any sum here that works with 1000's even 100's, look at me, quickly look here, you not looking at me?
i	361.	i) Any number, sum with 100's or 1000's you go to page 9 and find all your answers and equal (.)
	362.	to his classmate: i) Just draw a line in full, if you look at it on that side!
Teacher	363.	Number 5 is rule 2, number 6 is what? Is the...on the chart the same?
Teacher	364.	Teacher and Learners: Ah ah! Small to big?
Learners	365.	NO
Teacher	366.	LCM...with rule 4, number 6 is rule 4, number 7 is rule 2; number 8 are the digits at the top the same, chart half full?
Learners	367.	NO
Teacher	368.	Small to big?
Learners	369.	Yes
Teacher	370.	Rule 3, put rule 3 there and where do you put rule 3 and 4?
Teacher	371.	Teacher and students: You work it out on the line page.
Number	372.	Number 9, is rule what?
One	373.	One Learner giving the wrong answer...
Teacher	374.	Ah ah! 2? Because 19 over 38 is exactly a half.

Teacher	375.	Number 10, digital on the chart the same?
Learners	376.	[answering very lazily] No...
Teacher	377.	Small to big, which rule?
Learners	378.	3
Teacher	379.	Number 11, which rule?
James	380.	What did she say? [Talking to his classmate].
Teacher	381.	Digits at number 10, small to big. [Classroom door opens] Number 11, did you chart the same as rule 1? Go and work it out.
Teacher	382.	Number 12, it is LCM, it is rule 4, because I can't change the 3 to the 5 then I have to get the lowest number multiple to 4.
Teacher	383.	Number 13 is small to big, number 14 is small to big...no 14, you can actually see the answer. The only ones you are now going to work on the line page grade 5, you got it?
Teacher	384.	It's no:1,no:2, no:6, no:8, no:10, no:4 and no: 13.
Teacher	385.	And now when you work that out on the line page, you do it by skipping lines, quickly look on the board?
Teacher	386.	If I have to work out, on the board quickly?
Teacher	387.	Teacher continues: If these are the width, if these are the lines
James	388.	Not over the line
Teacher	389.	Right! Now quickly look?
Teacher	390.	The first one you have to work on, I'm gonna do, no 1, 2 and no 6. No 1, you write the fraction between 3 quarters and 15 figures, now you skip that line at about 3 quarters equals how many...are you with me?
Learners	391.	[Learners all answering lazily]: Yes!
Teacher	392.	We do no 2 just like that. No 6 we do it like this, these are your (.) look forward quickly?
Learner	393.	Learner coughing and fiddling around
	394.	No 6 is LCM. (Very noisy, can't hear what the teacher is saying)
	395.	Now when I do LCM what do I do with the sub over here?
	396.	What must you count in the biggest number below the line? You do it like this, you draw your little block here, and you draw a little block there, neatly and you count on your lines, the lines are there...You got 7, 14, 21, 28 on the line 25.which one are you going to...21.
Teacher	397.	What do I do here to get (Too noisy)?
	398.	I change 4 7's to 21 and I skip that line, I change 2 thirds to 21, have you got the setting now?
Learners	399.	Yes Miss

Teacher	400.	Right (.) No talking otherwise
Learner	401.	Learner (boy) I'm tired, [he mumbles something to his classmate but are whispering]
Teacher	402.	Thank you
(Learner)	403.	(Learner whispering and talking amongst themselves and shuffling books around)
Rostan	404.	You need to clear out, I need to know by now, on paper, so just fill in there?
Learner	405.	Learner (boy) LM
Teacher	406.	The recycle must go today.
Learner	407.	Learner (girl) talking very softly.
Teacher	408.	Shoo sing the class and trying to get them to stay quiet.
James	409.	Newspaper, I got loads of these. [Books and paper being shuffled around and Learners whispering to one another]
Teacher	410.	Come sit down and listen to me quickly?
Teacher	411.	You talk too much... no talking, Girl C!
Teacher	412.	Ah, Ah my lovie, I'm gonna make a copy of that.
Teacher	413.	Can I ask you to just quickly; can you put the extra book in a box?
Teacher	414.	Boy B... is Boy B's book there?
Teacher	415.	Thank you (.) can you do me a favour please? [Learners talking and shuffling books]
Learners	416.	Learners (boy) what happened here? Talking to his classmate
Teacher	417.	Put the book in the box...thank you, be quiet now?
Teacher	418.	I'm not gonna say, be quiet now, again!
Learner	419.	Learner (girl asking her teacher something but in low volume)
Teacher	420.	What is it, pardon, what about that?
Learner	421.	(Girl C) I have to go look[boy coughing]
Teacher	422.	Teacher talking but in low volume
Learner	423.	(Girl Z) talking to James: No it's 3,9 nine. [Whispers and loud noises coming from Learners and teacher. Teacher's now busy in a conversation with another school teacher (male)]
Teacher	424.	Bring that to me quickly?
Teacher	425.	Everybody look here? This is how quiet my class should be, you know?
	426.	One or two Learners answering: Yes
Teacher	427.	Don't disappoint me now?
Teacher	428.	[calling one of her Learners]: Come here quickly please?

Teacher	429.	Girl C, she must do her work on her own
Learner	430.	(Girl C): I am.
Learner	431.	(boy): she got one wrong
Teacher	432.	Pardon?
Learner	433.	(Girl T) But she has one wrong.
Learner	434.	You don't do her work, everybody does his own work.
Teacher	435.	Teacher continues her conversation with the other teacher (male)
	436.	(A lot of ruffling of books going about Teacher's now with one of her Learners and helping her with her work).
Teacher	437.	i) So you know how to do it now, (.) ok, do this page for me
	438.	i) You must do page 11 as well
	439.	i) I'm now gonna deduct marks now, ii) I've asked you guys nicely, iii) I still have other work to do (2) [teacher and Learners are talking but in low volume]
	440.	[Books and chairs being shuffled around and whispering amongst the Learners].
Where	441.	Where's (.) [
	442.	[One of the Learners running in the classroom. Learners are busy with their work and whispering quietly while their teacher's busy marking their books]
Learner	443.	[Learner sneezing and coughing]
Teacher	444.	[Teacher having an ongoing conversation with one of the other teachers].
	445.	[One or two more student girls having a conversation in low volume].
	446.	Talking to his classmate: Boy R (.) i) No, don't do that!
Teacher	447.	Teacher talking to some of her students in low volume
	448.	i) Everybody listen!
	449.	i) I'm waiting? Ii) Remember when we did maths and I told you we have lots to do, iii) the consequences are great (2) iv) and I want you really to focus and (.) Chris and (.)
	450.	Some learners calling a boy's name: Boy B
Learner	451.	(girl) mmm (.)
	452.	i) Is Girl B with us? As they can actually see, I don't know what you have planned for your concert, its gonna be huge.
Learner	453.	Learner (Boy W) we have (.) like Michael Jackson but we've cancelled that but now we gonna do, heal the world with candles and everything.
	454.	i) Have you practiced yet?
Some	455.	Some learners interrupting and the teacher are getting annoyed.
	456.	i) Ah Ah (.) Thank you!

Learner	457.	Learner (girl) continues her conversation with teacher but there's still interruption.
	458.	i) Are you practicing tomorrow?
	459.	i) You must see what we are doing?
All	460.	All learners now talking at the same time.
Teacher	461.	How (2)
Learners	462.	Learners all screaming to talk and having the teacher's attention. [A bell is ringing while the teacher is talking, but it's quite noisy to hear what she's conversing with her students]
The	463.	The teacher's now trying to quiet the class
i	464.	i) Last year (.) Ah Ah, I'm talking (2) myself and Mr. Umm (.)
Mmm	465.	Mmm (.)
i	466.	i) Are you talking? (Shouting to one of the learners)
Learner	467.	(Girl T) No Miss.
Teacher	468.	We celebrated (.) and we (.) to the hall and we had our hands (.) absolutely stunning. We gonna announce it over the
Learner	469.	Learner (girlZZ) over the intercom?
	470.	No, the radio, so all cellphones has to be switched off, no cameras, nothing and the hall's gonna be pitched dark and then the grade 5's are gonna come in with their hands down and they gonna be all in black...I can't see it...then they'll be wearing black with even a little logo on their jackets...and they'll have a few colors, orange and blue... (Teacher continues but there's too much noise)
	471.	Now all learners are talking at the same time and want to ask questions
Teacher	472.	I'm talking...Hey! QUIET! We've got lots to do before then.
Teacher	473.	Don't let me hear a child talking now, please don't!
Learners	474.	Learners walking around the classroom, fiddling with their books and whispering to one another at the same time.
Girl ZZ	475.	Learner (Girl zzgirl) speaking to her classmate but in low volume
	476.	[Some learners laughing at another learner]
Teacher	477.	Hey, shoosh!
Teacher	478.	Can I just have that table lifted please?
Teacher	479.	Ugly ducky points, I need a group with points, no ugly ducky points no sweets...
Teacher	480.	Get to your group, no sweets!
Learner	481.	Learner (girl) Fine (.) I should be getting it.
Teacher	482.	It's now quarter to 1.
James	483.	and his classmate (girl) having a conversation)

Learner	484.	Learner (Lumia) where's the scissors?
james	485.	Scissors, for what?
Learner	486.	No, Michelle 2 just doesn't worry. This is it, just make a coma.
james	487.	Ouch! Shoo (talking to his classmate and telling her to be quiet)
Teacher	488.	Teacher talking to one or two students in very low volume
	489.	Student (girl) talking to James: Hey, I need a new sharpener.
Learners	490.	Learners fiddling with their books and whispering quietly to one another...
Teacher	491.	Teacher: Tony...What's wrong my lovie?
Tony	492.	I need to go to the toilet?
Teacher	493.	Ok...just take a pass please?
Tony	494.	Thank you Miss.
Learner	495.	Learner coughing continuously and other students interacting in conversation in low volume
James	496.	whispering quietly to his classmate in very low volume
Classroom	497.	Classroom door opens and another teacher (Male) enters and starts a conversation in Afrikaans with Mrs. A
Male Teacher :	498.	Dis alweer ek, hoe gaan dit? (It's me again, how are you? Is die kinders... (Are the children...?)
Mrs A	499.	Wag gou net so, ek kom... Ek weet nie wat dit is nie! Matthew... Yes?
Male T	500.	Die kinders hou...ek weet nou nie wat hulle....hulle het nou byvoorbeeld...(The children like...I don't know what they...They did for example...)
Teacher A	501.	Ok, Ok dit sal nog steeds reg wees (Ok, ok it will still be alright... wag 'n bietjie (wait a minute... wat gaan gebeur, as hulle by die (what will happen if they get to a certain and they have to at all times...klasse kom moet hulle altyd...ons moet hulle altyd aanmoedig om...we must encourage them at all times.
Male T	502.	JA, dus wat ek ook dink. (That's what I think as well)
Teacher A	503.	As hulle dan nie wil leer nie dan maak ons dit eenvoudig vir een klas. (If they don't want to learn then we make it easier for one class to)
Male Teacher :	504.	Dus goed so, ek wil maar net kom aanmoedig het. (It's alright then, I just wanted to come and show encouragement
	505.	And the Male Teacher leaves the classroom again.
Mrs	506.	discussing a subject with one or more of the learners in low volume

Girl C	507.	Girl C talking to James: You know that...?
James	508.	Shoo!
Teacher	509.	Come and sit down, Matthew, only if its desperate, if it's not desperate then you sit.
Teacher	510.	I said no talking, I've got a problem here. Mm (.) Boy Si, you have your maths hey?
	511.	I said, no one goes to the bathroom now.
	512.	Learner C (.) can you just
Learner	513.	Learner (boy) Uh uh! Never use a knife! (Talking to James)
Teacher	514.	Can I see you Boy BB, please?
Learner	515.	Learner (girl) in math's.
Teacher	516.	If you could do me a favor? Asking Boy BB to go to another class teacher and ask for something but in very low volume...Thank you.
Teacher	517.	Learner V! I'm not gonna ask again!
Learners	518.	Learners now all quiet as their teacher are upset because of their behavior.
Teacher	519.	Talking to one of her learners: Girl Bo, make sure you have your report here tomorrow?
Girl Bo	520.	I've got it, Ma'm
Teacher	521.	And James, your report, where's it?
James	522.	We looking for it.
Teacher	523.	Give me that letter that your mother wrote.
Classroom	524.	Classroom beginning to get noisy and students talking louder now
Learner	525.	Learner (boy) talking to James in low volume
Classroom	526.	Classroom door closing as someone enters
Teacher	527.	Teacher becoming annoyed with her learners and are now raising her voice: Hey! How many times must I speak now! Now it stop's!
Learners	528.	Learners are all going quietly about their work now (Silence in the classroom)
Two	529.	Two learners (girls) are whispering to one each other
Teacher	530.	Teacher talking to one of her learners: Can you just quickly take umm... then I'll send Girl Mo now Girl Ta, take this to the secretary, tell he that I forgot your money bag...
Teacher	531.	Teacher talking to another learner: What is it?
Learner	532.	Learner (girl) talking in very low volume
Learners	533.	Learners (girl) talking to James: I'm stressing.

James	534.	What for?
Teacher	535.	Rule 3 or 4, now you know about the rule 3 or 4, just do some margins?
Teacher	536.	Boy D (Calling one of her students)
james	537.	handing something to his classmates: Here
Teacher	538.	Teacher talking to some of her Learners in low volume and calling James and the same time
James	539.	Yes Miss
Teacher	540.	Group1 I'm disqualifying you.
Learner	541.	Learner coughing badly...
Teacher	542.	Teacher talking to one or more of her students in low volume about maths.
Teacher	543.	Don'e, Mommy said I must phone these...
Learner	544.	Learner (boy) ... the whole time and... I'm just doing this...
Teacher	545.	But I just disqualified you now and she is right because you started again
Teacher	546.	Just stop it now Boy Ke, I don't know how to reprimand you?
Teacher	547.	Teacher continues to discuss maths with some of her learner
There	548.	There are footsteps up and down the classroom and the door being opened
Teacher	549.	Right, time to work...
Teacher	550.	Teacher still continuing in helping one of her student girls
Teacher	551.	Now with do I do with 62...divided by 4 and 22 dived by 9?
Learner	552.	Learner (girl) 24 times...
Teacher	553.	To do it upstairs...we've received the old...cards hey? Thanks for coming.
Two	554.	Two or three students answering...
Teacher	555.	And now they sitting there hey?
Teacher	556.	Bye bye Girl Ga.
Learner	557.	Learner (Girl Ga) Bye...
One	558.	One learner girl are mocking the girl that just left, saying: Ooh Girl Ga, Ga...
Learner s	559.	Learners are talking loud now and one of the other learners are trying to quiet them down.
Teacher	560.	Hey, No!
Teacher	561.	Have you done all your work?
All	562.	All learners answering: Yes...
Teacher	563.	So ok, hand them in. Nobody comes to me now...Give Girl Ta, a pen?
Teacher	564.	And put that by those groups.

Learner s	565.	Learners are all getting excited and talking at the same time.
Teacher	566.	NO! Take you're (.) I'll be checking the groups, and you all know by now that these are?
Leaner	567.	Leaner's all answering: NO!
Teacher	568.	Ah Ah...Thank you. Anyone done? Have you done all your work, you not done yet?
Teacher	569.	And Tony we can start by your group?
Teacher	570.	Yes my lovie?
Learner	571.	Learner (girl) Whispering something to the teacher but in very low volume.
Teacher	572.	Pardon?
Learner	573.	Learner (girl) Asking a question concerning math's.
Teacher	574.	It's 11 over 21 on that is a?
Learner	575.	Learner's fiddling around with their chairs and being noisy can't hear the teacher speaking.
Teacher	576.	Can you just quickly go and do page 11 and you gonna do it order like I did it, alright?
Teacher	577.	And also here...
Learner	578.	There!
Teacher	579.	Teacher continuing to speak to her learner: A coli (cot or cough)...In simple methods...It's two things you have to remember...
Learner s	580.	Learners continue to talk amongst one another.
	581.	Teacher, talking in very low volume to one of her learners explaining a subject on maths.
Teacher	582.	Teacher talking to a couple of her learners: That lot must go (.) Girl Ch's lot must also come back then those ones has to go to alright?
Learner	583.	Learner (boy) Yes Ma'm
Teacher	584.	There will not... Oh, that's over there, sorry...that looks neat.
Teacher	585.	Umm, thank you (.) what's his name there...move your desk away from there?
Teacher	586.	Boy K!
	587.	One learner questioning her teacher in low volume
	588.	Not now, I got lots (.) I can't really help you now. Go see who's going around now, you can check now?
Teacher	589.	Teacher trying to quiet the class by shooring them.
	590.	(Footsteps In the classroom and some of the learners are whispering to one another)
	591.	Classroom door opening and making noises now
	592.	Learner comes back with a message from the other teacher.
Teacher	593.	Ok, so those two; which one, Girl CC?

Learner	594.	Learner (boy) Yes.
Teacher	595.	And colicart knows he still owe, ok!
Teacher	596.	He only paid me one lot!
Learner	597.	Learner (Girl B) Ma'm, u'hum...I went to Mrs F and she said that there was an overdraft...
	598.	And now... how do I know it was part of my payment, because I have to pay in money?
Teacher	599.	Oh...Ok wait... you know what, I've got receipts, I'm gonna have a look.
Teacher	600.	You paid Mrs F?
Learner	601.	Learner (Girl B) Yes...
Teacher	602.	Ok, I'll find out, thank you...ok my lovie.
Teacher	603.	Uhum...Now to finally (.) and Girl K
Learner	604.	Learner (boy) No it's Girl K
Learner	605.	Learner (boy) Ma'm, should I...?
Teacher	606.	Boy Ga must still pay (.) you go to finally three and also to finally four, alright?
Learner	607.	Learner (Girl B) Yes Ma'm.
	608.	Footsteps leading to the classroom door...
	609.	Now books being shuffled around and chairs being shifted
	610.	Someone entering the classroom and the teacher getting exited on seeing this person: Mr G (.) how are you?
One	611.	One learner repeats after her teacher: Mr. G!
Mr.G	612.	Boy: I'm alright? Miss, I'm uhum
Teacher	613.	Why didn't you come to...?
Mr.G	614.	Because I had to...
Other	615.	Other learners laughing and talking all the same
Teacher	616.	Aren't you Hap here?
Mr.G	617.	Mr G: No I am ma'm, it's just...
Teacher	618.	Watch it!
Learner	619.	[Learner comes back with a message for the teacher, mumbling something in low volume]
Teacher	620.	Pardon, Mrs...yes...
Learner	621.	[Learner explains to his teacher about what the other teacher's message was but in low volume].
Teacher	622.	Is this Girl KK, wait, now I don't know what's going on!
Learner	623.	[Learner still explaining to his teacher]
And	624.	And they still going on with the concert (.) Oh, you mean you just need to practice after break?

Learner	625.	JA...
Oohhh	626.	Oohhh! I thought it's the concert that's going on for the end of the year, not for the end of the term!
Teacher	627.	Ok, let me take a look here and see what it says.
Teacher	628.	Teacher talking to her learners: Can I put my prefect in charge here?
Some	629.	Some learners shouting, yes and some of them shouting, no.
Teacher	630.	Ok, thank you (.) Anyone else (.) Girl M just check for me, alright I'll be right back?
Teacher	631.	Teacher exiting the classroom and leaving the learners on their own.
Learner	632.	Learner (girl) No, Miss said that...
Other	633.	Other learners now all talking and taking advantage of being left on their own.
Classroom	634.	Classroom door opens
One	635.	One learner coughing and the others are talking amongst themselves and fiddling around with their schoolbooks.
Learner	636.	Learner calling another learner: Girl J, girl J (.) wait wait...
Learner	637.	Learner (boy) Come tell him...
Learner	638.	Learner (girl) I can't wait to...
The	639.	The teacher walks in and shooing the class.
Learner	640.	Learner (girl) talking to a classmate
Teacher	641.	Shoot! Thank you.
Teacher	642.	Ok, now we've been to party 1, party 3 and now it's just for party 5.
Learner	643.	Learner (boy) mumbling something to his teacher...
Teacher	644.	That one has been cancelled and (.) now its party 5, alright, just go to this one, Mr B?
Learners	645.	Learners being noisy and their teacher's trying to keep them quiet.
Teacher	646.	You can all keep quiet now! Ok, then you carry on with the next (.) Girl S
Learner	647.	Learner (girl) But is it this one Miss?
Teacher	648.	Only those three on the floor, alright!
Thank	649.	Thank you! I have something very important to do here, I can't afford for you to talk now (.) I said, I can't afford that you talk now!
Learners	650.	Learners fiddling around with their schoolbooks and shuffling things around.
Teacher	651.	Teacher talking to one of her learners: Boy BO, I must make a copy of your scissors.
Learner	652.	Learner (Boy BO) A copy?
Learner	653.	Learners all laughing quite loud...

s		
Teacher	654.	Shoot, thank you!
Teacher	655.	I've got one.
Learner	656.	Learner (boy) Teacher said she'll do it tomorrow.
Teacher	657.	Ok.
Teacher	658.	Josh...you doing the trial and he's doing the trial hey?
Learner	659.	Learner (Boy J) Yes.
Teacher	660.	Boy Br and you (.) so I must make (.) I just (.) Come fetch here?
This	661.	This one is for Boy Br for the absentee (.) you must take that along for J, for the phone (.) take this along, so (.)
Teacher	662.	Hey! You don't take his scissors; just take a copy to make a copy.
Learner	663.	Learner (boy) Ma'm, im gonna do scissors.
Teacher	664.	Are you doing scissors
Learner	665.	Learner (boy) mumbling something to his teacher in low volume.
Teacher	666.	I'm gonna rub out that stencil lines now...I then I must make a copy of yours...
Some	667.	Some learners still talking to one another while the teacher's talking, she getting annoyed and quieting them
Teacher	668.	Thank you! Leslie, are you done?
Learner	669.	Learner (Girl L) Yes Ma'm.
Teacher	670.	And you know (.) adjectives? Like this!
Learner	671.	Learner (girl) Yes.
All	672.	All students now talking at the same time.
Teacher	673.	Teacher: Thank you
Learner	674.	Learner (boy) Mr D knows!
It	675.	It's actually a pity now that they chose the same one, I never thought of that I really of one another
Learner	676.	Learner (boy) and the scissors
Teacher	677.	I'm sorry, I forgot.
Learner s	678.	Learners talking to each other randomly
James	679.	We did it last year.
Learner	680.	Learner (boy) what you talking about last year's stuff.
James	681.	We did it in grade 3.

Learner	682.	Learner (girl) only last year
Teacher	683.	Now are you ready for that one, are you doing scissors?
	684.	Learners talking loud now.
Teacher	685.	Have you learned anything else, I wonder if I shouldn't give something else as you don't know sums yet?
Learners	686.	[Learners are quite noisy]
Teacher	687.	I can't handle this any longer (.) what is our rule (.) if I talk to a child, you don't talk!
Learner	688.	[Learner (boy) whispering to his classmate in low volume]
Learner	689.	[boy] I had a whole pack of cones in here.
Learner	690.	Learner #2: It's not!
Learner	691.	Now what do you think I must do with that?
Teacher	692.	And I had a whole pack of cones...give him this
Learner	693.	No
Teacher	694.	Group 1, must I disqualify you for tomorrow as well, group 3's gonna be next!
Now	695.	Now learners are going about their work quietly.
Teacher	696.	Teacher talking in low volume to one of her learners: What's that one doing there?
Teacher	697.	Boy M, Ah ah! Let me see here?
Teacher	698.	That one (.) you go see if you can learn it for tomorrow because you don't know the other one, alright?
James	699.	For when is it?
Teacher	700.	Tuesday...
James	701.	(still talking to his teacher): But which day is it at school?
Teacher	702.	Next Tuesday.
James	703.	So, next Tuesday after school.
Teacher	704.	JA (.) will you be able to learn it, now go and see if you can get it right?
Teacher	705.	Teacher now talking to another learner: Boy R, how far are you?
Learner	706.	Learner (Boy R) Miss, this is how
Teacher	707.	Boy R, I'm going to be very cross if you (.) put it on my desk?
Learners	708.	[Learners are now talking louder and fiddling with their books and stationary].
Teacher	709.	Stop talking in my class!
Teacher	710.	Where is that card for their report that I have not got here...

Two	711.	Two or more learners answering: Here Miss
Teacher	712.	Who must still hand in reports? I'm quite sure (.) I can't understand this!
Teacher	713.	Because I ticked it off here... whose report was not signed and I gave it back to them? Was it Tony's or Hap's... Now Hap brought his back today. Now I want you all to stand behind here?
All	714.	[All learners are bustling around the room to get a space to stand].
Teacher	715.	Uhum...Hap, Girl T, Girl CC, ok Boy J, Boy R, Girl M
Teacher	716.	Who's talking! Girl W, Girl Z, Girl KL, Girl S, Boy CH, Girl C, Boy CC, Girl BA I see that!
Beverly	717.	Girl BE, Siphon, Tasneema, Girl C, Tony, Boy S, Boy SE, Girl SH, Girl AZ,
Learner	718.	Learner (Girl AZ) Miss, she said I must not tell you.
Learner	719.	Learner (girl) its Boy R.
Learner	720.	It is mine.
Teacher	721.	Teacher talking to one of her learners: I ticked it off when you (.) I very seldom (.) Yes, I spoke to your mommy about it.
	722.	James talking to one of his classmates in low volume
Learners	723.	Learners all talking to one another...
Teacher	724.	Please sit? You know...
Learner	725.	Learner (girl) I think it's hot here
Teacher	726.	It's crowdy in here.
Some	727.	Some girls giggling and making fun of what the teacher's referring to.
Teacher	728.	I'm not even finished with my work here...I used to be...
Learner	729.	Learner (girl) Ah! Stuck in!
Teacher	730.	Right! I still have to do one piece.
Teacher	731.	I would all like you now...are you still busy with their math's
Learner	732.	Learner answers the teacher but in low volume...
Teacher	733.	Teacher: I'm just giving you 5 more minutes.
Learners	734.	Learners whispering to one another.
Teacher	735.	NO!
Teacher	736.	Hey, Listen!
Learner	737.	Learner (boy) Ma'm, can I rub the board?
Teacher	738.	Please.

Learner	739.	Learner (boy) JA, this is the story of my life...
Learners	740.	Learners talking amongst one another and being busy with their work.
Teacher	741.	Teacher: Ahah! Who is still talking?
James	742.	James and his classmate whispering to one another.
Telephone	743.	Telephone ringing
Teacher	744.	Now they call, after all the messages I left
Teacher	745.	Hello (.) the conversation with the other person on the line is in low volume.
Learner	746.	Learner (boy) Miss
Teacher	747.	Teacher talking to one of the learners (boy): Boy CA, Mommy replied for it for this evening, ok?
	748.	Ok.
Teacher	749.	I want all the geo...Thank you! All the geography books in front on my desk...I won't check.
Learner	750.	Learner (boy) sitting next to James: My bad!
Teacher	751.	Did you hear what I said?
Learner	752.	Learner (boy) No, they too slow for me.
	753.	One of the learners trying to quiet the class but it's impossible.
James	754.	I love this book.
Learner	755.	Learner (boy) next to James: Well; it's easy (.) I've seen it at the library, I study it like sh (.) every day and the whole night (.) the whole day
Teacher	756.	Teacher talking to some of her other learners: Apparently, they don't know what it is!
Learner	757.	Learner (boy) next to James: Even if you at sports...Is your mom still borrowing you money?
James	758.	Next Tuesday.
Learner	759.	Learner (boy) (.) It's a...how do we do that?
Teacher	760.	Right! Look at the bottom (.) you can carry on (.) Uhum!
Teacher	761.	Girl C (.) I never had to speak to you so much, what is going on?
Kiara	762.	He's always irritating me. Referring to the boy sitting next to her.
Teacher	763.	Right, you can quickly remember, we have B-plus.
Learner	764.	Learner (boy) me!
Teacher	765.	We discussed the umm! The reason for differences...who can tell me quickly?
Teacher	766.	8 or 6...why are we...you can sign, 8 or 6?
Teacher	767.	You can tell me quick...first one?
Learner	768.	Learner (girl) Length of gates

Teacher	769.	Length of gates
Learner	770.	Learner (boy) the rise of the earth
Teacher	771.	The raise of the earth (.) where else do we know this from?
Learner	772.	Learner (boy)
Teacher	773.	How many, then?
Learners	774.	Learners all saying simultaneously
Teacher	775.	Dividing the sea?
Learner	776.	And (.) then (.) the
Teacher	777.	Teacher and learners saying it simultaneously: The influence of the ocean.
Teacher	778.	And what else is in the sea. Sea pirates and (.)
Learner	779.	Learner (boy) and above sea-level.
Teacher	780.	Ok, quickly look at my (.) quickly do it like this, quickly face me... quickly, before we forget?
A	781.	A bell or an alarm rings and a female teacher's talking over the school's intercom.
Teacher	782.	Boy Joe, you and Boy St can quickly go...alright!
Learner	783.	Learner (Boy Joe) and what if it breaks?
Teacher	784.	No, they already busy...then you take it there and the recycle bins are there.
Now	785.	Now all the learners wants' to assist the teacher and are debating who wants to do what.
Teacher	786.	Now all quickly face here...Thank you!
Learner	787.	Learner sitting next to James that was first here, what difference does it make?
Teacher	788.	Thank you Boy J
Teacher	789.	Am I outside or (.) here
Learner	790.	Learner (boy) Inside.
Teacher	791.	Excuse me? Differences of the... The length of the...Gates!
Learners	792.	Learners answering simultaneously: Gates...
Teacher	793.	And then the ray...come, with me...sunray's hit the...?
Teacher	794.	Teacher and learners: Earth.
Teacher	795.	Where else do you get direct rays...in...?
Teacher	796.	Teacher and learners: ...
Teacher	797.	The distance in tropical country, is...?
Teacher	798.	Teacher and learners: ...

Teacher	799.	Teacher: Occult one?
Learner	800.	Learner (Lumi) into the sea.
Teacher	801.	Where?
Teacher	802.	Influence of the...
Teacher	803.	Teacher and learners: Ocean.
Teacher	804.	5 th one?
Learner s	805.	Sea pirates.
Teacher	806.	Teacher: 6 th one?
Teacher	807.	Teacher and learners: Highest above sea level.
Teacher	808.	Would you remember that?
Learner s	809.	Learners: Yes!
Teacher	810.	Right... the 1st one? The length of the...?
Teacher	811.	Teacher and learners: Days.
Teacher	812.	Then, 2 nd one?
Teacher	813.	Teacher and learners: The ray of the sun reaches the earth.
Teacher	814.	Remember, direct rays...rays. All of the direct rays fall is the...
Teacher	815.	Teacher and learners: Equator.
Teacher	816.	Influence of the...
Learner s	817.	The Ocean!
Teacher	818.	Sea Pirates.
Teacher	819.	Teacher and learners: Highest above sea level.
Teacher	820.	Again!
Teacher	821.	Teacher and learners: Length of days, the way the sun reaches the, earth...Equator, Influence of the ocean's...Sea Pirates...Highest above sea level
Teacher	822.	Have you got it?
Teacher	823.	Now this morning we gonna get, we are not gonna do the...yet, I'll tell you why...I'm gonna do that one morning in my...space.
Learner	824.	Learner (girl) Mumbling something to her teacher in low volume...
Teacher	825.	Teacher: I just wanted to get my m...
Learner	826.	Learner (girl) ...

Teacher	827.	Right! We are now going to look at rainfalls... who can tell me quickly...hands up! Who can tell me quickly?
Teacher	828.	In v... explainable...In what uses does rainfall measure?
Teacher	829.	Don't look at the book...In unit?
Learner	830.	Learner (boy) Milliliters.
Teacher	831.	No! You would think that its mille inches, but it's not mille inches, because any liquid you want to measure in milliliters or meters but it is not measured in milliliters...hands up! Can't you remember from SOS?
Learner	832.	Learner (girl) Centimeters.
Teacher	833.	Not centimeters
Learner	834.	Learner (boy) Haaibo!
Keenan	835.	Millimeter...
Teacher	836.	No...millimeters, it is measured in millimeters, you go and have a look...This morning I was shocked...Quickly listen...I'm waiting?
Teacher	837.	Eastern Cape...who can remember...I told you something...can you remember the past weekend?
Teacher	838.	Is somebody talking with me...you don't cannery now, you face me?
Teacher	839.	The past weekend, we had a terrible wind here; it was a south Easter (.) now the south Easter is outer...is summery, not the wintery (.) but the south Easter b...falls at the interior of our country especially the Eastern Cape. That part of our Country had a lot of rain and a lot of snow and this morning or yesterday afternoon in the paper, was yesterday yes, no it was this morning. It was last night, when I was waiting for Mr B to finish with his parents. I looked through the paper and they had a rainfall for the past few days and there were places that got such a lot of rain, and it's all (.) you go and have a look (.) Millilitres...x3
	840.	Now if ask you in which unit...it is milliliters... You sit still here! (Shouting at one of the learners)
Teacher	841.	If I ask you in which instrument do I measure it...hands up! With which instrument...they showed you...they showed you... at SOS! It looks like this...It's a watch...a rain watch...hands up!
Teacher	842.	Yes?
Learner	843.	Learner (boy) it's a rain board...
Teacher	844.	Yes?
Teacher	845.	No, it's not a rain board or a rain gage, something to do with rain board, rain gage...They showed you, that morning with the lesson With the parameter and all that, in that little box...can you remember?
Learners	846.	No...
Teacher	847.	Outside...I didn't change the lesson...quickly...they showed you the rain gage...didn't they show it this year?

Learners	848.	No...
Teacher	849.	Oohhh! Sorry...I thought they showed you!
Teacher	850.	Now on our page 5, you can quickly have a look...I want you...
Learner	851.	Learner (boy) giving a painful sound off: Ouch!
Teacher	852.	On your right, it says rain is measured in millimeters.
Teacher	853.	Grade 5...every year we catch...either...it's milliliters, its rain is measured in millimeters.
Teacher	854.	Right! Now I want you all eyes on the board here quickly? You have all seen the....you just have to underline that...now these are the...
Learner	855.	Learner (boy) getting bored and sighing quite loud.
Teacher	856.	If that is Table Mountain, this part need's to do or we used to do with the children when we do sights, but we don't do it anymore...
Teacher	857.	I said put that ruler down! Girl Be, I'm waiting?
	858.	the wind blows the south Easter...blow's against the Mountain...right! It's quite strong...as it blows in the ocean; it gathers a lot of moisture...alright! Now this wind contains moisture, but it can't blow through the mountain...it blows against the mountain and it is forced up and the higher you go...
Teacher	859.	Teacher and learner (girl) answers simultaneously: The colder it gets.
Teacher	860.	Now where do that water vapour? Remember, as the wind blows, what happens?
Teacher	861.	Water evaporates from the Ocean so c...whatever and it contains a lot of moisture. That's why we call moisture...vapour.
Teacher	862.	as that water vapour is forced up towards the mountain...
The	863.	The sound of the intercom goes on and there's an announcement...the class is very quiet for about 2minutes.
Teacher	864.	Teacher continues on the subject: As it blows against the mountain...quickly look here?
Teacher	865.	The wind containing the water vapour...the air containing the water vapour is forced up the mountain...the higher you go, the colder it gets!
Teacher	866.	Now that water vapour is called...If I go for a shower now and it's a cold morning, and I turn those taps on and it's very very hot...what forms up against the tiles?
	867.	...Little drops of water...now the same...that same water vapour...when that vapour...I put water in this room but I don't see drops of water, but when that water vapour...it is forced up x3... and the colder it gets, the water vapour cools down...The minute water vapour cools down or steam cools down, it forms little drops of water and those little drops cling together and they form a cloud... If I go on the mountain and I walk through the mist, what happens to your hair?
Learner	868.	Learner (girl) it gets wet.

Teacher	869.	[Repeating]: It gets wet. What is it? It is the water drops in the mist. And what is the difference between this and a cloud? The cloud is up there and the mist is down here...it is the same thing, exactly the same thing!
When	870.	When the water vapour cools down, it forms little drops of water, which cling together and they form a cloud...Now the following happens, I have this huge cloud on the mountain, alright!
When	871.	When more water vapour is cooled down, the little drops become larger and bigger and fatter...now they can't float anymore... and they drop to the earth and we say...it rains.
That	872.	That is how it starts raining...But there are two words I want you to remember and I'm gonna ask you this after break.
When	873.	When water...if I put water there or there's a little paddle...outside after the rain and after a while it's gone...it did disappear, what do we say what happened?
Learner	874.	Learner (B) it evaporated.
Teacher	875.	Teacher repeating the same words...
Teacher	876.	It hasn't disappeared, the water has changed it's phase...it was water but now that it's evaporated its?
Learners	877.	It's vapour
Teacher	878.	Now when that water vapour cools down... we have the opposite...the opposite happening and it's not evaporation...I think you know
Learner	879.	Learner (boy) Condensation!
Teacher	880.	Teacher repeating the same words...
Teacher	881.	It's the reverse of evaporation...if water...I remember as before...if you get water vapour it evaporates the same place...
The	882.	The classroom door opens
Teacher	883.	You must knock then enter...And who do you wanna see?
Learner	884.	Learner at the door: Learner Mu!
Teacher	885.	Teacher repeats the name: Learner Mu
Learner	886.	Learner at the door: here's you're...handing something to Learner Mu)
Teacher	887.	Why are you paying her?
Learner	888.	Learner at the door: I owe her Miss.
Teacher	889.	Ok.
And	890.	And the door closes
When	891.	When water evaporates we say, what took place?
Teacher	892.	Teacher and learners: Evaporation

Teacher	893.	But that's a process...water evaporates...then evaporations taking place...When that water vapour cools down, little drops of water are formed and it returns back to the earth in the form of water and what do we say took place?
Teacher	894.	Teacher and learners: Condensation.
Teacher	895.	And then we have what, what is formed now?
Learner	896.	Learner answering but in low volume
Teacher	897.	Teacher: Huh!
All	898.	All learners: It's a cycle...
Teacher	899.	Teacher: Which we call a?
Teacher	900.	Teacher and learners: A cycle.
Teacher	901.	Teacher: Water evaporates everyday In the form of water vapour...three minute it cools down
We	902.	We say, what took place?
Teacher	903.	Teacher and learners: Condensation.
Teacher	904.	When it cools down, remember the steam against the tile, it forms little drops of water and clinging together to form a cloud, but as more water evaporates, it means...
Teacher	905.	Now they can't close anymore and they drop... Who can tell me how rain is formed?
All	906.	All students murmuring together...
Learner	907.	Learner (boy) from the cold
Josh	908.	In hail storm.
Teacher	909.	What's the answer, Josh...Ahahah!
Boy J	910.	In hail form.
All	911.	All learners talking at the same time to answer the question...
Teacher	912.	Shoo ing the class...Sit still with that ruler...Thank you.
Learner	913.	Learner (boy) when layers of water...
Teacher	914.	When layers of water...but you know what happens...it becomes...
	915.	Learner (girl)
Teacher	916.	Isn't there children outside or my children?
	917.	One learner interrupting the teacher
Teacher	918.	I'm still busy with my lesson.
Learner (boy)	919.	outside Miss, outside...
Teacher	920.	Face me (talking to her class)
Teacher	921.	(Learner girl), come inside, I'll stick your face...

All	922.	[All learners laughing at what the teacher said and think it was really funny].
Learner	923.	Learner talking to her teacher but in low volume
Teacher	924.	You know what he sees' almost like a racetrack, let me tell you...almost like a hailstorm...
Learner	925.	Learner (boy) talking to James. I did that in exams last year.
Teacher	926.	Now those clouds form little drops of water, is forced even higher and the higher you go the colder it gets...in other words: the other layer, it starts freezing and when those little drops freeze, then it falls to the earth in the form of...?
Learner	927.	Learner (girl) Hail
Teacher	928.	Girl SH?
Shakiera	929.	I was just gonna say that now ma'm.
Teacher	930.	Yes my luvie?
Learner	931.	Learner (girl) it's the same water we use all the time.
Teacher	932.	It's the same water we use, it's just recycled.
Learners	933.	Learners now all murmuring amongst one another
Teacher	934.	Please answer quickly...you know what? Thank you...I'm waiting?
Learners	935.	Learners are still talking ignoring their teacher
Teacher	936.	Right...thank you! I'm waiting for everybody here?
A	937.	A bell sound goes off...
Teacher	938.	Teacher talking to her learners: After the break...we have a concert practice...I want you to please listen to me now...your best behaviour after break...I am not going to ask you to...right!
All	939.	All learners rushing out of the classroom for their break
James	940.	What's wrong with you man?
Friend	941.	No...you see, it's like this, you know this... it's like this one...
James	942.	JA...this... No com'on you did it again!
James	943.	S... This is cool...
Now	944.	Now its way too noisy as it is break time and the learners are playing
Learner	945.	Learner (boy) I just want to hold your hand?
Learners	946.	Learners (girl) Boy Da please...
Children	947.	[Children screaming and shouting at one another at the same time]

James	948.	Talking to a friend: isn't that a better one...No, I'm just asking...what happened?
Friend	949.	I think he must stay...
Jim	950.	Jim Exactly Boy BB
Friend	951.	In one day...
Learner	952.	Learner (boy) talking to James: Hey Bru...Howzit?
James	953.	Hey you...
James	954.	Is Ryan at it again, who helps in your class?
Friend	955.	Friend: No-one...
James	956.	James and his friend are having an ongoing conversation but the noises are too loud
Some	957.	Some learners laughing for some joke James made...
Friend	958.	Look...there's 17 up closely?
James	959.	You don't know?
Friend	960.	What the heck!
James	961.	James
	962.	Another friend: I don't know what's happening...
Friend	963.	are you staying here for the whole day?
Jim	964.	JA! Wow...
Friend	965.	Friend talking to James: I have to do an oral and I've got no clue on how to use it...
James	966.	James Where are they going?
Friend	967.	Home...
James	968.	James: ...
Friend	969.	Aaagh! ...
Jim	970.	Jim shouting at one of their friends: Give it!
James	971.	Go forward...yes... that is so uncool...wait for me, wait?
Friend	972.	He's not coming so don't call him...
James	973.	Do you wanna keep my phone?
Friend	974.	Boy K, have you seen Boy Br?
Friend	975.	Do you have others?
James	976.	Is this the b...cord?
Friend	977.	No.
James	978.	Let me call him for you...

Friend	979.	Friend calling for Josh...
Learners	980.	Learners are all being extremely loud now
A	981.	A bell rings...
Jim	982.	Jim talking to his friend: Do you wanna play?
James	983.	How come he has your bag?
Friend	984.	No man, take the bag...
James	985.	has your bag...
Friend	986.	I know.
Learner	987.	Learner (boy) Hey, you'll be the last one.
Teacher	988.	Teacher (Male) Stand in straight lines?
Learner	989.	Learner talking to James: I watched Atlanta...
James	990.	It was last night on (TV)
Friend	991.	Never mind...
James	992.	No I don't do it...
Friend	993.	I won't be able to make it...
Learners	994.	Learners mumbling and chatting loudly to one another
One	995.	One learner (boy) Owe Boy JJ!
James	996.	Hey shut up! Check this out...cool
Friend	997.	Share, Share!
One	998.	One or two learners talking in Xhosa
James	999.	I'm allergic to that stuff
Teacher	1000.	Teacher (Male) now talking to the learners: Let it stay there, I don't know what's going on with that stuff...Rietvlei, Blauwberg, Atlanta... right!
Learners	1001.	Learners talking noisily in Afrikaans to one another
Learner	1002.	Learner (boy) ...
Male T	1003.	Hey...get over here...Hello! Teacher now conversing in Afrikaans.
Learners	1004.	Learners are much noisier now...Male Teacher Giving a hard blow on his whistle to quiet the learners and commanding them to sit quietly. Learners still refuse to keep quiet All learners are attending the school hall now, as there are plenty noises. Male Teacher blowing his whistle once more to quiet the learners
James	1005.	James's friend: Hey, he was here!
	1006.	One learner laughing uncontrollably. Some learners talking in the background but too faint too understand.

Mrs A	1007.	Thank you Mrs...for helping us out...with this very pro...everyone...
Female	1008.	Female Teacher: Right...these girls are going to be your mirror image...You go this way, you go that way? Everything will be to your right, every time you going to move right!
Female	1009.	Female Teacher: Umm...it all counts to four...excellent! Right...put your hands together
	1010.	[Everyone in the hall including the teachers are clapping their hands] ... Step forward, right, left, right left, right...then together, one two...keep it moving...you gonna move as one person and right, left, right...
	1011.	The hall's becoming quite noisy and the learners have to be quieted...
Male T	1012.	Male Teacher shouting at some of the learners, especially the boys: Hey, stop moving around there!
Female	1013.	[Female teacher] Right, left, forward, up, up...right left forward, forward up, up...
	1014.	[And the teacher continues to practice with the learners for their concert...there are also now a lot of movement and noise in the hall. All learners participating are rhyming their steps together. Some girls are giggling and whispering to one another. A whistle is being blown and the music start's playing... Everyone listen's to the teacher's instructions on how to move while the music's playing and when the song finishes they all give themselves a round of applause].
	1015.	Music stop's midway and the learners are all surprised and are wondering what's happening... Now there are quite a lot of noises going on.
	1016.	[One learner to the other]: Hey Jase.
	1017.	The whistle gets blown again. The Music teacher starts clapping her hands and the learners follow...one two three four... Music teacher continues with her dancing instructions. Learners become noisy once more and the whistle gets blown and one of the teachers are requesting for them to be quiet. And once more the instructions continue. Some of the learners are laughing and joking around while their dance practice continues... About six or more dance sessions continues before conversations starts among learners.
James	1018.	Why...?
Tony	1019.	No... we have to do it again!
Jase	1020.	James shut your mouth?
More	1021.	More mumbling from the learners in low volume
Learner	1022.	Learner (boy) Aren't you scared of me?
James	1023.	Why can't we do it like that?
Now	1024.	Now there are much more noise in the hall...And then the whistle gets blown again...
James	1025.	Who told you to do that?
Jase	1026.	Cool!
All	1027.	All learners laughing at some joke one of them said.
	1028.	And then the whistle blows again.
James	1029.	No...we are going to class...
Tony	1030.	I'm Sorry, I'm sorry...

James	1031.	Why do you have to be so mean to me!
Learners	1032.	Learners are talking quite loud to one another, basically shouting at each other.
The	1033.	The whistle blows again and the learners are now a little quieter.
	1034.	Mrs A: What the teacher's going to show you now...no talking? We are not going to practice any longer, we are just gonna call Baby Ro we gonna let these two...make sure that it's straight out? I want you four...you two come stand here...not you Tony...stand next to...in a row, spread out on the other side?
Mrs A	1035.	: Only the grade 5's? Grade 7's, just get closer to the door... just stand in arrow like this?
And	1036.	And these two also...
Tony	1037.	Tony to James: move! It's not funny!
Mrs A	1038.	Shouting at James for not listening!
Learners	1039.	Learners are still quite noisy...
James	1040.	Why don't you ask me?
	1041.	Whistle gets blown again
Learner	1042.	Learner (boy) Oh my word!
Male	1043.	Male Teacher: Ok...everyone in line?
Jase	1044.	Jase saying something to James but in low volume...
James	1045.	What, what? I thought so...thought so!
Learner	1046.	Learner (boy) you're impossible, you know that!
Tony	1047.	James (.) is he gone, has he gone?
Jse	1048.	So is he, I mean...so is she...Miss!
Learners	1049.	Learners are talking amongst one another very loudly. The whistle gets blown once more for the learners' attention and to keep quiet.
Male	1050.	Male Teacher: Number 13... then calling out some other names as well.
Learner	1051.	Learner (boy) No sir... it's him...
Male teacher:	1052.	Hey, leave it... its ok! Hey; Donna where you going?
Mrs.A	1053.	Is he here?
Male T	1054.	What?
Learner	1055.	Learner (boy) Call Boy Br
	1056.	Another learner (boy) Hey you can't chicken out...
Some	1057.	Some girls are making fun of the boys and laughing uncontrollably...

Learner	1058.	Learner (boy) making strange sounds...
Male	1059.	Male teacher: Jase
Jase	1060.	What does that mean?
Male	1061.	Male teacher: Why do you always touch your leg...what is wrong with it?
All	1062.	All learners laughing as they think that, that was a funny question.
Learner	1063.	Learner (boy) Jase does that to basically everyone...
Another	1064.	Another learner (boy) He can't bend down...
Male	1065.	Male teacher: it looks like a pencil...
Learners	1066.	Learners all laughing again...
Learner	1067.	Learner (boy) sir Look at Boy Br.
Whistle	1068.	Whistle being blown again as there are quite a lot of noise going on and then the music starts again...
James	1069.	Shouting to one of his classmates: Shut up!
Learners	1070.	Learners are quite noisy during their rehearsal and their male teacher has to intervene...
Male T	1071.	Stop it Jase
Jase	1072.	But I didn't= =
Male	1073.	= =I don't care
Some	1074.	Some learners are talking amongst themselves and Mrs A are annoyed and are now shouting at them. The music stops and another song start playing and all learners are looking at their dance instructor for guidance James and his classmates are singing along to the music and are chatting and laughing loudly to each other.
Dance instructor	1075.	Boy Ca!
Boy Ca	1076.	But he's pushing me...
The	1077.	The music stops midway and the teacher pronounces...
Teacher	1078.	Ok...listen?
Last	1079.	Last night after the parent evening...Who's speaking? Come stand over here?
Some	1080.	Some learners are blaming each other for the noise and loud talking...
	1081.	STOP! There's nothing to smile about...you being rude! Put the ultra violet light on, only one? And I brought the hats from our classroom...you know my class... It looks amazing...with the ultraviolet lights...it looks stunning! If you do it correctly, if you have floppy hands, it's gonna look terrible...hey? You have to make sure...
Grade	1082.	Grade's 7's at the back... you have to make sure that your hands are strong...not like this...like...that's not the move that we taught you, hey you doing something else... [Learners laughing]

Mrs A	1083.	It's that and that! Make sure your hands are strong...
Mrs A	1084.	You have to tuck your one hand like...
The	1085.	The other female teacher: Make sure it's very visible? And I can guarantee you that we are going to be the favourites of the night...
All	1086.	All learners getting excited and are agreeing with the teacher.
The	1087.	[The other female teacher:] make sure everybody do their best...ok?
The	1088.	[The learners are now actually shouting at one another instead of talking. And the whistle goes again as everyone leaving the hall to go back to their classrooms.]
M	1089.	Ok, my boys...my boys and my girls... Thank you Girl M...thank you for being quiet now...
	1090.	A learner (boy) are saying something to the other learner...
James	1091.	I'm not talking to you man!
Jase	1092.	You think it's funny?
James	1093.	Where you going?
Mrs A	1094.	Check here Girl Li?
Mrs A	1095.	Stop...calm down...we not having a cabana here. Thank you Girl L (.) don't let me start...I'll flatten you.
Learners	1096.	Learners are all laughing at what their teacher said.
Jase	1097.	The girls don't like it...
Mrs	1098.	Ah, ah!
Learner	1099.	Learner (boy) Miss...
Learners	1100.	Learners are talking quite loud amongst themselves...
Mrs	1101.	Com'on now quickly sit down...Right! I don't want no-body to go...stop the talking! I said softly...
Mrs	1102.	Mrs B will be here now shortly...you know what you can do...
James	1103.	Here she is Miss...
Mrs	1104.	Mrs B ...and then I left and came back again...shame.
The	1105.	The two teachers are conversing but in low volume...
Mrs	1106.	I just said now... help here quickly...you not gonna do this to me...thank you.
Mrs A	1107.	Right...Mrs B has something to say...sit down? Thank you...move up my luvie?
Tony	1108.	I don't get it... [The two teachers are conversing but in low volume again. While the teachers are talking, are the learners talking as well and quite loud too.]
Mrs A	1109.	Hey...this is really unacceptable, you already disappointed me...Thank you...Hap sit down now? I just wanna ask Mrs A if we...

	1110.	The teachers continue their discussion
Mrs A	1111.	Right...let me just think straight here...
Tony	1112.	Miss there's someone at the door? [There's a lot of activity going on in the classroom now].
Mrs A	1113.	Ah, ah! It's a nice p...hey; I have to tell you...
	1114.	The other teacher laughing at what Mrs A just said.
Girl M	1115.	Girl It was that time right?
James	1116.	It was six days ago...
Mrs B	1117.	Mrs B Hey, hey! Settle down nicely...excuse me...you will see on umm...page two is not making money with technology and its number is number 3. Who's talking...is this a competition? I will not have you do that!
Hap	1118.	What did you say about...? (Talking to one of his classmates)
Teacher	1119.	Teacher's cell's ringing...
Mrs	1120.	I don't know who this is hey... (Talking to her learners)
	1121.	She answers her cell and starts a conversation with the other person on the other line.
\	1122.	And she (teacher) continues to talk to her learners...
Mrs B	1123.	You know...every time now on a Friday or either in the week which is on a Wednesday... We have for concert practice...we can't send it out...it's not fair on Mrs ...we don't have time...
Learner	1124.	Learner (Hap) Miss...
Mrs A	1125.	Did you hear me now? Every time you were disrupted and somebody walks in here...but it stops now!
Ha	1126.	Miss...what is the thing that we must do with this card here?
Mrs A	1127.	That is the...of the end of the...but we will help you...we don't know what we gonna do with that yet?
Ha	1128.	Is that we going to do?
Mrs A	1129.	It's what the whole school is going to do that...
Some	1130.	Some of the learners now talking at the same time and moaning about this particular project.
Mrs A	1131.	Thank you...I said thank you! Who's still talking? At least we doing something for the concert...You must settle down the minute you walk in here...
One	1132.	One of her learners hands her something and she thanks the learner (girl) for it in Afrikaans.
Mrs B	1133.	Right! Listen, just follow the instructions...listen...I'm going to send you to go do something in the staffroom and just give it to the prefect...the one on top...you go with her...
One	1134.	One or more learners are interrupting the teacher and she's shushing them...

Mrs B	1135.	Get me a file on my desk...they are eight files, they are small...it's got a school badge on it and it says...dear parent and...with time and all that? You know I haven't given it to my other...so I thought on my way to the staffroom they going home...wait...it's in a separate file there...ok...don't scratch too deep, look in the separate files first? I hope it's findable
Learner	1136.	Learner (girl) miss (.) in what learning area?
Mrs B	1137.	Technology.
Learner	1138.	Learner (boy) Miss, I got two...
Mrs B	1139.	Are you surviving yet?
Learner	1140.	Learner (girl) Yes.
Mrs B	1141.	Are you getting it on the book?
Learners	1142.	Learners are chatting amongst themselves oblivious about the teacher...
Mrs B	1143.	Ah, ah! It's there for a reason...it's not a decoration...did you do it?
Learner	1144.	Learner (boy) JA!
Mrs B	1145.	Right! Remember what I said to the learner...area technology don't make...module or modern name is making money with technology...it's on the first page and on the second page...and the number is number three.
Learner	1146.	Learner (girl and boy) asking their teacher a question but in low volume...
Mrs B	1147.	Sorry... [Some of the students are asking questions randomly now but in very low volume. The teacher is now pacing the classroom while the learners are busy writing in their textbooks.]
Mrs B	1148.	Is that your handwriting on that...ha! I pictured you with a neat handwriting...hey? Nicely.
Tony	1149.	Mine's neat
Mrs B	1150.	To a learner How can you do double up like this...there you go...like that, why are you doing it like that?
Learner	1151.	Learner (girl) I don't know...3d or w?
Mrs B	1152.	This goes to...carry on...it's nine from the bottom of the sea...
	1153.	Some of the learners giggling at what the teacher said.
Mrs B	1154.	You do it like...to the bottom of the sea...there you go.
Hap	1155.	Miss...do we have to write in print on our module?
Mrs A	1156.	It doesn't matter you still have to...why are you waiting for the others to count?
	1157.	It's a lot...
Mrs B	1158.	Make it with other...you have to find a way to make I and e...remember that rule?
Learners	1159.	Learners all answering simultaneously: Yes.

Learner	1160.	Learner (girl) what?
The	1161.	The classroom's extremely quiet as the learners are concentrating on their work...
Mrs B	1162.	What do you think suppose that girl was doing in my office?
James	1163.	It was maybe...
Mrs B	1164.	Maybe it's your neckline... [All learners now want to talk and answer at the same time]
Mrs B	1165.	Where was it on my... but did you see it?
James	1166.	JA...
Mrs B	1167.	B...I'm gonna send you to grade 5e2...no, you'll go stand in there... [Learners are talking while the teacher's speaking but it's in low volume.]
Learner	1168.	Learner (boy) I used to be in that class...
Mrs B	1169.	It's got nothing to do with what I'm talking about...put on your front cover while you waiting? [Learners are talking quietly amongst themselves]
Mrs B	1170.	to one of her learners: Are you playing off tomorrow Mr.A?
Boy	1171.	Yes.
Mrs B	1172.	Have one of you got tipex that I can quickly use?
One	1173.	[One or more learners answering]: Yes.
Mrs B	1174.	I borrowed it from Mr. B and gave it back to Mr. D one of the two...
Boy	1175.	No Miss...you borrowed it from Mr D and gave it back to Mr Benet.
Mrs B	1176.	No... you can't ask him again.
Jase	1177.	Even if you borrow...
Mrs B	1178.	Right...have you finished up on colours yet?
All	1179.	No
Mrs B	1180.	Well quietly please?
One	1181.	One learner (girl) asking her teacher a question...
Mrs B	1182.	Yes...of course!
Learner	1183.	Learner (girl) Is it happy colours?
Mrs	1184.	Yes... you can always pack two...
Learner	1185.	Learner (boy) WHY? You never want too...
One	1186.	One or two learners mumbling to each other in low volume...
Mrs B	1187.	I've got bad...what's your name my girl...what's your name?
A	1188.	A few learners' answers: Girl Ki
Mrs B	1189.	I've got bad news for you...your hair is too long to be wearing loose?

kitty	1190.	I can't tie it up yet, it's too short...
Mrs B	1191.	I know...It's frustrating
Girl C	1192.	Even if I wear a headband...
At	1193.	At the same time the class intercom bleeps and all the learners are quiet.
Mrs	1194.	saying something to her learners but in low volume
A	1195.	A few learners starts talking to their teacher at the same time, but quite loud and
Learner	1196.	Learner (boy): only girls does that.
Mrs B	1197.	Shoos...Excuse me! I'm very sorry...boys could you pro...your hands before...
Some	1198.	Some of the learners making funny sounds and are complaining at what their teacher said.
Mrs B	1199.	Right...thank you! [More talking from the learners amongst each other]
Mrs B	1200.	Ah, ah! Did you play James?
James	1201.	Yes...I played last week and Tuesday.
Mrs B	1202.	Oh, did you...good to hear. I bet you...straightened your...
Learner	1203.	Learner (boy) I wasn't good...I'm a goalie [The boys are discussing hockey for the next day and its sounds all exciting to them].
Mrs B	1204.	So are you playing tomorrow? [A few boys answered, yes, and start talking about something else].
Mrs B	1205.	Ok Then...
Learner	1206.	Learner (boy) what is she going for?
Tony	1207.	Its Cath, she's the leader.
Learner	1208.	Learner (boy) it's my responsibility to be at rehearsal?
Tony	1209.	JA...but I bet...we don't know where she...
James	1210.	JA...we going after lunch.
Learner	1211.	Learner (boy) see, I told to you.
Mrs B	1212.	Ah, ah, ah! You must go, you can't stop to support now.
	1213.	There's a knock on the classroom door.
Mrs B	1214.	Come in, come in, and come in. Ok... boys... did you get you lessons from Mr. K yet?
Hap	1215.	All of the lessons.
Mrs A	1216.	Are you sure? And she continues her conversation with the boy in low volume.
James	1217.	and his classmate (girl) are having a conversation but in low volume
Mrs B	1218.	Umm, umm! Have you got...?
Learner	1219.	Learner (boy) Aha...
Learner	1220.	Learner (girl) you can't sit here...go sit at your place.

Learner	1221.	Learner (boy) I've got no-where to sit...Miss?
Tony	1222.	These are the little brownies...
Learner	1223.	Learner (girl) I didn't know.
	1224.	The learners are talking amongst one another and it's difficult to understand what they saying to each other at this period.
Jase	1225.	That's a perfect toolbox!
James	1226.	Yes...And it's THE toolbox.
Jase	1227.	What's a toolbox?
	1228.	The learners are now raising their voices and are too loud.
Mrs B	1229.	Hey...excuse me... talking to her class that's getting out of hand now.
	1230.	The learners are ignoring their teacher and continue to talk louder.
Mrs B	1231.	Ahh! Thank you...
The	1232.	The bell sounds and the period for Mrs B are over.
Mrs B	1233.	Put your pencils down now...and look at page one to see what you going to do in this...and like I said you only do it on a Wednesday...we move on then we finish it on the...
Jase	1234.	It's easy...history, biology, geography...
Mrs B	1235.	Right! Let's look at page one please?
	1236.	Learners chatting amongst themselves and paging through books
Matthe w	1237.	He's not here...
Tony	1238.	Who?
Jase	1239.	He's in Mr B's class.
Mrs B	1240.	Is he not in this class?
James	1241.	talking to his classmates about the project they busy with
Mrs B	1242.	Ok (.) James...come...right! Let's hear what it says...what are we going to do with this module? This is the contents...not the context, the context got a triple. Don't colour in while I'm talking...now we look at the words. Are all pencils down? ...Well done!
	1243.	[Another teacher walks in the classroom and starts a conversation with Mrs B.The learners are taking the opportunity to chat to one another while the two teachers are conversing].
Jase	1244.	Jase to James: Yes, it's true
Mrs B	1245.	: Ah, ah, ah...break it up...don't get distracting now...and again...to keep quiet is not necessary...
The	1246.	The other teacher: Yes...

Mrs	1247.	Now...when you solve problems to make decisions...umm, that's in every single thing that you do, ok? In everything in life...in every hockey match and decide how am I going to
	1248.	Beat this player...ok...I'm gonna...until I get it right...ok...or, how am I gonna score a goal...I'm gonna pass my wing and run as fast...whatever you do in life or decision making...ok? And solving problems. Then we going to learn about design brief...we did that in grade 4...do you know what a design brief is?
Learner	1249.	Learner (boy) Yes.
Mrs B	1250.	Give me a problem, for example...my big problem at the moment and this is a major one...did you come for the first time or did you play the league?
Learner s	1251.	Yes...
Mrs B	1252.	You didn't play the l league for the singles
Learner	1253.	Learner (girl) Yes...
Teacher	1254.	Teacher continues to talk to her learner in low volume...
Mrs B	1255.	Ok...how do you spell your name...?
And	1256.	And now the other learners are commenting as well but not talking to their teacher...they talking amongst themselves.
Mrs B	1257.	Ok... be here tomorrow?
Mrs B	1258.	Right! Let's carry on...remember a design brief is where?
Ok	1259.	Ok...let me tell you about my problem...my problem is...that I...you know the long...comes in packs of six?
Learner	1260.	Learner (boy) Yes!
Mrs B	1261.	And there... in boxes of six? What happens to the handle if the box breaks, did you get that experience?
Learner s	1262.	Learners: JA...
Mrs B	1263.	It makes you crazy....ok?
Learner s	1264.	Learners: JA...
Mrs B	1265.	Ok...and...
Learner	1266.	Learner (boy) I don't buy a lot
Mrs B	1267.	I feel that it's a poor design...because that box has not been designed to carry six liters of milk...it hasn't been designed correctly every time you pick up the handle it would break... ok, so...that's what I would then give as a problem and this is the problem...the current box that they have for storing six liters of milk...is not functional. So I would...that's the problem.

	1268.	If I go to my designers and I'd say...here is your design...ok...I would tell them that they have to design a better container, but...it has to be cost effective...you can't go and use expensive material and expensive printing...you've got to find something that is strong but inexpensive.
	1269.	Do you understand how...it has to be strong and inexpensive? Each member is a constraint...remember constraint? Constraints are things that stop you from having total freedom that you not gonna make a goal... at the cost of a thousand rand...ok?
	1270.	So, it's gotta be inexpensive... I need this done...within a week that...that's another constraint that you have to finish in a week...that constraint, it's a limit...a constraints are limits...ok?
	1271.	Another constraint might be that umm...two colours in your printing on the box...so that its cost saving...ok...so, I would give you both constraint and that design is good enough for you...go solve the problem. Then I design the...already with the constrain...other specifications are... I've already spoken about it...it might be a perfect fit on six liters of boxed milk...it must be strong enough to carry six liters of milk...it must be inexpensive with possible specifications at cost rate...specifics...as well as limps...then...you see, if I give my task to four different designers... I'm gonna get four different responses, am I right?
	1272.	And now I'm going to evaluate all of them...
	1273.	Knock on the classroom door and the teacher tells the person to enter.,
Mrs B	1274.	The learner walks in starts speaking to the teacher in Afrikaans.
	1275.	While the teacher is busy conversing with this one learner are the other class learners taking advantage and starts chatting amongst themselves.
Mrs B	1276.	Now that I have my...for my designs, am I gonna test it. At first I need to evaluate...I look at the cost and I say ah, this one's far too expensive...can't even look at it, it doesn't matter how great the designer is, ok...then we look at...umm...the materials that they use and if it's material that is difficult to get hold of...that are expensive...oh no we can't look at those...then I look at how strong they are, how well they work...let me test it. You put six boxes of milk in it to test the strength test...did you ever see how they a sabs test to get approval hey... They do it over and over and over again, just to see how strong it is...to see if it can withhold...and I eventually know now what choice...I've chosen this one because it's cost effective, it's strong enough, it does the job, it's the most convenient, ok?
	1277.	So that's when we were talking about the evaluate it...they say the everybody have...you going to be designers...now if you are a designer then you gotta pick up two different ideas...cause you know that you can't just have one idea and they say agh man, you want at least two chances have two ideas just in case they say nay... then you know the other one's a backup one, ok? So that you get that ideas and you also going to learn about different types of material see if you don't understand on how some materials are strong and others are weak and others are heat resistant and others are...if you gonna make something you gonna need good material...ok?

	1278.	You also sometimes...especially microwave and oven... there are things that you can use in the oven they don't heat up or...they burn your hands... (Teacher shows them a picture of a burger Patti that's came out of the oven, burned, and they all are amazed and in awe of what they just saw and are fascinated with this particular picture and the teacher has to now quiet them again to get their attention)
The	1279.	The teacher is now having a conversation to someone on her cell phone while the learners are busy with their project.
James	1280.	Who's she talking to?
Jase	1281.	She's still on the line...
Mrs B	1282.	Ok, so... at least we gonna look at our different materials and how useful they are to make certain things...their property, like lightweight or strong...those are property effects, ok? Then for example...this kind of material, ok...and your jerseys...they made from a thing called nylon...and nylon...you sitting around a fire and a spark comes on to nylon, it will burn a hole in it as nylon... and some jerseys are made of wool or shirt made from cotton, they're not so flammable and nylon is very flammable and if it's flammable it melts.
Teacher	1283.	Your jersey won't burn it melts...so certain things are used because they are materials that are...
Teacher	1284.	Right! Then you gonna take your coal paper and you do your burning techniques...well that will work safer too but...And then you have an operational company that has a...product...you'll see
Tony	1285.	Ok...
Mrs B	1286.	In a minute you will see that and you going to evaluate the products.
Jase	1287.	Jase asking his teacher a question concerning the subject, but in very low volume.
Mrs	1288.	It looks promising though...turn it over? It's on page 2...
	1289.	Plus...
Jase	1290.	I don't know...
Mrs B	1291.	Now! This is what it is...making money from technology...now, when one...someone makes money from technology...first of all you got to spot a gap in the market...if you spot a gap in the market, let's say...everybody's always looking for hairdressers to do braids and there's not many such hairdressers here in Table View that I know of...you know what...I've got force and I learn how to braids, now I go and I go and open a hairdresser, right there in Boy de Goede Circle...and I see there's no hairdresser there and I become a specialist.
	1292.	And I've chosen a good spot because all the children of table view primary will pass and they will ask...oh mom please take me there and the parents will walk past boy de goede circle and they'll see this nice hairdresser...I saw a gap in the market, I saw there was nobody else with this service and so I go and plant myself there and... I charge when the people come, and the majority of the people come.
	1293.	Now I'm thinking, fine...cost needs so much for the braids...ok, so I will just charge ten cents extra, so that I can make a profit.

	1294.	There's a knock on the classroom door and the teacher's calling the person to enter...
Mrs B	1295.	Talking to the person that just walked in: I completely forgot...and then continue her conversation with the other person in low volume...
Mrs B	1296.	Talking to one learner: No eating...go outside please?
The	1297.	The learners are getting a chance to chat to each other while their teacher's occupied in conversation.
Mrs b	1298.	Ok, Now I'm thinking to myself...ok, I'll just charge a bit extra...I forgotten that I gotta rent my shop...ok! And I have forgotten to include how much money it is to rent my shop...I have forgotten that it's gonna take my time...and I forgot to charge my time...I forgotten the fact that maybe I need to use electricity to pay for lights...the telephone people to make appointments... and all these things cost money...first of all when I start a business and I need to make money from it...I first work out all my costs, I work out how many customers I can see per day and that's how I work out my cost and how much I'm gonna chare You can never sell something for less than what you pay for it. I'm actually paying more money for the rent than what I'm making, I'm not making money...that's not what I want, I'll go bankrupt! Instead if you decide to make cookies to sell...on the weekends that is...you can't just say fine ok...flour cost this and the sugar cost that and the syrup cost this and you go sell them for ten cents extra...you got to remember you gotta use electricity to make I...ok, find the labour.
	1299.	All the hidden costs...right! You were there...What's your name?
Learner	1300.	Learner (boy) Newton...
Mrs B	1301.	Boy N (.) you were practicing for it, am I right?
Newton	1302.	JA...
Mrs	1303.	What are you playing...you playing all against...hey?
Boy N	1304.	Umm...I don't know yet...
Mrs B	1305.	Were you there on Tuesday?
Learner	1306.	Learner (boy): JA...
Mrs	1307.	What's your name?
James	1308.	JA.
Mrs	1309.	James...tomorrow at school...have you got rugby uniform...you have to wear white T-shirt?
Have	1310.	Have you got new socks? Is she playing a match tomorrow...
James	1311.	She's doing the match...yes; I have the two straight ones...
Mrs B	1312.	bring that one with you to school right...otherwise we've got a shirt for you but you must just bring your socks; alright...make sure you got the right uniform ok? And you, what's your name?
Learner	1313.	It's Eon...
Mrs B	1314.	Thank you Eon. Ok then...goodbye.

All	1315.	All learners want to answer the teacher and talk to her simultaneously.
	1316.	now back to teaching her class: Right...so; when you work with technology you got to make sure that you calculate all your cost that you can easily think of...do you understand what I'm saying? If you don't get any extra money then you gotta add that to the cost, ok. Then...now read this with me patiently...get the cost for the car...you see that...and it's an easy cost and this my design and I'm just gonna make a plan for the other...let me tell you something...there's two mistakes with that...
Lumi	1317.	Which one?
Mrs B	1318.	Mrs B: One What?
Lumi	1319.	But the plank will fall...
Mrs B	1320.	No...its right then, ...the plank can slip...so as soon as I let it go...my little ramp is going to fall in pieces, you say it's gonna slip.
lumi	1321.	And if it does...it will slip?
Mrs.B	1322.	Of course it will slip. Right...because then there's nothing to hold it then...is there anything else? You see there's a lid there; can you see the lid from the bottom...the goes from then top to the bottom. You see it's not a good design at all...ok; you need a little bit more force to have it stand in...ok? You got to put more effort in it.
	1323.	Now...I need you to have a look at the top there and we gonna look at other designs?
Girl	1324.	Can I design in pen?
Mrs B	1325.	Nah!
The	1326.	The learners are now talking amongst each other and starting to be noisy.
	1327.	Ah, ah, ah! First of all on the second line is that grey box...the attention is the different steps of the design process are underlined x2... Then go down to where it says, one two three four five... there are five things...underline the bold words in pen, invest in that? Design...make the products...evaluate the tests...too many case. Those bold words, can you see that? Those are the five steps, umm the design process...first of all, you got to investigate by finding out...you know the person who think of the idea, it seems like someone else's idea ...so I need to design a label soup on the pot...something to suit all the costs. You know ah well if you go and think at the different stuff...no, go and look at those different designs, get interesting ideas that I will make use of...get it on the internet or in books or somewhere else.
Learner	1328.	Learner (Zizi) I need to get books on...
James	1329.	At second break!
	1330.	One or two learners: No, you get at second break...
	1331.	The other learners are also implying and want to talk but in low volume.
Mrs B	1332.	Why do you wanna go at second break, why can't you go earlier, before second break?
All	1333.	All students laughing and chatting with their teacher about the current subject.
Then	1334.	Then...you gotta do the design...ok, that's when you do your b...and your labels and you say...

(At	1335.	(At that time the intercom bell sounds and everyone in class is quiet, including the teacher)
lumi	1336.	A piece of chocolate...
Mrs B	1337.	Ok...for now keep a due design that include labels when you say, that is made out of wood, out of clay, that's made out of plastic, made out of cardboard...you must get the size, the measurements...umm...how to draw that in life size, we say...because the person that's actually gonna do the making in real life is not the designer...the designer does not make it...he designs, he sends it to the maker, ok...the maker must understand that drawing...it has to be very clear, so he doesn't make mistakes, it's like a recipe...it must be perfect, and then, the makers...
At	1338.	At that time the intercom bell sounds and everyone in class is quiet, including the teacher)
Mrs.A	1339.	Once it's made, we test it, ok...after one or before the other fall to pieces...it's got to be... strong enough, back to the b...then you gotta go back to the design...the designs will be even better than that and it has to be strong proof, either in material, go back to making the test...you all know this little wobble in here, go back to the design and back to the making... in that line making test goes round in circle... do you understand?
James and friend	1340.	Yes.
Mrs B	1341.	Ok...and only then can you go and communicate your findings...you say: you know what...We've tried out the plastic, then it was wobbly, then you decided on wood but then it was too heavy and then you decided that we got this new modern product for whoever and that is the perfect thing so now I've got the perfect product...that's how you communicate your finding...you also talk about your props, you also communicate on why do you use this material on this...because you tried it and it didn't work...they didn't do that with the whole container, the six packs of milk...they say there's a prop's, let's go back to the beginning...right, they didn't do that...every time I pick up a problem.
	1342.	Right!
lumi	1343.	Where's that...
Mrs B	1344.	Ha! But he never bought that at the shop...clover or whatever milk...they can have six boxes...what's this?
	1345.	A box, a...with a handle...
Tony	1346.	We can only find them in bottles.
Lumi	1347.	its cartons man!
Joe	1348.	Miss...you can get it at PnP and they fill your grocery bag and they put the plastic bag...
Mrs B	1349.	JA...and pay for it...which they shouldn't
Joe	1350.	J now talking but in low volume.
James	1351.	making fun and speaking in a funny tone: Plestiks (meaning, plastics)
Mrs B	1352.	But why do they design that handle then, it's a bad design...do you understand?

	1353.	I also pick up from the bottom and it practically have to use my other hand...
Joe	1354.	And for my brother's nappies.
Mrs B	1355.	JA?
Joe	1356.	Every time you have to pick up the nappies then you have to carry it by the hand and throw...
Mrs B	1357.	Oh, the nappy bags?
Joe	1358.	Yes, but not the plastic carry bags.
Mrs B	1359.	Does those handles also break? JA?
Joe	1360.	And ma'm the milk cartons are made so stupid at the top and you get...
	1361.	(At that time the intercom bell sounds and everyone in class is quiet, including the teacher)
Joe	1362.	When you pour the milk into the coffee or something, then it all comes out the other side...
Mrs B	1363.	JA...it also annoys me...sometimes they make jugs for this, just like the coffee maker jugs. Buy one...the coffee maker...so if I pour, then it has a air hole...every time I try and pour with the lid on...it messes, so I have to now take the lid off...I take the lid off so that it doesn't...it's a huge sham...so some of these designs has not been tested...I could go tell them on the board...JA?
Learner	1364.	Learner (girl) Aren't coffee makers expensive but they...so it's like a new brand...and it started leaking at like almost...
Hap	1365.	You'll be amazed...
	1366.	They will...Shh... (Trying to quiet the learners as they all want to talk at the same time. Yes?)
Lumi	1367.	It could be a bad thing...My mom, she bought a pack of huggies, you know the ones
	1368.	That...the baby soft... the toilet paper and we never buy that and we bought it and we found some toilet paper and it had blood on and there was a guy that my mom called and he...it was disgusting.
Mrs B	1369.	Now you see...JA?
Lumi	1370.	And we found another three rolls that had blood on.
Mrs B	1371.	JA... That could happen...as you know in the factory and they made a bit of a mess with it then. You see...we always get a lot of...even if not buying a lot of...it's a new invention...there's no reason not to improve...there are many...out there who has got design flaws, there's a problem with them and they weren't tested properly.
	1372.	Right! Let's go back to page four? At the top...it says the design brief is; the second sentence...it's underlined, the design...it's a short...sentence...Come on...a design in a short sentence?
Learners	1373.	Learners mumbling to each other and trying to look for the answer.
Mrs B	1374.	In a Shorter sentence...ok? And then either that underlined, the next word...write the plans you make x2? A forty sentence telling us about the book?

	1375.	And umm...The last three words will solve the problem...the design being is going to be like a...that's broken...milk container...my design need to make to prove it. Now I still got a problem...ok...or what you going to make. Now...Excuse me!
	1376.	Remember I told you there was specifications and cost rates...so the next one, underline so that the second line the design on specifications...second line second paragraph...you got that?
Learners	1377.	Yes.
Mrs B	1378.	Second line, second paragraph. The design specifications...
Joe	1379.	Miss, can we also do...constraint?
Mrs B	1380.	Analyze...that's all I want you to do now? No...you doing it the wrong way...I said second paragraph second line...on the top line
Hap	1381.	I know miss
James	1382.	There's four...
Mrs	1383.	I want it all in the second line?
All	1384.	All learners trying to talk at the same time and trying to help Hap.
Mrs B	1385.	Underline specifications... materials, tools, measurements...ok, that are what design specifications are...what materials you gonna use, are you gonna use wood, are you gonna use paper, are you gonna use plastic are you gonna use cardboard are you gonna use wool...what you gonna use? Materials...It also tells you the tools...are you getting hammers, nails, forks, cutting machines, weld machines, what tools you gonna use...and measurements as size is obviously are very important. That's a design specification! Ok. If you going to need to make a little container to make a mouse, there would be the design specifications showing you size...wouldn't it?
	1386.	If you have to make a container that contains a dog...it would be a different size wouldn't it?
	1387.	Ok...right! Then, on the next thingy you are going to underline and the third paragraph first, constraint...words...third paragraph, first word!
	1388.	Ok...underlined, are the third last word, limits...underline limits and add an s... those are limits...those are things that are gonna cause you to have not to...with total freedom.
	1389.	Ok...and later we do things right, on the second line...time, we have enough time...the second last one...we underline enough time...now time, transport...there's a limit on enough time that you have to give...is to solve this problem. There's a limit on what kind of way to get equipment and stuff like that...for example...you guy's need a train...I'm sorry, that is not part of the things that we are allowed to give you...
	1390.	The bell sounds and it's time for the learner's second break.
James	1391	i) There, you see (2) ii) he going playing (2) ↑iii) Hey Jesse, you coming or not?
Tony	1392	No he's not my friend anymore (.)
James	1393	i) Before he used to be ok (.) ii) but now he's changing (.) iii) you see the way he goes right?

Ha	1394	[Ha (James's classmate responds but in low volume)]
Tony	1395	↑i) He's so cheeky (.) ii) He'll give me a heart attack.
James	1396	i) Who?
Lumi	1397	i) Stop talking nonsense (.) ii) which one is mine?
James	1398	↑ i) Wait leave her she's talking!
Ha	1399	i)Ah, ah (.) she's yours bra!
James	1400	i) ↑No way, (.) i) I don't even like her.
Tony	1401	i) So who's (.)?
Ha	1402	i) I see it now (.) = =
James	1403	= =i) We talking about him, why is he = =
Tony	1404	= = i) So rude! ii) I'm not worried about him (.) ↑ iii) just shut up.
James	1405	i) No!
Tony	1406	i) That's the way that I want it.
	1407	Learners chatting amongst one another on low tone
James	1408	i) Guess what? (2) ii) I'll tell you the truth.
Ha	1409	i) They probably down there.
James	1410	i) Who? i) Kyle (.)
Ha	1411	i) you used to (.) here
James	1412	i) Who?
Ha	1413	i) You!
James	1414	i) Max (2) don't do it (.) ii) jump on it (.) Take window Max (.) Max, you can make it (3) C'mon dude!
Tony	1415	i) Where's Thandi?
James	1416	i)I don't know.[James, Tony and Max are having a conversation in low volume] ii) But that's what my auntie gave me (.) iii) Please iv) There's HA!
Lumi	1417	i) S.T.O.P (.) stop, stop![All other learners are talking and laughing amongst one another].
James	1418	[Talking to his classmates]: i) I brought my phone to school today (2) ii) but without my simcard.
Tony	1419	i) He got that phone from (1.5) ii) hey! Look at your phone man!
Peter	1420	i) I still got my phone in my bag. [And then they continue their conversation in low volume].
James	1421	i) Are you on Mxit ⁷ ? (.) ii) Just listen!

Tony	1422	i) ↑Not now!
Tamia	1423	i) Well I can't (.) = =
James	1424	i) = =Even me (.) ii) I did that as well (.) [The conversations continue amongst the learners but in a high their words are scrambled]. iii) Ha, aren't you changing?
Ha	1425	i) Of course (.) ii) I don't have my (.) iii) now I have to go home and get my stuff.
Tamia	1426	i) Well (.) I have my stuff.
Ha	1427	That was the last time (.) = =
James	1428	= = i) I knew it!
jack	1429	i) Let's get someone to help
Tamia	1430	i) Bru (.) did you see that?
Jase	1431	i) Then tell her!
Ha	1432	i) I'm gonna tell her (.)
Tamia	1433	i) Yoh (.) look at that my bra.
Ha	1434	That was Mandy = =
James	1435	= =Hey Bule, You'd better stand here, hey!
James	1436	Kayla! [Learners are laughing and screaming at each other]
jack	1437	I have a = =
James	1438	= =You have what? It's getting too long dude. [Learners, all boys are talking, laughing and screaming other in loud tones]
James	1439	Hey bru (.) that dude was fast hey? I'm talking about Jack and him = =
jack	1440	i) ↑What are you freaking hell (2) ii) Do you know how fast he is?
Ha	1441	i) And you flipping throw me with stones?
James	1442	i) YA but still = =
Tony	1443	= =i) You mad! ii) Now the damn leg's sore (.)
James	1444	i).He's very fast hey? (2) ii) I haven't seen Boy Da man! iii) You and Boy Da were standing at the corner

Appendix A 10: Classroom interaction, Aline's class, grade 5 (School B)

Turn	speaker	Data
1.	T	JA! That was study group discussion, but we said we gonna do it in pairs, so make sure that you've got somebody sitting next to you.
2.	learner	Coughing
3.	Girl C	Up you guy's (1) Guy's (2) So yes (.) [Learners murmuring in the background].
4.	T	JA, You can have Siya as your partner (.)
5.	Girl C	One of you & these books, take it as role-play, one is on your desk already.
6.	male l	JA cool (teacher talking in low volume)
7.		Learners all murmuring at the same time
8.	T	Mandy, do you want to sit, and then sit?
9.		More murmuring from students
10.	learner	Eish!
11.	T	Ok, (3) for group discussion on this case is (.) your partner OK (1.5) I think you can (.) [talking to one of the students] Just move that table over?
12.	learners	Whispering to one another;
13.	Traa	Man, take your bags away, and you can sit next to me.
14.		More noise and murmuring from learners
15.	T	The questions that are written there (2) Girl C just remember, you (2) Girl H (2) [then more murmuring from learners].
16.	T	Ok, forward these (.) [Then low volumes from chatting amongst themselves].
17.	T	Ok, let's see; Boy Br, would you read the questions please? [Learners and T talking at the same time]
18.	L	Can I read this part?
19.	T	Ok, then; you're the partner.
20.		Again, learners talking amongst one another.
21.	Tas	[Question A] Why is Juno available in a sense (.)? (2) Ok.
22.	T	Trying to quiet the learners by (shoo sing) them
23.		Another learner mumbling can't really make what the question was.
24.		[Question C] Explain the difference in molecule program for Acacia Ireland?
25.		[Question D] Miss McDonald was a trained scientist, student mumbling and not pronouncing words correctly. [Cannot make out the rest of the question]
26.	T	Continues with question D: Do you agree with everything and explain why?

27.	T	Ok, Why don't we re-read the story again, the pair of you; re-read the story again to refresh your memory about what was happening on the Ireland, ok?
28.		Teacher Murmuring to the learners.
29.	Girl C	Uncle Tom, should we do number 2? But I finished mine.
30.	T	Have you finished your sentence already?
31.	Girl C	Yes, I'm finished
32.	T	Let me see (.) good (2) not everybody does (2) you are ahead.
33.		Learners whispering and murmuring at the same time.
34.		One learner is talking and coughing at the same time.
35.	L	One talking to another learner: You can't copy mine.
36.	T	Mumbling something to his learners (low volume)
37.		Learner calls out to T [then more noise, books being paged and whistling students talking to one another].
38.	L	[Coughing]
39.		Learners chatting and laughing amongst one another
40.		[Teacher talking to one of the learners] Re-read the story again [and then more low volume chat coming from the teacher as the learners are busy reading and chatting to each other].
41.		Some learner resort to low volume talking and giggling.
42.		Teacher talking to Researcher about LS:Boy S has (2) had a couple of problems as well (2) not just (2)[Low volume chat] he has had the biggest (.) low volume again (.) In the class, his concentration (.) poor (2) Can't do nothing. It's good to have somebody with him; otherwise I have to be there to make sure that he is concentrating.
43.	R	Researcher replying to the teacher in low volume.
44.		Then more chatting from students
45.	T	I think so too; then low volume (.) conversation again (.)
46.	L1	Hello Researcher, how are you?
47.	R	Hello (.) I'm fine ['laughing'] how are you?
48.	L1	Fine.
49.		More chatting and low volume conversation going on amongst LS, teacher and Researcher.
50.	T	Trying to quiet the classroom as there's a lot of noise.
51.		Teacher and Researcher in low conversation again:
52.	L1	Michelle 2, can you get me the ruler?
53.		More chatting and laughter from students and one student speaking in Xhosa.
54.	L1-L2	I enjoyed a delicious apple.

55.	1L	Coughing and shouting at the same time and then more laughs and chatting from students
56.	Researcher	Teacher having a conversation with Researcher: After English, they gonna move unto math's.
57.	R	Ok, Ok
58.	T	And then another teacher will come in and then there is another teacher that comes in for Afrikaans and she won't come in today, She'll come tomorrow (2) So you'll miss out on the Afrikaans.
59.		[Both Researcher and teacher laughing]
60.		[Students making a lot of noise and chatting loudly to one another]
61.	T	Shoo sing the students and trying to quiet them.
62.	T	Teacher to Researcher: We have Boy S and Boy Br (2) Boy Br has alcohol syndrome
63.	R	He is?
64.	T	Yes, he is, it's very sad (2) they're just trying to make him (2) [low volume] and it's just putting him off.
65.	R	That's traumatic!
66.	T	JA, That's traumatic
67.	R	JA.
68.	T	When he first came he was (.) [Low volume] and really bad and (.) [2] Then you could understand.
69.	T	[Teacher continue] Both of them(2) next year they are going to special schools , technical schools, to help them (.) he has major problems with his math's (2) he can't COPE (.) he gets 16% for a test (2) he just can't manage. We were happy because it was better than before.
70.	Class	Students still talking amongst one another (noisily)
71.	T	[Teacher having an ongoing conversation with Researcher] It's affected that part of his brain [talks in a low voice] but we're trying to encourage him with (.)
72.	L	One learner talking in Xhosa.
73.	R	JA [says R in low volume agreeing with what the teacher is saying].
74.	T	[Teacher continues with conversation] He has been able to get some good marks in other areas which is good (2) you see (.) they are all special, but they all got different problems (.) [low volume chat]
75.	R	JA (2)
76.	T	And the barriers with the [reduces voice volume] Ok.
77.		Researcher and the teacher still having an ongoing conversation but the noise of the students are too loud
78.	L	Student talking to teacher but are mumbling
79.	T	Are you making use of this, I don't think there's any left.
80.		[Teacher excusing himself from conversation] Sorry, I just wanna [

81.	L to T	Do I look at the questions first so I can look it up in my book, so I can be sure?
82.	T	Yes, you do that
83.	R	[low volume; asking questions to the teacher]
84.	T	Out of all the learners (2) seems to be the brightest.
85.	R	Ok?
86.	T	There's a bit of a competition between them, six of them to get good marks.
87.	R	We did that as a strategy when we were in technical school (2) you know but now like (.) if it's the first time you do that analysis and I'd say, no you can't do that all the time, we are also there, then they would like struggle to overtake me. It was a big (.) that was our strategy because we would try to aspire for the best, that's it.
88.	T	And they do this?
89.	T	JA
90.	T	So I don't suppose (.) [low volume chatting]
91.	R	But it's good.
92.		Students mumbling in the background and having low volume conversation to each other and one student shouting at another.
93.	L-L	What do you mean this is not his?
94.	L	One learner laughing continuously.
95.	L	Uncle Tom, see here. What is [low volume and noise overshadows]
96.	T	Teacher talking to Researcher in a low volume and class too noisy.
97.	R	JA
98.	Ls	Learners talking noisily at the same time and paging through their books
99.	L-D	One learner questioning his teacher about soccer practice
100.	T	Later (.) later on.
101.	T-R	This is um (.) Boy S's exams that he (.) Can you take a look at it?
102.	R	JA
103.	T	His writing is not very easy to read but, let me say that it's his living brand. We really struggled with it, but um, having said that, apparently his mother says she doesn't know how cause she can't. (Laughs from teacher) It's really bad.
104.		Noisier in the classroom now and learners chatting to one another.
105.		learner Coughing
106.	L	That's my pencil!
107.	L	Sir, Sir!
108.		Girl C and Tas conversing with one another in Afrikaans:

109.		Boy S speaking in Xhosa.
110.	T	[Teacher on chatting to R about one of the learners] He's confused and waiting.
111.		Learners especially Tas chatting very loud and conversing to one or more of the other students.
112.		Teacher talking to either learner in low tone
113.	L-Tr	Talking to his fellow classmate nearby in low volume
114.		Teacher laughing about something R said.
115.		Girl C chatting to another student about her project.
116.	L	Girl M you wrote on my page! Do you know my name?
117.		Learners all chatting at the same time
118.	T	[Teacher on talking to one of the students] That's a very good explanation.
119.	L	They almost cut my [whispering in low volume] Uncle Tom (2) [and then a giggle from the girl and then question continues] have Uncle Tom ever been to a farm on an apple tree [low volume talk] and then she talks to one of her classmates]: Just take it off!
120.	L	Peaches?
121.	T	Teacher in a Low volume conversation; talking to Researcher about one of the learners: Don't lose your temper.
122.	L-T	In a suitcase like this?
123.		Boy T chatting to classmate sitting next to him and all the others still are chatting noisily.
124.	Mandy	I'm sorry, I don't have that (.)
125.	T	Just listen for a moment, shooo (.) [trying to quiet the class and continues] The question (.) about the difference between [One of the students coughing] and a guide dog!
126.	T	Alright, you (2) This is our third [noise over shadows] that (2) you must've seen people at night (2) who had a dog, alright, or they have a step. For those who have a dog, it's called a guide dog, it takes them around.
127.	T	Now (2) when I travel in the morning, there is umm a person who's blind, who's walking along the road, but he has a dog and the dog has to take him across some really busy intersections by (2) along the Karl Braymer hospital and its extremely busy and I always, (.) my heart is in my mouth [laugh from teacher] as I watch, those times as he gets to the curb and the dog somehow stops him and the dog seems to go in front of him and he stop's and then he waits for the dog to get up and move across, these are very busy roads. So this dog is well trained.
128.	L	That's a guide dog!
129.	T	That's a guide dog, he takes him across a BUSY main road where traffic (2) Shoo!
130.	Girl C	Sir isn't he afraid of [noise overshadows] I'll be terrified!
131.	T	Well, he has complete trust in that dog (2) it's obvious to me that he has complete trust in that dog.

132.		He doesn't hesitate; he obviously didn't hear the traffic cause if you have one of your senses damaged, or completely taken away from you for some reason (2) ou can then find other senses that become what they call heightens. And they become more able to say, here, or in a sense of smell.
133.		So (.) obviously he can hear the traffic, but he has complete trust in that dog and takes him across these busy roads, so well trained that he seems to know when the traffic lights exchange [laugh from the teacher] The traffic should stop so that he(the dog) can lead him across the street.
134.		The other thing is the police dog, which is used for?
135.		Same learner answering all at the same time.
136.	L	I know! Going around the neighbourhood and sniffing out drugs.
137.	T	There are also other things the dog can do.
138.		All learners now want to ask questions at the same time.
139.	Tas	Smelling out dead bodies.
140.	T	JA and find (.) Just one at a time?
141.		Learners are still asking questions but noisily and talking amongst one another.
142.	L	Like a police dog, maybe an alstation, I know of a German Sherpard.
143.	T	Shoo [to quieten class]
144.	L	[Learner answering a question but in low tone volume].
145.	T	Yes, they can take an item of clothing, show it to the dog, the dog sniffs and then it moves on from that person, remember[
146.	L-D	[Learner Shouting and interrupting teacher] [Uncle Tom, you get[
147.	T	You know, their sense of smell is incredible umm (.) and (2) I know that because we have two bitches (two female dogs) and we staying next to a guy who has a male dog and this dog knew when we released them into the backyard the first day that we moved, that there was two female dogs next door, he climbed unto the braai and he put his HUGE head over the wall to see where these other two dogs were.
148.		[CLASSROOM DOOR SLAMS]
149.		[Learners giggling and getting all excited about the story].
150.		[One learner is whistling while the teacher continues with the story].
151.	T	And I just released them unto the back, so it was in 30 seconds that this dog was unto the braai and his head was almost over the wall as he knew there were female dogs, so their sense of smell is incredible.
152.		So, we use that to do things like have them find drugs (2) missing persons.
153.	L	[Learner indicates to ask question] Uncle Tom what about when you got something buried under the rubble?
154.		

155.	Girl C	Oh [sounding surprised] like dirt and (.) [loud noises coming from learners]
156.	T	Mmm
157.	Class	Learners getting excited once more and want all to ask questions simultaneously and trying to get the teacher's attention.
158.	T	They can smell where the person is (2) so that tells you where (.)
159.	L	What dog?
160.	T	What breed? They rarely use German Sheppard's.
161.		Learners, interrupting the teacher while he talks and still asking questions all at the same time.
162.	T	(2) And sometimes they might use other breeds as well too (.) but most people, they see an alstation or a German Sheppard and they immediately think.
163.	L	My Gran (.) I mean, my uncle he had two and the oldest one died, he was nine (.) and the other one's seven years (.) They just start biting, Uncle Tom, they're vicious dogs.
164.	T	That's a pity, as dogs don't just become vicious unless normally something has happened that made them that way.
165.	Girl C	Girl C becoming annoyed with one of her fellow students and telling him off [low volume]
166.		All learners now talking at the same time.
167.	L	They had to call security on discovery channel, sometimes there's [
168.		Interrupted with loud noise for learners all while H's talking.
169.	T	↑Ok!
170.		Learners still talking while her teacher's asking questions.
171.	T	Ok! Now how do you understand the difference between the two?
172.		Female learner talking but in low volume as there is too much noise in the classroom.
173.	L	Why would they do that?
174.	L	They pee it out.
175.	Ls	Learners still doing their ongoing conversations amongst one another and conversing in Afrikaans with one another.
176.	T	Teacher talking to Researcher in low tone volume.
177.	L	Like a hundred and one Dalmatians?
178.	Teacher:	Mmmmm
179.	L	What are vicious dogs like?
180.	L	Sir what's the weakest dog than a chi wow wow?
181.	L	Learner Yoo! That dogs are the smallest.
182.	T	Sorry?
183.	L	Learners now all asking questions] What's the fastest dog?

184.	T	I'm just gonna say there's no match.
185.	L	I know who can run the fastest, but I also know who's the slowest, it's a poodle (.)
186.	L	Uncle Tom, do you think it's a poodle?
187.		Teacher mumbling something to students in a low volume.
188.	L	Uncle Tom (.) Uncle Tom
189.	L	[Learner talking to another learner] Come let us Barbecue?
190.		[Teacher on talking to Researcher] What they don't realize, is that they actually had the information (.) Imagination's going around.
191.	Researcher	Yes [Agreeing]
192.	L	Uncle Tom, what is the world's biggest dog?
193.	L	I've seen Uncle Tom's dog anyway (.)
194.	T	It could be a Great Dane or very large hunting dogs
195.	L	A wolf, a wolf (.) they are family.
196.	T	Ok, a wolf is not a tame pet.
197.	L	They are cousins.
198.	T	Oh yes, but they are related.
199.		[Learner wanting to ask a question to his teacher but stop midway through his sentence].
200.	T	(2), go to South Africa, think about climate?
201.	L	There Uncle Tom (1.5) I was there (.)
202.	T	But brown haired dogs can change in colour.
203.		Learners mumbling noisily and continuing to do so
204.	Tas	We are ready to (.)in our (.)
205.	L	Uncle Tom, I know husky with one red eye and one blue.
206.	L	I know (.)
207.		[Everyone in class now talking simultaneously]
208.	L	What do you have to have to[
209.		[Another Teacher entering the classroom]
210.	T	Hey class! You guy's are making too much noise here.
211.		Learners, all greeting the teacher at the same time] (Rhyme)
212.		(Classroom's much quieter now that the other teacher walked in.)
213.		Learner talking in low volume tone to another student.
214.		[Someone paging roughly through a book]

215.		Learners trying to get the teacher's attention and asking him a question in low tone volume]
216.	T	Uncle Tom, talking to one of the learner] Yes; now you can rewind it...very good!
217.	Boy T	Uncle Tom, Boy C is saying here if (.) if, how come if she can (.)
218.	L	Not she (.)
219.	L	I'm not (.) [Talking in Afrikaans in an angry tone].
220.	L	I'm not saying (.) [inlow volume]
221.	L	He's already right by me (.)
222.	T	[Teacher talking to Researcher] I like them to discuss but not every-one likes the noise (.)
223.	Researcher	Mmm (.)
224.	T	You can't expect them to be quiet all the time; I could close the door to prevent the noise from going out.
225.		[Researcher sharing laughter with the teacher].
226.		Learners all talking amongst one another and they're getting louder]
227.		[Someone in the class making a shoo sing sound and trying to quiet them]
228.		One learner shouting at another student.
229.		Learners now all chatting simultaneously and done of the students coughing.
230.		Mostly the girls chatting now.
231.		One of the learners making a make believe snoring sound...
232.		New teacher arriving in class and learners are all greeting him simultaneously.
233.		[Teacher returning the greeting to the class]. Anyone for sandwiches?
234.	Chr	Uncle Tom Cheese and ham for me
235.		Learner coughing
236.	L	Chicken, JA, JA JA!
237.	Mandy	Making a shoo' sound to get her classmates to keep quiet.
238.	Mandy	Stop it now and Shoo! [In an angry tone, talking to her classmates]
239.	Kay	Can I have one please, but with no ham on?
240.	T	[To Boy C] One or two?
241.	L	Fine, and you? [Replying on someone's greeting]
242.		[Learners chatting to one another over sandwiches and one or two students making a joke and laughing]
243.	L	No (.) you have to give the correct money!
244.	T	[Uncle Tom saying something to one of the students in low volume]

245.	Tas	[Talking to one of the other learners and speaking in Afrikaans].
246.	T	Ok, alright (.) (talking to one of the students in low volume tone)
247.	L	He gives it to me now he takes it back
248.	Girl C	Are you talking to your grandpa? [Then giggles]
249.	L	Uncle Tom can you give him the R100 Please?
250.	Tas	A R100 (lekker) not R200? [And then more giggles]
251.		[More laughter and giggles from the class]
252.		Tas is doing most of the talking to one of her classmates in (low volume)
253.		Uncle Tom talking to someone sitting close by but in low volume
254.		Students still talking noisily amongst one another
255.	Boy T	[Shouting to Girl C] NO MAN, GIRL C!
256.	T	That's perfect! [Talking to one of his students]
257.		Learner coughing)
258.	T	Go to your page
259.		[Students talking to one another and conversing in Afrikaans]
260.	T	Your attention (.) [speaking in a low volume tone]
261.	Boy T	[Shouting] Girl C DONT LIE (.)Girl C, MY PEN!
262.	Girl C	↑What pen?
263.	T	Teacher talking to Researcher in low tone volume.
264.		Utensils falling and now noisier than before.
265.	L	If you want [
266.	L	[If you want what? (Replying on the question the one student asked)
267.	L	(Shouting to another) Hey Boy Ch!
268.	L	JA (.)
269.	T	It's nearly time for your math's, which should be arriving (.) swap over (.)
270.	L	I'm nearly finished.
271.		One or two girls talking quite loud conversing in Afrikaans and English.
272.	T	These are the textbooks they use for math's (.)
273.	Researcher	Ok!
274.	T	We use these for English.
275.	Researcher	English practice, ok?

276.	T	JA (.)
277.	Researcher	I'll work through that
278.	T	And (.) Boy Si! What I would do (.) I would, bring other things in as well.
279.	T	It's not the beginning in the end, this is a (.)
280.	Researcher	No, this is just what the (.) when you have your own ways of doing that then (.) it doesn't matter to me that you stick to the book [Researcher continues with conversation]
281.	T	[REPEATING] I don't stick to the book. [Laugh's between Researcher and the teacher]
282.	Researcher	JA, JA, JA... No (.) Like the kind of interactions that I have with them... I always look for ways to give what I have in store for them and the easiest way possible, so I don't have to follow the book....
283.	T	[Agreeing saying] JA
284.	Researcher	So I think, I look for my own ways of giving them my opinion (.) what I have for them (.) I don't wait for the book to follow, you know (.) because there might be a section here, but I have a different plan on how to go about it and also works for me (.) Sometimes something's around them (.)you know they actually gain things[
285.	T	[And then you subtracts
286.	Researcher	JA
287.	T	Especially teaching them a foreign language to look for things around them to make them their knowledge easily.
288.	T	Teacher: Especially things that have touched their lives, (.) what's happening in their lives (.)
289.	T	Ok! Boy Da (.) Let me give you a job to do (.) please collect the English workbooks (.) And (.) Girl Ra, will you collect the textbooks, please?
290.	L	[Shouting at another student] ↑Boy Br you must stop calling me names (.)
291.	Girl C	Here, Uncle Tom
292.	T	(.) Are you going to give them work? (.) Is this yours? [Talking to one of the learners]
293.	T	Well, don't leave them lying around.
294.	L F	I'm gonna sit next to you here?
295.		Researcher asking the teacher a question on low volume tone
296.	T	Umm! Well (.) we have maths till break and then we going into natural science.
297.	LF	Remember we were here first!
298.	LF	I was never here (.)
299.		Researcher having an ongoing conversation with the teacher
300.	LF	Are you sure?
301.		(Classroom too noisy to hear any proper conversation)
302.	LF	I went to the wrong address (.) [Laughs]

303.		Researcher to the teacher again in (low volume tone) [Not audible]
304.	LF	[Learner to another] Now where do you live?
305.	T	This is what I'm (.)
306.	T	Like, yesterday for example (.)
307.	L	In Parklands (.)
308.	L	Now where does Boy Br live?
309.	L	I don't know...maybe 375806 or 7...
310.	L	Do you live at the same flats?
311.	CLASS	Noisier now in the classroom, can't hear the conversation between the teacher and Researcher.
312.	T	(2) got a big bag came in and it began to smell by the end of the week.
313.	Researcher	JA!!!
314.	T	Ok (.) have you given your books to Boy Br?
315.		TOO MUCH NOISE TO UNDERSTAND THE DIFFERENT CONVERSATIONS
316.		One student singing.
317.		[One learner calling to another student] Boy Ro, Boy Ro (1) Boy Ro, give this to (.) please?
318.		Some learners speaking in Afrikaans
319.	T	Ok (.) make sure you have your math's book, your textbook and your workbook in front of you?
320.	T	You show them your new dog (.)
321.		[Laughter from learners]
322.	T	And then (.) sit down please!
323.		Teacher: Shoo (.) PLEASE, NOT TOO MUCH NOISE!
324.		All the learners now want to ask the teacher a question at the same time.
325.		NOISE CONTINUES then goes quiet for 20 seconds and the noise continues again.
326.	L	Oh sorry! I don't remember you!
327.	T	Ok (.) make sure it's in front of you, Ok and now the million dollar question:
328.		How many of you have finished your maths that the teacher gave you?
329.	Tas	Me Sir!
330.	L	What did you say?
331.		Learners all answering simultaneously
332.	L	Yes Sir, but you know what happened?

333.		More than on student answering the question
334.	T	Ok, let's go check
335.	L	I'm not afraid anymore
336.	T	Let's see?
337.	L	[shouting to another student] Don't look at my stuff;
338.		The class is still very noisy for learners are talking noisily to one another
339.	L	What did you say?
340.	L	Vaseline, Vaseline.
341.	Boy C	Boy C did WHAT?
342.	L	When did you get those pointers?
343.	L	Sir (.)Can I have some water please?
344.	T	I'll go and get some water now (.)
345.	L	This is Boy Bo's pencil
346.	L	Sir, can I use the pen?
347.	T	No, no don't use this pen (.) have you got a spare pencil for (.) ?
348.	T	Go and sit (.) come!
349.	L	Ouch! Sir, you just pulled my ear.
350.	T	JA, I know.
351.	L	Uncle Tom, should I just use the word?
352.	L	Girl Da (.) He doesn't want to listen to me.
353.	T	I'm going to get the teacher.
354.	L	That is my pencil (.)
355.	T	Did you then save it?
356.	L	Sir, I left my message book at home.
357.	T	That's ok.
358.	L	
359.	L	Boy S please borrow me your pencil?
360.		The class get much noisier than before.
361.	L	Sir, Sir (.)
362.		Learners making singing and rhyming sounds.
363.		Teacher talking to someone in low volume tone

364.	T	Ok guys, sit down please; You have to get ready for your math's teacher (.) and Jack you can take that as being naughty (.)
365.		The noise level increases as the learners intensify noise level.
366.	T	Ok!
367.		Math's teacher arriving and the learners all greet simultaneously.
368.	MT	How are you all this morning?
369.	LS	Fine Sir and how are you? (Rhyming it all simultaneously)
370.	MT	[New Teacher talking to R] How are you?
371.	Researcher	Hi, JA, fine.
372.	MT	Sir, my book is with Michelle.
373.	LS	learners still talking amongst one another (very noisy)
374.		Learners asking something to the other (.)
375.	LS	[Other learners replies] No, no
376.		Some learners speaking in Afrikaans
377.	MT	Get all these (.) books
378.	R	Are you fine?
379.	MT	JA, fine.
380.	R	I'm doing my research (.)
381.		Learners interrupting and making too much noise
382.	MT	Math's Teacher: In an angry tone: NO TALKING PLEASE?
383.	R	Continues with her conversation] I'm just a (.) I'm doing my PHD at UWC (2)
384.	R	So I'm trying to get children with language issues.
385.	MT	Oh! Language barriers?
386.	R	JA, in a way (.) various languages.
387.	MT	Which University?
388.	R	At UWC (.)
389.	MT	Maybe after this I'll ask you a question because I'm also busy with a Cape Commission? I must come up with a (.) for my (.) so if you doing (.) you may live forever (.)
390.		Laughter from both Researcher and the teacher)
391.	R	i) I will do that (.)
392.	L	Sir, I did my homework (.)
393.		More chatting from the other learners

394.		Teacher talking to one learner in low volume
395.		Some learners talking in Xhosa
396.	L	Learner to his fellow learner: C'mon, lets flip a coin?
397.	Boy T	Girl M, did you do your homework?
398.	Girl M	Aagh no Come on!
399.	Mt	Ok every-one; take out your math's books?
400.	mt	Out Math book!
401.	L	Who helped you?
402.	L	I'm done with my [
403.	L	[My other 5 (.) Sir already marked our books.
404.	Mt	Which is, for the homework?
405.	Mt	Question: Equal 0, 1 0, 7
406.	L	Equals (.)
407.	MT	Ok, there's more (.) what change into percentage?
408.		Best before, I say you must check the (.) number unto what?
409.		Common fraction and then continue the common fraction into (.) percentage,
410.		So 0, 7 are a common fraction, is what?
411.	Bt	Its 7 over a 100
412.	LB	Oh please man!
413.	LB	7 over 10
414.	MT	7 over? (Laughing at the answer the boy gave.
415.		Learners repeating the answer 3times over.
416.	LG	Times (.) 5 times 9
417.	MT	Who's finished?
418.	LB	70%
419.	LB	Is that your answer?
420.	MT	How many times does 10 go into 100?
421.		Learners answering the question at the same time
422.		[Followed by both boy and girl answering at the same time] 17.
423.	MT	7 times 10?
424.	LB	Its 70

425.		One learner starts singing
426.		(2) Second one 0, 0 2, is a common fraction
427.	L	Sir (.)
428.	MT	Yes!
429.	L	Sir, if I get the (.) then I get the answer right?
430.	LB	Sir, 2
431.	MT	I'm gonna leave yours (Silently laughing)
432.	LG	like I said it's 70 over 100 but I got 70 (.)
433.	MT	(.) left or right and what have we got over?
434.		Yes?
435.	LB	Sir, that's 2 over a 100
436.	MT	2 over a 100 that's common fraction.
437.	LB	[same boy answering] Sir, there's 2 place (.)
438.	T	Just remember (.)[
439.	LG	[A (.) 100 over 1 and then[
440.	LB	[2?
441.	MT	2%
442.		Learners whispering.
443.	MT	Number 3
444.	LG	0, 9
445.	MT	0, 9

Appendix B: INTERVIEW DATA (TRANSCRIPTS)

Appendix B1: Interview with James.

Helloo James, or should I say nigga? (Laughs). It's me and you again nigga. You like it when they call you nigga huh? Got your swag on? So tell me; we have had so many encounters or should I say chit chats (laughter again). I see there has been a lot of changes...both physically, intellectually and all what not to count but a few. Ok let's hear it out (2) so how is everything (2) you know what I mean. Languages, friends, book work etc

James: Whoaw [laughs at that]

I: Yes? [Laughter continues]

James: Ok you got me on that one (2)

I: Ok let's get it on (2) languages, friends, bookwork (.) tell me about it.

I: When i first came here everything was an issue for me you know (.) like (.) of course you know

I: How do you mean an issue? You know this is not our first chat (.) I remember the first time there were some complains; yes

James: Yes I mean like friends, the school, the teacher, my mum (.) like (.) I mean everybody in class our teacher always wanted to know if we (.) Understand (.) at some times we did and others we did not understand her at all (.) it's because she spoke English very fast and, different too(.) then she used to actually confuse me (.) Like- She confused me(.) not now though."

I: Yes?

James: The way I talked, the way I acted (.) what am I saying,(.) everything

I: Yes? And oh I also remember your pidgin issue (.) you were into it at that time.

James: Yes and my parents had a big (.) yes totally against it that it spoilt my English (.) especially my dad (.) but it was then though (.)Pidgin use to be a language for me and friends in Cameroon (.) they all still in Cameroon (.) here we speak only English and other languages in my school are Afrikaans and Xhosa and that I can't speak (.) well (.) just,(.) just a little

I: And now? How are you handling that now? Still a team player? I remember you could speak pidgin and your mother tongue, English while the others you just understood (.)

James: Cant anymore [laughs] then I could not now (.) I hardly hang around people who speak that though (.) in school nobody does and my parents are hardly around although they wouldn't speak pidgin with me (.) so I don't get to speak any other language but English (.) my grandma and mum do try though but I can seem to get hold of that language again.

I: Not good for your heritage.

James: What can I say

I: So you don't have problems with English then?

James: Maybe when it all started (.) my teachers used to yap yap and I didn't get to understand all what they said (.) I struggled to make sense of what they were saying (.) my friends had a problem with the way I spoke (.) as in my kind of English (.) no (.) My accent (.) like this was supposed to be this and I said this, my teachers, I can't get into that now (.) I remember one day I was struggling to explain some food item from my country (2) some years back (smiling) and it escalated into some kind of comedy centric issue (.) they were on me like (laughs)

I: Why? We are into something here

James: Not really, but I was not good at anything, was a bully, was a (.) what can I say? But here I am (2) and my mum too

I: Let me interrupt you here (.) what about your teacher?

James: No I can't get into that now (.) but I was not good at anything (.) but long story short, Why was I put in grade one, when in Cameroon I was already in class five? Two years from secondary school (.) yes (.) or should I say college? Here I am today in grade seven, while in Cameroon I should have been in form three, four now?

I: But academically it was good for you to fit into the SA system?

James: I would have been ok no matter where (.) Why not grade three? ONE? It was like I didn't know anything. At least now they think I know (.) and I don't really care what anyone thinks of me now,(.) because I know, I know. They even ranked me as one of the best now.

I: But that's great and good to know.

James: Seriously! When? Is it only now? Too late cause I don't really care (.) I don't give a (.) well not really care. I am who I am (.)

I: You have to James and don't talk like that; mind your language.

James: That's how we roll here (.) they don't really care (.) lots of things are different here (.) but I like it and coping for that matter (.) am the best now remember?

I: How do you mean by lots of things are different here?

James: I just mean different (.) yea different in everything (.) nothing is ever the same again. The school is different, the teachers the learners the languages (.) again I mean everything. Well (.) it used to bother me but now (.) I know how to handle things.

I: Yes how do you mean handle things?

James: Like i said earlier I can take care of myself and (.) not really care who says what (.) some friends are scared of me (.) Not because (.) yes because i can stand up for myself (.) I can fight back when confronted (.) not like before where I was treated like I don't (.) 'a nobody'.

I: What do you mean 'a nobody'?

James: Just how they looked at me (.) they called me names (.) well that was then (.) but now it's different

I: Yes like you have said its different. So how do you handle the languages and ways of doing things here?

James: Now yes I know how to take care of myself against all (.) and as for the languages (.) I speak only English fluently now (.) I have lost touch with all other languages (.) like I said the different languages here that I don't speak (.) like Xhosa and Afrikaans (.) but (.) as for Afrikaans, it's one of my modules (.) at least I might have difficulties in class but understand when they speak (.) I think I can handle Afrikaans but not the other (.)

I: The other?

James: Yes (.) I mean Xhosa (.) we only speak English most of the time.

Appendix B2: Interview with Aline

OKAY OKAY - Aline

Don't look that way when I call you that (.) you must be used to that [Laughter]

So tell me (.) how are you?

Linda: Comme ci comme ça (.) Am doing OK (.) as you see [laughter]

R: And school? Tell me about it (.) what is actually going on? For you have been to three different schools, since your arrival in Cape Town (.) From Congo right?

Aline: Yes

R: So tell me more

Aline: Qui (.) Yes comme tu dire (.) D'abord c'était à Milnerton puis Table View et finalement Goodwood après avoir même passer un an a la maison. Je n' avais pas le choix

P: Pourquoi? Why do you say you did not have a choice my dear?

Of course you had (.) ok

Let's say

Aline: J' étais a un niveau que je ne pouvais plus (.) d'abord

J'ai repris grade one, grade 2, and grade 3 – J'étais d'abord la plus vieille de class (.) and this and that (.) Qu'est ce que je pouvais faire encore (.)

Mes parents aussi sur ma tête – woh (.) en tout cas, tout se calmer mais toujours de difficulties (.) language and Mathematics.

R: ok calm down dear c'est pas une interrogation – juste a conversation between us regarding yourself this new language environment –Your progress

Aline: I understand bien

R: Okay let's look at it this way (.) I know the language has always been a problem because you hardly have who to interact with and in class you prefer to be silent.

Tell me why?

Aline: The teacher, le prof ne parle pas Français (.) mes amis cest le meme

- Pas beaucoup même (.) d'abord avoir un vrai conversation c'est pas possible (.) its difficile (.) au niveau du tout quoi

R: Yes? So at what level do you think you have these "problems" you are referring to? Ou exactment pense que tu as des difficulties?

Aline: Franchement? Partout everywhere (.) language, Mathematics et Afrikaans (2) C'est pire (.) worse

R: Don't be too hard on yourself (.) we all have problems at our own levels (.)

You see me too I have problems (.) I am a student too. Ok at the level of integrating and interacting with friends (.) tu dire que tu n'as pas beaucoup d'amis – pourquoi?

Aline: Je suis toujours occuper d'abord et en plus quest-ce qu'on va dire (.) Ils se moquent de toi quand tu te débrouille en anglais (.) moi je ne même pas le temp (.) quand Je veux parler (.) vraiment parler (.) je les donne seulement Français (.) même si comprennent ou pas (.) C'est leur problems

Eux memes ne prennent pas le temp, pour m'expliquer quoi que ça soit.

Aline: La même les prof. de mon nouveau école n'ont pas le temp (.) a Table View c'était different parce que (.) ok there the teacher try to look you (.) te pointer pour parler (.) Ici c'est une autre histoire (.) le (.) le (.) the teacher no have time.

R: So you learners don't fear your teachers hah?

Aline: C'est le contraire du Cameroon (.) ils font comme ils veulent

R: Et toi? Tu as peux de qui?

Aline: Personne (.) il y avais une dame qui nous prenez pour le extra Arikaans chaque mecredi après midi (.) une vraie grandeur (.) mais elle est partir depuis.

R: Et tes frères Camerounais Your Cameroonian brothers?

Aline: Nous sommes en bon temps (.) sauf le clown là qu'on appelle Simon (.)
Eishh je ne sais si on l'injecte ou pas mais lui c'est number one. Je ne peux te dire son problem mais en tout cas je lui donne ça part. Ils se monquent les gens (.) lui il pense qu'il est qui (.) même broken English c'est le nom qu'il m'a donné. Il n'a pas le respect (.) le gars là (.) Je lui aid it de prendre son distance.

R: Okay Okay Aline (.) don't let it get to you. So he calls you broken English (.) Why?

Aline: Because I speak bad English (.) melange of French and English. En tout ça con cerre (.) pour moi je parle c'est que je peux même s'ils comprennent ou pas. En – classe Je ne perde pas mon temps à parler parce que les elevents vont se rident (.)

Comme un jour, ils se rident quand je lisais (.) et je sais que chaque fois qu'ils parlent leurs parlois (.) when speak another language (.) the speak my name and rire. But they foolish (.) I no care

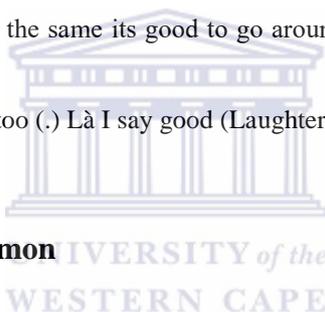
R: No you don't have to think that way (.) maybe they get to discuss their private issues. But so far what are you doing with language, Maths and Afrikaans, to start and with your travelling to South Africa?

Aline: All to say here (.) C'est que apprendre la langue à un certaine age pose trop des problems (.) Pour ecrire je me debrouille bien mais parler (.) c'est Ok seulement (.) Maths not mon ami and Afrkaans no change (.) the la meilleur solution pour moi c'est (.) CAMEROON.Si j étais au Cameroon ou Congo maintenant, c'est que je serais a l' universite

R: (Laughter) good for you but still the same its good to go around and learn other people's language and culture.

Aline: Ok they should learn French too (.) Là I say good (Laughter). And your friends Michelle and Kelly?

Aline: They are good



Appendix B3: Interview with Simon

I: Here we are again Si (.) Hey Si Si how are you? How you doing?

Simon: Si?

I: Yes Si how are you?

Simon: Si Is good mmmmmm

I: We have been together for a couple of years now on this thing (.) we have been talking and learning together (.) you know (.) so tell me about (.) what has been happening with you and friends (.) our Cameroonian brothers (.) I mean we have met a couple of times (.) You use to hang out with most of them. So tell me

Si: Not really (.) yes at first they were the only people I was with (.) yes my buddies (.0 but (2)

I: But now what?

Simon: A lot of things used to bother me (.) but i am trying not to let that bother me again.

I: I know you used to be concerned about language and issues around language (.) so are you thinking different now?

Simon: I have never had problems with English (.) i think English has been a problem to people like Linda (2) but maybe other languages here (.) Xhosa, Afrikaans and others

I: What problems do you have with those?

Simon: It might not be too big a problem to me if others don't throw on your face

I: Throw on your face (.) How?

Simon: I mean those who speak the language here (.) like friends in school (.) not even friends (.) other children in school (.)

I: yes explain yourself?

Jim: Okay what i mean is (.) the children here (.) in South Africa (.) in school (.) well all over they just speak their language (.) I mean to everyone (.)

I: That is a strong conclusion to draw my boy. How?

Simon: Look what i mean here is this (.) like (.) and it seems everyone here is doing that (.) i mean for people to speak two languages (.) English or Afrikaans or Xhosa all the time (.) South Afrikaans speak their language all the time (.) even if you are there and you don't understand (1.5) they don't care (.) even in class too.

I: Okay so that how you see it (.) and you don't speak your own languages?

Simon: My own languages (.) I don't even speak well (.) I used to (.) a little (.) but now (.) nothing (.) and they don't know my own languages (.) my mum is never there (.) at work all the time with friends.

I: Ok about your friends (.) you seem to have many (.) And are you scared of anyone?

Simon: I have friends (.) do not know how many but they are always fighting (.) not fighting (.) arguing because everyone wants to show they know

I: Interesting (.) How?

Simon: They argue to show they know more than others = =

I: = = why do you say that?

Simon: Because i know my friends (.)

I: Anyone in particular

Simon: Hmmmmm don't want to call names (.) but you know them (.) don't want to say But i am not afraid of anyone (.) but some are annoying and get on people's nerves

I: Anyone in particular?

Simon: A few (.) that Linda girl (.) she is too nosy (.) I will (.) I don't really care about her though (.) I just want her out of my way

I: Woh woh slow down Simon (.) what is your problem

Simon: I don't like trouble but if you trample on my feet (.) I don't look for trouble but that Linda girl annoys me with her French (.) she should stop pushing that French on our faces

I: Hey but that's her language (.) the one she knows best (.) what do you expect?

Simon: I don't have a problem if she stays out of my way (.)

I: Simon be nice (.)

Simon I am nice (.) but just saying (.)

I: Yes? Saying what?

Simon: Nothing (.) Just that I like to be (.) to speak the truth (.) yes (.) And everyone think i am rude

I: Why do they say that?



Simon: Do not really know (.) but it doesn't bother me again (.) I say my thing (.) and (.) it's unfair to (.) not really fair (.) but i am done caring

I: Why do you think that way?

Simon: hmmm I just speak out (.) say the truth and people say i am rude

I: So you are saying people don't like you?

Simon: Well (.) I don't know but it doesn't bother me too much again (.) you get used to (.) names people call you

I: Names?

Simon: Just what people say (.) rude (.) jerk (.) and (.) well many things

I: And you are none of these?

Simon: Like I said (.) that is what they say

Appendix B4: Interview with Jim

I: Hey Jimmy how are you? You remember you are jim for now right?

Jim: Yes am good and you?

I: Am good too thanks. So what have you been up to?

Jim: Fine and am in grade five (.)

I: Thats good to know (.) tell me how are things and how have you been doing both socially and academically? I meann how is school work and your friends?

Jim: i try

I: what do you mean you try?

Jim: Yes (.) I mean I try in school

I: Yes i remember in our last chat you said (.)

Jim: Yes things are (.) its (.)

I: Yes?

Jim: In the school with other children it was difficult. I was lost (.) Some children were nice (.) and others a bit bad (.) if when they saw me with another playing, they don't want to play. I don't speak their language. A boy from the Eastern Cape told me the father told him not to make friends with foreigner (.) and not to trust them (.) they make me uncomfortable (.) they laugh at your food, your clothes, the way you speak, and if you don't have they laugh (.) I don't like this school (.) I like to change school..."

I: You want to change because they call you names?

Jim: Yes (.) and also because they make fun when you poor

I: What names do they call you?

Jim: Some learners think you are different (.) because you come from another country (.) Like one in particular who calls me (.) He will say and each time we bumped into one another, (.) he will say, 'hello Nigerian, how are you?

I: Really? You shouldn't let that bother you know (.)

Jim: But i don't like it (.) my name is not Nigeria (.) and i am not from Nigeria.

I: And the second reason? You said because you were poor (.) Why wil you say that?

Jim: Because (.) because if you don't have nice phones, nice toys they know you are poor

I: No i don't think so (.) you don't have to think that way (.) Ok let's move now to other things (.) and your brother (.) how is he doing? With you?

Jim: He is good (.) but still shouts at me

I: shouts at you?

Jim: Yes he shouts at us (.) me and my other little ones (.) but he is my brother (.) and my best friend

I:Thats good to know. And are you scared of anyone in your school? Or at home?

Jim: Not really but I dont like it when others make fun of me.

I:Ok let's talk about classroom participation (.) Do they participatate actively or are they reserved in class?

Jim: I do (.) I mean yes (.) because i speak English

I: And do you llike English?

Jim: Yes i like English (.) and i dont have problems with that

I:And your mother tongue?Do you speak that too or any other language?

Jim: Yes (.) I speak Afrikaans (.) just Afrikaans

I:Really?Good so you speak Afrikaans?

Jim:Yes

I:And do you perform well in class?

Jim:Not Really (.) all (.) I mean some learners have problems (.) me too

I: Is English your first, second, or third language?

Jim:English is the only language I speak very well (.) I dont speak cameroonian languages and I am even forgetting most of the things in Cameroon (.) the things in Cameroon.

I: Like what Jim?

Jim: Like the clothes, (.) food, ((.) their games

Appendix B5: Interview with Jude

I: Interviewer J: Jude

I: Okay. As you know I've been coming to your school and we've been working for the past how many years getting to three years now.

J: Mmm.

I: You know this is a research that I've been carrying on you know, languages and maybe other litera- literacy, uh litera- huh literacy activities um, you know on new learners you know, a few of you, as you come from different countries as you have to maybe now, study in this environment which is new to you.

J: Yes.

I: You know I know like you told me already you are from

J: Ja I am from Cameroon.

I: You are from Cameroon; Right?

J: Ja. (Precisely?) The Francophone zone.

I: Ja okay.

J: Ja.

I: Okay.

J: Mmm.

I: And, what languages do you speak. Do you know?

J: Okay. I speak uh(2) first my mother tongue which is uh (Mbusau?) then ==

I: == Yeah.

J: and second one obvious which is uh the French

I: Yeah.

J: Then the English which I'm actually trying to – I'm coping with right now. Ja I'm obliged to to learn it. Ja. [Inaudible whispering - 6 secs] Okay. Uh-hum ja.

I: Okay. Ja still but you're trying so you speak your mother tongue very well right?

J: Ja.

I: Okay. At least that's the language that you grew up in. And then your, your French is very good because you've always been speaking French, ja?

J: Ja it is it is parfait. It is pairfait.

I: It is perfect.

J: Yes it is perfect.

I: Now you are trying to speak English because of, the situation in which you find yourself.

J: Ja. I'm only trying.

I: Ja.

J: It's it's difficile. [Les? La?] difficile, voyez? It's difficult. [French 01:43s – 01:45s]

I: Okay, okay.

J: But I'm I'm only trying.

I: Okay ==

J: == Ja I am trying to to learn it though it's difficult and uh, you know, English, it's a difficult it's it's it's – difficile voyez [French 01:58s] – it's it's it's a difficult thing to know. English, English has a lot of uh um, uh – in fact it's complex, Huh?

I: Uh.

J: Ja French is uh is quite easy you know. You get the conjugaison the conjugaison, [French 02:14s] and from the conjugaison you [mix your tenses?] and it's it's it's go – smoothly, it goes smoothly. Unlike English. English is kind of you know, [twisted?]

I: Okay.

J: Ja.

I: Okay. And most, so most of the time now that are in this situation, what language do you think you speak most of the time?

J: No. No. Now that I'm in an area where mmm everybody is um kind of speaking only English, I I'm kind of drawn away from uh my French. And uh you know it's really difficult sometimes and uh sometimes I I really get to forget some few things in the French and uh, you know. It's really bad, though but [inaudible] Just keep things keep things going and try each time I go back home I might you know try to, to uh you know uh

I: Parler parler francais avec la famille? [French 03:18s]

J: Okay okay. Merci. [French 03:22s]

I: Uh-huh. ==

J: == [inaudible] [French 03:23 – 03:28s]

I: Uh-huh.

J: [French 03:30s – 03:45s]

I: Mmm-hmm.

J: [French 03:47s – 03:48s]

I: Mmm-hmm.

J: [French 03:49s – 04:51s]

I: Ja.

J: [French 03:53 – 03:53s] ==

I: == Okay okay okay. All right. ==

J: == [inaudible]

I: Um et tu, [French 04:01] eh eh let me see now. Does it does it uh [French 04:07s – quelquefois?] like most of the time do you speak uh English and communi- communison [French 04:12s] with French or

J: Ja

I: you separate the two languages. Do you mix the == languages?

J: == Sometimes I mix them up.

I: So really?

J: Ja. ==

I: == Okay.



J: Sometimes I mix them up.

I: Uh-huh. ==

J: == you know it's the French it's part of me

I: Okay.

J: Mmm-hmm. ==

I: == Okay. Ja. ==

J: == Sometimes I speak the French I'm like calling Cameroon – you call it [Franc Anglais?]. [French 04:29]

I: [Franc Anglais?] [French 04:30] ==

J: == Yes. ==

I: == Ja ja ja.

J: Mmm-hmm. ==

I: == The new generation ==

J: == Yes.

I: you guys speak [bad] you know.

J: Ja it's mixed up. ==

I: == Ja.

J: The mind is natural, uh? It's naturelle.

I: Uh.

J: [French 04:40s – 04:42s]

I: Okay. Mixed ==

J: == Mmm-hmm.

I: Oui non c'est naturelle. [French 04:44 s – 04:51s] What is your attitude towards English?

J: Okay. No English uh – given the fact that I'm in a you know in a place where I'm obliged to to learn English. And uh you know it's – well it's difficult. It's kind of difficult, you trying to integrate yourself with the new language which is no – not easy to learn.

I: Okay um let's continue sorry for the interruption. The the recorder we always have this I don't know why it had to fall down now

J: Okay.

I: so now we we will continue I hope we continue [from] where we stopped you now. [Conjugation?] does the the English [2 secs] does the English you know

J: Mmm?

I: um you know, maybe interferes with your

J: Okay ==



I: == ability you know your learning you know your – what you are doing in class – I mean your academic performance.

J: Beaucoup. [2 secs] Beaucoup. [French 00: 36s – 00:38s]

I: Okay. ==

J: == Ja c'est ==

I: == Can you explain yourself.

J: Mais oui. [French 00:42s – 00:52s]

I: Oui.

J: Mais oui. [French 00: 53s – 01:13s]

I: Oui oui.

J: Et si comme ça [French 01: 14s – 01:18s]

I: Okay okay okay. Ja. Um uh as you are speaking French [French 01:24s – 01:30s]

J: Oui.

I: If the teacher calls you now up to maybe answer a question and you... can't maybe explain - express yourself in, in uh in English. What do you do?

J: [Well] [2 secs] Mmm. Well, I will [3 secs] Bon je vais [French 01:53s – 01:57 s] ==

I: == Oui oui oui ==

J: == [French 01:59s – 02:07s]

I: Oui oui oui ==

J: == [French 02:08 s – 02:13s]

I: Mmm.

J: [French 02:14s – 02:16s]

I: Uh-huh. ==

J: == [French 02:17s – 02:19s]

I: Okay. Oui. ==

J: == Mmmhm.

I: Mais – your friends do they laugh at you, or what do they do?

J: [Yes / bien sur?] ==

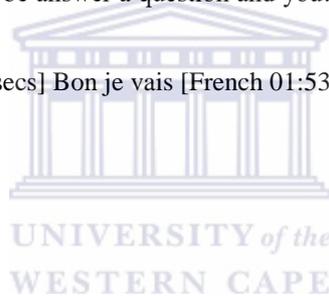
I: == Because of your, let me say 'broken English'

J: Oh ==

I: == so what do they do?

J: Ja even some of them laugh you know [laughs] It's it's normal.

I: Uh-huh.



J: Ja. But you know, uh it's not my fault.

I: Uh-huh.

J: Mmhmm. C'est pas ma faute. [French 02:37s – 02:38s] should this not be 'faute'?

I: == Oui oui je comprends ==

J: == [French 02:39s – 02:40s] ==

I: Oui. ==

J: == Mmm. [inaudible] ==

I: == And it's in the process of trying that you learn.

J: Yes. ==

I: == Ja ja.

J: Uh-huh.

I: Uh-huh. Okay and uh, and the new, the new, the new culture of the place? [21 secs] Okay now you are in a new culture – sorry for the interruption this learners

J: No problem.

I: they are always interrupting and I told them that I was having interviews here. And you know you are in a new environment with new cultures and languages and environment I know like um ja things uh you know I'm also from Cameroon.

J: Yes.

I: I know our schools, our kind of classroom. Now you are here in this area where you know beautiful classrooms as opposed to the kind of ones we had in Cameroon and you know we have a new mix of cultures and different kind of thing. You know, how does it affect you? How does it affect you? You know you see different kinds of people with different colors and different languages how do you feel in the midst of this?

J: Okay. [French 04:03s – 04:06s]

I: Oui.

J: [French 04:07s – 04:42s]

I: Okay okay.

J: Oui.

I: Okay. And other languages in the area you can – can you speak them?

J: No! [Laughs] No.

I: I know all of you hate Afrikaans.

J: Ja. I know. [Laughs]

I: I know ==

J: == It's very difficult. It's uh difficile huh?

I: Ja I know. Okay and ummmm okay umm. I know – on your – your languages for example your first language [...]

Jude 02:

I: Okay um let's continue sorry for the interruption. The the recorder we always have this I don't know why it had to fall down now

J: Okay.

I: so now we we will continue I hope we continue [from] where we stopped you now. [*Conjugation?*] does the the English [2 secs] does the English you know

J: Mmm?

I: um you know, maybe interferes with your

J: Okay ==

I: == ability you know your learning you know your – what you are doing in class – I mean your academic performance.

J: *Beaucoup*. [2 secs] *Beaucoup*. [French 00: 36s – 00:38s]

I: Okay. ==

J: == *Ja c'est* ==

I: == Can you explain yourself.

J: *Mais oui*. [French 00:42s – 00:52s]

I: *Oui*.

J: *Mais oui*. [French 00: 53s – 01:13s]

I: *Oui oui*.

J: *Et si comme ça* [French 01: 14s – 01:18s]

I: Okay okay okay. *Ja*. Um uh as you are speaking French [French 01:24s – 01:30s]

J: *Oui*.

I: If the teacher calls you now up to maybe answer a question and you... can't maybe explain - express yourself in, in uh in English. What do you do?

J: [Well] [2 secs] Mmm. Well, I will [3 secs] *Bon je vais* [French 01:53s – 01:57 s] ==

I: == *Oui oui oui* ==

J: == [French 01:59s – 02:07s]

I: *Oui oui oui* ==

J: == [French 02:08 s – 02:13s]

I: Mmm.

J: [French 02:14s – 02:16s]

I: Uh-huh. ==

J: == [French 02:17s – 02:19s]

I: Okay. *Oui*. ==

J: == Mmmhm.



I: *Mais* – your friends do they laugh at you, or what do they do?

J: [Yes / *bien sur?*] ==

I: == Because of your, let me say ‘broken English’

J: Oh ==

I: == so what do they do?

J: Ja even some of them laugh you know [laughs] It’s it’s normal.

I: Uh-huh.

J: Ja. But you know, uh it’s not my fault.

I: Uh-huh.

J: Mmhmm. *C’est pas ma faute* [French 02:37s – 02:38s]

I: == *Oui oui je comprends* ==

J: == [French 02:39s – 02:40s] ==

I: *Oui.* ==

J: == Mmm. [inaudible] ==

I: == And it’s in the process of trying that you learn.

J: Yes. ==

I: == Ja ja.

J: Uh-huh.

I: Uh-huh. Okay and uh, and the new, the new, the new culture of the place? [21 secs] Okay now you are in a new culture – sorry for the interruption this learners

J: No problem.

I: they are always interrupting and I told them that I was having interviews here. And you know you are in a new environment with new cultures and languages and environment I know like um ja things uh you know I’m also from Cameroon.

J: Yes.

I: I know our schools, our kind of classroom. Now you are here in this area where you know beautiful classrooms as opposed to the kind of ones we had in Cameroon and you know we have a new mix of cultures and different kind of thing. You know, how does it affects you? How does it affect you? You know you see different kinds of people with different colours and different languages how do you feel in the midst of this?

J: Okay. [French 04:03s – 04:06s]

I: *Oui.*

J: [French 04:07s – 04:42s]

I: Okay okay.

J: *Oui.*

I: Okay. And other languages in the area you can – can you speak them?



J: No! [Laughs] No.

I: I know all of you hate Afrikaans.

J: Ja. I know. [Laughs]

I: I know ==

J: == It's very difficult. It's uh *difficile* huh?

I: Ja I know. Okay and ummmm okay umm. I know – on your – your languages for example your first language [...]

Appendix B6: Interview with Maria (holidaymaker)

I: Okay. Uh thank you for giving me this opportunity to talk to you

M: [Ja.] ==

I: == I know that you are you are busy [with] trying to do this study [for years?]. This we are going to learn each other and uh, the fact is that um, um, [2 secs] I'll appreciate it if you answer these questions honestly and you know, I'll be ... and I just want to find out – then I'll be – you know – at any time if you want me to stop you can tell me to stop. I will not use your name. I will not disclose this information that to anybody it's not as if I'm questioning you for anything. It's just interviews to be able to, you know, back up what we've been doing all this years, and you know, if you feeling uncomfortable let me know. You understand?

M: Mmm.

I: And don't answer any question if you feel that you know, you don't want to answer it okay?

M: Mmm.

I: Okay. So the first is I just want to know, where are you from?

M: Cameroon.

I: You are from Cameroon. Okay. And uh, in Cameroon what language did you use as a medium of instruction I mean language of learning and teaching?

M: English and French.

I: You used English and French, okay. And you speak both languages?

M: Not quite. I am mostly used to English.

I: You are mostly used to English. Ja?

M: Ja.

I: Okay so you are from the English section of the country.

M: Ja.

I: Okay. And... what languages do you speak apart from English and French?

M: [Well] mmm, like [most of?] the dialects, and most of this pidgin naturally [inaudible] for everybody. Yes.

I: Okay Cameroon Pidgin English and ==

M: == Mmm.

I: Okay. So you speak – spoke that while you were in Cameroon.

M: Not that – ja ja ja.

I: Okay. You spoke that – okay you were not fluent in it but you spoke it.

M: Ja.

I: Okay. Mostly with your friends or with your family or with your teachers.

M: Friends.

I: With your friends okay. And in class you spoke?

M: English.

I: Okay you spoke English, and at home you spoke?

M: English.

I: Okay. Uh... most okay frequently you – what language do you speak more often?

M: I speak mostly English. But actually it's like the language [runs through all?] [Inaudible] Even though – even the Indians know it. People around the country [know it?] their own accents they use [to] speak it.

I: Okay. And do you like um, – and do you speak all the languages?

M: Not actually.

I: Not actually. I mean like nowadays, you know. How many languages do you speak now?

M: Um, I I speak English. Very well. I speak a bit of French, and a bit of my dialect. And pidgin.

I: Okay. Okay uh and do you have any problem with uh maybe English as a language of instruction?

M: [Not I have?]

I: Okay. [2 secs] So [3 secs] what do you what do you like about English? [5 secs] What do you like about English?

[5 secs]

M: Um, actually, English [5 secs]

I: What do you like about English? [10 secs] Feel free to answer.

M: Um, it's an international... language. International language used [by] everybody and it's not [very difficult to speak?].

I: [Okay] You like English because it's an international language ==

M: == Ja and most most people know how to speak it well. Like, for for example French. It's kind of like difficult for some people to learn it. But if you take French [and give it] – English and you [find it difficult / give it to a Francophone?] to learn it [they all will tell you?] will easily know it. But if it's French [and you give it to some Anglophone] it will be kind of like very difficult for the person to know it.

I: Mmm. Okay. And um, now that you are in, you've been in Cape Town for some time, uh?

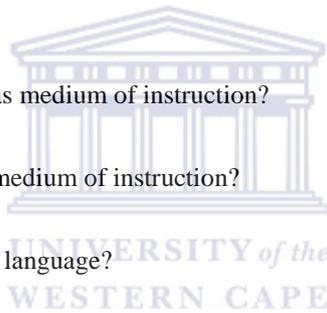
M: [Ja.]

I: Okay uh do you find, do you have maybe difficulties communicating with your other class mates or, in English or any other you know [...]

[End of transcript]

Appendix B7: Teacher Interview questions

1. Which countries do they come from?
2. What patterns of languages do they use in school? Are they fluent in those languages?
3. Which language do they use at home (their community spaces) and most of their spare time?
4. Do they code switch or mix codes?
5. What are their attitudes towards their languages?
6. What identities are constructed in such spaces?
7. How are they constructed?
8. Can you easily describe them as children with language barriers? (as far as the medium of instruction is concerned).
9. How do the students react to English as medium of instruction?
10. Do you think English should be the medium of instruction?
11. Is English their first, second, or third language?
12. What do you think is good about English?
13. Do they participate actively or are they reserved in class?
14. Does the school allow the immigrants to use their immigrant languages in class?
15. If yes, how do the other learners react to this?
16. Is the multilingualism of the children valued or not in this environment?
17. Which communicative strategies do the teachers use to enable learners' participation and talk in class?
18. What do you do when a learner gives a wrong answer to a question in class? (Because of language difficulties).
19. Do you think your learners like English or the other two dominant languages of the Western Cape? Why?
20. How they are coping with these languages, culture and educational system in place?



21. What do you think could be done to change or improve the attitudes of the students towards these languages?
22. Do you think their home languages are being maintained or experiencing a shift?
23. To what extent does the language policy in place meets the need of immigrants?
24. Do you think the presence of immigrants in the classroom a drawback to the other learners?
25. How do the other learners react to their presence in the classroom?
26. Do they easily integrate with the other learners or do they isolate themselves?
27. What do you think can be done to ameliorate the problems of the immigrants?



Appendix C: PERMISSION FORMS

Appendix C1: Department of Language Education

Faculty of Education

2 August 2011

The Principal

Hope of Africa Junior Christian College

Good wood.

Dear Sir,

I would like to request permission for Gwendoline Tatah, a doctoral student in this department, to carry out her research at Hope of Africa Junior Christian College. I would greatly appreciate it if she could begin observing in the school while we wait for formal letter. Her presence will not in any way disrupt learning or teaching activities.

Thank you in advance.

Best wishes

Caroline Kerfoot

Head: Language Education Department and thesis supervisor



Appendix C2: Information sheet for research participants

Title of the research project: Positioning: An ethnographic study of the language practices, of immigrant children in new spaces.

Researcher: Tатаh, Gwendoline Jih

Contact details email: gtatah@uwc.ac.za; tatahgwen@yahoo.com.

Phone no: 0738233616

Department: Language Education

Institution: University of the Western Cape

1. Research aims

The aim of this study is to investigate how young immigrants use their different languages in new spaces, both inside and outside of the classroom.

2. Ethical issues:

Participation is voluntary and learners can withdraw from the study at any stage. Learners will be informed through their teachers, parents and school management of the purpose and nature of the research. Permission for audio or video recording will be obtained in writing before and verbally after the recording has taken place. The research will not interfere in any way with school functioning or with learning in the classroom. In addition, the school and all participants in the study will remain anonymous. Information received as part of the study will be used for research purposes only.

I have permission from the Western Cape Education Department.

3. How findings will be used:

The findings will be used to provide greater understanding of language and literacy use and amongst young adolescents in school contexts. It is hoped this understanding might enable helpful insights into language policy and practice.

Appendix C3: Informed consent form (parents)

Title of the research project: Positioning: An ethnographic study of the language and literacy practices of immigrant children in new spaces.

Researcher: Gwendoline Tatah

Contact details: 0738233616 or 2874488@uwc.ac.za

Dear Parent

I have requested permission to observe the Grade 5, 6 and 7 learners at your child's school as part of my research on multilingualism at the University of the Western Cape in South Africa. Your written permission on this form is required for me to do this research.

Goal of the study

My study aims to investigate how learners take stances or position themselves and are being positioned in new linguistic configurations in the classroom and outside it.

Research methods

I will be present in your child's class for 10 hours. I will observe the class and make one video recording. I will not disrupt teaching in any way. I will also record some learners' speech during break times. A few learners may also be asked for interviews to find out their views on language use.

It is voluntary and anonymous. Your child does not have to participate. There will be no penalties against your child for not participating. Learners only have to answer the questions they want to answer and they may stop at any time. The purpose of the research will be explained to learners and they will be able to ask questions.

Your child's privacy will be protected. No names will be recorded or attached to the research report. A copy of the final research report will be given to the school.

Thank you,

Caroline Kerfoot (project leader)

Please sign and give this form to your child to bring back to the school. Thank you for your help.

I, (name) do / do not (please circle one) give permission for my child to participate in the survey.

Parent's signature...

Child's name Date...

Appendix C4a: Informed consent form (Focus group)

Title of the research project: **Positioning: An ethnographic study of the language practices, of immigrant children in new spaces.**

Researcher:

Contact email:

Tel:

As a participant in this focus group, I hereby acknowledge the following:

1. The researcher has explained to me the purpose of this study. She also gave an undertaking to keep anything said in this group confidential. I understand that information received as part of the study will be used for research purposes only.
2. I have given permission for her to interview me and if necessary to use or audio and video recordings.
3. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I can withdraw from the study at any stage.
4. I understand that my school and all participants in the study will remain anonymous.
5. I understand that audio and video recordings will not be used in any public forum such as a conference without my permission for the extract/s to be used.
6. I undertake not to repeat anything said in group discussions outside the group.

Signed:

PRINT NAME.....

DATE:

PLACE:

Appendix C4b : Fiche de consentir: (Groupe du recherche)

Titre du projet: Positionnement : Une étude ethnographique de langue et pratique scolaire des émigrés aux nouveaux espaces.

L'enquêteur: Tatah Gwendoline Jih

L'adresse électronique:gtatah@uwc.ac.za

Tel:0738233616

Comme un participant dans ce groupe, j'accepte les suivants:

1. L'enquêteur m'a expliqué les objectifs du projet. Elle a promis que tous les discussions du groupe doivent être confidentielles. Elle a pris l'engagement avec nous que tous nos discussions seront confidentiel et utilise pour le projet seulement.
2. J'ai accepté qu'on m'interroge ET aussi pour faites les enregistrement audio ET vidéo.
3. J'ai compris que ma participation EST volontaire ET je peux décidera d'arrêter si je me décide.
4. J'ai compris que mon établissement et toutes les participants restons anonyme.
5. J'ai compris aussi que les enregistrement vidéo et audio ne peuvent être utiliser sans mon accord.
6. C'est qu'on discute dans le groupe reste confidentiel.

Signe:

NOM:

DATE:.....

PLACE:

Appendix C5: Informed consent form (teacher)

Title of the research project: Positioning: An ethnographic study of the language practices of immigrant children in new spaces.

Researcher: Gwendoline Tatah

Contact email: gtatah@uwc.ac.za or 2874488@uwc.ac.za

As a teacher, I hereby acknowledge the following:

1. The researcher has explained to me the purpose of this study. She also explained to me that all information received as part of the study will be used for research purposes only.
2. I have given permission for her to interview me and if necessary to use audio recordings.
3. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I can withdraw from the study at any stage.
4. I understand that the school and all participants in the study will remain anonymous.

Signed:

Date:

Place:



Appendix D: SAMPLES OF AFRIKAANS EXERCISES: JAMES



J KAHLER

11 4 NOV 2012

GRAAD: 624 ³/₁₀

DATUM: 14 November 20

LUISTEROEFENING:

Onderstreep die regte antwoord:

1. Watter eienaardige troeteldier het Michael Duggan?

- a) skilpad
- b) krokodil
- c) luiaard

2. Hoe lank woon hy al daar?

- ~~a) minder as 20 jaar~~
- b) meer as 20 jaar
- c) 20 jaar

3. Hoekom is hy 'n goeie troeteldier?

- a) Hy eet 20 kg vis per dag.
- b) Hy maak nie 'n gemors nie.
- ~~c) Hy kruip in 'n hoekie weg.~~

4. Wat is Ali se massa?

- a) 65 kg
- b) 56 kg
- c) 560 kg

5. Voltooi: Ali is as 'n hond.

- a) skoner
- b) kleiner
- c) vinniger

6. Waar het Michael Ali gekry?

- a) by sy oom
- b) die troeteldierwinkel
- c) die veearts

J. KAHLER

BLAAI OM ASSEBLIEF!

7. Wat doen Ali en sy baas graag saam?

- a) stap
- b) eet
- c) stort

8. Waarvoor is Ali bang?

- a) mense
- b) weerlig
- c) die geraas van 'n motorfiets

9. Wat vreet Ali graag?

- a) hoender
- b) kinders
- c) vis

10. Wat doen Ali tussen September en Oktober?

- a) eet 20 kg vis
- b) speel in die kelder
- c) slaap buite in die wintersonnejtie

TOTAAL = 10 x 2 PUNTE

(20)

DATUM : 18/10 . NAAM _____

RUBRIEK VIR ONVOORBEREIDE LEES ASSESSERING				
KRITERIA	1	2	3	4
LEESTEKENS	Ignoreer punktuasie en frasering.	Probeer om punktuasie en frasering te gebruik, maar nie suksesvol nie.	Goeie groepering van woorde. ✓	Uitstekende gebruik van punktuasie en frasering.
AKKURAATHEID	Raai. Baie foute.	Drie tot vyf foute.	Een of twee foute. ✓	Alle woorde akkuraat gelees en korrek uitgespreek.
VLOTHEID	Lees word vir word. Klank hardop voor lees.	Nie baie vlot nie.	Besig om vlotheid en selfvertroue te ontwikkel tydens lees. ✓	Lees met selfvertroue.
GEVOEL	Eentonig. Geen gevoel.	Eentonig by tye.	Lees met redelike gevoel. ✓	Lees met goeie uitdrukking en gevoel.
BEGRIP VAN LEESSTUK	Onwillege leser. Wys geen belangstelling in leesstuk.	Swak begrip van wat gelees word.	Redelike begrip van wat gelees word. ✓	Verstaan stuk wat gelees word.
HOUDING	Onwillige leser. Demonstreer geen belangstelling om te lees nie.	Demonstreer min belangstelling om te lees.	Demonstreer die wil om te lees. Geniet die om te lees. ✓	Toegewyde en entoesiastiese leser.

ASSESSERINGSKODE: 45 2510 ONVOOR 6.

OPVOEDER: *[Handwritten Signature]*

OUER: _____

5. Kenners sê: "Die mens vernietig die aarde."

5. Kenners sê dat

(5)

9.14 Mondeling

Jy is 'n boom. Lewer 'n mondeling oor een van die volgende onderwerpe.

1. Hoekom jy nie afgekap mag word nie.
2. Die diere wat in jou woon.
3. Die werk wat jou blare doen.
4. Iemand wou jou eendag afkap. Vertel hoe jy gevoel het.
5. Jou geskiedenis.



9.15 Skriftelike stelwerk

Opdrag A

Datum

Kyk na die prent en skryf 'n paragraaf daaroor. Gebruik van die volgende woorde in jou paragraaf:

gemors
fabrieke
rook

rommel
afval
groen erfenis

bome
gras
ongesond

sieklik
besoedeling
lewe



Die bome het nie ~~lewe-~~
 Daar is nie gras. Daar is
 net sand. Die fabriek
 is ~~gating~~ ~~gating~~
 besoedel die
 atmosfeer. Die plante, gras
 en bome is ~~alles dood~~
 Daar is 'n ~~te~~ ~~te~~
 gebrek in syting wat
 is. ~~teek~~ ~~teek~~
 goed vir ons aarde. nie
 grond. (10)

Handwritten signature/initials

Datum 16 November 2017

Opdrag B

Ontwerp 'n plakkaat om die ander leerlinge in jou skool bewus te maak van hoe belangrik dit is om ons groen erfenis te bewaar. Jy mag prente teken of inplak om jou plakkaat interessant te maak.

5. Kenners sê: "Die mens vernietig die aarde."

5. Kenners sê dat

(5)

9.14 Mondeling

Jy is 'n boom. Lewer 'n mondeling oor een van die volgende onderwerpe.

1. Hoekom jy nie afgekap mag word nie.
2. Die diere wat in jou woon.
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4. Iemand wou jou eendag afkap. Vertel hoe jy gevoel het.
5. Jou geskiedenis.



9.15 Skriftelike stelwerk

Opdrag A

Datum

Kyk na die prent en skryf 'n paragraaf daaroor. Gebruik van die volgende woorde in jou paragraaf:

gemors
fabrieke
rook

rommel
afval
groen erfenis

bome
gras
ongesond

sieklik
besoedeling
lewe



Die bome het nie lewe-
Daar is nie gras. Daar is
~~net~~ sand. Die ^{nie} fabrieke
is ~~gating~~ ^{gating}
~~besoedeling~~ ^{besoedel} die
atmosfeer. Die plante, ^{gras}
en bome is ~~alles dood~~ ^{stukkend}
Daar is 'n ^{tyding} ~~tyding~~ ^{hout}
gebrek. ~~Daar is~~ ^{Daar is} ~~tyding~~ ^{tyding} ~~hout~~ ^{hout}
goed vir ons aarde. ⁽¹⁰⁾

Handwritten signature/initials

Datum 16 November 2017

Opdrag B

Ontwerp 'n plakkaat om die ander leerlinge in jou skool bewus te maak van hoe belangrik dit is om ons groen erfenis te bewaar. Jy mag prente teken of inplak om jou plakkaat interessant te maak.

Daar is miljoene groen
werkertjes wat hard werk
om het voor mens en dier
uit zonnenergie en water
te vervaardigen.



ongelukkig
de se kostbare
belig om stadig te

Die mens is die grootste
sondelot, want alle ~~verantwoordelijkheid~~
om alles te ~~verantwoordelijk~~ ^{belig}

Als jy
plant kyk,
nooit kan
alles daarin
ne.



Ons Gr
Erfenis

10. Die plante in die reënwoude word uitgeroei. Dit verander in 'n dor woestynggebied. (gevolglik)

Die plante in die reënwoude word uitgeroei gevolglik dit verander in 'n dor woestynggebied.

(10)

Oefening B

Datum

Voltooi die volgende sinne deur die regte voornaamwoorde in te vul.

- Dit is my boom. Die boom is myne.
- Dit is ons planeet. Die planeet is ons s'n.
- Hy het plante. Die plante is syne.
- Sy het blomme. Die blomme is hare.
- Die mense het idees om die aarde te beskerm. Dit is hulle s'n idees.

(5)

Oefening C

Datum

Maak sinne met die volgende woorde.

- syne: ~~Die~~ ~~fly~~ het sokkerbal. Die sokkerbal is syne.
- myne: Dit is my kat. Die kat is myne.
- hare: Sy het boeke. Die boeke is hare.
- ons s'n: Dit is ons skool. Die skool is ons s'n.
- hulle s'n: Die mense het balloene beskerm. Dit is hulle s'n balloene.

(5)

9.12 Terloopse taaluitbreiding

Oefening

Datum

Herskryf die sinne deur die koppeltteken op die regte plek in te vul.

1. Bome groei ook bo op berge.
.....
 2. In Suid Amerika is daar baie reënwoede.
.....
 3. Houtkappers kap bome speel speel af.
.....
 4. Die wêreld se bome gaan gou gou uitgeroei word.
.....
 5. Daar is slegs een en twintigduisend vierkante kilometer reënwood oor op aarde.
.....
- (5)

9.13 Met-ander-woorde-oefeninge

Datum

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Die wrede houtkapper kap twintig bome per dag af. 2. Dit is baie stil in die reënwoede van Suid-Amerika. 3. Die mens staar 'n nuwe probleem in die gesig. 4. Moeder Aarde se kosbare plante word uitgeroei. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Die
(teenoorgestelde: wrede) houtkapper kap twintig bome
(afkorting: per dag) af. 2. Dit is (een woord: baie stil) in die
..... reënwoede. 3. Môre 4. Gister |
|---|--|

1. Bome groei ook bo op berge.
.....
2. In Suid Amerika is daar baie reënwoede.
.....
3. Houtkappers kap bome speel speel af.
.....
4. Die wêreld se bome gaan gou gou uitgeroei word.
.....
5. Daar is slegs een en twintigduisend vierkante kilometer reënwood oor op aard.
.....



9.13 Met-ander-woorde-oefeninge

Datum

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Die wrede houtkapper kap twintig bome per dag af. 2. Dit is baie stil in die reënwoede van Suid-Amerika. 3. Die mens staar 'n nuwe probleem in die gesig. 4. Moeder Aarde se kosbare plante word uitgeroei. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Die
(teenoorgestelde: wrede) houtkapper
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woord: baie stil) in die
..... reënwoede 3. Mōre 4. Gister |
|---|--|