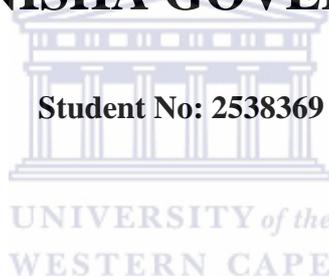


**A language in decline? A contrastive study of the use
of, and motivation and de-motivation for, learning
Afrikaans among two groups of learners at an
English medium high school in Cape Town, South
Africa**

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**A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master
of Arts (full thesis) in the Department of Linguistics, University of the Western Cape.**

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May 2010

Abstract

The Dutch occupied the Cape during 1652-1795 and 1803-1806 and their language soon became the dominant language in the Cape in South Africa. It is believed that Afrikaans developed as a creolised form of the Dutch language to serve as a lingua franca between the multilingual inhabitants of the Cape at that time – the original inhabitants, the Khoi and San, the slaves brought by the Dutch from various parts of Asia and Africa, and the Dutch colonists. The slave community along with the indigenous South African groups gradually replaced their native languages with Afrikaans (Mesthrie, 2002).

Afrikaans in practice replaced Dutch and became one of South Africa's official languages (along with English) from 1925. It reached the apex of its development and influence during the years of Nationalist party rule and the *apartheid* regime as a language of officialdom, of the judiciary and education. However, in 1994 nine African languages were afforded official status along with English and Afrikaans in South Africa.

Presently, Afrikaans is still taught in the majority of schools in the Western Cape as either a first or second language. This thesis compares and contrasts the language attitudes and motivation towards Afrikaans in two groups of secondary school learners - grade eight and grade eleven learners - at the same school, viz. the Settlers' High School in Parow, a northern suburb of Cape Town, South Africa. At this English medium school, Afrikaans as a second language is a compulsory subject. The thesis also examines the dominant ideologies held towards Afrikaans by the learners and by the school in question which contributes towards shaping their attitudes and motivations for learning the language as well as their actual use of the language. The study finds a correlation between the learners' attitudes towards Afrikaans and their actual patterns of use of the language, which indicates that the use of Afrikaans may be in decline among especially the younger, grade eight, learners.

A language in decline? A contrastive study of the use of, and motivation and de-motivation for, learning Afrikaans among two groups of learners at an English medium high school in Cape Town, South Africa

Keywords:

Grade 8 and 11 learners,

The Settlers' High School

Cape Town,

Language attitudes

Language ideology

Motivations

De motivations

Language use

Language shift

Language decline



May 2010

Declaration

I declare that “A language in decline? A contrastive study of the use of, and motivation and de-motivation for learning Afrikaans among two groups of learners at an English medium high school in Cape Town, South Africa” is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any other degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Manisha Govender

May 2010



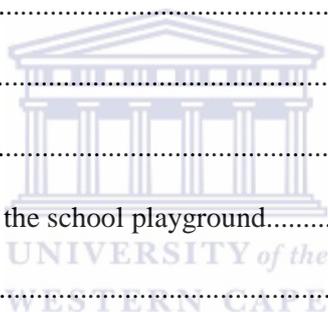
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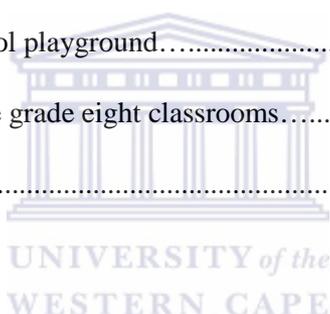
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction and background to the study

This study is an examination of the individual language attitudes and motivations for learning Afrikaans as expressed by two groups of secondary school learners at the same school in Cape Town, South Africa. Cape Town is the capital city of the Western Cape Province of South Africa. In 1996, two years after becoming a constitutional democracy, South Africa conferred official status on 11 of its languages, namely Afrikaans, English, Zulu, Xhosa, Swati, Ndebele, Southern Sotho, Northern Sotho, Tsonga, Tswana and Venda. Prior to this development, Afrikaans was awarded official status in 1925 along with English in what was then called the Union of South Africa. Afrikaans was the dominant language of government during the *apartheid* years (1948-1973). *Apartheid* is an Afrikaans word meaning “apartness”. This unjust system was imposed on the population of South Africa from 1948 to 1994. The Afrikaner Nationalist Party (NP) enforced segregation laws within the country which prohibited social contact between the White and non-White races. An example of these laws is the Group Areas Act of 1950, whereby one could only live in areas demarcated specifically for one’s race – White, Black, Coloured or Asian. The NP also restricted non-White participation in government affairs. The Population Registration Act was another *apartheid* law which dictated which educational institutions individuals could and could not attend depending on their race.

According to Census 2001, Afrikaans is the home language¹ of the majority of the population (55%) of the Western Cape Province, followed by isiXhosa (23%) and English (19%), (South African national census:2009). According to Hinskens (2002) Afrikaans has been in constant competition with English ever since the British colonized the Cape Province in 1820. This introductory chapter looks at the status of each of these languages in one particular school in the years prior to the first democratic elections in South Africa in 1994 and the period

¹ In this thesis I use the term ‘home language’ (HL) to refer to the language the child mainly encounters at home and ‘first language’ to refer to the language when it is taught at school, e.g. Afrikaans first language as opposed to Afrikaans first additional language (meaning second language).

following these landmark elections. The chapter also briefly considers the influence of the prevailing language ideology of the school (as expressed in its language policy, signage use around school and cultural activities) on the status of each language in these two periods.

A language policy at a school need not always be a formal written document. According to Corson (1999), unwritten policies exist and are made visible at schools in the tacit practices of its teachers and administrators and it can be inferred from interactions with students. Such policies are basically implemented by the “teachers and administrators acting through a policy-making group or ideally the perception of the whole schools staff and its community” (Corson, 1999: 3). Nevertheless, a language policy, written or not, is vital as schools need to have a particular language in which everyone attending that school can function. Parents who enroll their children need to know what language the school operates in and what the school expects both from its educators, learners and even support staff in terms of language ability.

1.1 The study

The study was a continuation of research conducted for my BA (Honours) Research Essay which was conducted only with one group of Grade 11 learners. The study was conducted at the Settlers High School in Bellville Cape Town. The main aim of the Honours study was to investigate the attitudes of the Grade 11 learners towards Afrikaans, along with the different motivations and de-motivations experienced by them in the learning of the language. The findings of the Honours study showed that those learners who studied Afrikaans did so largely due to instrumental motivations, while those who felt de-motivated to learn the language were mainly influenced by an inability to function effectively in it.

I was consequently stimulated to continue with research at this school, as the school is rich both in linguistic and cultural diversity. While the school is an English medium school, all learners still have to do Afrikaans, either as a second language or as a first language. Secondly, the history of the school as a former ‘Whites-only’ *apartheid* establishment provides an interesting context for a study of this nature. Thirdly, as a former pupil of this school, I still maintain close ties with it and have a reasonably good insight into the way in which it is run. This made it easy for me to gain access to the school for lengthy periods of time and enabled me to collect a good deal of information from the school’s educators and learners.

For the present study, however, the research population consisted of learners at entry-level (Grade 8) and learners a year before exit-level (Grade 11). In doing this research, I attempted to compare and contrast attitudes towards Afrikaans in a younger and older group of learners and also to find out whether the older learners used more Afrikaans than the younger learners. In addition, I investigated the variety/varieties of Afrikaans used by the learners who formed part of my research population and also sought to find out if a correlation existed between the learners' patterns of use of Afrikaans and their attitudes towards the language. Taking current research into account (Anthonissen and George, 2003; Dyers, 2008; Kamwangamalu, 2003), it was possible that I might find patterns of language use and attitudes indicative of a shift towards English among the younger group. In my analysis chapters, I provide some of the factors influencing these patterns, such as the primary schools attended by the younger group as well as the learners' social class.

1.2 Research questions:

This study aimed to answer the following questions.

1. What ideologies are attached to Afrikaans both by the learners and the school?
2. What are the attitudes and motivations of the two groups of learners towards Afrikaans?
3. Is there a correlation between the patterns of use of Afrikaans and the learners' attitude towards the language?
4. Is it possible to indicate that the use of Afrikaans is in decline among these learners when one compares the attitudes towards Afrikaans as well as the patterns of use of the language between the older and younger group?

1.3 Objectives of study

The main aim of this study was to investigate the individual language attitudes and motivations for learning Afrikaans in two groups of secondary school learners at the same school. The study also considered how these attitudes and motivation were shaped by the prevailing language ideology of the school with respect to Afrikaans (signs and posters around the school, plays, cultural activity etc.). In addition, the study examined whether a correlation existed between the learners' patterns of use of Afrikaans and their attitudes towards the language by

doing a comparison between an entry-level and pre exit-level group. I also examined whether the use of Afrikaans is declining among younger learners, or whether Afrikaans is still present in more mixed or merged urban varieties.

1.4 Research Hypotheses

This thesis is based on the following hypotheses:

- The school would reveal a positive ideology to Afrikaans as a language of power and dominant groupings in the Western Cape, particularly its status within the economy of the Province.
- Some associations between the *apartheid* regime and Afrikaans would still linger on in some communities and individuals, and might find expression in individual learners their families' language ideologies.
- English, on the other hand, would be associated with prestige and dominance in educational, public and governmental spheres.
- The primary schools (coupled with parental choice of these specific schools) attended by my grade 8 respondents would have had a significant impact on their attitudes and motivations for learning Afrikaans.
- A correlation would be found between the learners' attitude towards a language and their pattern of use of a language.
- Frequency of use, particularly in major settings like the home and school, could be tied to more positive attitudes, although of course this might not be the same for all individuals.
- Finally, this study would provide evidence of a general shift towards English among many of these learners, especially the younger group.

1.5 The research site: The Settlers High School

The Settlers High School, the institution where my research is based, is located in Bellville in Cape Town, South Africa. Bellville is located in the northern suburbs of the greater Cape Town area. The northern suburbs of Cape Town consists of areas such as Bellville, Parow, Goodwood, Durbanville, Brackenfell, Tygerberg, Kuilsriver, Ravensmead, Milnerton, Elsies River, Edgemoed and Platteklouf (see figure 1 below).

The School has a scenic view of the Table Mountain range and the Tygerberg hills which can be seen from each of the school's sports fields. The school was established at the height of the *apartheid* period in 1965 for White English-speaking learners in an Afrikaans-dominated environment. According to Haupt (2005:4), the school' placement was strategic, as Belville had the highest numbers of White English speakers and the school was easily accessible to people living in the surrounding "White areas" such as Goodwood and Parow.

The Bantu Education Act of 1953 enforced separate educational policies for different races in South Africa, with separate educational departments and schools. Seventeen educational departments were created and each had its own curriculum, policies, educational facilities and administrators (Kistan, 2004:2). These "non-White" educational departments were unfairly discriminated against by the state as the White schools had far more funding and offered a better education than the non-White schools. This resulted in huge inequalities in the system (Kistan: 2004:2). During this era, the government also pursued a policy of mother tongue education in single medium schools. *The mother tongue, if it is English or Afrikaans, shall be the medium of instruction, with gradual equitable adjustment to this principal of any existing practice at variance therewith* (Excerpt from the National Education Policy Act No. 39 of 1967, cited in Haupt, 2005).

Prior to 1965 when my target school was established, White learners residing in the northern suburbs only had access to Afrikaans medium schools where they were given dual or parallel medium instruction. Not only was this against the policy of the NP government at that time but the number of English-speaking learners in these schools began to increase, thereby making it feasible to establish an English medium school in this area (Haupt, 2005:3). Despite being an English medium school, the Settlers High School also had to follow the principles of Christian National Education, which, according to Haupt (2005:1) "...was the vehicle used to inculcate in youth a racial identity". Any other approaches to education were labelled "un-Christian and unpatriotic" (Haupt: 2005:3).

On 2 February 1990, then-President F W De Klerk delivered a speech in parliament in which he announced the unbanning of political parties such as the South African Communist Party (SACP), African National Congress (ANC) and Pan-African Congress (PAC). This marked a new course of action for South Africa, culminating in the release of Nelson Mandela who had been imprisoned since 1964. Mandela became President of South Africa in 1994 after the first democratic elections in the country led to a landslide victory for the ANC. In 1990, 77.5% of

the parents of the learners at The Settlers High School voted for the school to be open to all races. *The Settlers vigorously opposed government policies foisted upon it and to which its community objected....and eagerly embraced the opportunities afforded by the democratic transformation which followed the 1994 elections* (Haupt: 2005:1).

The school began to admit learners of all ethnic groups – Coloureds, Indians, Blacks along with the existing White population.²

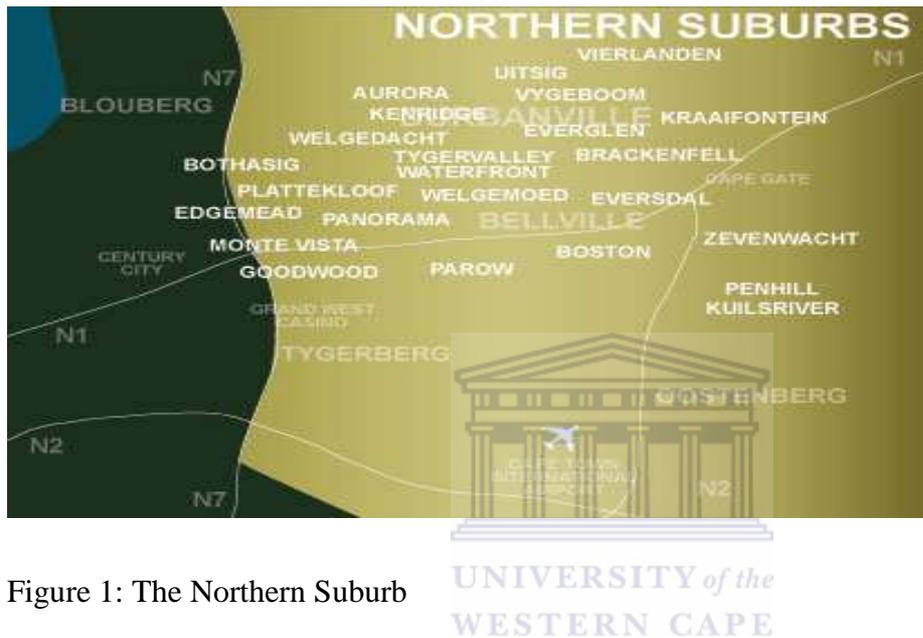


Figure 1: The Northern Suburb

Today, the school continues to draw its learner population from the northern suburbs, particularly areas like Parow, Belville, Belhar, Kuilsriver, Ravensmead, Elsie's River and Cravenby. It presently still operates as an English medium state-supported school, and has learners of all races and backgrounds. In 2002, 85% of the learners were Black, Indian or Coloured (Gaum, 2002 cited in Haupt 2005). The majority of the schools population are Coloured learners with smaller numbers of Indian and Black (mainly isiXhosa-speaking) learners. A minority of the learners are White, which is ironic given the learner's composition of the school during the *apartheid* years. The school has Afrikaans as a compulsory subject. Learners can however decide whether they take Afrikaans as a second or first language subject. The school has a collective and diverse culture where learners are encouraged to take part in

² The use of these terms can seem to be derogatory yet they remain entrenched within the people of South Africa as a way of classifying one another. According to Dyers (2007), Coloureds are individuals who descended from the San and Khoe (South Africa's earliest inhabitants) as well as "the unions of the members of these tribes with the European settlers and people from Asia and other parts of Africa who were brought to South Africa as political prisoners and slaves by the Dutch, French and English colonists." Indians are the individuals who were brought as slaves from India by the English colonists and who mainly settled in what is now known as the province of KwaZulu-Natal.

sport and extra mural activities outside the academic classroom. The school also offers learner the opportunity to take part in debates in English or Afrikaans with other schools. The school has a good library which contains books in both languages, the majority of which are in English. The school also encourages the use of Afrikaans during assemblies through the singing of Afrikaans hymns and presentations and briefings done by the students.

There are a range of reasons as to why I chose to do this study at this particular school. Firstly, the school is rich in its cultural diversity as it caters for learners from all racial backgrounds. This is essential as it allows room to see if findings could be related to any racial categories. Secondly, a school that is rich in cultural diversity is essential for this study particularly as it provides a broad sample base to work from particularly when dealing with language ideologies from a culturally diverse pre- to post-*apartheid* South Africa. Thirdly, the learners attending the school come from a range of different areas within the northern suburbs thereby providing a microcosm of the population of the northern suburbs.

The learners attending the school come from a range of language backgrounds. The languages spoken are English and Afrikaans, which are the most dominant home languages of the learners, followed by isiXhosa. The isiXhosa language is also the only African language taught at the school as a non-compulsory additional language. Each grade has a full isiXhosa class with learners from all racial backgrounds opting to learn the language. Lastly, there is a tiny minority of learners who speak Sesotho, isiZulu and Chinese as home language. Naturally, different varieties of Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa are spoken by the learners and educators, but only the standard varieties are taught. With regards to Afrikaans, learners are encouraged to use the standard variety as far as possible, although many of the Coloured learners use a variety known as “Cape Flats Afrikaans” or *Kaaps* in and around the school. Since the school is an English medium school that teaches Afrikaans as a compulsory language, it would be safe to say that the students of the school are bilingual regardless of their proficiency in the second language. The students at the school can function at some level within the second language whether it is to speak, read, write or understand the language.

1.6 Historical information on Afrikaans

According to Bekker (2003:62), language attitudes need to be understood within the context of historical factors which have had an impact on language learners. Therefore, it is essential that we understand the historical information about the languages in South Africa, of which

Afrikaans is one. The Dutch occupied the Cape during 1652-1795 and 1803-1806 and their language soon became the dominant language in the Cape in South Africa. It is believed that Afrikaans developed as a creolised form of the Dutch language to serve as a lingua franca between the multilingual inhabitants of the Cape at that time – the original inhabitants, the Khoi and San, the slaves brought by the Dutch from various parts of Asia and Africa, and the Dutch colonists. The slave community along with the indigenous South African groups gradually replaced their native languages with Afrikaans (Mesthrie, 2002). McCormick (2002) claims that the Dutch that was used in South Africa in the late seventeenth century developed differences to the original Dutch in terms of its vocabulary, syntax and pronunciation. She goes on to state that Afrikaans developed as it did via a process of creolization as a result of the influences on Dutch by the languages of the Khoi, the slaves, the Cape Malay and the Portuguese. The word Afrikaans in Dutch means “African”. At this stage, Dutch was the language of the government of the Cape and was used in the courts, schools and economy and learning the language was essential for effective communication in these domains.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the British occupied and took control of the Cape. English was declared the only official language. The British opened many English schools, and English became the language of government and the civil service. After the defeat of the Afrikaner republics in the Anglo-Boer War, General Jan Smuts, an Afrikaner, became the first Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa. In 1948, the United Party led by Smuts was defeated by the Afrikaner Nationalist Party. At this stage, there was much political and social tension between the White speakers of English and Afrikaans. The Afrikaners were threatened by the dominance of English and feared for the survival of Afrikaans. According to Giliomee (2003:9), White English-speakers were dominant at that stage in the civil service, the professions, and the managerial levels of the economy and the leadership positions of the trade union movement. The Afrikaners were also less educated than the English population. According to Giliomee (2003:18), the Afrikaners wanted Afrikaans to be the language of the civil service, parliament, schools, business and finance. In order for the Afrikaner nationalists to achieve this, the “...cultural revolution had to culminate in the establishment of Afrikaner political dominance and economic advancement” (Giliomee: 2003:9). The Nationalist Party promoted Afrikaans aggressively. Activists within the party would often state that “...die taal is gans die volk” which translates into “the language constitutes the entire people” (Giliomee: 2003:14). By this stage, however, the hybridized lingua franca of the Cape, Afrikaans, was well-established as a home language of both White and Black speakers of the language.

According to Van Rensburg and Jordaan (1995:118), Afrikaans was recognized as a medium of instruction by the Provincial Education Departments in 1914, which led to its standardisation from 1925 onwards. Afrikaans consists of three main varieties: Cape Afrikaans, Orange River Afrikaans and Eastern Cape Afrikaans, which (Eastern Cape Afrikaans) became the Standard Afrikaans which is now taught at schools as a subject (Van Rensburg 1989:116).

According to Giliomee (2003:14), in 1925 D.F. Malan introduced a bill that added Afrikaans to Dutch and English as official languages. Afrikaans almost immediately replaced Dutch, firstly because Malan noted that there were more publications available in Afrikaans by this stage. Secondly, Afrikaans was already being taught at all primary schools at this stage. Thirdly, Afrikaans was well established within the domain of the home for many of the inhabitants of the Cape. Afrikaans became one of South Africa's official languages (along with English) in 1925. It was also used as a medium of instruction and a language in which the law and official documents were published (Giliomee: 2003:14).

During the years of Nationalist Afrikaner rule (1948-1994), the system known as *apartheid* was imposed on the non-White population. Afrikaans reached the apex of its development and influence during the years of Nationalist Party (NP) rule as a language of officialdom, of the judiciary and education. The NP used Afrikaans to govern and enforce the harsh segregation laws in the country. Millions of people were relocated from their traditional living areas. Black and Coloured South Africans, even those for whom Afrikaans was the home language, subsequently developed negative attitudes towards Afrikaans. According to Ponelis (1993:64), the preference for English was strengthened by the shortage of Afrikaans medium schools as well as intermarriage between English-speaking British settlers and the Afrikaans inhabitants.

In 1953, the Bantu Education Act no. 43 was enforced by the *apartheid* regime (Haupt: 2005:14). In the Black state schools, Black children were educated only up to very lowly levels so that they could not gain access to high-ranking or professional jobs. The architect of grand *apartheid* and the Prime Minister of South Africa at that time, Hendrik Verwoerd, said as follows:

There is no place for [the Bantu] in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour ... What is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice? That is quite absurd. Education must train people in accordance with their

opportunities in life, according to the sphere in which they live (cited in Clark and Worger: 2004:49)

A survey conducted in 1972 among young Sowetans indicated that 98 percent of the learners did not want to be taught in Afrikaans and half of them stated that the Afrikaners are 'the most cruel and least sympathetic people in South Africa' (Giliomee: 2003:19). The imposition of Afrikaans as a language of 50% of the total instruction in 'Bantu Education' schools sparked the Soweto uprising of 1976. The pupils strongly rebelled against having to learn 50% of their subjects in Afrikaans, especially subjects like Mathematics, given that the majority of the learners and teachers at school were extremely weak in Afrikaans (Giliomee: 2003:19). The Soweto Riots started on June 16, 1976, leading to the deaths of many of the learners: "In the violence that followed, more than 575 people died, at least 134 of them under the age of eighteen" (Byrns: 1996:5). The unrest spread throughout South Africa, and schools became the focus of opposition to the *apartheid* regime. The Black population demanded a "...free, unitary, non racial, non sexist, non classist and democratic education" (Haupt: 2005:44). In contrast to the hatred felt for Afrikaans, English was chosen as language of communication by the ANC and the other liberation movements during the 'freedom struggle'. English "...has typically been seen as the language of liberation and Black unity" (Gough 1996a: xviii). During these years, English was also gaining much more importance and recognition in the former Black 'homelands', business and industry.

In 1990, former President F.W. De Klerk decided to bring the Black population into the political process of the country (Byrns: 1996). 1990 also marked the year in which the ANC leader Nelson Mandela was released from prison along with the decision to remove the banning of opposing political parties such as the ANC, PAC, and SACP. The process of dismantling the *apartheid* system took some time and effort from both the public and governmental officials. The year 1994 marked the year in which nine African languages (isiNdebele, isiXhosa, isiZulu, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, SiSwati, Tshivenda and Xitsonga) were afforded official status along with English and Afrikaans.

1.6.1 Afrikaans post-apartheid

Although the *apartheid* years ended in 1994, Afrikaans still seems to be associated with it by many Black South Africans.

According to the South African National Census of 2001 (South African national census:2009), the language with the largest number of users according to stated home language is isiZulu, which is spoken by 23% of the total South African population. It is followed by isiXhosa, which 17% of South Africans use as their home language, while Afrikaans has the third highest number of speakers, with 13.3% of the South African population using it as home language. Smaller speech communities in South Africa according to reported home languages include Sepedi (spoken by 9.4%), Setswana (8.2%) and English (8.2%). Despite the small size of its home language users, English is the second language of most South Africans who have gone through primary and secondary levels of education. The reasons for this are explained in section 1.2.2.

In the Western Cape Province, Afrikaans has the highest number of home language speakers (55%) as opposed to 19% for English and 23% for isiXhosa (Census 2001 in South Africa national census:2009). What the census fails to capture however is the high number of people in this province who grow up in homes where English and Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa, and even other 'blends' of English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa are used (Dyers 2008 and 2009). In such homes, people code-switch and mix freely between the languages they are exposed to, using varieties like Cape Flats English and Cape Flats Afrikaans, urban isiXhosa, *Flaaitaal* (the language of city slickers, incorporating isiXhosa, isiZulu, Afrikaans and English and *Tsotsitaal* (see literature review in chapter 2). A comparison of the census data of 1996 with the data of 2001 shows an increase in the number of Afrikaans home language speakers from 45% to 55%, and a decline in English home language speakers from 28.6% to 19% (South Africa national census:2009). Possible reasons for this could be that more people within the new South Africa are being more honest in reporting their actual home language or that the methods of reporting census data have been modified since the 1996 census. However, as a home language, Afrikaans appears to be more wide-spread than English in South Africa.

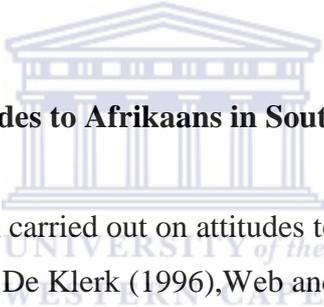
1.6.2 The rise of English

According to Smit (2007:64), 2,500 single-medium Afrikaans schools existed in South Africa in 1994. This number has declined sharply to only 300 in 2006. A major reason for this decline is the dominance of English in the educational, business and governmental spheres. English is prized because of its status as a lingua franca and its use internationally (McCormick 2002: 24). According to Kaschula and Anthonissen (1995), English is "...the language of employment and education...associated with upward social mobility" in South Africa. Gough (1996b) states that English is more prominent in urban areas and that English functions as a "...lingua franca, and is a primary language of government, business, and commerce. It is a compulsory subject in all schools, and is the preferred medium of instruction in most schools and tertiary institutions."

Studies carried out by Ridge (1996), Mesthrie (2000, :2003), Gough (1995), Kaschula and Anthonissen (1995) in South Africa illustrates that English is seen as a dominant language, not in the sense of being the most prominent language spoken in South Africa but in the sense of its status. Ridge (1996:1) uses the term *dominant* instead of *dominating* to describe the prime status of English as a language of choice for High functions.

South Africa is a multilingual society and the citizens have rights that allow them to receive education in their language of choice as long as the language is one of the eleven official languages recognized by the Constitution of the country. This is not entirely true as learners at the Settlers High School have to do Afrikaans (second language) as a compulsory subject. A possible reason for this is that Afrikaans is not only one of the dominant languages used in the Western Cape but it also complies with the requirements of the Western Cape Educational Department (WCED). The WCED states that a single-medium school in the Western Cape must offer all three official languages of the Western Cape (Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa). One of these languages is to be offered as a home language, another as a second language or as a first additional language, and lastly, a third official language (second additional language) of the Western Cape should also be offered (WCED: 2009). The Settlers' High School complies with these requirements, as it is an English medium school, which offers Afrikaans as either a compulsory second language or as a first additional language and isiXhosa as optional second additional language.

According to Kamwangamalu (2001) cited in Bhatia and Ritchie (2006:735) there are “...too many languages in southern Africa and too few resources”, therefore the state cannot afford to provide each and every learner with the opportunity to be educated in his/her own language. English is therefore favoured in a majority of the schools in the Western Cape. A possible reason for this is that in educational institutions in South Africa this ‘colonial’ language is viewed as ‘neutral’, while ranking one or two of the African languages above the others in the academic environments could lead to serious ethno-linguistic tensions (Kamwangamalu :2001). Heugh and Siegrühn (1995:97) state that linguistic racism is deeply rooted in South Africa as can be seen by the ideology that African or indigenous languages cannot be used in academic environments because “...relevant concepts and vocabulary are not present in these languages”. Furthermore, English is favoured as it is perceived to be the language of educational advancement, governmental affairs and a global language which allows for social, geographical and financial movement.



1.7 A Survey of studies on attitudes to Afrikaans in South Africa

A wide range of studies have been carried out on attitudes towards Afrikaans in South Africa by e.g. Dyers (2000; 2004; 2008), De Klerk (1996), Web and Kembo-sure (1999), Slabbert (2000), Anthonissen and George, (2003), Orman (2008) and Gough (1995), Mesthrie (2000:2002), and Lafon (2009).

Given the history of the *apartheid* regime and the labeling of Afrikaans as ‘the language of the oppressor’, researchers like Bosch and de Klerk (1994:56) and Webb (1992:449) have found that Black South Africans have a strong preference for English as a national language rather than Afrikaans. This preference for English appears to be linked to an ideology of English as being a ‘neutral’ language, while Afrikaans has negative baggage associated with the past regime. In addition, English is seen by many as a language of social advancement, particularly by the Black community within Southern Africa, as it is used as a lingua franca in businesses and governmental affairs.

Webb and Kembo-Sure (1999:16) give a few reasons as to why Black South Africans regard English so highly. Firstly, it has the status as the world’s major language; secondly, it plays a dominant role in the ‘working world’. It allows people access to almost all sources of

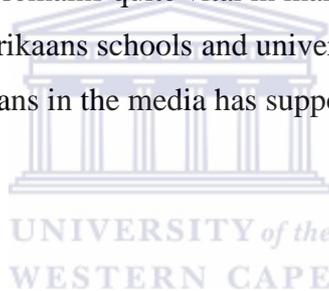
knowledge and entertainment. Lastly, the role English played in the struggle against *apartheid* is in direct contrast to the role of Afrikaans as the language of oppression. De Klerk (1996:26) states that Black people in South Africa, may "...reveal strong negative attitudes towards Afrikaans because of its political connotations, but may actually be highly competent users of the language". Lafon (2009:16) states that many African parents have opted to send their children to English former Whites-only ex-'Model C' schools instead of the so-called 'Black schools' if they can afford to do so. He goes on to state that this is not because the parents reject their African languages but merely because they understand that in most ex-'Model C' schools the quality of education is higher than in the "...Black schools which are synonymous with poor quality" (Alexander: 2000:8).

A study carried out by Slabbert (2000) found that many parents in South Africa, particularly the middle-class Coloured and Black populations, are opting to send their children to English medium schools, thereby indicating a more favourable attitude towards English. Slabbert goes on to state that an increasingly large number of Afrikaans-speaking parents in the higher socio-economic group is also sending their children to English schools. These parents acknowledge the importance of their children receiving an education in English and would like to equip them with the necessary skills to function in an English-dominated working society.

As stated by Anthonissen and George (2003), most Coloured people in the Western Cape have Afrikaans as their home language. A study by McCormick (1990) revealed that the standard variety of Afrikaans was "unintelligible" to most of her Coloured respondents, as the variety in which most of them grew up with in the Western Cape is *Kaapse Afrikaans*. To them, standard Afrikaans was the variety spoken by the oppressor (Neetling: 1998). A study by Anthonissen and George (2003) revealed signs of a shift towards English particularly among the younger generation of the Coloured middle class and elite, who have taken on a largely Westernized lifestyle. According to Orman (2008:113), the Coloured community is socially and economically attracted to English, and he concurs with Anthonissen and George that a "...long term language shift away from Afrikaans towards English" could occur, especially in the urban areas in the Western Cape in South Africa. An earlier study by Alexander (1989:57) showed that older middle class Coloured speakers speak Afrikaans to one another yet they tend to increasingly rear their children in English.

Among the Indian community within the Western Cape and the rest of South Africa, there has been a shift towards English, so much so that it has completely replaced their traditional Indian home languages (Hindi or Gujarati). Census figures in 1996 indicate that 99% of South Africa's Asian population (the majority of whom are of Indian descent) knows English (Gough 1996b). Some may even be more competent in Afrikaans than their own home language, as Afrikaans is taught as an academic subject at school, whereas the Indian languages are neither taught nor continuing to be transmitted to children by the older generation.

According to Gough (1996b), educated White Afrikaners often reveal "...superior abilities in English than native English speakers do in Afrikaans, and there is some evidence of language shift towards English amongst previously Afrikaans speakers." Many White Afrikaners have therefore acknowledged that knowledge of English is essential in an English dominated world. Regardless of this, Afrikaans still remains quite vital in many towns and communities, especially those dominated by Afrikaans schools and universities like Stellenbosch and Potchefstroom. The use of Afrikaans in the media has supported the maintenance of the language.



My Honours study (Govender: 2008) found that the attitudes my high school respondents held towards Afrikaans could also be linked to ethnicity. The White and Coloured learners held a more positive attitude towards Afrikaans than the Indian and Black learners as a direct consequence of far greater exposure to the language outside the domain of the school.

Despite the warning signs in the studies conducted on Afrikaans, it is very unlikely that Afrikaans will die out in the near future as it is still actively used within the Coloured and White communities and is still be taught as a second language in most schools in the Western Cape. The language is also being kept alive by its continued use in popular culture such as TV soap operas like *Sewende Laan*, Afrikaans radio stations and the many Arts festivals in Afrikaans like the annual *Klein Karoo Nasionale Kunstefees*.

1.8 Chapter Outlines

Chapter One provided the introduction and background to the study, providing the historical information on Afrikaans- pre and post *apartheid* era. The statuses of languages in the South African contexts were discussed. The statement of the problem along with the research questions was included.

Chapter Two consists of the literature review. This chapter uses the works of Gardner and Lambert (1979), Dornyei (2001), Lightbown and Spada (2006), Stroud et al. (2008), Dyers (1997, 2000, 2008), Gardner (1985), Anthonissen and George (2003), and Myers-Scotton (2006) along with other literature that is relevant to the study.

Chapter Three deals with the research methodologies. It provides information as to how the data was collected and analyzed. The data was collected through a quantitative and a qualitative approach along with a naturalistic and ethnographic approach. The instruments used to capture the data in the study are questionnaires, an analysis of the present language ideologies at the school, classroom and playground observations, and transcribed and translated informal interactions on the playground.

Chapter Four firstly deals with the language ideologies of The Settlers High School. It also consists of an analysis of the data collected on the study of the grade eight respondents. The data analyzed in this chapter was retrieved from the questionnaires, classroom observations and playground transcriptions. The data in this chapter is presented in table format.

Chapter Five consists of the analysis of the data collected on the study of the grade eleven respondents. The data analyzed in this chapter was retrieved from the questionnaires, classroom observations and playground transcriptions. The data in this chapter is presented in table format.

Chapter six reports the findings of the research and looks at the similarities and differences found between the grade eight and grade eleven respondents in the study.

Chapter seven is the final, concluding chapter where all of the research questions are answered and the hypotheses are either accepted or rejected. It concludes the thesis and provides recommendations for further research .

1.9 Conclusion

This introductory chapter covered the research questions, the objectives and research assumptions of this study. In addition, the background of the study and the history of South Africa with regards to its languages were also covered, as well as a summary of each chapter.

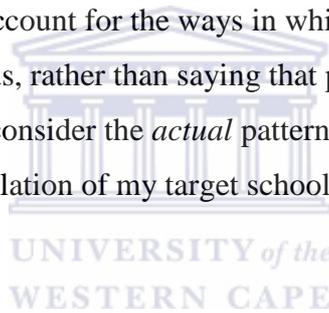


Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

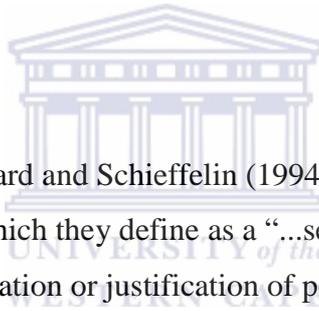
The theoretical framework for my study is rooted in late-modern multilingualism in an urban educational setting, and the role and status of one particular language, Afrikaans, within this setting. Chapter One covered the historical information on Afrikaans along with literature on Afrikaans from the 1990s to the present, i.e. the post-*apartheid* era. This chapter reviews the literature relevant to my research topic, specifically literature on language ideologies and attitudes, motivation or de-motivation for learning languages, language shift and maintenance, and post-modern multi- or polylingualism in urban centres. Traditional studies in language shift and maintenance do not always account for the ways in which languages are blended and mixed in urban communities. Thus, rather than saying that people are shifting from language X to language Y, there is a need to consider the *actual* patterns of language use and choices in diverse populations, like the population of my target school.



According to Dyers (2009), In late-modern South Africa, there are large-scale migration from rural to urban centres, residential and educational de-segregation, new structural and organizational forms for the economy and market and the growth of popular culture as signified by e.g. the emergence of songs, poems and other forms of expression in ongoing mixes and matches, borrowings and blending between languages. Stroud *et al.* (2008) use the term *distributed multilingualism* to describe this type of multilingualism, as opposed to more conventional notions of language shift and maintenance. Dyers (2008) and Blommaert (2009) favour the term *truncated multilingualism*. Evidence of this type of multilingualism can also be found in my data, particularly the ways in which the respondents in my samples mix and blend Afrikaans and English, or English, Xhosa and Afrikaans. Obviously, this ‘normal’ type of language practice conflicts with the school-based treatment of languages as completely separate and homogenous.

2.1 Language Ideologies

According to Myers-Scotton (2006:110), ideologies are “constructed assessments”. What this means is that ideas about languages are constructed over time as particular societies respond to socio-historical forces. Dyers and Abongdia (2010:120) describe language ideology as being “...reflected in actual language practice – how people talk, what they say about language and their actual language choices, and their socio-political positioning with regards to particular languages”. For them, language ideologies are created and shaped in the interest of dominant or powerful groups. This concept therefore offers some explanation for the relatively low status of Black South African languages in South Africa. Afrikaans was a language of power under *apartheid* (and still maintains vestiges of that power today) while English has rapidly eclipsed Afrikaans in post-*apartheid* South Africa. Afrikaans over time has had particular ideologies attached to it, particularly during the *apartheid* era, when it was the main language of the Nationalist government.



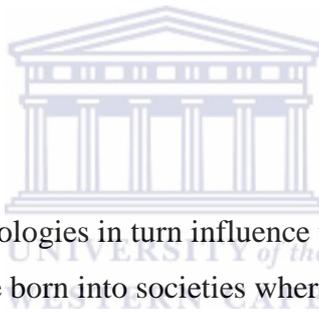
Silverstein (1979:193) and Woollard and Schieffelin (1994: 57) offer more insight into the concept of Language Ideology, which they define as a “...set of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use”. What Silverstein (1979) means here is that an ideology exists when an individual/s has a particular set of beliefs about the language with regard to its language structure and users of the language. These set of beliefs about the language or the articulation of such beliefs create and shape an individual ideology towards a language. Another definition of language ideologies is that they are “...self-evident ideas and objectives a group holds concerning role of language in the social experiences of members as they contribute to the expression of the group” (Heath: 1989:53). An alternate definition of language ideologies derives from Rumsey (1990:34), “shared bodies of common sense notions about the nature of language in the world”. These commonly shared ideas that an individual and group hold towards a language in the world can shape particular ideologies that an individual hold towards the language in question.

Language ideologies are therefore important in order to understand language choice and actual usage – the crux of this thesis. Societal language ideologies – notions about which language has the greater status and is used by dominant groups – as well as more individual language

attitudes can contribute significantly towards both language shift and language maintenance. If a language has very little status in a society and does not provide access to major services or the national economy, then it is likely that its users may shift towards another language (usually the dominant language in that society). South African middle class individuals who shift to English may be doing so as a way of dealing with the emotional scars that Afrikaans has left (Demartino; 2009:24). These emotional scars can be referred to as the effects of the *apartheid* regime on these previous speakers of Afrikaans. This regime has led to Afrikaans being viewed as the language of the oppressor by many and these individuals have elected to move away or moved away from their Afrikaans language due to the negative connotations attached to the language. These middle class individuals shift towards English not only as a means of dealing with these emotional scars but also as these individuals operate in a world where English is the dominant language of the work place, government and media.

However, the language could still be maintained if it is of value in the local, rather than national economy, and is tied to the social and cultural capital (Bourdieu: 1991) of its speakers. Political and social change in a country can alter the perception individuals have of the language and their usage of it. Such changes are clearly described by Louw (2004), who distinguishes three periods that Afrikaans has gone through in the creation of an idealised national identity of Afrikaans. The first period is identified as being between 1902 -1947, when the status and growth of Afrikaans was perceived to be threatened by British Imperialism. The language was used as a form of resistance to British control among those who identified themselves as 'Afrikaners'. The second period was between 1948 and 1990, when Afrikaans was "communicatively constructed", i.e. used in the media, government and in public sphere as a way of building what the government of the day considered to be 'the South African nation' – which really meant the White population only. As Webb (2002) puts it, over time Afrikaans became "...idealised and mythologised into the White man's language..." It was during this period that it became a language of power in South Africa. The third stage took place after 1990, with the collapse of the ruling political power in South Africa. Louw defines this period as the "decline of Afrikaans" (2004:46), and couples its decline with general negativity about its perceived Eurocentric values among non-White races in South Africa.

The question we must ask is whether the ideologies that came to be attached to Afrikaans over time will continue to create negative attitudes among the non-Afrikaner groups in South Africa, or whether over time the language could be freed from its socio-political baggage. After all, Afrikaans is one of the national languages in South Africa, and as such government services are definitely available to its speakers, especially in a province like the Western Cape. The majority of the schools in the Western Cape offer Afrikaans as either a first language, or as a first or second additional language. In addition, the language is definitely a part of both the national and local economies through major companies like e.g. Naspers and ABSA bank. In addition, possibly because of the current political landscape, Afrikaans can be said to be enjoying a type of revitalization through its many Arts festivals, its continued presence in the economic sphere and the determination of its speech community to maintain the language. English on the other hand is seen as both the national and global lingua franca and is dominant (Ridge 2000) in educational, business and governmental or political spheres.

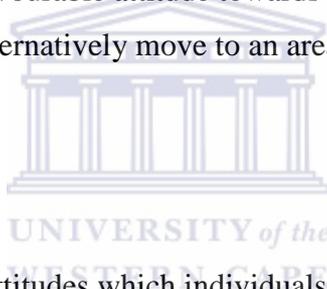


2.2 Language Attitudes

Socially-constructed language ideologies in turn influence the more affective, individual language attitudes. Individuals are born into societies where particular ideologies of languages already exist (even families can hold certain ideological perspectives on different languages) and as such will be influenced by what is already present in their surroundings. But individuals have the choice of either accepting the dominant ideologies or resisting them, and shaping their own attitudes towards languages. Personal circumstances and experiences can have a lot to do with the shaping of individual attitudes. For example, a person may be part of a community that has a very negative attitude towards a particular language, but develop a liking for it as a result of positive contact with the language, e.g. finding a job because of competence in that language, marrying a speaker of that language, etc. (Dyers and Abongdia, 2010:121).

Appel and Muysken (1987:16) define language attitudes according to two theories, namely the behaviourist view and the mentalist view. These two theories differ in their understanding of the attitudes. The behaviourist view deals with observing the behaviour and responses of the individual to certain languages. On this perspective, people's attitudes towards a language can be observed through their behaviour such as their pattern of use of the language. This component however fails to address the aspect of attitudes being mentally produced by the

individual but rather just through behaviour. The mentalist component looks at language attitudes from the “internal and mental state of an individual”. This mentalist approach is often thought to have three components, namely the cognitive, affective and the readiness for action. This approach addresses three components whereas the behaviourist theory only addresses the behavioural component. According to Baker (1992:12), the cognitive component is the thoughts and beliefs that people have about the languages which they know. An individual may possess a favourable attitude towards a certain language based on their thoughts and beliefs about that language; an example would be if an individual believes that English is important for global communications. The affective component deals with people’s feeling about a language. This feeling may be to like or dislike or neither like or dislike a particular language. This feeling towards the language may be expressed directly “I hate Afrikaans” or indirectly by “I would rather not speak than to speak in Afrikaans”. The readiness for action component is the plan of action taken by the individual in terms of what the individual intends to do about a language. An individual with a favourable attitude towards a language may decide to take up a course to learn the language or alternatively move to an area where there is more exposure to the language.



Triandis (1971:8) states that the attitudes which individuals hold towards a language can be revealed by the way in which they rank the different languages they are exposed to. The most prestigious language is usually ranked as first and the least prestigious as last. This however is not always the case, as a language that may be perceived as prestigious may not be ranked highly by an individual because it may be unattainable. For example, an individual may rank their home language (isiXhosa) as the most important and English which is the more prestigious language as least.

An alternative definition for language attitude comes from Ratcliff (1991:29) who states that attitudes are defined as “...mental constructs, acquired through experience, which predispose and or influence a person to act in certain ways in response to certain objects, people, situations or issues, they are consistent and deeply felt, but not immutable” (Ratcliff; 1991:12). Attitudes can therefore not be directly observed. The type of experiences that an individual encounters with a language will form the individual’s attitude towards the language. Experiences may be

of either a positive or a negative nature. Dyers (1997:29) describes such experiences as the “strong positive or negative emotions experienced by people when they are forced to make a choice between languages in a variety of situations or are learning a language”.

A slightly alternative way to view attitudes comes from Brown (1987:125) who states that “attitudes....develop early in childhood and are the result of parent and peer attitudes, contact with people who are different in any number of ways, and interacting affective factors in the human experience.” This definition looks at language attitudes from the perspective that attitudes arise from the individual’s principles and approaches towards other individuals and other cultures.

There are a variety of ways in which individuals can express their attitudes towards a language. Baker (1992) groups these into overt and covert attitudes. Individuals can express attitudes either by explicitly stating their feelings towards the language or implicitly. Attitudes that are expressed overtly are feelings or thoughts about a language that are directly expressed. Attitudes that are covertly expressed are attitudes that are not directly expressed by an individual but hidden. The attitudes here are usually expressed in the individuals’ actual usage of the language.

A second way in which an attitude towards a language can be expressed and observed is via the individual’s attitude towards the speakers of the language. Fasold states that people’s attitudes towards a language are often an indication of their attitudes towards the members of various ethnic groups (Fasold 1984: 148). Gardner (1985: 8) states that the reactions of learners of a language towards the culture of that language are important determiners of their attitude towards that language. He goes on to state that “...learners of a language often incorporate the elements from another culture in the learning of a language at school”. However, attitudes towards a language and attitudes towards the speakers of the language are not always coherent. Dyers (2000) states that it is possible to have a positive attitude towards a language and a negative attitude toward the speakers of the language. For example, it is possible for an Indian (Hindu) individual to have a positive attitude towards Afrikaans but an extremely negative attitude towards the perceived dominant speakers of Afrikaans. Attitudes towards a language

may not only appear to be inconsistent with attitudes towards the speakers of the language; such attitudes may also conflict with their actual behaviour towards the language and its speakers (Romaine 1995:317). For example, an individual may claim to love Afrikaans and proclaim to have a positive attitude towards it yet when one observes his/her actual use of the language, there may be no relationship between the proficiency and/or frequency with which the language is spoken and the positively-expressed attitude. Dyers (2000) concurs with Romaine, particularly in respect of attitudes towards English in South Africa, where the “positive regard for English among many South Africans is not matched by proficiency in use”.

Gardner (1985:8) argues that a learner’s attitude towards a language is shaped by his/her attitude towards the subject. What Gardner means here is that Individuals who have a positive attitude towards a language that they are being taught at school and who receive good marks in the subject will have a positive attitude towards the subject. Those learners who do not perform optimally in learning the language or struggle to grasp the language academically at school will have a less favourable attitude towards the subject.

This thesis evaluates the learners’ attitudes towards Afrikaans from both the mentalist and behaviourist approach. It does this by directly observing the learners’ behaviour and patterns of language use. It also utilises the mentalist approach by addressing the three components of the mentalist approach through the use of questionnaires to attain their “thought and beliefs” about the language in question. The study will also use Triandis’s (1971) notion of ranking, as well as Ratcliff’s (1991) approach to determining attitudes via the learners’ experiences with Afrikaans. It will also, as in Brown’s study (1987), address individuals’ attitudes through their approaches and feelings toward other individuals and cultures.

2.3 Motivation and De-motivation in Language Learning-

Just as ideologies can shape individual attitudes, so language attitudes in turn shape people’s motivation for using and acquiring different languages. Siegal (1999:185) states that an “individual’s attitude towards a second language, its speakers and culture, the social and

practical value of using the second language, and towards his or her own language and culture, influence motivations”.

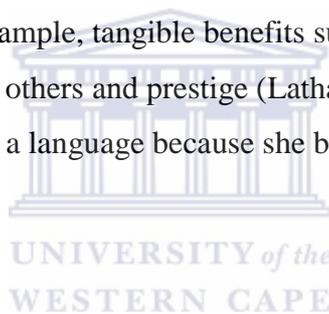
According to the Oxford Dictionary (1992), ‘motivation’ is defined as ‘a cause to feel active interest’. In the context of this research, ‘motivation’ would be the different reasons or causes in an individual’s life that contribute to him/her having an active interest in Afrikaans. Siegal (1999:185) defines motivation as the “inclination to put in effort to achieve a desired goal”. De-motivation would be the different reasons in the individual’s life that would contribute to him/her having a lack of interest in Afrikaans.

Motivation in second language learning is described as a “complex phenomenon” (Lightbown and Spada: 2006:63). They divide motivation into two factors, namely the learners’ communicative needs and the learners’ attitudes towards the second language community. They state that if the learners of the second language have to use the second language in a variety of social situations or to accomplish professional objectives, then they would be motivated to acquire proficiency in it. “...members of a majority group learning the language of the minority group may have different motivations than those of minority group members learning a majority language” (2006: 54). For example, members of minority groups may want to learn the language of the minority group for social reasons or minority group members may want to learn the majority language for professional reasons. Such groups will associate different communicative values with the target language.

Lambert and Gardner (1972) explain the relationship between language attitude and motivation as that of the learner’s ethnocentric inclinations and their attitude towards the other group. The relationship is believed to determine their success in the learning of the new language. The learner’s motivation to learn the new language is considered to be determined by their attitudes and orientations towards the learning of a second language (Gardner and Lambert 1972:194). According to Gardner and Lambert (1972), motivation for learning a language can be divided into two categories, namely instrumental motivation and integrative motivation. Instrumental motivation is the learning of a language for achieving instrumental goals and for particular purposes such as to pass it as a school subject, or to get a job in a country in which the language is commonly used. Integrative motivation is learning a language to learn more about the culture of the selected language or because the individual has a need to identify with the

cultural group of that language. Integrative motivation is the learning of a language for social reasons as well such as, to identify with the community who speaks the language or to learn their cultural values. It is also possible that an individual may be motivated to learn a language for both instrumental and integrative purposes.

Similarly, Deci and Ryan 1985(cited in Deci and Ryan 2000:54) talk about the self determination theory, which states that there are two kinds (orientations) of motivation, namely Intrinsic and Extrinsic motivation. Intrinsic motivation is when an individual is internally motivated to learn a language, or learns a language for their own pleasure, achievement and satisfaction (Ellis 1984:1). This type of intrinsic motivation can be evaluated through the learner's enjoyment of learning the language (Ryan and Deci: 2000:57). Extrinsic motivation is when an individual is motivated to learn a language by external factors in the environment that are in the control of others, for example, tangible benefits such as a salary, benefits, job security, positive evaluation from others and prestige (Latham 1998:83). For example, a learner may be motivated to learn a language because she believes it would help her get a good job.



Individuals who experience a lack of motivation to use or learn a language can be said to be de-motivated. Such de-motivations can be caused by many aspects in the individuals' lives such as personal bad experiences with the language and not being able to completely grasp the language. But people can also lose their motivation for learning a particular language if they perceive that it is of limited benefit to them and of minimal use in their societies. For instance, an individual may not be motivated to learn a particular language because the language is not of instrumental or integrative use to the individual in their lives. An example of such a situation may be a Xhosa learner who only uses Afrikaans in the Afrikaans classroom at school; this learner may be de-motivated to learn Afrikaans because of the lack of use of the language in his life.

There is also the issue of group identity when it comes to proficiency in a second language. Gatbonton *et al.* (2005) found that “... (those with) a high degree of accuracy in pronouncing the second language was sometimes perceived as being less loyal to their ethnic group than those second language learners who retained a strong foreign accent. Perceptions affect the learners desire to master the second language.”

In the poorer areas of Cape Town, where a majority of Black and Coloured people tend to live, learners who attend English medium schools in the wealthier suburbs may acquire a different accent than their peers who attend local schools, one such accent being referred to as a “White English accent”. These learners are often ostracised by their township peers, and seen as being less loyal to their own ethnic group. Such behaviour could also de-motivate an individual, or lead to him/her hiding their acquired accent by not speaking English when back in the township. Clements (1998) cited in Bhatia and Ritchie (2006:14) states that “...individual motivations are deeply rooted in the social settings and there exists a tension between integrative motivations and the fear of assimilation”. What Clements means is that people may strive for high proficiency in a target language like e.g. English, but that the fear of losing their group identity (as with the examples given above) and being regarded as wanting to assimilate with a different group, may also be a de-motivating factor.

Lack of motivation in the learning or usage of a second language can also present itself personally from within a learner. Learner anxiety is when a learner experience feelings of nervousness, excessive feelings of worry and stress in the learning of a second language. According to Lightbown and Spada (2006), anxiety plays an important role in second language learning in any context, as it interferes with the learning process. Macintyre (1995: 74) states that “because anxious students are focussed on both the task on hand and their reactions to it...they will not learn as quickly as relaxed students.” Anxiety in this instance can be seen as a factor that may cause an individual to be less motivated in the learning or usage of a second language. On the other end of the spectrum, Chastian (1975) believes that some anxiety could lead to better language learning outcomes for the learner. Chastian is implying that low levels of anxiety could be beneficial to an individual in the learning of a language as it allows for the individual to reduce an “I don’t care” attitude.

Another factor that could be seen as a de-motivating factor in the learning of a language is that of the learners experiencing some difficulty with the language of question. A study carried out by Govender (2008:36) which found that the de-motivations experienced by a group of second language Afrikaans learners in the learning of Afrikaans has to do with the learner experiencing some sort of difficulty to function or comprehend the language at hand. Nikolov (1999:36) states that these same factors that may play a part in de-motivating learners are the learning material, the teacher or teaching methods. These factors had great effect on language acquisition and achievement of the learners.

2.4 Language Power relations

Learning a second or additional language, according to Cummins (1999), can happen in two ways. Additive bilingualism results when individuals learn a second or other language without losing their fluency in their first language. Subtractive bilingualism results when individuals learn a second or other language without effectively maintaining their first language, often when the first language has not yet been properly established in childhood. In such cases, children may speak their first or home language only in intimate domains, but be taught at school in the second language only. The first or home language may only be taught as a subject a situation very common in South Africa. Additive and subtractive bilingualism may come into play when languages occupy different statuses in society and are associated with particular ideologies. For example an individual may choose to learn an additional language if that language occupies a dominant role or status in their society. Similarly, an individual may want to learn an additional language if he or she attaches positive ideologies to the language.

Thus an Afrikaans-speaking learner attending an Afrikaans medium school could be said to attain additive bilingualism if s/he acquires English at school, given that his/her first language is used fully within the home and educational context. However, if that same learner were to be sent to an English medium school at a very early age, where s/he would only encounter Afrikaans as a subject and in other limited contexts, the learner might attain subtractive bilingualism. Of course, the medium of instruction of the school need not lead to either additive

or subtractive bilingualism, as account also needs to be taken of ways in which the first or home language is effectively maintained in other spheres of use like the home and community.

Nevertheless, the differences in the status and power of various languages in a society can often be seen overtly in the extent to which the language is put to use in educational institutions, businesses, the media and government. Within the context of South Africa, English is seen as the most dominant language used in educational institutions, businesses, the media and the government. Within each province in South Africa, documentation in government and applications are available in the dominant languages of each province, but the availability of documentations in English is widely available throughout all provinces within South Africa. The use of English has increased expansively in the Parliamentary debates over the years (Bowerman: 2000), even though the speakers of indigenous languages outnumber the home language speakers of English in parliament (Pandor: 1995:75). The percentage of speeches made in English at parliament has increased from 87% in 1994 to 95% in 2001, thereby resulting in lesser speeches being made in Afrikaans (Hibbert: 2001). English can be said to be used here as a lingua franca and to be completely dominant in parliament in South Africa. De Klerk (1996:8) believes that the costs of multilingualism in South Africa is high and beyond the reach of South Africa, so English is the only “neutral” national language that is available to the government. English is also dominant in the media within South Africa; 85% of the programs on three of the South African television stations (SABC 1, 2 and 3) was broadcast in English followed by Afrikaans which filled a mere 10% of the total broadcasting time (Kamwangamalu:2003:9). In the context of the power relations within the educational sector, 80% of the schools and universities within South Africa have English as medium of instruction (PANSALB: 2001:9).

Invariably, as Lightbown and Spada (2006:53) argue, “...different power relations that exist between the languages can alter or guide the learners’ attitude toward the second language.” Afrikaans is a compulsory first or second language in most of the former ‘White’ and Coloured schools across the Western Cape, while English is the compulsory second language in most former ‘Black’ schools. In other words, Afrikaans still has considerable power in the educational sphere, especially in the Western Cape, but English is definitely the most desirable

language. According to McCormick (2002: 101), “speaking English is ... the sign of being a city sophisticate, as opposed to a country bumpkin. Young people who want to be thought of as sophisticated and ‘cool’ have to be able to speak English fluently and with panache”. De Klerk (2000:105) believes that it is the parents who form part of the “better educated and wealthier sectors of society” that “have the dividends that come from an investment in English” that make the decision for their children to shift to English by placing them in English medium schools. It is not only the “better educated or wealthier parents” who opt to send their children to English medium schools; the less educated and wealthy parents also send their children to English medium school so that they could be equipped with a language that is dominantly used in education, government, the media and the working sector, not only locally but internationally. Many Afrikaans first language speakers in Coloured communities also opt to send their children to English medium instruction schools as they believe it will allow for social mobility and educational opportunities that Afrikaans may not be able to provide as efficiently as English.

Another study carried out by De Klerk (2002:4) in English medium schools in Grahamstown found that parents sent their children to these schools because they offered a more “stable environment”, a “more meaningful education” and were free from problems that exist in a ‘Black’ school.

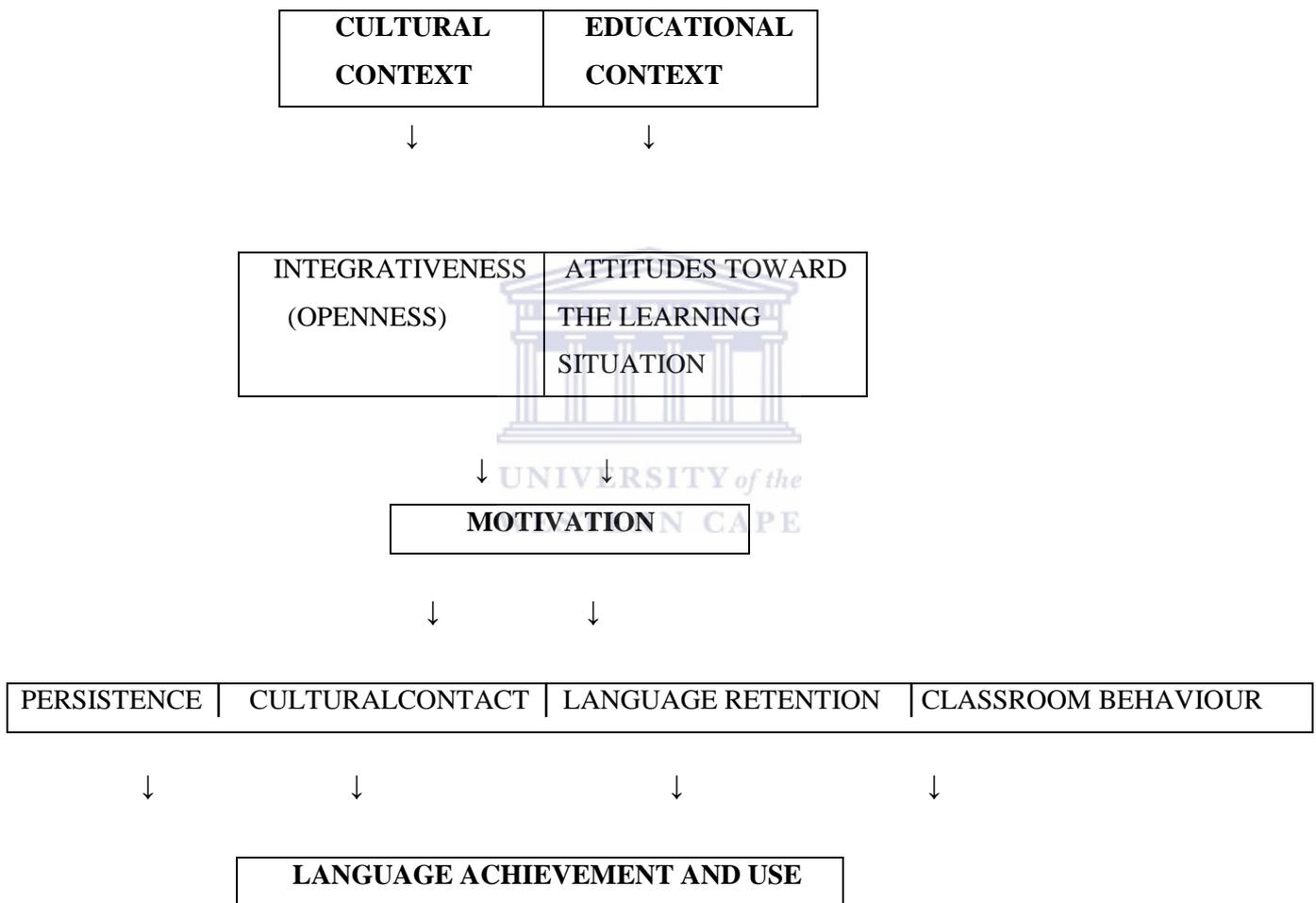
De Wet (2002) contends that many South African opt for English as a language of learning and teaching (LOLT) because there is a lack of educational material in the other indigenous languages. English happens to be the LOLT of more than 90% of South African schools (Strauss, Van der Linde, Plekker and Strauss, 1999:10-11), yet only 8.2% of the South African population have English as a home language (De Wet: 2002:3). De Wet makes the interesting observation that it is not the number of speakers of a language that makes a language a dominant, high-status one in society, but instead the perceptions that are held about the languages use and its status as a LOLT.

2.5 Cultural and Educational Contexts of Motivation

Gardner (2009) says that the educational context and the cultural context plays an important role in the motivations and de-motivations involved in second language learning. He goes on to

state that learning a second language is like acquiring another culture because it involves the taking on of the elements of another culture. Gardner further states that the learning that takes place in the educational and cultural context can have an effect on the individual's attitude in the learning of the target language. He uses the following model to illustrate this.

Effects of the cultural and educational context on Motivation in Second Language Learning



The model above starts with the individual learning the second language in both the cultural (by being in contact with the culture of that language) and educational (school) context. The individual will have various attitudes to the speakers of the target language and the culture which have an impact on the learner's attitude towards the language being learnt. The educational context refers to the educational system, classroom situation, the interest and enthusiasm of the learner and the skills of the teacher, the curriculum and the class atmosphere

which all play a role in the motivating or de-motivating the learner in the learning of the language.

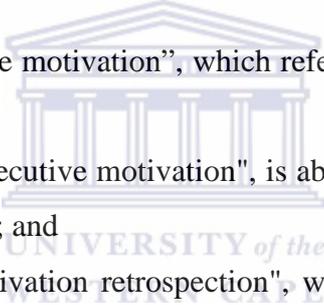
On the second level of Gardner's model, we have Integrativeness, which is the individual's interest in learning the language in order to interact with the members of the language community and/or to learn more about that community. The attitude towards the learning situation is gained from experiences within the educational environment. Integrativeness and Attitudes toward the Learning Situation are then said to influence the individual's level of motivations. Gardner (1985) mentions categories of motivation such as classroom behaviour, persistence in language, cultural contact and language retention which are in turn said to lead to language achievement and use. In this research report, we particularly look into how these factors play a role in the learners' use of language.

The type of environment in which a learner is acquiring a second language can play an important role in their motivation or de-motivation. These motivations or de-motivations that a learner may experience in the learning of a second language can occur in the context of the classroom. This thesis will focus on the language acquisition that occurs in the context of class. Bondi and Lai (1986) claim that one's second language is typically acquired in a more emotionally neutral setting, like the classroom, than one's first language. In contrast, it is possible to argue that one's first language is acquired in an "emotionally loaded setting" - the home where one has emotional ties with the members of one's family. But I would like to contest the argument by Bondi and Lai, as second languages can also be acquired informally through friendships and other relationships, where emotions also come into play. Examples abound in history where people have been forced to learn languages in order to survive – like mine workers in the time of *apartheid* who acquired some essential Afrikaans very rapidly in order to communicate with mine foremen and other authorities. More recently, we have seen refugees from other African countries very quickly learning one of the local languages in an often desperate attempt to assimilate with Black South Africans to avoid xenophobic attacks.

Teachers have an influence on the way in which learners perceive a particular language and whether they are motivated or de-motivated in the learning of the second language (Lightbown and Spada: 2006:64). Lightbown and Spada (2006:64) state that "...teachers

can make a positive contribution to students' motivation to learn if classrooms are places that students enjoy coming to because it is interesting and relevant to their age and level of ability....and the atmosphere is supportive". Teachers who encourage their learners to become more active participants in class lessons can lead to the learner improving their communication skills in the second language, and successful communication in the second language can lead to the learner having feelings of accomplishment. These feelings of accomplishment can motivate a learner in the learning of the second language. Similarly, learners can be de-motivated to learn a language if the classroom atmosphere is one of boredom and if the teacher lacks in enthusiasm in the language being taught.

Dornyei (2001) has developed what he terms the "process-oriented model of motivation in language learning". This model has three phases:

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- The first phase, the "choice motivation", which refers to getting started in the language and setting goals;
 - The second phase, the "executive motivation", is about carrying out the necessary tasks to maintain the motivation; and
 - The third phase, the "motivation retrospection", which refers to the learner receiving appraisal for his/her performances in the targeted language.

This model proposed by Dornyei (2001) can be applied to the context of the classroom in the sense that all individuals who want to or are in the process of learning a second language get started in the learning of it and often tend to set goals for themselves, whether it be to merely pass the subject (being a school learner) or to gain proficiency in the language to gain access into the group who predominantly speak the language. Secondly, learners carry out the task (class work) in order to achieve their goal or to maintain their motivation. Lastly, learners are given a chance to demonstrate their ability and performances in the second language whereby they receive appraisal or criticism for it by their teacher or in some cases their peers. This in turn can maintain or increase a learner's motivation in the learning of the target language. The feedback for their performances could also de-motivate the learner in the learning of the language if the learner receives negative appraisal by the teacher or if their marks are low.

2.6 Language Maintenance and Language Shift

Language shift is the process where an individual or speech community shifts over time from using one language to using another. It is described as the increase in function of the one language and the decrease in function of the other language. According to Romaine (1994), bilingualism is the starting point of language shift, which is often accompanied by diglossia on the way to monolingualism. According to Fasold (1984), language shift is usually accompanied by the perception that the language being shifted from is inferior to the one being shifted to. Paulston (1988) believes that language shift only takes place if the language that is being shifted to has social prestige and economic advantage, usually in monetary terms. English in this instance can be said to be one such language as it is often perceived as a language of prestige and the language of 'economic advancement'.

Language maintenance, on the other hand, occurs when a language remains in use and is vital according to its number of speakers and domains of use, even in the presence of a power language of wider communication (Dyers 2008). Language maintenance occurs when individuals or members of a community effectively continue to use the language they have always used, even in the presence of another powerful language. Language ideologies and attitudes play a significant role in language shift and language maintenance. If a language or language variety has very low status in a society, or if individuals develop negative attitudes towards their first or home language for a variety of reasons (societal ideologies often playing a major role), shift may occur, usually to the more dominant language in that society. In the same way, a language can be maintained, if individuals or speech communities value their own languages and see them as intimately related to their identities. For example, a Xhosa individual may maintain their home language (isiXhosa) as it is intimately a part of their identity even though English may be the dominant language used in their society.

Kamwangamalu (2001) states that an individual's decision to transmit the ancestral language is not influenced by generation alone but by other factors such as the status of the ancestral language in the wider society, the government's language policy and the community's support of the language. According to Bosch and de Klerk (1996), "... (certain) home users of

Afrikaans express overt negative attitudes towards Afrikaans”. Afrikaans is seen by some individuals as having less value because of its lack of function in particular domains.

In South Africa, as in much of the world, English is seen as a global lingua franca and is dominant in educational, business and governmental or political spheres. Prabhakaran (1998: 83) states that in South African Indian communities there is a shift away from their native language and towards English. He goes on to explain that this is because the Indian learners’ parents want their children to learn English because “...the social identity associated with English is more desirable” and that in South Africa the state does not allow Indian languages to be media of instruction or official languages. Pandit (1977) cited in Bhatia et al. (2006:801) found that with regards to the Indian race “...second generation speakers in Europe and America gave up their native language in favour of the dominant language of the region”. He goes on to suggest that language shift is the norm for Indians in these areas where their native language is not of dominance or of status. An example of a region would be the Western Cape in South Africa where the Indian language is not of any dominance in the region. Bowerman (2000) found that English has become the dominant language in the Indian home domain in the Western Cape, especially among the younger generation.

With regard to language shift and maintenance in the South African, Gough (1996b) states that “an African language is typically maintained as a solidarity code”. A reason for this is that maintenance promotes unity and keeps harmony within their culture. Gough (1996b) also goes on to claim that the Afrikaans community has generally shifted towards English because of its status in society globally and nationally. English has become more prominent since the early nineteenth hundreds within the Coloured community (Mesthrie: 1993). Regardless of this, an effort within South Africa has been taken to promote Afrikaans in South Africa via the media. The use of Afrikaans in popular South African soap operas, the existence of Afrikaans radio stations and the existence of a Afrikaans medium of instruction university has provided a base for Afrikaans to be maintained and helped to re-establish the respect for Afrikaans, because of these, it is very unlikely that there would be a possible death of Afrikaans in a number of years to come.

Kamwangamalu (2001), states that even though Afrikaans and the other African language are not endangered, a shift toward English is rapidly taking place in South Africa. This shift appears to be related to more middle class, educated urban communities, as shown by Ridge (2000:1) as well as Anthonissen and George (2003). Fasold (1984:213) states that "...when a speech community begins to choose a new language in domains formerly reserved for the old one, that may be a sign that language shift is in progress." However, Stroud *et al.* (2008) ask us to take account of individuals' multiple social roles and the younger generation's use of many new and different networks and language practices. Today's urban youth, in particular, encounter a wide range of different linguistic features in the multilingual cities they inhabit, and modern sociolinguists are calling them *languagers* (Lytra and Jørgensen: 2008:5).

Languagers are people who use language, not *a* language, but *features* of whatever ranges of languages they are exposed to in order to achieve their communicative purposes. According to Lytra and Jørgensen (*ibid.*:6), this phenomenon is known as *poly-lingual behaviour*, by which is meant the practice of using linguistic features from a wide range of different sets of features (called "languages"). To some extent, it is similar to the concept of *truncated multilingualism* (Blommaert *et al.* 2005; Dyers 2008), as the young speakers do not necessarily have a good command of all these languages they encounter, but they still exploit and sometimes redefine the different features in their daily communication. In this research study, it was therefore crucial to obtain sufficient data on the *actual* language practices of the research population at the school – their use of aspects like code-switching and mixing or crossing (Rampton 1995), in particular - instead of just relying on the more traditional explanations for language shift or maintenance.

2.7 Code-switching

Within the Western Cape, many schools teach English and Afrikaans as either a L1 or L2, which allows for many learners to be bilingual to some extent in these two languages. Often some learners can be said to be multilingual if their home language is other than that of English or Afrikaans but an African language. These bilinguals do not always keep their two languages (or three in the case of a multilingual) completely separate, yet incorporate aspects or words from one of their languages onto the other. This aspect is referred to as code-switching.

According to McCormick (2002:88), code-switching is the “alternation of phrases or longer chunks in one code or language with those in another. According to Poplack (1980), code-switching is the alternating use of two or more languages in discourse. Similarly, Baker (2000:30) defines code-switching as the change of language within a conversation most often when bilinguals are with other bilinguals. Baker (2000:31) goes on to state that code-switching occurs when an item from another language is introduced into the base language. McCormick (2002) makes a clear distinction between code mixing and code-switching: **code mixing** is the incorporation of single lexical items from one language into phrases in another and also the affixing of morphemes from one language onto morphemes from the other language” (McCormick: 2002:89).

Crossing is different to code-switching, as crossing is the “use of a language which isn’t generally thought to ‘belong’ to the speaker” (Rampton 1998:291). Crossing is a type of code-switching that is used by speakers across the boundary of ethnicity, ethnicity or language community. For the purpose of this research, Poplack (1980) and Baker’s (1996) definition of code-switching would be used; code-switching will be viewed as the use of two languages in a single utterance or conversation. In this dissertation, we particularly look at code-switching from the angle of its usage among the learners at the Settlers High School to observe if patterns of code-switching occur rather than total shifts towards English.

According to Poplack (1990) (cited in Hamers and Blanc 2000), there are three kinds of ways in which an individuals may code-switch with another. Extra sentential code-switching is the insertion of a tag in one language into an utterance which is entirely in another language, For example, “I feel sad, *weet jy* (do you know)?” Inter-sentential code-switching occurs between clauses or sentences boundaries (Poplack: 1990). It is when an entire sentence in one language is followed by a sentence in another language, for example, “I said that he loved her. *Hy is so mal* (he is so mad)”. According to Cantone (2006), this type of switch may serve the function of emphasizing a point in the other language. Thirdly, we have the intra-sentential code-switching. This type of code-switching occurs when a speaker uses mainly one language, but inserts words or phrases from one or more other languages into their sentence. For example, “I went to this *kwaai jol gisteraand*, (I went to this nice disco yesterday)”. This type of code

switching is viewed as the most complex code-switching as the speaker has to control two linguistic systems at the same time.

According to Geysers (2007), individuals switch codes for three major reasons. Firstly, he explains that individuals switch codes to fill in a linguistic gap. This refers to a bilingual's inability or lack of competence or vocabulary in either of the languages therefore the code-switch to the other language. Secondly, individuals switch codes for a social purpose, in the sense that individual's code-switch to express solidarity with a particular social group or to exclude those who do not speak a language from a conversation, and to express and retain cultural identity. Thirdly, code-switching is done for conversational purposes, where speakers may switch codes to indicate their attitude to the listeners or to emphasize a point made in the other language.

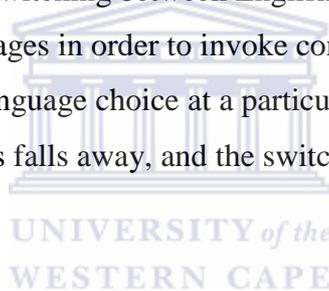
There are a variety of factors like the topic, the setting, the relationship between participants, the community norms and values, and the societal and political developments that all influence a speaker's choice of language in conversation (Li Wei: 1998). For example, when a speaker is conversing with others on a topic of fashion, s/he might lack the vocabulary needed for the topic in one language and therefore use words or phrases from another language. It can therefore also be more convenient to code-switch a word or phrase from language B into language A instead of thinking of an appropriate word in language B. A bilingual or a multilingual may code-switch if they feel that one of the languages that they know is more appropriate for a certain topic. An example here would be an Afrikaans-speaking person who may code switch to English when s/he is conversing about an academic topic.

In all societies, certain values are ascribed to certain languages. A reason for code-switching into English when conversing about an academic topic could be that English is viewed as a global language, and is often associated with power and prestige. Milroy (1987) states that bilingual speakers attribute different social values to different codes or languages. Since a different social value is attributed to each code (language), the speaker will consider the use of one code more appropriate than the other with different interlocutors.

Code-switching helps individuals in a community to retain their sense of cultural identity, in much the same sense that slang is used to give a group of people a sense of identity and belonging and to differentiate them from society at large. Switching between codes enables

speakers to emphasize a mixed identity through the use of two languages in the same discourse (Appel and Muysken 1987). This in turn could be a reflection of the speaker possessing a positive attitude towards the language that is switched to as well as to its main speech community. An example of this could be an isiXhosa-speaking individual who code-switches between English and Xhosa in the same discourse to emphasize a mixed identity. This Xhosa individual may retain his/her cultural identity by speaking his/her home language (isiXhosa) and at the same time signal his/her westernized cultural identity by using English. A speaker may also claim a dual identity through repeated intra-situational switching (Heller 1982) or a single identity by never code-switching (Gal 1979).

A study carried out with school children by Nkoko et al. (2000: 233) revealed that in an informal environment such as the school playground, the functions of code-switching were mainly to express group identity, group membership and solidarity. McCormick (2002:199), who carried out a study on code-switching between English and Afrikaans, found that "... sometimes speakers switch languages in order to invoke community associations or in order to abide by community norms for language choice at a particular event, but at other times awareness of 'macro' associations falls away, and the switching serves only 'micro' stylistic or discourse functions."



Smith-Kocamahhul (2003:3) argues that language choice and code-switching can both play contributing roles in language shift. The language that an individual may choose to use with particular interlocutors within particular domains along with the type of code-switching used can indicate whether an individual is shifting towards the embedded language or not. Such choices can also be indicative of the speaker's attitudes towards the languages in use. Within the South African context, a shift from English to Afrikaans could be said to be taking place if English starts to become the matrix language and Afrikaans the embedded language, instead of the reverse (de Klerk: 2000:89). Similarly, language loyalists worry that the continuous borrowing from one language to complete interactions in another may eventually lead to language shift toward the language from which the borrowing is taking place (Hacksley *et al.* 2007:6). This type of code-switching is referred to a "regressive code-switching", as individuals would be losing their first language and lean on second language to supply the "missing elements" (Gonzalez and Maez:1980:132).

English and Afrikaans have co-existed alongside each other over a long time, and this co-existence has naturally led to a lot of code-switching among English-Afrikaans bilinguals. According to Combrink (1978) and Young (1988), Afrikaans was syntactically, lexically and semantically influenced by English and only became the “pure”, standard Afrikaans when all of the foreign elements in the language were removed from the language during its standardization in the twentieth century (Webb and Kembo-Sure 2000 cited in Bowers: 2006 :21). According to Gough (1995:3), Afrikaans has adopted many English words and the occurrence of code-switching between English and Afrikaans is “perhaps the strongest indication of the impact of English” on this language.

According to Wolfram (1997) and Burton (2007) a dialect is a mutually intelligible regional or social variety of a language that differs in lexical, phonological, syntactic and/ or semantic ways. A language variety is a characteristic of a particular social group, or associated with a particular speaking style across groups of speakers in a community (Meyerhoff 2008). According to Webb (2002:74), Afrikaans has many dialects. The different dialects and varieties of Afrikaans have shown variation in vocabulary, accent and idiomatic use of language. These different dialects and varieties of Afrikaans are often placed on a hierarchal scale instead of being seen as different dialects. The variety of Afrikaans that is formally taught as a second or third language at school is referred to as standard Afrikaans. It is often referred to as “Suiwer (pure) Afrikaans”. All other varieties and dialect of Afrikaans are judged from this standard of Afrikaans. The switching of codes does not occur only between the ‘pure’ varieties of English and Afrikaans, but also with the non-standard varieties of the two languages, as in “Kaapse Afrikaans” (Cape Afrikaans).

According to Bowers (2006:21) “Kaapse Afrikaans” developed among the Coloured population in the Cape Town area as result of their positive attitude towards English and their negative attitude towards the standard variety of Afrikaans. McCormick’s study (1990) revealed that many of her Coloured respondents felt that the standard variety of Afrikaans was “unintelligible” to them, as it was not the variety in which many of them were raised.

Kaapse Afrikaans is an informal colloquial variety of Afrikaans, which differs from standard Afrikaans in its vocabulary, pronunciation and at the lexical level. With the exception of works of literature (e.g. the poetry and plays of Adam Small), this variety is not usually available in written form. Elisions often occur when using the verb, for example:

Daar is (Standard Afrikaans)

Daa's (Kaapse Afrikaans).

Another difference can be seen in the variation at the syntactic level, e.g.

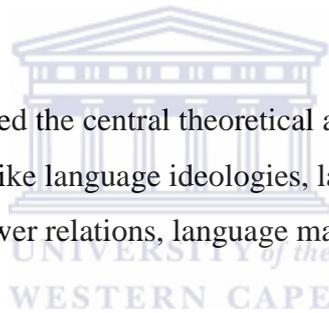
Waar is die koffie? (Standard Afrikaans)

Waa'sie koffie? (Kaapse Afrikaans).

These two distinctive varieties of Afrikaans that are present in the Western Cape are not only limited to the Coloured population. Indian and Black learners could also be observed using certain Kaapse Afrikaans words into their English sentences, either to affiliate with members who may speak this variety of Afrikaans or to show group members or emphasize a point.

2.8 Conclusion

This literature review has addressed the central theoretical and conceptual concerns of this study, and has discussed aspects like language ideologies, language attitudes, motivations for learning a language, language power relations, language maintenance and shift as well as the role of code-switching.



CHAPTER THREE

Research Methodology

3.0 Introduction

This chapter provides the research design and methodology for this study, which used both qualitative and quantitative research methods. In order to achieve triangulation of my findings, three different methods were used for collecting the data, namely a questionnaire that consisted of both open ended and closed ended questions, an analysis of the school's language policy via classroom and school observations, and recorded participant interactions. According to Carranza (1982), triangulation means using different kinds of methods to capture data, thereby producing more legitimate and reliable findings.

3.1 Research methods

As was noted above, the principle methodologies informing this ethnographic study were both quantitative and qualitative in nature. An ethnographic study, according to Heath (1983), is the description of a particular setting in terms of its people, the languages, the beliefs, behaviours, customs and physical environment. Qualitative research allows for in-depth analysis of the data and is appropriate for use in searching for particular patterns. In this study, it was particularly useful as a means of gauging the attitudes, motivations, behaviours, value systems, culture or lifestyles of my respondents with specific reference to Afrikaans. According to Cresswell (1994) (cited in Leedy, 1997: 2), qualitative research is an "inquiry process of understanding a social or human problem, based on building a complex, holistic picture, formed with words, reporting detailed views of informants and conducted in a natural setting." Glesne and Peshkin (1992) tend to have a slightly different take on qualitative studies as they believe that these are used to identify with the ways in which participants construct the world around them within a particular social context. According to Polgar and Thomas (1995), a qualitative method generates verbal information rather than numerical values.

According to Cassell and Symon (1994), quantitative research allows for valid and reliable findings to be made and be generalised with a clear anticipation of cause and effect. The term *reliability* refers to the dependability of a measure. In other words, if the measure is reliable, then one can be positive that findings of all the variables are consistent with each other and if the measure was to be used again with the same individuals, then it would be similarly rated to that of the first time (Bella 2008:62). *Validity* on the other hand refers to whether the method used is measuring what it was intended to measure, and represents the overarching quality of the measure (Bella 2008:62). Collecting quantitative data is based on using precise measuring methods via close ended questions, rating scales and behavioural responses. This is particularly relevant as the data in this study was also collected quantitatively via the use of closed ended question, rating scales and the Likert scale.

3.2 Research Population

The research was conducted at the Settlers' High School in the Western Cape. The respondents selected for the study were 16 learners – 8 males and 8 females and represented a cross-section of all the racial groups attending the school. 8 Grade eleven, and 8 Grade eight learners, who were all randomly selected from their respective Afrikaans second language classrooms, formed the core research population. The Researcher opted to carry out the research on participants from the second language Afrikaans classrooms at the School because the majority of the learners at the school took Afrikaans as a second language as opposed to a first. This is clearly reflected in the school having not more than 2 Afrikaans first language classrooms made available per grade. The researcher had chosen to work with the second language Afrikaans learners as she believed it would be a more accurate reflection of the learners (grade 8 and grade 11) attitude toward the Afrikaans language at this particular school since the majority of the learners at the school do the subject as a second language.

The ages of participants ranged from 13 to 18. A balance of genders in each grade was purposely aimed for in this study in order to achieve a gender-balanced set of responses. Learners from the most prominent racial groups at the school - Indian, White, Black and Coloured - were selected in order see whether the different responses could be linked to particular racial categories. All the respondents were from the northern suburbs of Cape Town.

3.3 Instruments used

3.3.1. Questionnaires

The main instrument that I used in conducting the research was a questionnaire (see Appendix A). This technique was used as it is often used by researchers to measure demographic and attitudinal variables (Romaine 1979:23), which form the crux of my research report. The questionnaire makes it more likely for the subjects to tell the truth about how they feel without having to worry about the presence of an interlocutor. Interviews were purposely avoided, as I assumed that the learners would merely give socially desirable answers to the questions instead of having the freedom to anonymously express their opinions on the matter at hand. Romaine (1979:23) agrees that questionnaires have frequently been used with regard to studying language attitudes.

The final version of my questionnaire was formulated after being tested on a sample group of learners to test for misunderstandings of statements or questions that might need to be included or removed from the study. This sample group consisted of ten randomly selected High School learners. The sample group consisted of five males and five females between the ages of 13-17 years of age. This particular age category was selected as the respondents involved in my actual study would fall into this age category. The questionnaire that was used consisted, firstly, of closed-ended questions to get a general background of the individual respondents in terms of their age, gender, race and residential area. It also used closed-ended questions along with rating scales and the Likert scale in order to find out the attitudes and ideologies of the respondents, and to verify and quantify their responses. Secondly, the questionnaire also contained open-ended questions. These were selected to make it easier for the respondents to express their feelings and attitudes without being influenced by too much structure or too many restrictions. Open-ended questions also allow respondents to answer in their own words (Kotler 2000:110).

The learners' attitudes and motivations with regards to Afrikaans were derived from the open-ended questions. It achieved this by looking at the aspects which influence individual attitudes towards a language, by using questions which addressed

- the learners' attitudes towards having to do Afrikaans as a compulsory subject at school,

- Afrikaans in general,
- the learners' attitudes towards the dominant speakers of Afrikaans, and
- their experiences or encounters with Afrikaans.

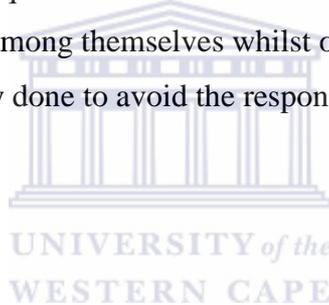
The second section of the questionnaire was aimed at their different motivations and de-motivation experienced in learning Afrikaans at school. The third section of the questionnaire addressed the learners' self-rated patterns of language use in the different languages in their linguistic repertoire. The learners rated their use of each of these languages in their major domains in order to determine which languages dominated in particular domains. The expression of these language preferences in particular domains was also likely to indicate patterns of language shift or maintenance in both groups. The last section of the questionnaire looked at the different ideologies that these learners attached to Afrikaans. The respondents were asked respond to certain statements regarding Afrikaans.

The most common and accurate method of measuring attitudes or inquiring about the dominant ideologies attached to a language can be derived from a scale called the Likert scale, invented by Renis Likert in 1932. This particular scale allows the respondents to respond to particular statements on a language by indicating whether they 'strongly agree', 'agree', are 'not sure', 'disagree' or 'strongly disagree'. It uses a system of either numbers (1-5) or the alphabet (A-E). In this study, the number system was used. The scale allows for a more accurate and cohesive understanding of the learners' attitudes, as it assesses attitudes by asking them to respond to a set of statements on Afrikaans in the following way:

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Unsure
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree

These responses were then statistically analysed. The statements that had the highest percentage of respondents agreeing or disagreeing were taken as the most dominant ideologies attached to Afrikaans.

In order to determine if the questions used in the questionnaire were reliable, the questionnaire was carefully prepared, with due attention to any questions that might create misunderstanding. The instructions on how to complete the questionnaire were given clearly by the researcher verbally in Standard English before the respondents had to fill in the questionnaire. The researcher had chosen to give the instructions in only Standard English as the school is an English-only medium of instruction school thereby the delivering of the instructions in English appeared to be the sensible thing to do. The spaces provided on the questionnaire for their answers allowed for in-depth expression of their opinions. Sufficient time was also given for the completion of the questionnaire, which were three pages in length. The respondents were given 50 minutes to complete the questionnaire in class. There was no opportunity for the learners to discuss the questions among themselves whilst or before completing the questionnaire. This was purposely done to avoid the respondent's answers being influenced by one another.



3.3.2 Observation

I made use of observation – both respondent and classroom – in order to determine the actual language behaviour of my respondents with regards to Afrikaans. With this method, I observed the same High school respondents in their environment and recorded the data in a field notebook (the classroom observation) and also through audio-recording conversations on the school playground, where participant observation took place. The settings - in this case, two Afrikaans language classrooms and the school playground at the Settlers' High School - were observed as a complex whole in the sense of watching what my respondents were doing and listening to what they were saying.

3.3.2.1 Participant observation on the school playground

Participant observation is a qualitative method that has its roots in traditional ethnographic research. It often takes place in a naturalistic setting, particularly in settings that have some relevance to the research questions. The participant observation was done to find out what language behaviours could be observed in these spaces, in order to gather descriptive data on the learners' patterns of language use.

On the playground, I recorded informal conversations between the learners from each grade I was researching. The playground is a big sports field on which most of the learners at the school spend their intervals and socialize among themselves. Having first obtained their permission, I initiated informal discussions and used a voice recorder with each group in order to obtain samples of their normal spoken discourses. My only instruction was that they should stick to a single topic of conversation in order to make transcription of the data simpler.

Occasionally, I would prompt them or ask a question, but in general the conversations flowed freely. The learners were reminded that all of the data retrieved would be used strictly for research purposes that none of their names or identities would be revealed.

These recordings were transcribed for further analysis, using the transcription conventions suggested by Eggins and Slade (1997). According to Silverman (2000:149), transcribed data is important for a study that is of a qualitative nature. He states that these transcripts are “available to the scientific community, in a way that field notes are not...they can be replayed and transcriptions can be improved”. The collection and the transcriptions of the learners' informal language use on the playground was essential to indicate if the younger group of learners used English significantly more than the older group of learners.

3.3.2.2 Classroom observation.

Prior to visiting the school, I had gained permission to do my research from both the Western Cape Education Department and the Principal of the Settlers High School. I was therefore able to observe lessons in Afrikaans language both grade eight and eleven, without any direct involvement in the proceedings. My observations on language behaviour in this setting were recorded in a note pad. The environment in which the teaching of Afrikaans as subject took

place was also extensively observed. Beyond the classroom, I also did extensive observation of the language behaviour during breaks and between class changes among the learners and the teaching staff.

3.3.2.3 School observations

An observation of the linguistic landscape of the school along with the languages spoken in and around the school (corridors, cultural activities, sporting, teachers and administrators) was essential in order to gain insight into the ideologies dominant at this school towards the languages in question. I walked in and around the school observing the language in which signs and posters were written. The languages spoken during sporting and cultural activities at school along with the languages spoken in the staff room and in and around the school among teachers were also closely observed.



3.4 Data analysis

The data retrieved from each instrument was analysed separately. The data retrieved from each grade are discussed in Chapters Four and Five respectively, while Chapter Six looks at similarities and differences between the findings of the two grades.

3.4.1 Analysis of the grade eight and grade eleven data

The demographics of the learners were derived from the questionnaire and tabulated for ease of reference for example, age, sex, home language, and the questions which retrieved their social economic status. Each question in the questionnaire was analysed via the use of a table and a discussion of the relevant findings underneath the tables. This was done to display the responses of each participating learner clearly. The questions regarding the grade eight learners' attitudes towards Afrikaans was firstly analysed individually as they were purposely organised in that manner for ease of analysis. In determining the learners' general attitude

towards Afrikaans in question two of the questionnaire, a Likert scale of 1 to 5 was used, with the following values:

- 1- Extremely negative
2. - negative
- 3- neutral
- 4- positive
- 5- Extremely positive

The learners were asked to rate their general attitude towards Afrikaans and also to provide a reason for this attitude. To investigate the learner's attitude towards Afrikaans, my questionnaire included factors that may influence or indicate their attitude towards the language. The factors included were

- the medium of instruction at their primary schools,
- their views on having to learn Afrikaans as a compulsory language at school,
- their feelings towards the dominant speakers of Afrikaans,
- their experiences encountered with the language,
- their preferred language at school,
- the ranking of the different languages in their linguistic repertoire, and
- The learners' preferred language in which to raise and educate their future children.

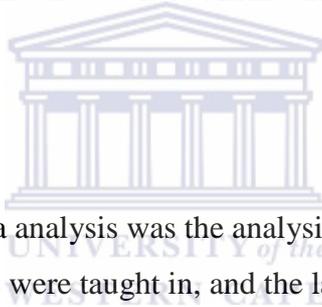
All these factors were collected and analysed in order to determine the learner's general attitude towards Afrikaans.

The second part of the data that was analysed came from the learners' reported motivations and de-motivations experienced in the learning of Afrikaans. This information was tabulated and grouped into different genres with common themes.

The third part of the data that was analysed from the questionnaires revolved around the learners' self-reported patterns of language use. In order to investigate what languages each learner used in the different domains, two questions were asked. The first question aimed to investigate what language the learners used for intrapersonal communication – thinking,

exclaiming and swearing in. The second question asked the learners to indicate the languages they use in their intimate domains. These two questions therefore gave me insights into the dominant languages used in the different domains. Secondly, the learners had to report on their language use in eight different domains (including language used for thinking). These domains included the home, school (classroom), school (playground), place of worship, street of home, shopping and with their friends. These domains were selected as these are the dominant domains that are present in these learners' lives.

The fourth part of the data analysis relied heavily on the transcriptions of the two separate groups of learners on the playground at the Settlers High School. Firstly, the recorded data was transcribed by me. The full transcription can be found in Appendices B and C. The transcriptions of each group was analysed separately. I first looked at the dominant language used by the group in the conversation. Secondly, I looked for evidence of code-switching. Thirdly, I counted the number of instances where Afrikaans was used in these informal interactions.



The fourth and last part of the data analysis was the analysis of my field notes. I first looked at the language in which the learners were taught in, and the language in which new concepts and unclear terms were explained in by the educator. Secondly, I analysed the language in which the learners participated in the class activities, in the understanding of new concepts and in communication with the educator. Lastly, I analysed language behaviour in the other areas of observation.

3.4.2 Analysis of the ideologies

The dominant ideologies held by the respondents in my study are also presented in tables. The respondents were asked to respond on the Likert scale to particular statements on Afrikaans that were presented to them in the questionnaire. Percentages are used to show which ideologies were revealed by the majority of the research population with regards to Afrikaans.

The school's own dominant ideologies with respect to Afrikaans were analyzed by looking at the linguistic landscape of the school and the languages used in and around the school (sport,

cultural activities etc.) by the learners, educators and administrative staff. This was done to determine whether the school permits a positive environment for Afrikaans to be used and to flourish.

3.4.3 Analysis of the correlation between language attitudes and learners self-rated

patterns of language use

The data retrieved from the learners' attitudes toward Afrikaans and their self-rated patterns of language use were analysed here to see if a correlation exists between the learners' language attitudes and their self-reported patterns of language use. These factors were all tabulated and analysed. If those learners with largely positive attitudes also used Afrikaans in many domains, then a correlation between these two variables could be found. The same concept applied to those learners who had a less positive attitude towards Afrikaans and used the language only minimally.



3.5 Ethical procedures followed

After receiving the necessary permission from the Western Cape Education Department and the School Governing Body, I selected my research population – sixteen learners from the grades 11 and 8 Afrikaans classes respectively. I explained the nature of my research to them, and issued each of my subjects with a consent form (see Appendix E) explaining the nature of my research and requesting their parents' signature. Permission to carry out the study with the particular learners required their parents' permission, as they were all under the age of 18. I explained to the learners that their participation was completely voluntary. I also explained to them that none of their personal details would be used and that they had the right to total confidentiality.

3.6 Limitations of the research

A number of limitations may have affected the outcomes of this study. The learners could have misunderstood or partially misunderstood particular questions in the questionnaire. Follow-up interviews to determine any difficulties experienced in answering the questionnaire would have been useful. The use of questionnaires in the study also hindered the researcher being able to

observe the respondents' facial and bodily expressions in order to link these paralinguistic features with their attitudes towards Afrikaans or its speakers. Interviews would once again have been useful in this regard. In addition, these young respondents may have been anxious to make a good impression on me instead of being absolutely truthful out of fear that I might pass on some of this information to their Afrikaans teachers.

Although I tried to remain as objective as possible in the classroom and school observations, there was always the possibility of a degree of subjectivity creeping in. After all, I had been a learner at this school just a few years before. During the recordings on the playground, it is possible that some of the respondents may have been affected by their awareness of the voice recorder. They may therefore not have spoken as they normally would. Another limitation experienced in this research was that the researcher had requested for the taped conversation to be about a single topic. This has made the data captured on the playground somewhat unnatural.

There were also time limitations – I had less than ten minutes to record individual conversations due to the lack of availability of the learners, and if more time had been allowed to observe and record the respondents more, conclusive findings might have been made.

Lastly, more time could have been allocated to observe the respondents in the Afrikaans classrooms and playground to get a more accurate account of the learners and educators language use across a particular time span.

3.7 Conclusion

This methodology chapter has addressed the different types of research methods used in the study. It has taken both a qualitative and quantitative approach and has used the concept of triangulation in order to get a true reflection of the data in the study. It has looked at the research population in the study, the instruments used along with the procedure for conducting the study. Most importantly it has looked at the different ways in which the data collected from the three techniques were analysed in order to answer the research questions. Lastly, it includes some of the possible limitations that may impact on the findings of the study.

Chapter 4

The Language Ideologies of the School and the Grade eight data analysis

4.0 Introduction

My data analysis is presented in three chapters and is linked to finding answers to the central research questions. This chapter firstly covers the ideologies that the Settler high School attaches to both English and Afrikaans. It achieves this by looking at the (unwritten) language policy of the school, its linguistic landscape, and the languages spoken in and around the school by the learners and academic staff members. This chapter then covers the analysis of the data collected from the selected grade eight respondents. The data collected for this chapter is divided into three sections. The first section deals with the language ideologies of the school. The second section deals with the analysis of the data collected from the grade eight learners through the questionnaires. It reveals their attitudes towards Afrikaans as well as their motivations and de-motivations experienced in learning the language. The analysis of the questionnaire data also reveals their patterns of language use in particular domains. The third section of this chapter reports on my observations of the language behavior of the grade eight learners in the classroom setting as well as on the playground.

The data is therefore presented in a series of tables and discussed in three sections as follows:

Section A:

The Ideologies of the Settler's High School

Section B:

- i. The learner demographics
- ii. Their attitudes towards Afrikaans
- iii. Their motivations and de-motivations for learning Afrikaans

- iv. Their patterns of language use

Section C:

My observations of their actual language behaviour.

4.1 Section A: Ideologies of the Settlers' High School

4.1.1 Language ideologies of the Settlers' High School

In this section, in response to my first research question, I address the ideologies held by the Settlers' High School. The ideology of the school towards the English and Afrikaans language can be observed through a number of factors that are visible in and around the school, namely the choice of language in posters, signs, assembly, cultural activities and sport. The school does not have a formally documented language policy, but the unwritten language policy can be inferred from the tacit practices of the teachers and administrators and through their interactions with the students (Corsons 1999) along with what language is permitted to be spoken during academic and non academic activities at the school (cultural activities, sporting, etc.).

The first large notice board which one comes across upon entering the school premises is its event board in front of the school. The particular event for the week is written in English in order to inform the parents and public of the event coming up. In front of the parking lot, there is a sign that says "parking" in English and opposite the parking lot is another sign indicating the name of the field "Fairfield". When walking in and around the school, all of the signage around the school appears to be in English, e.g. the signs "staff room", "computer lab", "principal's office" and "library". In the classrooms, all of the posters on the wall are in English except for the Afrikaans "home" teacher's classroom which is decorated with posters in Afrikaans. The variety of Afrikaans taught within the Afrikaans classroom is the standard variety of Afrikaans. All of the literature relating to the course (novels, short stories and poetry) is available only in the standard variety of Afrikaans. The books housed at the school library are in both English and Afrikaans. The school's selection of this particular variety of Afrikaans at the school is a clear indication of the prestige which standard Afrikaans has in education in South Africa.

When walking down the passages of the school when the learners move between classrooms, I observed that the learners were predominantly speaking to one another in English. It was interesting to see three Black students standing close together while communicating with one another in isiXhosa before their next class. This was particularly interesting to see, as it indicated that English and Afrikaans are not the only languages spoken among the pupils.

The language used during assembly is English. The instructions and important notices are provided in English. The school anthem is sung in English. The learners each possess a hymn book which has to be brought to assembly, which contains both English and Afrikaans hymns which are sung during assembly. Afrikaans is occasionally used during assembly by students who are either advertising a play or encouraging students to join a particular society. When issues regarding Afrikaans as subject or the Afrikaans debating team arise, the school is addressed in Afrikaans.

The Chatman is a quarterly newspaper of the school created by the students. It is written predominantly in English, but features occasional articles and poems written in Afrikaans. Some of the English articles also occasionally employ code-switching to Afrikaans. The last section of the magazine features dedication messages between the learners in both English and Afrikaans. The newspaper is therefore indicative of an environment that encourages the use of Afrikaans, despite the school being a single-medium one, as can be seen from the main medium of instruction in the classrooms.

Culturally, the school has an active Afrikaans debating society which encourages students to take part in debates concerning issues of particular importance to teenagers. The school offers a variety of cultural activities which include chess, painting, the choir, drama, community awareness society and environmental society, to name a few. The administrative language used in these societies is English, but the learners freely speak the language of their choice to one another while participating in these activities. Each year, the school puts on a musical and three one act plays. While the musicals are mainly in English, the plays are often in both languages.

Cheerleading is also one of the most popular activities at the school, and makes use of many Afrikaans songs. These Afrikaans songs are quite popular among the learners during cheer practices and the inter-school athletics meetings. The Settlers' High School believes in creating balanced individuals and does this by offering a wide range of sporting activities at the school.

There is no strict policy as to what languages should and should not be used on the sports fields, but the instructions and administrative tasks of each sport are however conducted in English to facilitate communication between speakers from different language backgrounds as reported by educators at the school.

When taking each of these factors into account regarding the languages used in and around the school, the Settlers' High School may be an English medium of instruction school academically, but it also creates a positive environment for the learners to embrace and flourish in their use of Afrikaans through culture and sport. The Settlers' High School conducts administrative tasks and has signage and posters around the school in English to cater for all learners who may not be very competent in any of the other languages including Afrikaans. The Settler High school can therefore be said to have a positive ideology towards Afrikaans.

4.2 Section B: Questionnaire analysis

4.2.1 The Gr. 8 learner demographics

Table 1: Personal demographics, social class and dominant home languages

Resp.	Age	Sex	Race	Area of residence	Father's highest education	Father's job	Mother's highest education	Mother's Job	First language at home	Monthly income for household
A	14	F	Coloured	Kuils River	College	Police	LLB grade	Secretary	English	R16 000
B	14	M	Coloured	Kuils River	Diploma	Teacher	Master degree	Accountant	English	R25 000
C	14	F	White	Kuils River	Degree	It programmer	Degree	Clerk	English	R20 000
D	14	M	White	Parow North	Matric	Manager	IR	PA	English	R25 000
E	14	F	Indian	Brackenfell	Masters	Lecturer	Phd degree	Lecturer	English	R35 000
F	14	M	Indian	Parow North	University	Business owner	Degree	Business owner	English	R 40 000
G	13	F	Black	Parow East	Diploma	Technician	Diploma	Teacher	isiXhosa	R 20 000
H	14	M	Black	Parow	Masters	Language practitioner	Honours	Environ. officer	South Sesotho	R25 000

The table above illustrates the demographics of each of my respondents in the eighth grade. The respondents are all 13 to 14 years of age and predominantly come from the Kuils River and Parow areas in the northern suburbs. The socio economical statuses of each of these families are upper middle to middle class according to their level of education, their occupations and combined monthly income. It is interesting note that six out of the eight respondents speak English at home as a first language. Respondent A, B, C stated that although English is the first language in their household their parents communicate with each other in English and Afrikaans. Respondent A, C and D stated that their parents use English with their children but Afrikaans with each other. The only races that use Afrikaans in the household are the White and the Coloured communities. This is understandable, given that the dominant speakers of Afrikaans in the Western Cape are of White and Coloured origin. Respondent G stated: “We predominantly speak Xhosa at home but I also speak English in between”. With respondents E and F we note that the two Indian Respondents both speak English instead of the languages of their culture (Hindi/Tamil/Arabic). Mesthrie (2000; 2002) has reported extensively on language shift in the Indian community in South Africa for either instrumental or integrative reasons. In addition, in the Western Cape the Indian community is a minority group and their cultural language has no official status in South Africa. The families of respondents G and H can be said to be engaging in language maintenance. They maintain their home language by using it at home. However, the fact that these two learners are attending an English medium school may lead to either partial or total language shift.

An important additional domain to be added here is that of medium of instruction at primary school. Every Grade 8 respondent in my study had attended an English medium primary school. This is particularly interesting as even those respondents that had a positive attitude towards Afrikaans (see table 2) and that used the language in the home domain had attended strictly English medium schools.

4.2.2 The Learners' Attitudes towards Afrikaans

Table 2: Dominant Attitude towards Afrikaans

KEY	1 Extremely negative	2 Negative	3 Neutral	4 Positive	5 extremely positive
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Respondent	General view of Afrikaans	Explanation given
A	4	I am not too bad in Afrikaans when doing the subject or silent reading but when I speak it's like my tongue is twisted. With concentration and speaking slowly I can be good in it.
B	3	There is certain things about Afrikaans that I like and certain things that I don't like and don't understand so I say neutral.
C	4	Because it can help one better understand people who speak the language.
D	5	Afrikaans for me comes easier because I was introduced to it at an early age.
E	2	Although I have been learning Afrikaans since grade one I still struggle a lot to learn and speak it.
F	3	Neutral, It is nothing great and nothing bad because it is not causing me any harm so I have a neutral attitude to Afrikaans.
G	3	I'd choose neutral because Afrikaans is my third language and I only hear it in the classroom (no one speaks Afrikaans in my family). I do pass Afrikaans with a 65% pass.
H	3	Well I don't really perform that well in that subject and I sometimes struggle with what the teacher says because we are spoken to in Afrikaans for that period.

The table above looks at the learner's general attitude towards Afrikaans. It is interesting to see that those learners who had a more positive attitude towards Afrikaans are those learners whose parents use Afrikaans within the domain of the home and around the respondents. We note a wide range of responses here, which correlate with the demographic details in the previous table. It is interesting to note that those respondents (E, F, G, and H) who did not use Afrikaans

in the home domain had either a neutral or negative attitude towards the language. There appears to be some form of correlation between the existence of the language within the domain of the home and the learner's general attitude towards Afrikaans. Subject E and F are the Indian subjects and they have a neutral attitude towards Afrikaans. A possible reason for this relates back to the demographics in the first table: these learners have a less than positive attitude towards Afrikaans possibly because of a lack of use of the language in their intimate domain. Mesthrie (2000; 2002) states that individuals of Indian origin have completely shifted towards English (this can also be observed from their language usage in table 1 and table 12).

Subject G and H are the Black subjects who appear to have a 'neutral' attitude toward Afrikaans. A possible reason for this is if one looks at the first table, these learners clearly maintain their respective home language within the domain of the home and do not have any use for Afrikaans within this domain. Secondly, when looking at the reasons as to why they feel this way towards the language, subject G's answer corresponds with not having any real exposure to the language within their most intimate domain, the home. Subject H on the other hand appears to struggle in the learning of the language. The findings in this question can be tied to that of Bowerman (2000) cited in Kamwangamulu (2003:4) that English has become the dominant language in the home domain, especially among the younger generation.

Table 3: Respondents' views on having to learn Afrikaans as a compulsory L2

Respondent	Views on having to learn Afrikaans as a compulsory L2
A	second language is good because people who don't speak Afrikaans at home wont be able to handle first language
B	It's ok because we also have to learn English at school.
C	I think that it is a good thing because it lets others who might not know the language a chance to speak it.
D	It is positive, and It is a good that they let us do Afrikaans because it will always open doors for us in the future and help us to communicate with people different to us.
E	A bit negative because I am struggling to learn it and speak it, for me it is a bit of a difficult subject.
F	I have nothing against the language but I don't think it should be a compulsory thing.
G	I think we should have a choice as to what 2 nd language we would like to learn.
H	The only good thing about it is that you don't have to do it after you leave school. But for now it allows you to can communicate with people who speak it

When it comes to the compulsory nature of having to learn Afrikaans there were a variety of responses, from the most negative response from respondent H, to the most positive responses from respondents C and D. Again, here it is interesting to note that subject H who has the most negative view on having to learn Afrikaans did not make use of Afrikaans within the domain of the home in table 1 and reported a neutral attitude towards Afrikaans. There appears to be a pattern here as the respondents' views towards Afrikaans as a language and as a subject correlate. The Subjects (A, C, D) who had a more positive take on having to learn Afrikaans as a compulsory subject were not surprising the same subjects who had Afrikaans used within the domain of the home and again the subjects who had a highly rated positive attitude towards Afrikaans in general in the second table.

We can see a clear pattern of attitudes among the learners in this group. Respondents F and G would clearly have preferred to choose a different compulsory second language instead of having Afrikaans imposed on them. A possible reason for these two learners having this particular attitude lies with the fact that they do not really make use of Afrikaans within the intimate domain of the home, as illustrated in the first table. Secondly, these learners did not have a particularly favourable attitude towards the language on its own, therefore a reason for these learners not wanting to have Afrikaans taught as a compulsory second language could be linked to the lack of usage of the language in these learners' life, hence the lack of importance of the language in their daily lives. It is interesting to note that the positive responses have more to do with the instrumental value of the language – its role as a mode of communication with speakers of Afrikaans in particular. Not one learner expressed any great love for the language, or enjoyment in learning it.

Table 4. Respondents' perception of who the dominant speakers of Afrikaans are; Attitudes towards these groups.

Respondent	Perceived majority speakers of Afrikaans language	Feelings towards this group
A	White people	I feel positive towards them now
B	The people of South Africa	I feel neutral towards all kinds of people.
C	White people (old ones) and Coloureds that were in the <i>apartheid</i> years	To be honest I feel comfortable with both groups
D	People from the Free State are the majority speakers of the language	I feel positive towards them and all other people.
E	White people and some Coloured people	They are ok, I hardly understand them though
F	The Coloured people of south Africa	Positive, but I feel that they don't use the language correctly which makes them look bad.
G	White people	They are friendly people just very difficult to understand
H	White people	All I can say is that I'm not surprised because they enforced the language during <i>apartheid</i>

Five out of the eight respondents (A, C, E, G, and H) feel that the dominant speakers of Afrikaans are White. Six of the respondents did not have any feelings of hostility towards this group, although (judging from his reference to their enforcement of the language 'during *apartheid*') respondent H clearly held negative attitudes towards this group. A possible reason for his feelings towards this group may be the influence of the elders (parent or grandparents) in his community who lived through the *apartheid* era, or he could feel this hostility towards them because of a personal negative experience with this group of individuals.

Respondents E and G, despite feeling no hostility towards the White population, find it "difficult to understand them". Respondent C goes as far as believing that mainly older "White people and the Coloured people that were in the *apartheid* years" are speaker of the language. Clearly, this respondent is seldom exposed to the very vibrant youth culture in Afrikaans in late-modern South Africa as she appears to assume that most young people speak English. Respondent D goes even further, believing that only people in one province of South Africa - the Free State - are the majority speakers of the language.

It was interesting to note the response of respondent F, who believes that the Coloured people of South Africa are the dominant speakers of the language. In her view, this group does not

“use the language correctly which makes them look bad”. This may be an indication of the speakers of Afrikaans this respondent is mainly exposed to – Coloured people who speak Cape Flats Afrikaans or *Kaaps* (Hendricks: 1996). This is the only response which places a value judgement on how the language is used by a particular group. It may be possible that this learner has never been exposed to Coloured speakers of standard Afrikaans.

It is again interesting to note that those learners (A, C, D), who had Afrikaans used within the domain of the home, had a general positive attitude towards the language and towards having the language as a compulsory subject, had a positive attitude towards their perceived dominant speakers of the language. Those subjects (E, F, G, H) who had a less favourable attitude toward Afrikaans in general, less favourable attitude towards having the language as a compulsory second language, had a positive attitude toward their perceived dominant speakers of Afrikaans yet claimed to have experienced some form of difficulty in understanding the speaker of the language and the different varieties of the language. It is interesting here to note that those subjects thus far that has displayed a fairly less positive attitude towards Afrikaans are those subjects who are not of White origin. A question arises here if these responses from the non White respondents could be tied to a particular racial category.

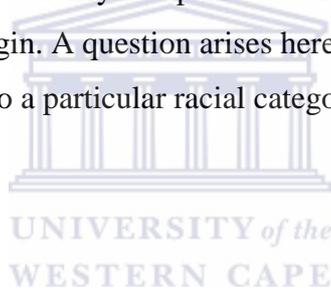


Table 5: Respondents' experiences with the language (both at school and elsewhere) that helped to shape their attitudes.

Respondent	Positive experiences with Afrikaans	Negative experience with Afrikaans
A	Learning Afrikaans at school has helped me understand it better.	None
B	None	I think both, not that I can remember now but sometimes after I study really hard and I get my marks back after then it's not what I expected because I feel that I worked really hard and that I feel is a negative experience for me
C	I' always done well overall in Afrikaans so basically that encourages me	None
D	Many positive experience because much of my family and cousins are Afrikaans.	None
E	None	I feel my marks are really bad for Afrikaans. There has been a lot of times where Afrikaans Speaking people tried to speak with me but I couldn't speak back. It is also embarrassing when I have to do an Afrikaans oral in front of the whole class because I am not good at it. I find that writing the exam is very difficult for me as well.
F	None	I have heard many people speak it incorrectly and add many slang words. This let people having a negative experience with Afrikaans and that does not make the language look good.
G	The positive experience is me improving every term.	None
H	None	No, not many that I can remember of but I don't like doing orals in class.

What is striking about this table is that individual respondents either had positive or negative experiences with Afrikaans – not both. A problem was clearly encountered with this question as the learners did not clearly understand the question and understood that they had to either give a positive or negative experience encountered with Afrikaans. Nevertheless, the recollection of either a positive or negative experience with the language was good enough.

The majority of the negative responses (respondents B, E and H) had to do with problems in learning the language at school, and the embarrassment associated with having to give oral presentations in Afrikaans. Those subjects who had negative experiences with Afrikaans are those learners who in table one, two and four had the less favourable attitude towards Afrikaans and the compulsory nature of the language at school. If one had to look back onto the previous tables for a reason as to the subject's attitude towards Afrikaans, it could be directly linked to the negative experiences in which these learners encountered with the language. For example, Subject B, E and H all claim in table two to have a negative or neutral attitude towards Afrikaans because of an inability of understand or function in the language within the classroom. The other negative response came from Respondent F, who clearly disliked the non-standard Afrikaans because it 'does not make the language look good'. This statement from this subject is coherent with his response in table 4. This learner clearly has an issue with the Coloured speakers of Afrikaans who use the non standard variety of Afrikaans. A possible reason for this subject having an issue with the Coloured speakers of the non standard variety of Afrikaans could possibly be related to a bad experience with the language or speaker of that variety of Afrikaans.

As with the majority of the negative responses, the majority of the positive responses (A, C and G) were the results of doing well in the language at school. For these respondents, learning Afrikaans at school has created the positive experience of understanding the language better and 'improving every term'. If we examine table 2, we note that two of these respondents (A and C) held largely positive attitudes towards Afrikaans, and this could be the result of them having positive experiences in learning the language. Respondent D's positive experiences of Afrikaans comes from his exposure to his Afrikaans-speaking family from an early age, and is also linked to his social and ethnic identity as the subject is from an Afrikaans speaking family and is of White origin. This subject appears to have an overall positive attitude toward Afrikaans as seen in the preceding tables because the language is integrated into the subjects being from an early age (see Table 2) and is used within the context of the home (see Table 1).

Table 6: Respondents' reasons for their preference for English at school.

Respondent	Reason for preferring English
A	It is what I grew up with
B	all of my friends and family understand the language
C	Because I have been speaking it all my life and I speak it better than Afrikaans
D	Because it is an easier language to use
E	Because most people I know speak this language and it is the language that I speak the best
F	because it's the language I speak the best and it allows me to speak it anywhere in the world and be understood
G	I prefer to use English because I understand it better and most of my friends speak it.
H	Everyone is able to communicate in this language without any confusion

The results in this table are not surprising, given that all of the selected respondents have opted to do Afrikaans as a second language and English as a first language at school. Ideologically, these learners regard English as a much more important and powerful language than either Afrikaans or any other South African language for a variety of reasons: most people speak it, and it can be used 'anywhere in the world'. The findings in this table are also reflected in the ways in which the learners rated the majority languages of Cape Town which they are exposed to (English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa), as can be seen in table 7.

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Table 7: Rating of languages by these respondents:

(1 = most important, 3 = least important).

Respondent	English	Xhosa	Afrikaans
A	1	3	2
B	1	3	2
C	1	3	2
D	1	3	2
E	1	3	2
F	1	3	2
G	2	1	3
H	2	1	3

Unsurprisingly, English gets the top rating from most of these learners, while isiXhosa, a minority language at the school and one that has little currency in their daily lives, gets the lowest rating. Only the two Black learners (G, H) give isiXhosa the top rating and Afrikaans the lowest rating. It is interesting to note subject H rating the isiXhosa language as the most

important language as it is not his home language. A possible reason for this is that since the Sesotho community is not a dominant community or language within the Western Cape, the subject has possibly integrated with the Xhosa community and perceives the importance of knowing the language as essential in communicating with these fellow Black individuals. A possible reason for the subject G rating her home language as the most important lies with the fact that she is emotionally tied to her home language as it is part of her social and ethnic identity. Bosch and De Klerk (1994:56) and Webb (1992:449) state that Black South African's have a strong preference for English as a national language rather than Afrikaans. This rating of English as more important than Afrikaans is linked to the ideology of English being a neutral language as opposed to Afrikaans that has a somewhat negative connotation attached to it due to its association with the oppressor in the *apartheid* regime. Also, English is seen by many as a language of social advancement, particularly by the Black community with southern Africa as it is used as a lingua franca in businesses and governmental affairs. This could be a clear possible reason as to why these subjects rate Afrikaans as the least important. Another possible reason for this can be linked to the lack of use of this language in their intimate domains such as the home. (See table 1).

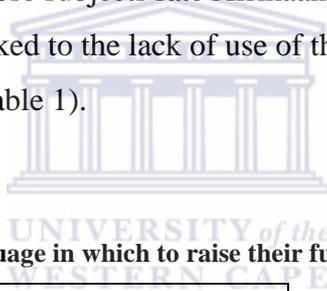


Table 8: Respondents' preferred language in which to raise their future children

Respondent	Language of choice in which to raise and educate children
A	English
B	English
C	English; but bilingual Eng/Afr school
D	English and Afrikaans; bilingual Eng/Afr school
E	English
F	English
G	English and Xhosa; but English-only school
H	Sesotho and English; but English-only school

In my opinion, it is highly significant as an indicator of language shift that 4 of the 8 respondents plan to raise and educate their children in English. Subjects A, G and H are the only subjects who clearly show a desire to shift towards English. Subject G and H show a desire to shift towards English as both of these subjects indicate that they will opt to raise their children in their home language and English along with strictly English medium schools.

According to Bosch and De Klerk (1996:56), English is seen by many as a language of social advancement, particularly by the Black community with southern Africa. When drawing on data retrieved from table 8, these subjects display a desire for English as they state that they prefer to use English at school as oppose to their own home language for integrative reasons. According to Beardsmore (1986: 103), a shift towards the second language occurs when ‘an integrative attitudinal pattern’ lies behind the motivation. Nevertheless, for subject G and H, home languages appear to be important markers of their group identity, hence their desire to continue maintaining isiXhosa and Sesotho by passing these languages on to the next generation. However, they too want their children to attend ‘English-only’ schools which may have an effect on their ability to maintain their home languages.

The other four respondents would prefer their children to be bilingual in English and isiXhosa, Sesotho or Afrikaans, respectively. Respondent D, despite having English as a dominant language at home, wants to raise his children in both English and Afrikaans. This subject would want to raise his children in both English and Afrikaans firstly because he himself was raised in both languages. Secondly, when one looks at the preceding tables this subject has illustrated a desire for English as he rates English as the most important language. Here the subjects illustrates that even though he grew up with Afrikaans language, English still remain to be the most important language according to him. According to McCormick (2002: 101), “speaking English is ... the sign of being a city sophisticate, as opposed to a country bumpkin. Young people who want to be thought of as sophisticated and ‘cool’ have to be able to speak English fluently and with panache”. This could possibly be the case with subject D.

When the respondents were asked “With regards to medium of instruction, what kind of school would you send your children to be educated at and why?”, six out of the eight respondents opted for an English-only school. Their reasons included:

“it will open up doors for them in their life”

“better language to be educated in”

“it will be much easier for them to understand the work at school and work when they out in the world” and

“English because it is a neutral language that everybody understands”.

From these responses, we can see that the learners perceive English to be a lingua franca, the preferred or prestige language for education and the dominant language used in the working

world. Respondent C and D are the only respondents that would want to send their children to a dual medium school consisting of both English and Afrikaans. It is not surprising that subject D would want to educate his child in both English and Afrikaans, as he himself was brought up in a bilingual home and if one looks at his responses in the preceding tables, he clearly displays a positive regard for Afrikaans for both instrumental and integrative reasons. Subject C on the other hand has a positive general attitude towards Afrikaans because she achieves good marks (table 5) in the subject and feels it allows for better communication to speakers of the language. It is also interesting to note that the two subjects who wish to educate their children in both English and Afrikaans are of Coloured and White origin who is the dominant speakers of Afrikaans within the Western Cape (Table 2). The existence of Afrikaans in the lives of these individuals is important, as it is still prominent in their homes where it is used by their parents, so a possible reason for these two respondents desiring to send their children to a dual English and Afrikaans school lies more with the idea of maintaining the language.



4.2.3 The motivations and de-motivations for learning Afrikaans

Table 9: The motivations for learning Afrikaans among the Gr. 8 respondents

Respondent	Motivations for learning Afrikaans	Type of motivation
A	That I can speak to some of the people who may speak the language	Instrumental and integrative
B	To understand what my friends say when they speak in Afrikaans and the fact that some of my family speak it	Integrative and instrumental
C	That I have to get a certain percentage in order to pass very well, and that I perform fairly well.	Instrumental
D	I'm motivated because when I am out and working in the world it will open doors for me maybe financially too because I can speak and do business with more people. It is also a very easy subject and easy to get high marks in it.	Instrumental
E	To be able to understand what people are saying around me and to pass the subject	Instrumental and integrative
F	To understand Afrikaans and speak with the people who speak Afrikaans	Instrumental
G	I am motivated by my parents and teacher to pass the subject at the best of my ability	Instrumental and integrative
H	My teacher because she helps me a lot and I need to pass the subject to get to grade 9, 10 etc.	Instrumental

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From the table above we can see that in some cases a purely instrumental motivation is the more common motivation for learning Afrikaans, but often (as with respondents A, B, E and G) the learners' motivation is a blend of both instrumental and integrative. This also came out very clearly in their responses to the question: *What are the advantages of learning Afrikaans?* Four out of the eight respondents are motivated to learn Afrikaans for strictly instrumental reasons, while not even one expressed a purely integrative motivation. Their instrumental motivations included being able to pass it as a subject at school, to use it to 'do business with more people' and to pass with high marks. Some felt that Afrikaans was an easy subject at high school, and at least two credited their teacher for improving their motivation in learning the language. According to Young and Young (2001), the teacher can play an important role in the motivation of a learner and in improving their attitude towards a language, as can be seen in respondents G and H's responses.

Table 10: Gr. 8 respondents' de-motivations experienced in learning Afrikaans

Respondent	De-motivations experienced in learning Afrikaans
A	some of the work I don't understand
B	Because everyone speaks English I don't really have a reason to have to learn Afrikaans
C	Writing in Afrikaans is a little difficult and puts me off.
D	Sometimes it gets really boring and difficult cause we have to read a story on our own and answer questions
E	Looking at my mark for Afrikaans de-motivates me because I am always getting a 40% or 50%
F	Some words are hard to pronounce and understand.
G	Having to write in Afrikaans because the word order is different to English, which makes it harder to read and understand.
H	That you are forced to do it even if you don't want to and that it is a waste of time because it is a form of discrimination.

This table shows a variety of negative responses to the language, resulting in learners feeling de-motivated to learn it. These reasons vary from a lack of engagement with the language in other domains (respondents B and D), finding certain aspects difficult to master (respondents A, C, E, F and G) to a resentment towards being forced to do the language as a compulsory school subject (respondent H). It is interesting to note that the majority of the respondents in this group (six) are de-motivated to learn the language because they experience some sort of difficulty with the subject for numerous reasons.

4.2.4 The grade eight learners' self-reported patterns of language use

The following tables show how these learners reported on their own patterns of language use.

Table 11: Language used for thinking, exclaiming and swearing (i.e. automatic/spontaneous language use)

Respondent	Thinking/speaking/swearing/exclaiming
A	English
B	English
C	English
D	English and Afrikaans
E	English
F	English
G	English
H	Sesotho and English

Six out of the eight respondents report only using English for processing their internal thoughts and when speaking, exclaiming and swearing to themselves. Respondent D thinks in English and Afrikaans. This is interesting to note as these respondents claim that English is the dominant language used at home, yet respondent D processes mental thoughts in both English and Afrikaans. Respondent H thinks in both English and Sesotho. Respondent G is interesting to note, as her home language is isiXhosa yet she reports thinking in English. This could be the influence of receiving her education in English, but also of the mass media, which is predominantly English. This could possibly see as an indicator of the start of shift towards English in this respondent. Respondent H has Sesotho as a home language, yet reports thinking both in English and Sesotho. It is likely that the same influences are at work here as with respondent G. However, the dominant language used among the grade eight respondents for processing their internal thoughts was English. It could be that this group that consists of learners who have all been educated in English throughout their schooling career had been forced to comprehend various concepts and ideas in English, so such an extent that they have become accustomed to formulating their internal thoughts in English.

Table 12: Language use in different domains

Respondents	Language use in different Domains						
	Home	Place of worship	School (classroom)	School (playground)	Street of home	Shopping	Friends
A	English	English	English	English	English and Afrikaans	English	English and Afrikaans
B	English	English	English	English and Afrikaans	English	English	English
C	English and Afrikaans	English	English	English	English and Afrikaans	English	English
D	English and Afrikaans	Afrikaans and English	English	English	Afrikaans and English	English and Afrikaans	English and Afrikaans
E	English	English	English	English	English	English	English
F	English	English	English	English	English	English	English
G	Xhosa and English	English and isiXhosa	English	English	English	isiXhosa and English	English and isiXhosa
H	Sesotho	English and isiXhosa	English	English and isiXhosa	English and isiXhosa	isiXhosa	isiXhosa and English

English seems to predominate in most domains for these respondents, even at home in conjunction with either isiXhosa or Afrikaans. Only the Sesotho speaker (respondent H) reported only using Sesotho at home and (rather unusually for Cape Town) only using isiXhosa when out shopping. This same respondent, who appears to be multilingual in Sesotho, isiXhosa, English, and to some extent Afrikaans, also uses isiXhosa in her place of worship. A possible reason for this is that in the Western Cape, the Sesotho community is a minority community and therefore churches conducting sermons in Sesotho are almost nonexistent. Respondents A, B, E and F all claimed to use only English at home. The most common language again used by all the respondents in places of worship is English, in combination with either Afrikaans or isiXhosa. Unsurprisingly, given the school these learners attend, the dominant language that is used in the classrooms at school is English. The language also predominates on the school playground, although two respondents (B and H) also use Afrikaans and isiXhosa in this domain.

The common language that the respondents use in “the streets” in and around their neighbourhoods was English. Respondent A, C and D claimed to use both English and

Afrikaans on the streets. Respondent H, who resides in Parow, claimed to speak English on the streets at home. English is also commonly used by these respondents when shopping, except in the case of respondent H. Respondent D and G are the only respondents that use two languages English in combination with Afrikaans or isiXhosa, respectively - when shopping. In the domain of friendship, English also predominates with these respondents, but respondents A and D claim to use both English and Afrikaans, while respondents G and H use both English and isiXhosa with their friends.

The analysis of the data presented in the questionnaire has allowed providing much insight into the attitudes, motivations and de-motivations involved in the learning of Afrikaans and the learners self-rated use of various languages.

4.3. Section C: Observations

In this section, I report on what I learned from my daily observations of the actual language use of my respondents on the school playground as well as in class. I also used a voice recorder to collect instances of actual language use in these spaces. These recordings were transcribed, and offer valuable records of actual patterns of language use which often contradict the reported data in Section A.

4.3.1 Language Use on the School Playground

When one looks at the transcribed sample conversation of the grade eight learners presented below, a few aspects stand out. These conversations involved all eight of my respondents on the playground at the Settlers High School, which is situated on a big sports field in front of the school. When this group of learners started to converse with one another, they were aware of the voice recorder, but soon forgot about it once the conversation progressed. The topics of conversation ranged from not knowing what to speak about to speaking about their day to what homework was due for Life Skills. They teased one another, and also commented on the questionnaire they had to complete for me. They were also all on the same level (grade 8

learners) and therefore there were no power differences or social distance between these respondents.

The transcript below is a mere set of extracts of the full transcript which can be found in the appendix of this dissertation. These particular extracts were selected as they contained use of Afrikaans, to illustrate the amount of usage of Afrikaans within the transcribed conversation among this particular group. The recorded, transcribed data shows that English predominates in their actual language use, even though the respondents use a very informal variety marked by minimal, intra-sentential code-mixing and borrowing from other languages. This can be seen clearly in the following transcribed extract. Note that the names have all been changed to protect the identities of these respondents.

3. Ben: now come by speaking so, **you'se (you all)** are not acting normal. She said one person
8. Kent: well, my day was great, i got up early for school and my **tannie (aunty)** made me a **lekker (nice)** big **diet (meal)**, i gave my dog food, i got dressed and came to school and saw my friends and then.....met this NICE research lady and now i'm helping her get information.
14. Suzy: **you'se (you all)** want to talk so much in class, now you can't say anything. Come people tell me about your love lives except for you Peter
30. Peter : I got it last night, Kelsey gave me an extra copy so I'm **UITGESORT (sorted out)**
34. Kate: don't talk nonsense, it's not it's **mos (as you know)** just for that period to keep us busy.
41. Peter : yaw, **soema (disbelief)** colleagues
45. Kent : because he **smaaks (likes)** you, don't you see it. He wants to date you!

Among the eight individuals in the grade eight group, only seven instances were found where Afrikaans words were inserted into English sentences. Only three of the eight respondents used Afrikaans words in their speech. The variety of Afrikaans that the respondents used clearly showed the influence of *Kaaps* and Afrikaans slang words. These included words such as “soema” “dite” “mos” “you'se” “smaaks”. The words “lekker” and “tannie” all derive from standard Afrikaans yet when the learners pronounced these words they did not pronounce or use it in the context of standard Afrikaans. According to Poplack (1990) cited in Hamers and

Blanc (2000), this type of switching is referred to as intra-sentential code-switching or borrowing. Note also the mixture of English and Afrikaans in the expression ‘*uitgesort*’ (sorted out), which shows how freely some of these young people mix and blend languages, like most late modern *languageurs*. According to Lytra and Jorgensen (2008:5), *languageurs* are people who use language’s not a language, they tend to use the features of a range of languages that they are exposed to in order to achieve their communicative purpose.

4.3.2 Actual language use in the Gr. 8 Classroom

The class took place in a spacious classroom with each learner having their own desk and chair facing the teacher. The atmosphere in the classroom was not intense; if anything, the learners seemed relaxed yet very attentive. The posters in the wall were all in Afrikaans. They consisted of poems, idioms, the alphabet, health matters and birthday charts. One would get the feeling of entering an Afrikaans classroom from these posters surrounding the room. Upon entering the grade eight Afrikaans classroom, the learners were settling into their seats, talking among themselves and friends in English. The teacher greets the learners in Afrikaans as “Goeie môre” (good morning), the learners greet the teacher back in Afrikaans “Goeie môre, Juffrou”. The students proceeded to sit down and take out homework for that day.

The teacher spoke to the learners strictly in Afrikaans only. The learners responded to the answers of the questions mainly in Afrikaans (reading from the homework in which they have already prepared for class) with the exception of some students answering in English, using words such as “luxury”, “holiday” and “the time”. In each instance, the teacher responded back to the learner and the class using the Afrikaans version of the words, namely “luukse”, “**vakansie**” and “**die tyd**”, respectively. Similarly, when the teacher asked a question in Afrikaans, “**Wat soek hulle?**”, the learners answered in English “**the time**”. The teacher again responded in Afrikaans as “**ja, die tyd.**” The students were not reprimanded for answering in English yet corrected by the teacher by repeating whatever said in English in Afrikaans.

The students openly answered the questions without having to be picked on. However, when the students asked the teacher a question, they asked it in English, “What page number Ma'am?”, “Which story?” After the particular exercise was completed, the teacher did most of the talking and explaining only in Afrikaans and engaged in the class a lot by walking around in the class.

When students learned a new concept, they rationalized it and made sense of it in English. For example, the teacher was teaching the learner an acronym for respondent, time, manner, place in Afrikaans (**Subjek, tyd, manier, plek**). The learners responded as “**Oh, the time, manner, place etc.**” The teacher again here responded back to the learners in Afrikaans only: “**Ja, dit is the subjek, die tyd, the manier en die plek**” (yes, it is the subject, the manner, the time and the place). On a more personal level, the students communicated with the teacher in English when the course material was covered for the day and the teacher communicated back in Afrikaans even when the subject matter had nothing to do with the Afrikaans subject.

Teacher : Wat het julle vir jou juffrou gee? (**What did you get your teacher?**)

Learner 1 : We got her nothing.

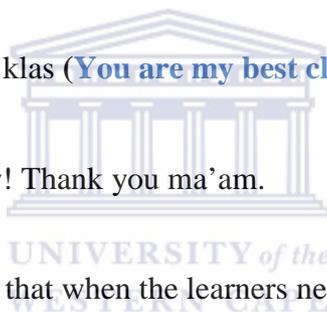
Learner 2 : nothing

Learner 3 : nothing yet

Teacher : “julle is my oulikste klas (**You are my best class**)

Learner2 : thank you Ma’am

Learner 1 : Really ma’am, wow! Thank you ma’am.



It was also interesting to note that that when the learners needed assistance with something, they would call upon the teacher as “Ma’am” instead of “Juffrou”. There were not too many conversations going on in the classroom during the lesson but those conversations that did occur, occurred in strictly English.

The data gathered from the actual usage of language within the domain of the classroom has provided the study with much information in order to illustrate the grade eight learners’ patterns of language use in an academic Afrikaans classroom.

4.4 Conclusion

Chapter Four presented an analysis and discussion of language ideologies of the school as well as the different attitudes and motivations of the Grade Eight respondents in my study. The latter findings were contrasted with their actual language use as was recorded during my observations of their language behaviour in class and on the school playground.

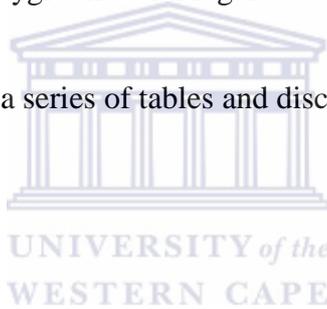
Chapter 5

Presentation and Analysis of the Grade Eleven Data

5.0. Introduction

This chapter covers the analysis of the data collected from the grade eleven learners at the Settlers High School. The data collected for this chapter is divided into two sections. The first section deals with the analysis of the data collected from the grade eleven learners through the questionnaires; it looks at their attitudes towards Afrikaans as well as their motivations and de-motivations experienced in the learning of the language. The analysis of the questionnaire data also reveals their patterns of language use in particular domains. The second section of this chapter reports on my observations of the grade eleven learners firstly in the classroom setting and secondly in and around the playground with regards to their language behaviour.

The data is therefore presented in a series of tables and discussed in two sections, A and B, as follows:



Section A:

- i. The learner demographics
- ii. Their attitudes towards Afrikaans
- iii. Their motivations and de-motivations for learning Afrikaans
- iv. Their patterns of language use

Section B:

My observations of their actual language behaviour.

5.1 Section A: Questionnaire analysis

5.1.1 The Gr. 11 learner demographics

Table 1: Personal demographics, social class and dominant home languages

Resp.	Age	Sex	Race	Area of residence	Father's highest education	Father's job	Mother's highest education	Mother's job	Dominant home languages	Monthly household income
I	17	F	Coloured	Belhar	Certificate	Police	Matric	Housewife	Afrikaans	R10 000
J	18	M	Coloured	Bellville	Matric	Business man	University degree	Sister	English	R20 000
K	17	F	White	Parow North	Matric	Self employed business man	Degree	IT specialist	English	R 20 000
L	18	M	White	Boston	Matric	Manager	Diploma	After care teacher	English	R18 000
M	16	F	Indian	Bellville	Grade 12	Clerk	Matric	Housewife	English	R18 000
N	17	M	Indian	Parow	Grade 11	Store manager	Grade 10	Housewife	English	R15 000
O	17	F	Black	Bellville	Masters	Lecturer	Matric	Unemployed	isiXhosa	R13 000
P	18	M	Black	Bellville	Degree	Teacher	Grade 11	Sales assistant	isiXhosa	R12 000

The table above summarizes the grade 11 respondents' demographic status. The respondents in this group range from 16 to 18 years of age and dominantly come from areas such as Bellville, Parow, Boston and Belhar. The socio-economic statuses of their families range from lower middle class to middle class according to their parents' highest level of education, their occupations and combined monthly income. Five out of the eight respondents in the study speak English at home as a first language. Respondents J and K however claim to speak Afrikaans as a second language at home to either one of the parents or grandparents in the home. Respondent I and N state that their parents sometimes use Afrikaans at home among themselves. The dominant races that use Afrikaans in the household are the White and the Coloured communities. This is understandable, given that the majority of the speakers of Afrikaans in the Western Cape are of White and Coloured origin. It is however interesting to

see the parents of respondent N making use of Afrikaans among themselves. These parents may have been raised in Afrikaans or in bilingual English-Afrikaans families, but may have opted to raise their children in English.

Respondents P and I can be said to be engaging in language maintenance as these learners continue to use Afrikaans at home. However, the fact that these two learners are attending an English medium school may lead to either partial or total language shift. Although respondent M speaks mainly English at home, she claims to sometimes use "...only a little Hindi here and there with my parents and sister". The family of this respondent may be engaging in a limited form of language maintenance. It is clear that English dominates in this respondent's household yet their mother tongue (Hindi) is still kept alive in this instance.

An important additional factor to be added here is that of medium of instruction at primary school. Six out of the eight respondents had attended an English medium primary school. The only Grade 11 respondents in my study that had attended a dual medium (English and Afrikaans) primary school are respondent I and K, who come from Afrikaans-speaking homes. Unsurprisingly, these respondents have a positive attitude towards Afrikaans in general (table 2). These learners' positive attitude towards Afrikaans in table 2 is possibly linked to the fact that they utilize the language within domain of the home and have attended a dual medium primary school. It is particularly interesting to see that even those respondents (J and N) that had a positive attitude towards Afrikaans (see table 2) and who spoke the language at home, had attended strictly English medium schools. This shows that regardless of how dominant Afrikaans is in an individual's life, English still predominates in the learners' choice to attend an English medium institution. Among these learners there appears to be a desire for English as English is seen as both the national and global lingua franca and is dominant (Ridge 2000) in educational, business and governmental or political spheres.

5.1.2 The Learners' Attitudes towards Afrikaans

Table 2: Dominant Attitudes towards Afrikaans

KEY	1 Extremely negative	2 Negative	3 Neutral	4 Positive	5 extremely positive
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Respondent	General view of Afrikaans language	Explanation given
I	4	I don't really have a problem with Afrikaans. I can speak and understand it very well
J	5	e.g. I lived a number of years in Afrikaans town
K	5	I have Afrikaans family on my mom's side and I have gotten to know and prefer the language to English, Afrikaans to me is more unique than English
L	3	I don't understand Afrikaans so I don't really like Afrikaans
M	3	Good, It is a good language to know.
N	4	It is positive because it is a interesting language to know and helps you communicate with others
O	3	I had to learn it for a long time so I am used to it by now, thus coming to terms with it
P	4	I'm an African but I grew up speaking Afrikaans also.

The table above looks at the learners' general attitude towards Afrikaans. Five out of the eight subjects had a generally positive attitude towards Afrikaans. We note a wide range of responses here, which correlate with the demographic details in the previous table. It is not surprising to see that respondent I, J and K have a positive attitude towards learning Afrikaans, since they use Afrikaans at home, while both respondents I and K also attended a dual English and Afrikaans medium school. Similarly, it is not surprising to see respondent N having a positive attitude towards Afrikaans, as this subject is familiar with the language as it is used in the home domain by his parents. Thus using the language at home correlates highly with a more positive general attitude towards Afrikaans, as three respondents who had a neutral attitude towards the language (L, M and O) did not use it at home. What is very interesting is that subject P, an isiXhosa home language speaker whose entire primary and secondary schooling has been in English, expresses a positive attitude towards Afrikaans. This positive attitude results from exposure to Afrikaans in other domains like friendship and religion (see table 12). This

respondent stated: “I’m an African but I grew up speaking Afrikaans also”. The reason for the respondent having a positive attitude towards Afrikaans lies with the fact that he grew up speaking this language to individuals possibly around him on the streets of home or at church (see table12).

Table 3: Respondents’ views on having to learn Afrikaans as a compulsory L2

Respondent	Views on having to learn Afrikaans as a compulsory second language
I	I have no problem with it, I think that it is good because we are being taught a language that in south Africa is spoken by many people.
J	I enjoy it because I get high marks in it and have to put in little effort
K	I think that it is a good language and easy to speak therefore I enjoy having being taught Afrikaans at school as a compulsory subject
L	It’s quite difficult for me to do Afrikaans because I don’t understand the language, I really think it shouldn’t be compulsory
M	To be honest I don’t have a problem learning the language but I think that the students should have a say whether they want to do it or not.
N	I feel that it is very good as you will be able to speak the language fluently after that
O	It is fine, but the children should have a choice in the second language they have to learn.
P	I think it is good for me and all the other learners because in south Africa people communicate in different languages and if you can equip yourself with Afrikaans then you won’t be stuck in one place.

When it comes to having to learn Afrikaans as a compulsory subject, there were a variety of responses. Five out of the eight respondents have a positive take on having Afrikaans taught as a compulsory second language at school. The most positive response comes from respondents I, J, K, N and P, which is not surprising given their earlier views indicated in table 2 as well as the fact that most of them speak it at home. The negative responses came from respondents L, M and O who do not make use of Afrikaans at home and display a neutral attitude towards Afrikaans in table 2. These respondents would clearly have preferred to choose a different compulsory second language instead of having the Afrikaans language imposed on them. This is clearly linked to them not having any use for the language outside school as well as their negative attitudes towards the language in general. It is interesting to note that the positive responses have more to do with the instrumental value of the language – its role as a mode of

communication with speakers of Afrikaans in particular. Not one learner expressed any great love for the language, or enjoyment in learning it, in this particular table.

Table 4. Respondents' perception of who the dominant speakers of Afrikaans are; Attitudes towards these groups.

Respondent	Perceived majority speakers of Afrikaans language	Feelings towards this group
I	White and some Coloured people	Positive because they are all nice people
J	White Afrikaners and broader Coloured community	Feel the same towards all people
K	White and Coloured people and the people who live in small towns	I don't take note of the group of people speaking a specific language. It is wonderful to at least be able to speak the language with them
L	White people	I don't have any problem with them
M	The Afrikaners	I feel normal towards this group because I don't have a problem
N	White and Coloured people	Positive
O	Whites	Not all of the White people are racist, the non racist Whites are nice. I do not like the racist Whites.
P	White and Coloured people	They are people like me but they were just taught to communicate in another language

Seven out of the eight subjects believe that the dominant speakers of Afrikaans come, at least in part, from the White community. Five out of the eight respondents did not express any hostility towards this group, although subject O states that she does not like 'the racist Whites', perhaps because of a personal negative experience with this group of individuals (see table 5). This same respondent has no use for Afrikaans outside school, has a neutral attitude towards Afrikaans and is not in favour of Afrikaans as a compulsory second language. Subject K believes that the dominant speakers of Afrikaans are "... those that live in small towns".

Table 5: Respondents' experiences with the language (both at school and elsewhere) that helped to shape their attitudes.

Respondent	Positive experiences with Afrikaans language	Negative experience with Afrikaans language
I	I only had positive experiences with Afrikaans because I grew up with it.	None
J	I would say positive because I always pass the subject with impressive marks.	None
K	I have been exposed to some great books and short stories that English alone could not have achieved from this. I have grown to understand and appreciate the language	None
L	None	Me getting low marks in Afrikaans.
M	Once again I enjoy the language so I haven't experienced anything bad to the language	None
N	I cannot remember now but I would say positive because it was not negative on me in anyway.	None
O	None	It never really affected me but in primary school I was treated differently by Afrikaans children.
P	When I receive high marks in Afrikaans	None

As with the grade 8 respondents, these grade 11 learners either had positive or negative experiences with Afrikaans – not both. A problem was encountered with this question as the learners did not clearly understand the question and understood that they had to either give a positive or negative experience encountered with Afrikaans. Six out of the eight respondents had had positive experiences with Afrikaans, while 2 had had negative experiences. Some of the positive experiences were related to doing well, and receiving high marks for the subject (respondent J and P). If we examine table 2, we note that two of these respondents (I and P) held largely positive attitudes towards Afrikaans, the compulsory nature of the subject and the speakers of the language. This could be the result of them having had positive experiences in learning the language.

Respondent I's positive response in this table corresponds with those in the previous tables as she has a positive attitude towards Afrikaans and, as a first language speaker, uses the language at home. Negative experience with the language was linked to either receiving a low mark in the subject or, as respondent O claims, to having been treated differently at school by the Afrikaans speaking children. This negative experience with the language could have impacted these learners' general attitude towards Afrikaans in table 2, their attitude towards having Afrikaans as a compulsory second language (table 3) and feeling of hostility towards the "racist Whites" (table 4). Although respondent O claims not to have been affected by this negative experience, it clearly does show in her attitude towards the White population and in her general attitude towards Afrikaans.

Respondents K and M claim to have a genuine love for Afrikaans, especially Afrikaans literature as is the case with respondent K. This is not particularly surprising as this respondent (respondent K) makes use of the language at home (table 1), and has indicated an "extremely positive" attitude towards Afrikaans as well as having it as a compulsory second language. Respondent M, an Indian learner, claims to "...naturally enjoy the language", which correlates with a largely positive attitude towards the language and its main speech community (see tables 2-5) despite the fact that the language is not used in her home. Once again, the effect of positive learning outcomes can be seen here – this learner has experienced 'no real problem' with the language and probably finds learning it an enjoyable experience.

Overall, there appears to be correlations among the learner's experiences with Afrikaans and their general attitude towards the language, its speakers, and the compulsory nature of the language at school and the use of Afrikaans at home.

Table 6: Respondents' reasons for their preference for English at school.

Respondent	Preferred language at school& Reason
I	English -Most of my friends are English and if I speak Afrikaans they will find it hard to understand.
J	English it is my first language and I am fluent in it
K	English and Afrikaans -I like and enjoy the English and Afrikaans language.
L	English- Because it is the only other language I know
M	Mainly because English is my home language and I understand it better
N	English and Afrikaans It depends where in school I am sometimes I use both together
O	English It is a universal language and everybody understands it
P	English Because I like speaking it.

The results in this table – that six of the selected respondents prefer to use English at school - are not surprising, given that all of the respondents were attending an English medium school and were doing Afrikaans as a second language. Ideologically, these learners regard English as a more important and universal language than either Afrikaans or any other South African language and feel some level of competence or enjoyment with English for a variety of reasons: “I am fluent in it”, “only language I know”, “understand it better”, “I like speaking it” and “it is universal language and everybody speaks it”.

It is also no surprise (given their data in previous tables) that although subjects K and N have opted to attend an English medium school, they would prefer to use both English and Afrikaans at school. A preference for using Afrikaans at school is a further indicator of positive attitudes towards the language.

Table 7: Rating of languages by these respondents:

(1 = most important, 3 = least important).

	Rated		Importance of each	Language
Respondent	English	Xhosa	Afrikaans	
I	1	3	2	
J	1	3	2	
K	1	3	2	
L	1	3	2	
M	1	3	2	
N	1	3	2	
O	2	1	3	
P	2	1	3	

Unsurprisingly, English gets the top rating from most of these learners, while isiXhosa, a minority language at the school and one that has little currency in their daily lives, gets the lowest rating. It is not surprising that respondent O rated isiXhosa as the most important language, as this language is this respondent's home language. Afrikaans is rated 3rd by this respondent, which corresponds with his lack of use of the language outside school (table 1) and is also reflected in his less than favourable attitude towards Afrikaans (table 2), its speakers (table 4) and negative experience with the speakers of the language (table 5). The other Black respondent similarly rated his home language as the most important language, followed by English and Afrikaans in third place. Although this respondent has a generally positive attitude towards Afrikaans and its speakers, and has had positive experiences with the language, it still receives the lowest rating.

A possible reason for respondents O and P rating their home language as their most important language lies with the fact they are emotionally tied to their home language as a key part of their social and ethnic identity. Bosch and de Klerk (1996:56) and Webb (1992:449) state that Black South Africans have a stronger preference for English as a national language than Afrikaans. This preference for English as opposed to Afrikaans is linked to the ideology of English being considered to be a 'neutral' language, while Afrikaans is still attached to the *apartheid* past. Also, English is seen by many as a language of social advancement, particularly by the Black community in South Africa, as it is used as a lingua franca in businesses and governmental affairs.

What is surprising is that respondent I, despite the fact that he is a home language speaker of Afrikaans with nothing but positive experiences with the language, still rates it lower than English. This rating, along with the respondent's preference for using English at school, is an indication of the power of English in South Africa as well as globally.

Table 8: Respondents' preferred language in which to raise their future children

Respondent	Language of choice in which to raise and educate children
I	English and Afrikaans : Bilingual English/Afrikaans school
J	English and Afrikaans; English
K	English ; bilingual Eng/ Afrikaans school
L	Afrikaans and English ; Bilingual Eng/ Afrikaans
M	English ; English
N	English ; English
O	Xhosa and English; bilingual Eng and French school
P	Xhosa and English and Afrikaans: English only school

It is particularly interesting to see that majority of the respondents would want to raise and educate their children as bilinguals. Respondent M and N are the only respondents who wish to raise and educate their children in English only. As respondent M is of Indian descent, and given the high esteem English enjoys in the Indian community in South Africa, this choice is understandable. However, respondent N's choice is somewhat surprising. This is someone who is exposed to Afrikaans at home, has a positive attitude towards Afrikaans as well as its speakers, and enjoys it as a compulsory subject at school. This is quite likely an indication of Afrikaans's diminishing role as a language of power in this respondent's life. Subject O, while clearly desiring an English upbringing and education for her children due to its high status and dominant use in the mass media and educational institutions, would also like to maintain her home language, isiXhosa. She would also like to expose the children to another foreign language, French, which of course is widely used in especially West and Central Africa. Clearly, this respondent sees the value of raising multilingual children, particularly as she 'does not want to stay in South Africa forever'. Respondent I, whose predominant home language is Afrikaans, would prefer to raise her future children in both English and Afrikaans, thereby

maintaining the bilingual upbringing she has been exposed to. Thus, while acknowledging the value of English, she also wants to maintain her home language.

Respondent L, despite showing slightly negative attitudes towards Afrikaans in the previous tables, wants to raise and educate his children in both English and Afrikaans. When probed about this, he responded that he would not want his children to struggle in learning Afrikaans as he does. This respondent clearly sees a future for Afrikaans as a school subject. What is particularly interesting is respondent P who wants to raise his children in the three most dominant languages in the Western Cape. The desire for this individual to want to raise his children in Afrikaans dates back to his responses in the previous tables which illustrates his positive attitude toward Afrikaans, its speakers, the use of it as a compulsory language at school and in his positive encounters with the language. Although this respondent claims to not make use of this language at home he does however claim to have grow up among speakers of the language (see table 2 and table 12). All of these factors could have played a role in the respondent opting to want to raise his children in all three of the languages.

5.1.3 The motivations and de-motivations for learning Afrikaans

Table 9: The motivations for learning Afrikaans among the Gr. 11 respondents

Respondent	Motivations for learning Afrikaans	Type of motivation
I	It is a beautiful language that really allows you to express yourself. I am motivated because I like the language.	Integrative
J	It motivates me because it is a language and learning a language cannot be a bad thing	Instrumental/Integrative
K	I have many Afrikaans family members and friends. It motivates me to learn better Afrikaans and be able to speak with them in Afrikaans entirely	Integrative
L	Not many things, I just do it because I have to and have to pass it.	Instrumental
M	My teacher helps me a lot to understand it so that I can speak to others.	Instrumental
N	To speak to my family and friends better	Integrative
O	For me speaking to people.	Instrumental
P	I love learning new languages and it widens my horizons for the future	Instrumental/Integrative

From the above table, as well as their responses to the question *What are the advantages of learning Afrikaans?*, we can see that this particular group of respondents are mixed in terms of

their motivation for learning Afrikaans, displaying both instrumental and integrative motivations, or mixtures of the two as with respondents J and P. While respondent L only does the language because it is a compulsory subject, others stress the value of being able to communicate with others (especially family as in the case of respondent K) as well as the value of learning languages. Respondent I, a home language speaker of Afrikaans with a strong attachment to the language as a marker of her social and ethnic identity, is motivated by the beauty of the language and expresses a strong liking for it. Respondent M's positive motivation is influenced by the good assistance she gets from her teacher who helps her to understand the work. Teachers often play a vital role in shaping and motivating the learning of a subject, especially language (Fisher: 1990).

Table 10: Gr. 11 respondents' de-motivations experienced in learning Afrikaans

Respondent	De-motivation for learning Afrikaans
I	The poems, I really hate learning the Afrikaans poems they never make sense
J	There is too much work to do
K	In some instance Afrikaans is abused for example, rude sayings and bad grammar
L	That I don't understand it
M	Nothing
N	The work gets too much because we still got other subjects work to do
O	The stories and poems are difficult
P	Nothing because you learn new things about Afrikaans everyday
I	The poems, I really hate learning the Afrikaans poems they never make sense
J	There is too much work to do
K	In some instance Afrikaans is abused for example, rude sayings and bad grammar
I	The poems, I really hate learning the Afrikaans poems they never make sense
J	There is too much work to do
K	In some instance Afrikaans is abused for example, rude sayings and bad grammar

This table shows the factors that play a de-motivating role for these respondents in learning Afrikaans. The responses range from the learners experiencing difficulties with the contents of the Afrikaans lessons (respondent I, L and O) to complaints about the amount of work given by the teachers (respondent J and N). The only two subjects who claimed to have not experienced

any de-motivation in the learning of Afrikaans were respondents M and P. The most interesting response came from respondent K, who feels de-motivated to learn Afrikaans when she hears “rude sayings and bad grammar” in Afrikaans. Exposure to non-standard varieties of Afrikaans which are often full of slang words and profanities has created this negativity in respondent K, and has made the language seem less valuable. This individual clearly does not like it when the Afrikaans language is misused or when profanities are utilized in the language. These factors made this individual de-motivated to learn the language.

5.1.4 The grade eleven learners’ self-reported patterns of language use

The following tables show how these learners reported on their own patterns of language use.

Table 11: Language used for thinking, exclaiming and swearing (i.e. automatic/spontaneous language use)

Respondent	Language used when speaking/swearing/exclaiming/ thinking to self
I	English and Afrikaans
J	Mostly English and Afrikaans
K	English and Afrikaans
L	English
M	English
N	English
O	Xhosa and English
P	Xhosa and sometimes English

Three out of the eleven respondents (L, M, and N) report only using English for processing their internal thoughts and when speaking, exclaiming and swearing to themselves. It was very interesting to note that the other three respondents (I, J, K) processed their internal thoughts when speaking, exclaiming and swearing to themselves in both English and Afrikaans. Both respondents I and K had attended a dual medium primary school and both respondents make use of Afrikaans within the domain of the home. These two factors may have contributed to

these learners processing their mental thought in both languages. Respondent J, on the other hand, has lived in a bilingual environment since birth.

It is interesting to see that both of the Black respondents process their mental thoughts in both English and isiXhosa, despite having isiXhosa as their home language. The fact that they also think in English can be attributed to their having attended both primary and secondary English medium schools.

Table 12: Language use in different domains

Resp.	Language use in different Domains						
	Home	Place of worship	School (classroom)	School (playground)	Street of home	Shopping	Friends
I	Afrikaans	Afrikaans and English	English	English	English	English	English and Afrikaans
J	English	English	English	English	English and Afrikaans	English	English than Afrikaans
K	Afrikaans and English	English	English	English and Afrikaans	Afrikaans	English	English and Afrikaans
L	English	English	English	English	English	English	English and Afrikaans
M	English	English	English	English	English	English	English
N	English than Afrikaans	English	English	English	English than Afrikaans	English	English and Afrikaans
O	Xhosa and English	English than Xhosa	English	English and Xhosa	English	Xhosa and English	English and Xhosa
P	Xhosa	English and Afrikaans	English	English	English and Afrikaans	Xhosa and English	Xhosa and English

English seems to predominate in most domains for these respondents, even at home in conjunction with either isiXhosa or Afrikaans. Respondent P is the only individual who claims to only use isiXhosa at the home. This same individual uses both the English and Afrikaans language at church – a reflection of the increasingly multicultural and multilingual spaces of

Cape Town. Judging from this learner's responses in the previous tables, he appears to have had a lot of exposure to Afrikaans while growing up (table 2). Subject J, L and M use only English at home as well as in their place of worship. It is not surprising that subject I attends an English and Afrikaans medium church, as this respondent appears to be a bilingual who is a, first language speaker of Afrikaans and has only attended English medium schools. The most common language used in places of worship is however English. Unsurprisingly, the dominant and most common language used by the learners at school in the classroom is English.

English also predominates on the school playground, although two respondents – K and O – also use Afrikaans and isiXhosa in this domain along with English. In the streets of their home environments, English also predominates, with respondent J, K, N and P using Afrikaans either in conjunction with English or on its own. Half of these respondents use Afrikaans on the streets. English dominates in the domain of shopping for all of the respondents except for respondent O and P who use both isiXhosa and English when shopping. A possible reason for this could be linked to these respondents doing their shopping in township areas and using IsiXhosa with their shopping partners or to communicate with the sales assistants who speak IsiXhosa in the Township.. It is very interesting to note that five out of the eight respondents claimed to use both English and Afrikaans when communicating with their friends with only respondents O and P using English and Xhosa when with friends. While English predominates in the domain of friendship, several respondents reported using both English and Afrikaans/isiXhosa with their friends.

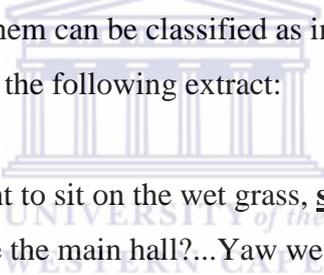
5.2. Section B: Observations

In this section, I report on what I learned from my daily observations of the actual language use of my respondents on the school playground as well as in class. I also used a voice recorder to pick up actual language use in these spaces. These recordings were transcribed, and offer valuable records of actual patterns of language use which often contradict the reported data in Section A.

5.2.1 Language Use on the School Playground

The recorded playground conversation involved all eight of the grade eleven subjects. This group of learners seemed much more familiar with each other than the grade eight learners did; possibly due to the fact that they have known each other for four years as opposed to the grade eights who have known each other for just under a year. They started conversing with one another immediately and seemed unaware of the voice recorder. The topic of conversation progressed through a range of genres, starting with the topic of the Matric ball, to completing school, moving through to conversing about the researcher, to a “braai” and finishing off with a conversation on Facebook.

The transcript below is a mere set of extracts of the full transcript which can be found in the Appendix of this thesis. These particular extracts were selected owing to their highly bilingual nature, with plenty of code-switching between English and Afrikaans. These respondents were observed to code-switch almost three times as much as the grade eight learners. The type of code-switching observed among them can be classified as inter-sentential and intra-sentential (Poplack: 1990), as can be seen in the following extract:

- 
1. Mario : I don't want to sit on the wet grass, **skvf op (move up)**
 2. Mellisa : did you see the main hall?... Yaw we done a **kwaai (nice)** job?
 3. Mellisa : **ja (yes)**, its SO pretty, i did not know we could pull off such theme hey
 6. Chris: oh yes yes you **mos (as you know)** on the SRC
 17. Natasha: ==**die tyd loop (time's moving fast)**
 18. Gavin : why **you'se (you all)** getting so emotional... I can't wait to leave this place.
 20. Mellisa : **you'se (you all)** act so tough now, wait when valedictory comes **dan tjank hulle snot en tranes (then they will cry snot and tears)**
 21. Chris: I don't think so. I'm gonna **gooi (throw)** a party when I leave this place
 22. Gavin : **awe (yes) ==**
 25. Kim : **ja (yes)**, but we had assembly in the morning instead of at the end.
 26. Natasha: I don't know
 34. Natasha: **yaara hulles mos (shoo they're quite)** boring company, ma'am is gonna listen to our boring conversations and think **yaara**, they only talk about their work

- [Laughter]
40. Mellisa: are you **mal**? (**mad**)
- [Laughter]
42. Shireen : I didn't know you knew Charne Melissa.. I **skrieked** (**got a fright**) Saturday, I turned around and saw you and thought **yaara, sien ek nou vi 'n spook. (shoo, I'm looking at a ghost now)** [laughter]
44. Chris: did you **stick uit** (**go out**) there?==
50. Natasha: yes, **skattebol** (**sweetheart**), Everyone is on that thing
55. Chris: yes, we go way back... **ou brasse** (**old friends**)
58. Gavin : really though, check him out.. Its **vrek** (**dead, in this context extremely**) funny
71. Chris: because she secretly **smaaks** (**likes**) him

There are 20 instances where these individuals were observed using Afrikaans. The variety of Afrikaans used by the subjects is both a mixture of standard and Kaapse Afrikaans. The dominant variety used by these grade eleven learners when conversing among one another was the Afrikaans slang words and the Kaapse Afrikaans variety. This group of learners clearly used far more Afrikaans in their casual conversations than the Grade 8 learners did.

5.2.2 Actual language use in the Gr. 11 Classroom

The grade eleven classroom in which the observation took place was a spacious place, where the learners sat in groups of four facing each other. The atmosphere in this classroom was not intense, but relaxed and informal. The walls of the classroom were covered with Afrikaans posters, prayers, a birthday chart and idioms. On my arrival in the classroom, the learners were settling in and speaking among themselves in English. The teacher greeted the learners in Afrikaans “**Goeie môre, my kinders**” (good morning, my children). The learners responded: “**Goeie more, Meneer**” (good morning, sir). The learners proceeded to sit down and take out their necessary books for the subject.

The teacher communicated only in Afrikaans, and the learners actively participated in the class activities and answered the questions in Afrikaans. The learners were then instructed to do a couple of questions in their groups. There were 7 groups within the classroom discussing the question. When observing each group for a one minute, 5 out of the seven groups discussed the

task in Afrikaans, but used English when referring to words that they did not understand. Here is one example:

Learner 1: Sê vir my nou, wat is reg, wat koop jy? Of wat koop jy vir my? (Tell me now, what is right, what are you buying or buying for me?)

Learner 2 : Nee, Ek dink dit is, wat koop jy vir my? Kyk daar, my vriend, sy het dit vir hom gesê. **(I think it's, what are you buying for me? Look there, my friend. She told him that.)**

Learner 1: (laughter) All right, Ek sien dit, my vriend. **(I see it, my friend).**

The teacher proceeded to go to each group and assist the students. When the learners asked the teacher for assistance they addressed him in Afrikaans as “Meneer”. The learners also asked the teacher question in Afrikaans, as can be seen in the following example:

Learner 4: “Meneer, wat is reg, moet ek die, of daai sê?” **(Sir, what is right, must I say this or that?)**

Teacher: Wag wag wag nou man, wat het ek vir julle gesê..... **(wait, wait wait now man, what did I tell you)**

The teacher again addresses the class in Afrikaans:

Teacher : Hoe ver is julle? **(How far are you?)**

Learners: Amper klaar **(almost finished).**

When one looks at the variety of Afrikaans used within the context of the class, the standard variety of Afrikaans predominates for both the teacher and the learners. However, I observed two female students who switched to a casual, code-mixed conversation once they had completed the task in hand.

When explaining the work to one another, the students did not rely on translation to English in order to understand the work. A big Afrikaans/English translation dictionary was available on

the teacher's table, which the learners made use of if they did not understand a word. The learners displayed much interest in the subject by continuously asking questions and actively engaging in the subject. Students were confident to go up to the board and write their answers to the questions.

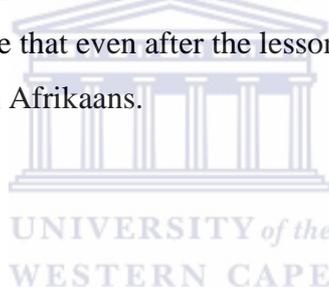
Teacher : Waar moet ek die volpunt sit? (**Where must I put the full stop?**)

Learner 6 : Dit moet op hier sit (**it must go here**)

Learner 5 : Nee, dit is verkeerd (**No, that is wrong**).

Learner 7 : Ek kan vir daai antwoord (**I can answer that**).

The learners in the grade eleven class seemed comfortable using Afrikaans in the classroom. It was particularly interesting to note that even after the lesson had ended, the students still communicated with the teacher in Afrikaans.



5.3 Conclusion

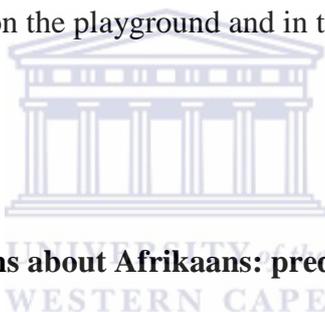
This chapter was a presentation and analysis of the grade eleven data: their different attitudes towards Afrikaans, the motivations and de-motivations experienced in learning Afrikaans and their self-reported and actual usage patterns of Afrikaans on the play ground and classroom. The next chapter looks at the similarities and differences between the data from the two grades.

Chapter Six

The Findings combined: Similarities and Differences

6.0. Introduction

This chapter combines the findings of Chapters Four and Five in order to compare and contrast the grade 8 and grade 11 data. It begins with a combined overview of the beliefs and assumptions that the respondents in the study attach to Afrikaans in order to determine their dominant ideological position with respect to the language. After commenting on the similarities and differences in the findings of the questionnaires and interviews, the actual usage patterns of the two groups on the playground and in the classroom are also compared and contrasted.



6.1 Their beliefs and assumptions about Afrikaans: predominant ideologies

The data on this reveal some conflicting trends. Although a majority of the learners in the study believe that Afrikaans will continue to grow and prosper in South Africa, 56% of them believe that Afrikaans will eventually be replaced by English. They also largely agree that people are negative about Afrikaans because of its association with *apartheid*. This finding, 15 years after the start of the democratic dispensation in South Africa, reveals how hard it is for Afrikaans to shake off its association with *apartheid*, even among these young people. Nevertheless, 40% of the respondents do not regard speakers of Afrikaans, or those with Afrikaans accents, as racists, although 26% had this perception. The status of particular varieties also continues to reflect past attitudes. More than half of all the respondents agree that speakers of Cape Flats Afrikaans/*Kaaps* belong to a lower social class and are less educated than those who speak the standard variety of Afrikaans. And, while 50% of the learners agree that the Coloured populations are the dominant speakers of Afrikaans in the Western Cape, a majority disagrees that Afrikaans is the only language in which one can truly express oneself.

A further 63% do not believe that a knowledge of Afrikaans leads to a well-paid job in South Africa today.

As regards learning the language as a subject, the majority did not find it difficult, or its literature particularly stimulating (only a total of 32% thought Afrikaans literature was interesting). If this trend is reflected in a majority of schools similar to the Settlers' High, it is of concern to those who write literature in Afrikaans, as an interest in literature starts at school and continues into adulthood. At the same time, 57% of the learners believe that Afrikaans is becoming increasingly important due to the success of its popular music and TV soap operas like *Sewende Laan* and *Egoli*, and that this success goes a long way towards freeing it from its association with *apartheid*. The continued and successful use of Afrikaans in popular culture may help to keep the interest in Afrikaans alive even if many of these young people do not continue to enjoy Afrikaans literature into adulthood.

Their predominant ideologies with respect to Afrikaans can therefore be summed up as follows:

1. English has much more power and value in their lives than Afrikaans, and there may eventually be a total language shift towards English.
2. Afrikaans, in particular standard Afrikaans, retains associations with *apartheid*, but its use in popular culture may diminish this association.
3. Kaaps (and by association, its speakers) has a very low status in contemporary South Africa.

These findings can therefore be linked to those of studies by Ridge (2001), Anthonissen and George (2003), Haupt (2006) and Van Rensburg (1997), which were discussed in Chapter Two. In South Africa, as in much of the world, English is seen as a global lingua franca and is dominant in educational, business and governmental or political spheres. English in this instance is not only of more value in their lives but also the language of the “powerful” for social advancement. According to Ridge (2000:1) and Anthonissen and George (2003), a shift towards English appears to be related to the more middle class, educated urban communities. This is particularly true in this instance, as these respondents belong to the “middle class educated community”.

Despite the passing of 16 years since the end of the *apartheid* regime, Afrikaans, particularly the standard variety of Afrikaans, still has the stigma of this regime attached to it. The regime

has constructed Afrikaans to be viewed as the language of the oppressor by many and many have moved away from Afrikaans due to the negative connotations attached to it. Nevertheless, the use of the language today in popular youth culture may diminish this association by giving young people the opportunity to distance themselves from the previous generation's complicity in *apartheid* (Haupt :2006:1). The use of the language in popular festivals like the UWC "Roots" festival in 2009, in popular hip-hop music, the poetry and plays of Adam Small and others who write in *Kaaps*, has contributed towards changing perceptions of the language. The inclusion of Black Afrikaans speakers (into the historically White cultural domains) in popular South African *soapiessies* (Haupt: 2006:1) has also played an important role in helping Afrikaans to shed its association with *apartheid*.

6.2. Attitudes and motivations: Similarities and Differences between the two groups

6.2.1 Similarities

The two groups of respondents share many similarities with regards to their attitudes and motivations towards Afrikaans. There are also some obvious similarities with regards to their demographic details: they all reside in the northern suburbs of Cape Town and for most of them English is their home language. Most of them had also attended English medium primary schools.

The respondents with the most positive attitudes towards Afrikaans were the White and Coloured learners. A possible reason for this is the fact that Afrikaans is a majority language among the Coloured and White populations of the Western Cape and that many of these learners would also have been exposed to the language since birth. In addition, the majority of the learners revealed no animosity towards the Afrikaans speech community. Those with positive attitudes towards the language in both groups also cited the positive experience of doing well in the subject and receiving high marks as contributing to their positive attitudes.

The two groups also showed similar patterns of ranking languages, with English clearly being the most important, Afrikaans second and isiXhosa third. The exception to this ranking was the four Black students who all rated isiXhosa as their most important language, with English in

the second position. When the subjects were asked what language they would want to raise and educate their children in, only the Indian learners across both grades indicated that they would opt to raise and educate their children in English only – a finding that is in line with Mesthrie’s conclusions (2000:202) that there has been a clear shift to English in this segment of the population. White learners opted to raise their children in both English and Afrikaans, while Black learners preferred English and their home language – a clear indication of the importance of English as a language of power and social advancement for both groups.

The motivations for learning Afrikaans common to both groups included being able to understand and communicate better in the language, passing the subject and being able to use the language in their future careers. The aspect that de-motivated both groups was mainly struggling to understand it and negative experiences in learning the language at school.

6.2.2 Differences

One difference that stands out very clearly is that the older grade eleven group of respondents is generally far more positive in their attitudes toward Afrikaans than the younger grade eight group. A possible reason for this could be the fact that more of the grade eleven learners made use of Afrikaans within the domain of the home than the grade eight learners. More grade elevens also felt positive about having Afrikaans as a compulsory language than the grade eight learners. This might be because they had more experience of being educated in this language from their primary school years to the present. In addition, more grade elevens reported positive experiences in learning Afrikaans as a subject than the grade eights – another indication of the link between positive experiences in learning a language and the corresponding attitudes. There was also a slight difference between their preferences for language use at school, with three grade eleven learners preferring to use both English and Afrikaans while all the grade eight learners opted only for English. In addition, more grade elevens reported wishing to raise and educate their children in two languages than the grade eights.

Their motivations for learning Afrikaans also showed some differences. While most of the grade eights revealed purely instrumental motives for learning Afrikaans, the pattern was much more mixed for the grade elevens, with four reporting instrumental motives, while another four reported integrative motives, such as a love for the language. A possible reason for this is that

majority of the grade eight learners are not as emotionally tied to the language as many of the grade elevens are. There were also differences in the aspects that de-motivated them to learn the language. One aspect that was included by the grade elevens was being exposed to sub-standard varieties of Afrikaans which included swear-words and 'bad grammar'. This devalued the language for them, and made it seem less important to learn than English.

6.3 Self-reported versus actual language use patterns: Similarities and Differences.

6.3.1 Self-reported language use patterns

Most domains for both grades were dominated by English. It was the most common language in which the learners reported thinking. However, more of the grade eleven learners processed internal thoughts in both English and Afrikaans than the grade eights learners. It was particularly interesting to note that three out of the four learners in the two groups processed their mental thoughts in both of these languages were of White and Coloured descent. These particular learners were also the learners who had the more favourable attitude towards Afrikaans, the subject and its dominant speakers. These learners were also the learners who made reasonably more use of Afrikaans across the various domains. From this we can conclude that a correlation could exist between language used for internal thoughts and language attitudes. Three out of the four Black respondents across the two grades reported thinking in both their home language and English. This is possibly because these learners were brought up in an isiXhosa speaking home so initially started to think in isiXhosa yet when they started to attend English medium schools they also began to think in English.

6.3.2 Actual language use patterns

The actual language use patterns of these two groups of respondents were observed in two domains – the Afrikaans classroom and the school playground. When the researcher attended and observed the respective grade eight and grades eleven Afrikaans class not many similarities were found. The educators of both of these groups only communicated with the learners in Afrikaans in the teaching of the Afrikaans subject and also in non-academic matters. But it was notable that, upon entering each class, the learners in both groups communicated among themselves in English. However, it was very clear that the grade eleven learners were more comfortable and confident in their usage of Afrikaans in the classroom.

Many differences in actual language use between the two grades could be detected while observing the dynamics within their respective Afrikaans classrooms. The grade eights, for example, had much less command of Afrikaans than the grade elevens, and would even respond to questions by the teacher in English. When left to complete a task in groups, the grade eights spoke mainly in English, even though the task had to be completed in Afrikaans, which was not the case with the grade elevens. When the learners were conversing with the teacher about personal matters, the grade eight learners spoke to the teacher in English, while the grade eleven learners only spoke in Afrikaans. The grade eight learners were also observed to call the teacher “Ma’am” instead of the Afrikaans “*juffrou*”, but this was not the case with the grade elevens.

On the school playground, English once again dominated. Nevertheless, observation proved that learners from both groups code-switched between English and Afrikaans on the playground. This was done mainly via the insertion of Afrikaans words or slang words into phrases or sentences in English. However, some of the grade eleven learners were observed to use a more complex form of Afrikaans. They also used far more Afrikaans as well as code-switching than the grade eight learners. Both of these groups of learners made use of both the slang variety and Cape (*Kaapse*) variety of Afrikaans.

The grade eight learners’ actual usage patterns may indicate that a shift towards English has taken place among these younger learners, given that they used Afrikaans much less than the grade elevens did. However, the greater confidence of the Grade elevens could also be ascribed to them having had a much longer period of sustained learning of Afrikaans.

6.4 The correlation between patterns of use of Afrikaans and language attitudes

The following table serves as a summary of the above findings, and reveals the correlation between patterns of language use in Afrikaans and associated positive or negative attitudes.

Table 13 correlation of self rated patterns of language use and attitudes

Language attitudes of Grade 8 and 11 respondents											
Resp.	dominant attitude towards Afrikaans	View of Afr. as comp. 2 nd lng at school	Atts. to main speakers of Afr.	Pos. or neg. experience with Afr.	Preferred language at school	Relative importance of each language.			Preferred language for children	Preferred MOI for future children	Learners self rated Patterns of language use across eight domains
						E	A	X			
A	4	Positive	White +	Positive	English	1	2	3	English	English	2
B	3	Positive	White +	Negative	English	1	2	3	English	English	1
C	4	Positive	White & Coloured+	Positive	English	1	2	3	English	English & Afrikaans	2
D	5	Positive	White & Coloured+	Positive	English	1	2	3	English and Afrikaans	English & Afrikaans	5
E	2	Negative	White& Coloured +	Negative	English	1	2	3	English	English	0
F	3	Negative	Coloured+	Negative	English	1	2	3	English	English	0
G	3	Negative	White+	Positive	English	1	3	1	English and Xhosa	English	0
H	3	Negative	White-	Negative	English	1	3	1	Sesotho and English	English	0
I	4	Positive	White & Coloured +	Positive	English	1	2	3	English & Afrikaans	English & Afrikaans	4
J	5	Positive	White & Coloured+	Positive	English	1	2	3	English	English	3
K	5	Positive	White& Coloured+	Positive	Afrikaans and english	1	2	3	English	English & Afrikaans	4
L	3	Negative	White+	Negative	English	1	2	3	English & Afrikaans	English & Afrikaans	1
M	3	Negative	Afrikaners +	Positive	English	1	2	3	English	English	0
N	4	positive	White& Coloured+	Positive	English & Afrikaans	1	2	3	English	English	3
O	3	Positive	White+	Negative	English	2	3	1	Xhosa & English	English	0
p	4	positive	White& Coloured-	Positive	English	1	2	3	Xhosa& English & Afrikaans	English	2

Columns 3-9 in the above table are all the factors that shape and influence the respondents' general attitude towards Afrikaans. The very last column, titled "learners self rated patterns of Afrikaans language use", looks at the number of times Afrikaans is used by each respondent across the eight domains of language use they were asked to complete. If a respondent had used Afrikaans once in each of the eight domains then s/he would receive an eight whereas if Afrikaans was used in only three of the eight domains, s/he would receive a three in this particular column.

When looking at the grade eight learners' attitude towards Afrikaans depicted in the table above, one is able to see that some correlation exists between the learners' attitude towards Afrikaans and the learners' actual usage patterns of Afrikaans across the eight different contexts. Those learners who had a somewhat negative attitude towards Afrikaans appeared to use Afrikaans rarely or not at all. For example, when looking at respondents B, E, F, G and H, they appear to have a somewhat negative attitude towards Afrikaans (and a preference for English) and when looking at these respondents use of Afrikaans in the different domains, there appears to be a correlation as they only use Afrikaans very occasionally. Similarly, Respondent D who appears to have a relatively positive attitude towards Afrikaans appeared to make use of Afrikaans across five of the different domains. However, this is not entirely true when looking at respondent A and C, as these learners have a somewhat positive attitude towards Afrikaans yet rarely use the language. A correlation between these learners' attitude and actual usage patterns of the language does not exist, but it nevertheless holds true for the majority.

There appears to be some form of correlation between the attitudes of grade eleven learners towards Afrikaans and the amount of times they use Afrikaans across the eight domains. A positive correlation exists amongst respondent L, M and O. These respondents have a somewhat less positive attitude towards Afrikaans than the other learners and they also appear to use Afrikaans minimally across the eight domains. We can therefore say that a correlation between the two variables does exist among these learners who have a somewhat less positive attitude toward the language. However, those respondents (J, N, and P) who have a more positive attitude towards Afrikaans appear to have minimally used Afrikaans in the different domains. Respondent I and K have a positive attitude towards Afrikaans and they use the language more across the domains. A correlation between the two variables could be found here. A positive correlation was found among five grade eleven learners in this study therefore we can say that among the grade eleven learners a positive relationship does exist between the

learners' attitudes towards Afrikaans and their actual usage patterns of the language but more so among those learners who have a somewhat less positive attitude towards Afrikaans.

When looking at both the grade eight and grade eleven learners' responses, there appears to be a positive correlation between the two variables mainly among those learners who had the least positive attitudes towards Afrikaans than those learners who had an explicitly positive attitude towards Afrikaans. Nevertheless, the findings on eleven out of the sixteen respondents in the study showed a correlation between language attitudes and patterns of use of Afrikaans.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter compared and contrasted the findings from the two grades. There are significant differences between the two grades in terms of attitudes and motivation, and reported and actual language use. If the younger learners are a barometer of attitudes towards, and actual use of, Afrikaans, this should be an issue of concern to anyone worried about the maintenance of Afrikaans in the Cape Metropole. Teachers may need to change their attitudes towards Afrikaans or ensure that the learners get more exposure, practice or help with Afrikaans at school, as many of the respondents across both groups complained about poor marks or expressed an inability to function in or comprehend the language at some level.

Chapter Seven

Conclusions and Recommendations for further Research

7.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I revisit my research questions and assumptions in the light of my major findings which are also briefly summarized here. I also make some recommendations on possible further research in this field.

The aims of this research study were as follows:

- to identify the particular ideologies attached to Afrikaans by two groups of learners (Grade eight and Grade eleven);
- To identify the different motivations and de-motivations attached to Afrikaans by these two groups of learners;
- To investigate if a correlation could be found between language attitudes and pattern of use of Afrikaans among the learners and finally
- To investigate whether the findings provide evidence of a shift towards English, particularly among the Grade 8 learners.

The Hypotheses for this research study were as follows:

- The school would reveal a positive ideology to Afrikaans as a language of power and dominant groupings in the Western Cape, particularly its status within the economy of the Province.
- Some associations between the *apartheid* regime and Afrikaans would still linger on in some communities and individuals, and might find expression in individual learners their families' language ideologies.
- English, on the other hand, would be associated with prestige and dominance in educational, public and governmental spheres.

- The primary schools (coupled with parental choice of these specific schools) attended by my grade 8 respondents would have had a significant impact on their attitudes and motivations for learning Afrikaans.
- A correlation would be found between the learners' attitude towards a language and their pattern of use of a language.
- Frequency of use, particularly in major settings like the home and school, could be tied to more positive attitudes, although of course this might not be the same for all individuals.
- Finally, this study would provide evidence of a general shift towards English among many of these learners, especially the younger group.

Chapters Four and Five of this thesis presented and analyzed the data from Grade eight and eleven respectively, while Chapter Six considered the similarities and differences in the two sets of data. While I acknowledge that my samples are small and that the findings cannot be generalized to the broader population, I believe that the patterns that have emerged from my research with regards to Afrikaans are of interest to researchers and anyone interested in the maintenance of the language in post-*apartheid* South Africa. My data has revealed many layers of complexity in the language choices made by my respondents and their parents. These layers include South Africa's socio-political history, the role of English in post-*apartheid* South Africa, specific choices with regards to education made by middle-class parents and enduring perceptions about different varieties of Afrikaans.

7.1 The language ideologies of the respondents and the Settlers' High School

In order to provide an appropriate context for the language ideologies of my respondents, I shall first examine those of the school, with particular reference to ideologies about Afrikaans.

Although the Settlers' High School may be an English medium school academically, it creates a positive environment for the use of Afrikaans by its learners through its cultural and sporting activities. The school has an open language policy with regard to the languages spoken in and around the school, and Afrikaans is spoken by many of its teachers, parents and learners. One

can therefore conclude that it has a positive ideological orientation towards both English and Afrikaans, despite the dominance of English.

With respect to Afrikaans, the dominant language ideologies of the learners I worked with from both grades can be summed up as follows:

- For the foreseeable future, Afrikaans will continue to grow and prosper in South Africa, but in the long term, it may be replaced by English;
- Afrikaans remains deeply entrenched as a marker of personal and group identity for some;
- Standard Afrikaans still carries its association with *apartheid*, but the Afrikaans used in popular culture has much broader appeal, and is going a long way towards removing this stigma;
- People who speak *Kaapse* Afrikaans are less educated, and belong to a lower social class than those who speak the standard variety.

These ideologies appear to reflect current national sentiments on Afrikaans in post-*apartheid* South Africa. For these learners, *Kaapse* Afrikaans has not shed its negative connotations (although several of the Coloured learners actually spoke this variety). But standard Afrikaans also continues to be associated with *apartheid* for some of these learners, and although they see a future for Afrikaans, some of them also believe that it may in time be completely replaced by English. On the positive side, Afrikaans continues to function as an important marker of identity for some, and the Afrikaans used in popular culture has wide appeal and is going some way towards challenging negative ideologies attached to the language. Perhaps more can be done at schools to include examples from popular culture in Afrikaans – literature, songs, poetry etc. – in the teaching and learning of Afrikaans, so that 21st century Afrikaans can be seen as a dynamic and vital language in post-modern South Africa. This is a potential area of research for others interested in the future of Afrikaans.

7.2 The learners' attitudes and motivations towards Afrikaans.

In comparing the two groups of learners, it was apparent that more of the grade eight learners appeared to have a stronger preference for English than their grade eleven counterparts. This strong preference for English among these younger learners may be an indication of a shift of this generation of learners toward English. This preference will already have been formed

strongly by their parents' choice of an English medium primary school for these learners. The grade eleven learners also appeared to have a more positive attitude overall towards Afrikaans than the grade eight learners.

In terms of motivation, the grade eight learners also appeared to have far more instrumental and combined instrumental and integrative motivational reasons for learning Afrikaans than the grade eleven learners, many of whom had more integrative motivations. The younger group also appeared to have more difficulties/de-motivations with the language as a compulsory subject than the older ones.

The attitudes and motivations of the younger learners is a source of concern, as languages are maintained and remain vital when passed on to the younger generation. Whether effective, enthusiastic teachers of Afrikaans at high school can change such attitudes and motivations remains to be seen, and this is potentially another area for future research.

7.3 Correlation between language attitude and patterns of language use

The third research question aimed to investigate if a correlation exists between language attitudes and patterns of use of Afrikaans. When looking at both the grade eight and grade eleven responses, there appears to be a positive correlation between the two variables mainly among those learners with the least positive attitudes towards Afrikaans. Nevertheless, the findings on eleven out of the sixteen respondents in the study showed a correlation between language attitude and their self-rated patterns of use of Afrikaans. The study has therefore addressed the third research question to some extent.

7.4 Is language shift to English taking place among these learners?

When one looks at the self-rated patterns of use of Afrikaans among the grade eight learners and the grade eleven learners, it is clear that the grade eleven learners make more use of Afrikaans across the eight domains reasonably more than the grade eight respondents – almost twice as much. This may indicate that the use of Afrikaans is in decline among the younger generation of learners especially among those one might traditionally have assumed to use the language regularly.

The patterns suggested by the self-rated language use tables were also reflected in the actual language use as recorded during the observations. The grade eleven learners used Afrikaans sentences, words and phrases considerably more than the grade eight learners, who mainly inserted occasional Afrikaans words and phrases into their English conversations. As could be expected, the older group also had a more extensive command of Afrikaans, having been exposed to it as a subject for longer.

Taken together, the patterns of attitudes, self-reported and actual language use among these learners may be said to be indicative of a shift to English, particularly among the grade eight learners surveyed in this study. However, more research is necessary in order to find more detailed samples of actual patterns of language use and whether the complex code-switching observed in some of my samples is indicative of truncated multilingualism (Blommaert *et al.* 2005; Dyers 2008) rather than language shift.

7.5 Conclusion



All my hypotheses, as set out in Chapter One (section 1.4) of this thesis were to some extent confirmed by this study. They are:

- Hypothesis 1: the school revealed a positive ideology to Afrikaans as a language of power and dominance particularly in Western Cape.
- Hypothesis 2: some associations between the *apartheid* regime and the Afrikaans language still lingered on in some respondents in the study.
- Hypothesis 3: the English language was associated with prestige and dominance in educational, public and governmental spheres among the majority of the grade eight and eleven respondents.
- Hypothesis 4: The primary schools attended by my grade 8 respondents had a significant impact on their attitudes and motivations for learning Afrikaans.
- Hypothesis 5: a correlation was found between the learners' attitude towards a language (Afrikaans) and their patterns of use of the language.
- Hypothesis 6: the small number of respondents in the study who frequently made use of Afrikaans, particularly in major settings like the home and school, had more positive attitudes towards the language. However, this was not the same for all individuals.

- Hypothesis 7: this study has provided some evidence of a general shift towards English among the younger group of learners in my study.

A number of my research assumptions were also to some extent supported by this study. In the first place, the study has shown that the Settlers' High School has a positive view on Afrikaans, and in no way hinders the use or growth of Afrikaans. Secondly, the grade eight learners appear to have a far less positive attitude towards Afrikaans than the grade eleven learners. More grade eight learners appeared to be motivated to learn Afrikaans for instrumental reasons (in some cases combined with integrative motivations) than the grade eleven learners. However, a minority of these grade eight respondents revealed strong integrative motivations towards Afrikaans. As was pointed out above, a positive correlation could be found between attitudes towards, and actual use of, Afrikaans. Those learners with negative attitudes or who simply did not see the learning of the language as very advantageous hardly used Afrikaans, while those with more positive attitudes used the language more.

Three areas of potential future research have been identified in this chapter:

- The use of Afrikaans in popular culture and its potential to change perceptions and attitudes towards the language;
- Effective, enthusiastic language teachers and their role in changing attitudes towards Afrikaans; and
- Afrikaans as part of truncated or distributed multilingualism in our cities.

To conclude: this thesis looked at the particular ideologies attached to Afrikaans among two groups of learners in one Cape Town school. It also considered the learners' language attitudes and motivations with regards to Afrikaans, and tried to correlate these with their self-reported and actual language use in different domains. Given the small number of respondents, my findings can in no way be generalized to the wider population as conclusive evidence of a general shift towards English. Nevertheless, the respondents in my study do appear to reflect many of the current ideologies and attitudes towards Afrikaans among particularly middle-class South Africans, and this is also reflected in their patterns of language use.

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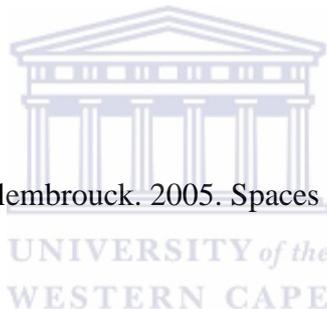
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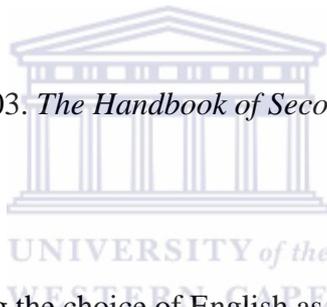
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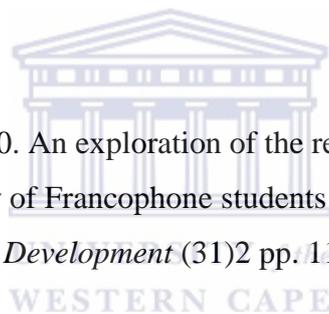
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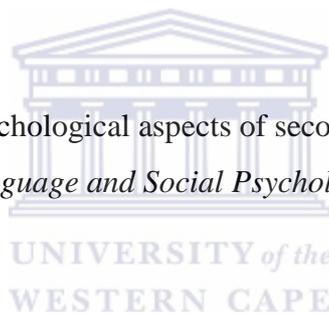
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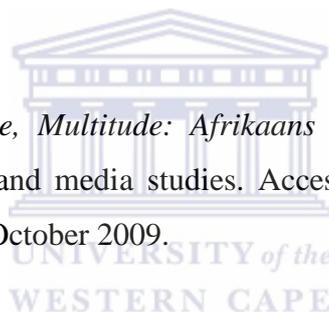
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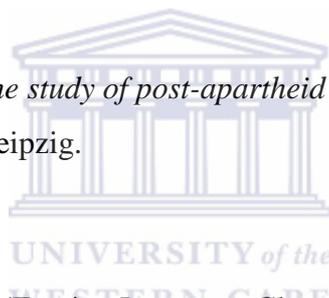
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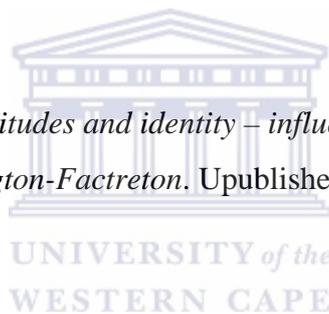
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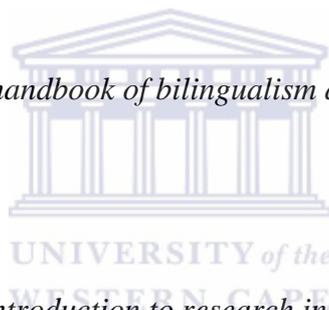
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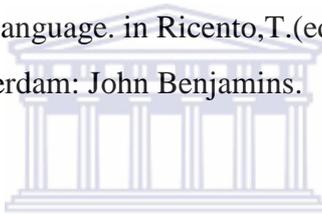
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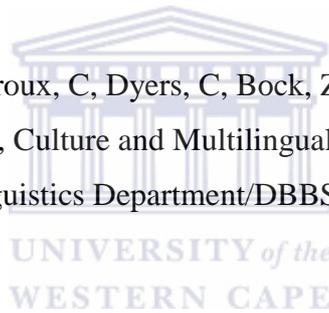
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Appendices

Appendix A: Survey questionnaire

Questionnaire:

Section one: Personal information

AGE:

GENDER:

RACE:

AREA OF RESIDENCE:

GRADE:

Parents occupation: Parents highest education:

.....

Parents combined monthly income:.....



1. What are the dominant language/s you use at home and with whom do you use them with?

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.....
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.....

2. What language does your mother and father use at home with you and with each other?.....

.....
.....
.....

3. What was the medium of instruction at your primary school?

.....

.....
.....

Section 2: language attitudes

4. What is your general view towards Afrikaans? (circle)

1	2	3	4	5
Extremely	Negative	neutral	Positive	Extremely
Negative				Positive

Explain:

.....

.....

.....

.....



5. What are your views on having to learn Afrikaans as a compulsory Second language at school?

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6. Who do you think are the dominant speakers of Afrikaans and how do you feel towards this group?

.....

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.....

7. Can you recall any positive or negative experience that you have encountered with Afrikaans that has lead you to view or have such an attitude towards the language?...

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8. What language do you prefer to use at school in the classroom and on the playground and why?

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9. Rate the relative importance of each language 1-3 (1 being most important)

Xhosa	English	Afrikaans
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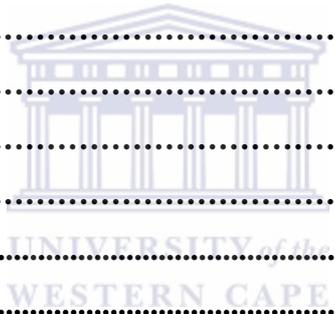
10. What language would you want to raise your future children in and why?

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11. What language would you want to educate your future children in and why?.....
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Section three: Motivation and de motivations

12. What motivates you to / in the learning of Afrikaans?
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13. What de-motivates you to/ in the learning of Afrikaans?
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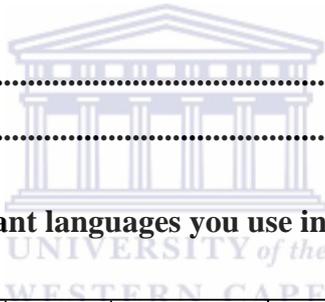
14. What do you think are the advantages of the learning of Afrikaans?
.....
.....

.....

15. What do you think are the Disadvantages of the learning of the Afrikaans..... language?.....

Section four: patterns of language use

16. What language/s do you use when speaking to yourself (e.g. swearing, exclaiming, Praying and thinking aloud)?



17. Please tick one of the dominant languages you use in each of these different places

DOMAIN OF USE	ENGLISH	AFRIKAANS	XHOSA	ENGLISH & AFRIKAANS	ENGLISH & XHOSA	XHOSA & AFRIKAANS	XHOSA & ENGLISH	OTHER (Please specify)
HOME								
CHURCH/MOSQUE/ TEMPLE								
SCHOOL (classroom)								
SCHOOL (playground)								
STREET OF HOME								
SHOPPING								
FRIENDS								

Section four: Language ideologies

18. Please tick the appropriate boxes in which you either agree or disagree according to each statement

Popular ideologies attached to Afrikaans	Agree totally	Agree	Not agree	Disagree	Disagree completely
Afrikaans will continue to grow and prosper in South Africa					
Afrikaans language will eventually die out in years to come and will be replaced by English					
People do not feel positive towards Afrikaans because it was the language of the Oppressor during <i>apartheid</i>					
I truly love Afrikaans; it is part of my identity and part of my culture					
I believe people should only speak the standard variety of Afrikaans (Afrikaans you learn in the classroom at school) and disregard any other types of Afrikaans.					
People who speak Kaapse Afrikaans belong to a lower social class than those who speak the standard variety of Afrikaans					
People who use kaapse Afrikaans or kombuis Afrikaans are less educated than people who use standard Afrikaans					
It is important to know Afrikaans today in South Africa to get a well paid job					
I find it difficult to understand Afrikaans					
People who speak Afrikaans or have Afrikaans accents are usually racist people					
I am interested in Afrikaans because it has interesting literature (poems and stories)					
Afrikaans is becoming increasingly popular because of the success of Afrikaans music and popular soapies in Afrikaans					
Majority of the speakers of Afrikaans in the Western Cape today are of Coloured origin					
Afrikaans is the only language can be used to truly express oneself					
The use of Afrikaans in popular programs on television and radio is helping people see Afrikaans as a language in its own right and away from being associated with <i>apartheid</i>					

Transcription Key:

... Short hesitation within a turn

[] Non-verbal information

= = Overlap (contiguity, simultaneous)

. Certainty, completion (typically falling tone)

(Eggins and Slade, 1997: 5)

Text: Non-standard variety of Afrikaans (kaapse afrikaans)

Text: standard Afrikaans

Capital Letters: Emphasis

Blue text: English Translation

NAME: used as a replacement for the caller's real name



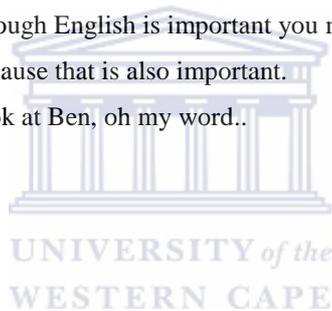
Appendix B

Grade eight conversation transcriptions on the playground

1. **Mark :** Maam, what must we speak about. Can we speak about whatever we want?
2. **Suzy :** didn't you hear before, we must just be normal and talk about anything, act normal and just say what you want.
3. **Ben:** now come... by speaking so, **you'se (you all)** are not acting normal. She said one person at a time
4. **Suzy:** ok so people, how was your day so far? Anything interesting happen today?
[laugther]
5. **Kate :** yes, we met this nice Maam today, and we had to answer a survey==
6. **Kelly :** ==Melinda, why are you sucking up? The Maam is not going to give you marks for it
[Laugther] ==
7. **Peter :** ==leave maam alone, she isn't interested in listening to us talking about stupid things
8. **Kent:** well, my day was great, I got up early for school and my **tannie (aunty)** made me a **lekker (nice)** big **diet (meal)**, I gave my dog food, I got dressed and came to school and saw my friends and then..... I met this NICE research lady and now I'm helping her get information.
[Laughther]
9. **Mary :** oh my word [laugther]
10. **kelly:** he just LOVES the attention.
11. **Mary:** very much so==
12. **Kent:** ==nobody was then speaking, i am the only one helping her now, isn't that So Maam?
13. **Researcher:** yes
14. **Suzy:** **you'se (you all)** want to talk so much in class, now you cant say anything. Come people tell me about your love lives except for you Peter
15. **Peter :** YAAW, why not me, Ma'am can you see how she is excluding me... the UNFAIRNES!!==
16. **Kate:** == Ai, the two of you, must just get married
17. **Suzy:** no, he knows I'm just joking
18. **Mark:** anyway, who brought their article for life skills today?
19. **Kelly :** ooh, no crap { hands in front of mouth }
20. **Peter:** I forget
21. **Kent:** who told you we must bring it today?
22. **kate;** remember last week, in phys ed. Mrs. kloof told us that==
23. **ben:** ==that we had to bring an article about health and diet ect

24. **Mark:** ja, I know, i know what the article is about
25. **Kelly :** now how many people brought it?
26. **Suzy:** me==
27. **Kelly :** == I also forget to bring it
28. **Mark:** I DID... but i don't know if it is right, its something on exercise routine and how to keep fit
29. **Mark :** ja, its right
30. **Peter :** I got it last night, Kelsey gave me an extra copy so I'm UITGESORT (sorted out)
31. **Ben:** I didn't know, i was sick that day, I never hear that
32. **Kent:** erhh, me to. Its not even for marks.
33. **Mark:** it is, it adds to our CA mark for the term==
34. **Kate:** ==don't talk nonsense, its not its **mos (as you know)** just for that period to keep us busy.
35. **Kent:** it is for marks, where do you then think that our marks are going to come from?
36. **Suzy:** they talking nonsense Kate, they just trying to make us scared, the marks Come from the other stuff we do, not from this.
37. **Kent :** ok, fine don't believe me. Then when Mrs. Smith asks you for it then you'll see.
38. **Suzy:** ahh whatever man==
39. **Kate:** ==ok fine, now il take my chances ok. don't still stress now.
40. **Mary:** ai, you guys are too much, look how mad you'se are going on in front of the Ma'am. Ma'am i apologize for my silly colleagues
[Laugther]
41. **Peter :** yaw, **soema (already known)** colleagues
[Laughter]
42. **kate:** **nee**, we not your colleagues, we are your [head in the air] fellow students
[Laugther]
43. **Mark:** the future head girl is good with her words today; i think she is trying to Impress the Ma'am.
44. **Mary:** [laugther] why are you on my case today Mark?
45. **Kent :** because he **smaaks (likes)**you, don't you see it..he wants to date you!
46. **Suzy:** ooh [laugther]===
47. **Mary:** oh please people don't be silly
48. **Ben:** how did you write that survey thing?
49. **Peter :** its wasn't a test, was a survey
50. **Ben;** yes, who know what I mean
51. **Kent:** I found it very easy to do because I had to just answer questions about the Language I used.

- 52; **Suzy:** mmm, I had to think though about what languages I used where, because when You speak you don't really think what language you use, it just sort of comes. But ja, it made me aware of the languages I do use.
- 53: **Kate:** yes, it is like that, but like for myself now I wrote English for almost everything because even though I know Afrikaans i don't use it everywhere cause most of the time the people I speak to only speak English so if a speak to them in another language they won't understand.
54. **Mark:** I wrote down English and Afrikaans there by that table thing, and when i had to rate the languages, I put English first, Afrikaans second and ==
55. **Mary:** ==mmm, I also done that Xhosa==
56. **Mark:** ==erh, Xhosa third.
57. **Suzy:** I think all of us would of put English first cause we at a English school and for most of us that is our first language.
58. **Ben:** English is not my first language, I speak Xhosa at home, but I think I put English [laughter] I cant remember now..===
[Laughter]
59. **Ben:** but , even though English is important you mustn't forget your first language because that is also important.
60. **Kate:** [laughter] look at Ben, oh my word..



Appendix C

Grade eleven transcriptions on the playground

1. **Mario :** I don't want to sit on the wet grass, **skyfe op (move up)**
2. **Mellisa :** did you see the main hall?..yaw we done a **kwaai (nice)**job?
3. **Mellisa :** ja, its SO pretty,i did not know we could pull of such theme hey
4. **Chris:** when did you see it?
5. **Kim :** when===
6. **Chris:** oh yes yes you **mos (as you know)**on the src
7. **Jeff:** ja, but the grade 11 or most of them did=
8. **Natasha:** I heard its open next week after school for an hour for the school to see=
9. **Shireen:** not the matrics==
10. **Jeff:** obviously not the matrics
11. **Shireen:** you know what I found odd, ==
12. **Mario:** what?
13. **Shireen:** the colours they choose for the backdrop...
14. **Mellisa:** yes, I heard they put on some yellow burnt orange==
15. **kim :** ==no girl, i thought it looked so pretty, it suited the theme perfectly
16. **Mellisa:** I didn't like it.. guys just imagin next year this time==
17. **Natasha:** ==**die tyd loop (the times going)**
18. **Gavin :** why **you'se (you all)** getting so emotional... I cant wait to leave this place.
19. **Mario :** ja, [take subject 7s hand] i agree my bro.. I cant wait to leave school
20. **Mellisa :** **you'se (you all)** act so tough now, wait when valedictory comes **dan chunk hulle snot and tranne (then they cry snot and tears)**
[Laughing]
21. **Chris:** I don't think so. Im gonna **gooi (throw)**a party when I leave this place
Laughing
22. **Gavin :** **awe (yes)** ==
23. **Jeff:** how long is break today?
24. **Natasha:** 20 minutes as usual
25. **Kim :** **ja (yes)**, but we had assembly in the morning instead of at the end.
26. **Natasha:** I don't know
27. **Shireen:** Suzy, you must still come with me to Mrs. brunt na...after biology=
28. **Mario :** we don't get bio today?
29. **Shireen :** yes, we do, well at least I do now after lunch
30. **Mario :** ok, my time table says i got math's next
31. **Shireen:** I don't know then mark
32. **Mellisa :** [yawn] I'm so tired now

33. **kim :** hmm [yawn] me to
34. **Natasha** **yaara hulles mos (shoo they)** boring company, maam is gonna listen to our boring conversations and think **yaara**, they only talk about their work.
[Laughter]
35. **Chris:** and for her.. she's listening now to us.
[Laughter]
36. **Natasha:** and you too bBenden
[laughther]
37. **Jeff:** wait listen quick wait wait
[Silence]
38. **kim:** listen to what
39. **Jeff:** shoo
laughter
40. **Mellisa:** are you **mal?** (mad)
41. **Jeff:** no, really.. I thought I heard someone call me
Laughter
42. **Shireen :** I didn't know you knew charne Melissa.. i **skrieked (shocked)** Saturday, i turned around and saw you and thought **yaara, sien ek nou vir a spook (shoo, did i now see a ghost)** [laughther]
43. **Mario:** Who? Saturday at the kent braai?
44. **Chris:** did you **stick uit (go out)** there?==
45. **Shireen :** no man , im not talking about his braai, that he postponed till the what==
46. **Kim:** the 27 th==
47. **Shireen:** =the 27th
48. **Mario :** why did he change he date, but he never update it on facebook
49. **Mellisa:** facebook.. are you on that?
50. **Natasha:** yes, **skattebol..** every one is on that thing
51. **Gavin:** laughter even mr james is on
52. **kim :** don't lie
53. **Gavin :** ja, just... just type in his name on google then you can view his profile
54. **Chris:** is he one of your friends?
55. **Chris:** yes, we go way back... **ou brasse (old friends)**
Laughter
56. **Mellisa:** honestly, i don't see the big fuss over facebook hey==
57. **Natasha:** its kwaai. I also never wanted to sign up, but its actually cool, you can keep in touch with friends all around the world
58. **Gavin :** really though, check him out.. Its **vrek (dead, in this instance extremely)** funny
59. **Natasha:** ok, I'll check it out tomorrow. You know Facebook is scary at times, like now when, a few weeks back, this guy invited me.. hmm and looked interesting
laugh

60. **Chris :** you mean he looked hot
[laughter]
61. **Natasha:** haha.. no, he just looked... ok he was good looking and looked familiar and thats the only reason why I accepted, that is my story and im sticking to it.
[Laughter]
62. **Mario :** no, give her a chance, we guys also like to invite the pretty girls
[laughther]
63. **Natasha:** thank you, anyway so I accepted and I swear he writes on my wall every single day. =
64. **Kim:** really?
65. **Chris :** so what does he say... my love natasha==
66. **Jeff :** ==haha I'm watching you!!
67. **Natasha:** close enough though, freaky things like, when are we going to meet? Im thinking about you ect.. ==
68. **Gavin :** stalker
69. **Natasha** = yes and just freaky things=
70. **Jeff :** so why didn't you just delete him off Facebook?
71. **Chris:** because she secretly **smaaks (likes)** hims
[Laughter]
72. **Natasha:** I deleted him now
73. **Mellisa :** Thats another reason why i don't want to join facebook.. stalkers
74. **Mario :** true, but that is the rare case. Just try it and if you don't like it you can just delete it.

Navrae
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Wes-Kaap Onderwysdepartement

Western Cape Education Department

ISEbe leMfundo leNtshona Koloni

Verwysing
Reference **20091016-0031**
ISalathiso

Miss Manisha Govender
11 Hannes Louw Drive
De Tyger
PAROW
7500

Dear Miss M. Govender

RESEARCH PROPOSAL: PATTERN OF LANGUAGE USE AND THE MOTIVATION FOR LEARNING AFRIKAANS AMONG TWO GROUPS OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN CAPE TOWN.

Your application to conduct the above-mentioned research in schools in the Western Cape has been approved subject to the following conditions:

1. Principals, educators and learners are under no obligation to assist you in your investigation.
2. Principals, educators, learners and schools should not be identifiable in any way from the results of the investigation.
3. You make all the arrangements concerning your investigation.
4. The programmes of Educators are not to be interrupted.
5. The Study is to be conducted from **19th October 2009 to 20th October 2009.**
6. Should you wish to extend the period of your survey, please contact Dr R. Cornelissen at the contact numbers above quoting the reference number.
7. A photocopy of this letter is submitted to the principal where the intended research is to be conducted.
8. Your research will be limited to the list of schools as submitted to the Western Cape Education Department.
9. A brief summary of the content, findings and recommendations is provided to the Director: Research Services.
10. The Department receives a copy of the completed report/dissertation/thesis addressed to:
**The Director: Research Services
Western Cape Education Department
Private Bag X9114
CAPE TOWN
8000**

We wish you success in your research.

Kind regards.

Signed: Ronald S. Cornelissen
for: **ACTING HEAD: EDUCATION**
DATE: 19th October 2009

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Appendix E

Letter of consent

Dear Mr/ Mr

My name is Manisha Govender and I am completing a Masters degree in Linguistics at the University of the Western Cape. In completion of my Degree I am required to carry out research at a school within the Western Cape. My research topic is titled **“A language in decline? A contrastive study of the use of, and motivation and de-motivation for learning Afrikaans among two groups of learners at a school in Cape Town, South Africa.”** My research aims to investigate what learners attitudes are towards the Afrikaans language and if there is a general shift towards the English language. This thesis compares and contrasts the language attitudes and motivation toward the language in two groups of secondary school learners at the same school. It also examines the dominant ideologies towards Afrikaans in the language policy of the school attended by these learners, and how these ideologies shape their attitudes, motivations for learning the language and actual use of the language.

I would kindly like to request permission to carry out research with your child. If this permission is granted, I intend to administer questionnaires to pupils which will take approximately 10 minutes to complete. I would also kindly like to request to use the information that your son/daughter has supplied to me in a group discussion. I would like to assure you that all intended contact with your son/daughter is for research purposes only and that your child has the right to complete confidentiality as their identity and personal data will be protected and not used.

If you have any queries please feel free to contact me on 082 699 1620

Thanking You

Manisha Govender

.....
I parent of Give my son/daughter permission to partake in the research project by Manisha Govender. I also hereby declare that I understand the nature of the research and give my permission to use the data collected by my child.