

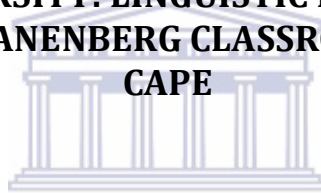


**University of the Western Cape**

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**Department of Linguistics**

**SCHOOLING SUPERDIVERSITY: LINGUISTIC FEATURES AS LINGUISTIC  
RESOURCES IN TWO MANENBERG CLASSROOMS IN THE WESTERN  
CAPE**



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A full thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Magister  
Artium in the Department of Linguistics, University of the Western Cape.

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## **Keywords**

Superdiversity

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Mixed Linguistic Repertoire

Borrowing of Linguistic Features

Linguistic Resources

Languaging

Bilingualism

Multilingualism

Mother Tongue Instruction

Dual Medium Instruction Language Varieties



## **Abstract**

*This thesis takes on a non-essentialist view of language by studying the borrowing of linguistic features across languages as natural, everyday language practices. More specifically, this research identifies the need for the accommodation of linguistic diversity and multi-layered repertoires amongst pupils in two monoglossic grade R classes in the area of Manenberg, Western Cape. As a means of accommodating the linguistic diversity and mixed linguistic repertoires of pupils in these two classrooms, it is investigated how the borrowing of linguistic features can be utilized as a linguistic resource in these diverse classrooms. Furthermore, this research also studies how the language ideologies of the teachers of the two grade R classes could possibly influence the absence or the presence of the borrowing of linguistic features in these spaces. This study made use of research methods which closely resemble methods ethnographic in nature, by mainly making use of observations to study the natural spoken discourse of two grade R teachers and their pupils in the domain of the classroom. Moreover, these two grade R classes and the area in which the schools are located, were studied as possible superdiverse spaces as these classes are made up of diverse groups of pupils which reside in the community of Manenberg, where diversity is increasing. The discussion on whether the community of Manenberg and the two classrooms studied can be regarded as superdiverse spaces, takes on an interrogative perspective in the concluding chapter of this thesis.*

**Declaration**

I declare that this manuscript on: *Schooling Superdiversity: Linguistic features as linguistic resources in two Manenberg classrooms in the Western Cape*, is my own work. It has not been submitted before at any other university, for any degree or examination. All the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

**Madelynne Madell**

**November 2017**

**Signature:.....**



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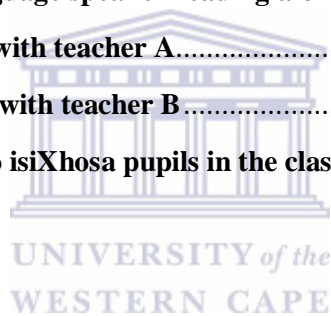
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## Transcription Conventions

The transcription conventions indicated below were used for transcribing all of the observational data and interviews conducted. Kindly refer to these conventions when reading the transcribed data used for the purpose of this study.

<b>TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS</b>			
English Translation	Italics	Additional Information	( )
Short Pause	(.)	Question	?
Long Pause	(...)	Name Changed ( Pseudonym)	*
Overlapping	=	Intonation: High Pitch	↑
Simultaneous speech	[ ]	Intonation: Low Pitch	↓
High Volume	Capital Letters	False Start	-
Low Volume	{ }		

UNIVERSITY OF  
WESTERN CAPE

# Chapter 1

## 1. Introduction and Background

### 1.1 Introduction

This study addresses the need for the accommodation of linguistic diversity and mixed linguistic repertoires in two Manenberg classrooms, in the Western Cape. This need exists due to a continuous increase in diversification amongst the pupil population in post apartheid South African schools.

Through mainly making use of classroom observations, this study adapted a qualitative approach. For the purpose of this study, the linguistic diversity and mixed linguistic repertoires brought to the classroom context by grade R pupils in two Manenberg classrooms were analysed. The tools used to gather observational data included the use of a video camera as well as a digital camera. As a means of accommodating these diverse groups of learners, the aim of this research was to investigate how the borrowing of linguistic features by teachers and learners can be used as linguistic resources in the classroom context. In this study, the borrowing of linguistic features will be regarded as a linguistic resource if during any lessons or work related activities, such language practices act as tools to assist the diverse groups of pupils with the task at hand, especially when difficulties are encountered with the lesson due to the medium of instruction being an additional language of the pupil. The two grade R classrooms used for the purpose of this research, were studied as possible superdiverse spaces, as it, like many classrooms on the Cape Flats, are characterized by linguistic diversity amongst its pupils. Furthermore, these classrooms can be viewed as possibly being superdiverse, as linguistically diverse learners made use of a language practice common in superdiverse spaces, the borrowing of features across languages. As this study mainly focuses on spoken classroom discourse, Interactional Sociolinguistics was used as an analytical tool. The observational data was transcribed and notions of frame, contextualization cues and stylization were used to analyse the classroom discourse of both grade R teachers and their pupils.

The classroom discourse in these two classes were studied by adopting a “critical perspective” to researching multilingualism, where language practices are placed in “social and political contexts” and favoured as “social practices” (Heller, 2007:1). By adopting this perspective on researching multilingualism, the study therefore favours a non-essentialist approach to language, which disregards language as separate entities and instead views it as linguistic resources to be utilized to achieve communicative goals (Heller, 2007).

Various scholars such as Woolard, 1994; Garcia, 2009; Ritzau, 2014 and McKinney, Carrim, Marshall & Layton, 2015, have highlighted the monoglossic ideologies still present in institutional settings, where heteroglossic language practices are still viewed as “less than full linguistic capabilities” (Woolard, 1994:63). However, various other studies have emphasized the benefits of such heteroglossic language practices in the classroom (see Blackledge and Creese, 2010b; Canagarajah, 2011 and Park, 2013). This study therefore also investigated how the language ideologies of the teachers in these two grade R classrooms, influenced the occurrence or absence of the borrowing of linguistic features, in this space.

## **1.2 Background**

### **1.2.1 Superdiversity as a phenomenon**

Vertovec (2007) states that over the last few decades, there has been a continuous increase in mobility worldwide, due to the effects of globalization. According to Giddens, globalisation is “the intensification of worldwide social relations which link localities in such a way that local happening are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa” (1990:64).

This increase in mobility is characterized by an unbelievable rise in the category of migrants, not only with regards to nationality, ethnicity and language, but also in terms of their reasons

for emigrating, routes used during relocation, entry into the labour and housing markets of the host societies and so forth (Vertovec, 2007). Blommaert and Rampton (2011), state that globalization has altered or even changed what we have come to know as social, cultural and linguistic diversity, in societies all over the world. As an umbrella term for the effects of globalization on modern, social life, Vertovec (2007) has coined the term superdiversity.

The term *superdiversity* was originally created to capture the changes in the United Kingdom triggered by an increase in migration and, more importantly, an increase in the variability of countries from which these immigrants come (Vertovec, 2007). During the 1950s and 1960s, the majority of immigrants in the United Kingdom originated from Commonwealth countries and colonies, and by the 1970s the majority of new immigrants were families of the recently established migrants (Vertovec, 2007). Since then, dramatic alterations in the variation of migrants have occurred.

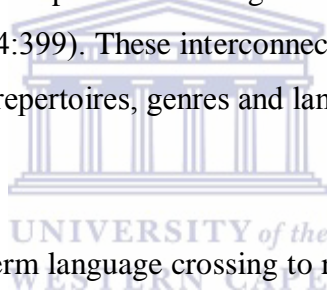
Thirty to thirty two percent of immigrants were from the Old and New Commonwealth countries in 1971; these percentages decreased to 17 and 20 percent by 2002. In 1971, 10 percent of new immigrants were European Union (EU) citizens and by 2002, this percentage had increased to 17 percent. People in the Middle East category went from 16 percent in 1971 to 40 percent in 2002 (Vertovec, 2007).

Stroud (2014) states that the goal of superdiversity is to show how mobility has significantly increased across the world, both physically and also on the internet. The diversity in people physically travelling has greatly increased, as these groups now consist of “refugees (economic, political, sexual), elite migrants (permanent residences, exceptional skills), low-level migrants (day workers, border crosser), tourists and so on...” (Stroud, 2014:399). Furthermore, interactions between diverse groups on cyberspace have significantly increased due to technological inventions, such as social networking (Stroud, 2014: 399).

### **1.2.2 The borrowing of linguistic features in superdiverse contexts**

As diverse groups now coexist in societies across the world and regularly interact in different contexts (school, cyberspace and so forth), the borrowing of linguistic features across languages has become a common language practice (Stroud, 2014). Jørgensen, Karrebæk, Madsen and Møller, state that linguistic features appear in the form of “units and regularities” in speech (2011:30). These units include “words, expressions, sound, even phonetic characteristics such as rounding” (Jørgensen, et al, 2011:30). Regularities, on the other hand, refer to the rules with regards to the combining of units into bigger units (Jørgensen, et al, 2011). Furthermore, Jørgensen, et al, (2011) argue that meaning and values are attached to the combining of units into larger units and that linguistic features are directly linked to values, which are indirectly connected to languages.

Stroud states that the borrowing of linguistic features, in these diverse interconnected settings, occur across languages that speakers do not gain full competence in and that “belong to other groups of speakers” (2014:399). These interconnected settings, are thus characterized by people with “mixed linguistic repertoires, genres and languages” (Stroud: 2014:399).



Rampton (1995) has coined the term language crossing to refer to the borrowing of linguistic features across languages. Language crossing “...involves a sense of movement across quite sharply felt social or ethnic boundaries and it raises issues of legitimacy that participants need to reckon with in the course of their encounter” (Rampton, 1995:291). Other terms, such as “polylinguaging” (Jørgensen, 2008), “translinguaging” (Garcia, 2009) but to name a few, are also used to describe the borrowing of features across languages, in these interconnected contexts. These terms are discussed in detail in the literature review chapter.

### **1.2.3 Is superdiversity present in a post apartheid South Africa?**

South Africa has always been characterized by the immense diversity amongst its population. However, through the enforcement of apartheid laws, such as the Groups Areas Act of 1950, diverse groups in South Africa were segregated on the basis of race. In the post apartheid era that we now live in, traces of such laws enforced by the apartheid government are still visible

in communities in our country, as certain areas still mainly consist of racial groups placed there during the apartheid era. However, what is also visible in these communities, post apartheid, is the constant increase in the diversification of its population. An example of such a community is Manenberg, where this study was conducted.

#### 1.2.4 Manenberg

The two primary schools used in this study, are situated in the impoverished community of Manenberg, Cape Town, where various problems such as an unemployment rate of 36.20 percent, housing difficulties, and a high crime rate can be found (City of Cape Town, 2013).

In an interview conducted with one of the teachers used as a participant in this study, she specifically addressed the violent conditions that are the reality for pupils living in Manenberg. These conditions as explained by the teacher, speak of a community controlled by gangsterism. This is made evident in the following statement by one of the teachers who participated in this study, teacher A:

“...When they do role play you also see the stuff that happens at home↓ (.) The shootings on the uhm streets here and that (.) It comes out in their play (.) They-They make a lot of guns also↓ (.) When they play with the legos and things (.) so much ne that I have to tell them↓ (.)I don’t want to see a gun↓ (.) You make a car (.) boy or girl↓ (.) ↑I MUST TELL THEM WHAT TO MAKE↓ (.) because to them it’s just a gun ↓”.

In the above statement, the teacher not only makes known the hazardous conditions in which pupils live, but also the infiltration of these dangerous living conditions into schools in the area and more specifically the classroom context.

Figures 1.1-1.7 below illustrates the social and economic difficulties of Manenberg:





Figure 1.1: Housing Difficulties in Manenberg



Figure 1.2: Housing Difficulties in Manenberg

# Bendes se koeël tref ma

**DERDE VOORVAL IN DRIE DAE LAAT MEISIE WEES**

**DIE tweede onskuldige ma van Manenberg is binne twee dae dood nadat sy in die bendes se kruisvuur beland het.** Sharon Geraldine Saban (50) is Maandagaand in Renosterstraat, deur 'n gangster se koeël gedood. Dit kom kort op die hakske van Sharnema Adams (48). 'n Ma van vyf kinders wat dood is nadat sy Saterdag-aand in die gangsters se kruisvuur in Manenberg beland het.

In nog 'n voorval is die lyk van Lezelle Lukas (31), 'n ma van twee, Maandagoggend by 'n skool in Bonteheuwel gevind.

Volgens Saban se hartseer man, Ebrahim (47), was sy vrou en hul 13-jarige dogter mobile toe om brood en suiker te koop.

Ebrahim vertel: "My vrou en dogtertjie het na die mobile gehardloop en vir die vrou geskree om die hek oop te maak.

"Een van die mans wat daar op die jaart woon, het toe die hek oopgemaak.

"My vrou het ons dogter by die hek ingestoot voordat sy inmekaargesak het.

"Ek was nog by my vriend toe my twee seuns my kom roep het."

'n Geskokte Rachel Pieterse (55), wat by die mobile woon, sê: "Toe ek by die hek kom, het Sharon net na haar mond gewys. Die bloed het daar uitgeborrel."

Ebrahim sê: "Toe ek op die toncel kom, het sy nog gelewe, maar kon nie praat nie.

"Ek wou haar optel om huis toe te dra, maar dele van haar brein het op die grond geval."

Volgens Ebrahim benodig hulle geld om Saban te begrawe het enigiemand met inligting kan sy seun, Carlo Reynolds, by 0736622111 bel.

In nog 'n skietvoerval Maandagaand ook in Manenberg is Judy Jagels (7) in die been gewond.

Volgens haar ouma, Maria (85), was sy op pad terug van die winkel toe sy in die crossfire beland. Niemand is nog gearresteer nie.

**HARTSEER:** Familielede troos mekaar op die toneel. Foto: LEON KNIPE

**ONVEILIG:** Gemeenskappe soos Manenberg het vir inwoners erg gevaarlik gerasak. Foto: PETER ABRAHAMS

**32369 SE ONS!**

Figure 1.3: Gangsterism in the Community of Manenberg

Headline: "Bendes se koeël tref ma." *Bullets of gangsters shoots mom.*

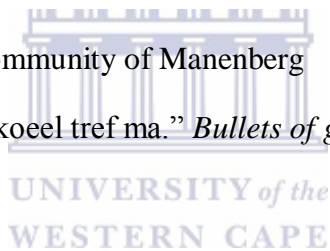




Figure 1.4: Gangsterism in the Community of Manenberg

Headline: "Tiener (15) lem man na sy dood." Teenager ( 15) stabs man to death.



Figure 1.5 Graffiti found in Manenberg addressing the gangsterism in the community:

"Genoeg is Genoeg." Enough is Enough "I want to play free"



Figure 1.6: Gangsterism infiltrating schools in Manenberg: Graffiti against walls on school grounds

“Naughty boys”- Well- known street gang in the area



Figure 1.7: “28”-Also a well-known street gang in Manenberg

The community of Manenberg has an estimated population of 61615 (City of Cape Town, 2013) and was established in 1966 by the apartheid government for low income Coloured families (Willenberg and September, 2008). Post apartheid, Manenberg is still a community where the majority of the population is Coloured. However, a comparison between the categories labelled 'ethnic group' in census of 2001 and 2011, have revealed certain changes in the population found in the area (City of Cape Town, 2001, 2013).

Between 2001 and 2011 the percentage of Coloured residents in Manenberg decreased, from 94.36 percent to 84.5 percent. The percentage of Black African residents in the area increased from 4,51 percent in 2001 to 10,4 percent in 2011. There was a slight increase in Asian residents in Manenberg, from 0.89 percent in 2001 to 1.5 percent in 2011. The white population in the community decreased from 0.24 percent to 0.1 percent between 2001 and 2011. Furthermore, in the 2011 census, a category for 'other' was added to the 'ethnic group' found in Manenberg. A percentage of 3.5% was added to this group (City of Cape Town, 2001, 2013). When looking at the above mentioned statistics, it is evident that even though the majority of residents in Manenberg are still Coloured, diversity in the area is increasing. This is made evident by the increase in 'ethnic group', such as Black African, Asian and the adding of the group 'other'. (City of Cape Town, 2001, 2013).

A comparison between the census done in 2001 and 2011, on the languages spoken in Manenberg, revealed the following changes: Afrikaans first language speakers have decreased from 72.07% in 2001 to 71.8% in 2011. English first language speakers have also decreased from 24.57% to 17.8% between 2001 and 2011. IsiXhosa first language speakers increased from 2.94% in 2001 to 6.8% in 2011. Those speaking 'other' languages besides the above mentioned, increased from 0.13 % to 3.6% between 2001 and 2011 (City of Cape Town, 2001, 2011).

In the above census on the area of Manenberg, one notices a decrease in the dominant language, Afrikaans, and an increase in those speaking IsiXhosa and 'other' languages. It is

thus evident that the linguistic diversity in the area has also increased. Based on the above census it is evident that although the majority of the residents in the community of Manenberg are still Coloured, Afrikaans first language speakers, the area can still be viewed as a community in Cape Town, South Africa, where cultural as well as linguistic diversity are continuously increasing.

The pupil population in the two grade R classes used in this study reflects the demographics of the area, as the majority of the learners in these classes were Coloured, Afrikaans first language speakers, with English, IsiXhosa first language speakers and pupils speaking ‘other’ languages being in the minority. However, as pointed out by both teachers used in this study (referred to as teacher A and B) and another teacher who joined the second interview conducted with teacher B (referred to as teacher 2), cultural and linguistic diversity are constantly increasing amongst the pupil population in their classes. The following quotes are taken from the second interviews conducted with teacher A and B, where they addressed the growing diversity in their classes: Teacher A: “You know (.) when you were here doing your research (.) the uhm (.)- I had learners that are IsiXhosa and so on in the class but there weren’t a lot of them↓ (.) Now (.) I have a lot more learners from other cultures that speak different languages ↓”

Teacher B: “.: It is- It is diverse↓ (.) It is diverse↓ (.) There are a lot of Coloured and African uhm learners here in my class↓”The teacher that joined in on the second interview conducted with teacher B, teacher 2, added to this discussion by stating “...but now we got kids from Malawi and Kenyans↓ (.) We got everybody now↓ (.) ↑IN OUR CLASSES↓ so it’s quite difficult...”

The increase in cultural and linguistic diversity in post apartheid Manenberg and also in the two grade R classrooms used in this study, raises the following questions: Can Manenberg be regarded as a community in which superdiversity has become imbedded? Can the two grade R classes used in this study be regarded as superdiverse spaces? These questions, which take on an interrogative approach, will be addressed in the concluding chapter of this thesis, chapter 8.

### 1.2.5 The classroom context as a superdiverse space

Worldwide linguistic diversity is greatly increasing in the classroom. As a result, the effects of migration on linguistic diversity within the classroom context have become a focus of intense interest in the area of linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics. In studies done on migration and its effects on the classroom, a closer look is taken at how the increase and changes in migration patterns have dramatically altered and increased linguistic diversity in classrooms around the world. Scholars such as Creese, 2005; Blackledge and Creese, 2010a; Li, Juffermans, Kroon and Blommaert, 2011; Kerfoot and Bello- NonJengela, 2014; and so forth, have done studies of this nature.

In their paper “Chineseness as a moving target: Intermediate report for the HERA Project, Tilburg case study”, Li, Juffermans, Kroon and Blommaert (2011) look at how the variation in Chinese migrants moving to the Netherlands have greatly increased and how such changes have altered the status of Cantonese from “main language of the diaspora, to only one of the dialects” (Li, Juffermans, Kroon and Blommaert, 2011:4).

Due to the linguistic diversity amongst migrants, Mandarin and Putonghua have rapidly gained prominence in China and in the diaspora. Furthermore, this study focuses on how these changes in migration patterns have changed the “traditional population” of Chinese schools in Netherlands, from mainly Cantonese speakers, to Chinese students from different linguistic backgrounds. Chinese schools in the Netherlands have now become “a site of immense diversity” (Li, Juffermans, Kroon and Blommaert, 2011: 8).

Another project focusing on linguistic diversity in schools is the study done by Kerfoot and Bello-NonJengela, 2014. These researchers worked with a primary school in an impoverished township in Cape Town, where “two historically separated groups, Coloured and Black African learners, attend school. The languages spoken by the learners at the school include Afrikaans, English and IsiXhosa (Kerfoot and Bello- Nonjengela, 2014). The aim of the study

was to determine how groups of learners that are linguistically diverse, utilize their linguistic repertoires as a semiotic resource in a multilingual classroom and also on the playground.

During the period of the study, “70 percent Black African learners, but only 40 percent African teachers, 30 percent Coloured learners but 60 percent Coloured teachers and 80 percent Coloured administrative staff” were found at the school (Kerfoot and Bello-Nonjengela, 2014:2). The above mentioned percentages reflect the population living in the nearby municipal ward, where 67 percent of the residents are Black African (Statistics SA 2013).

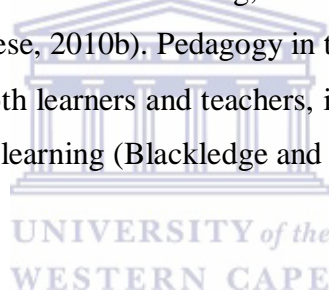
This ward is situated in the area of Delft, where the majority of the residents are Coloured (Kerfoot and Bello- NonJengela, 2014). The high population of Coloured residents in Delft is as a result of “the housing policy of administrations”, which has been implemented since the late 1990s. (Kerfoot and Bello- NonJengela, 2014:3). Fifty percent of the new houses built in Delft were allocated to Coloured families on the waiting lists of the municipality, while every alternate house was given to African residents residing in informal township areas. The allocation of houses in Delft, to African residents, was done in an effort to promote integration (Kerfoot and Bello- NonJengela, 2014).

The population in Delft mirrors the demographics of Cape Town where 41 percent of the population is Coloured, 39 percent Black African and 16 percent white (City of Cape Town, 2012). Muyeba and Seekings (2011) state that these percentages are the result of policies implemented in the 1950s which forcefully removed certain racial groups and declared the Western Cape an area where certain jobs were reserved for those seemingly Coloured people. Such policies made it impossible for Black Africans to find employment in the Western Cape. However, from the 1970s, large numbers of IsiXhosa Africans started evading these policies and migrated from the Eastern Cape to Cape Town (Muyeba and Seekings, 2011).



Blackledge and Creese, 2010b; Canagarajah, 1995, 2011 and Garcia, 2009, have researched how linguistic diversity can be accommodated and also used as linguistic resource through the utilizing of mixed linguistic repertoires in linguistically diverse classrooms.

Blackledge and Creese (2010b), in their study on linguistically diverse, complimentary schools in the United Kingdom, revealed that the pedagogy in the classroom studied adopted a translanguaging approach as participants made use of translanguaging for learning and teaching purposes. Translanguaging refers to “...the ability of multilingual speakers to shuttle between languages, treating the diverse languages that form their repertoire as in integrated system” (Canagarajah, 2011:402). This was made possible by the creating of safe spaces for students to use their mixed linguistic repertoires, as a resource for learning (Blackledge and Creese, 2010b). In the classroom, translanguaging was used for translation across languages, for narration purposes, to engage students in learning, to help students perform their identities and so forth (Blackledge and Creese, 2010b). Pedagogy in these schools thus places emphasis on the mixing of languages by both learners and teachers, instead of favouring the separation of languages during teaching and learning (Blackledge and Creese, 2010b).



Garcia (2009), in her study on translanguaging in linguistically diverse classrooms in the United States, shows how translanguaging practices amongst learners in the classroom, act as linguistic resource for the learners. In one of the classes used in her research, it was found that translanguaging practices were used during peer assistance in the classroom context (Garcia, 2009). During a class exercise, a Spanish first language speaker, with limited competence in the medium of instruction, English, encountered difficulty with the exercise (Garcia, 2009). A multilingual learner then used his mixed linguistic repertoire and engaged in translanguaging, to make clear the teacher’s English instructions to the Spanish speaker (Garcia, 2009). Multilingual education should therefore not only adopt various languages as medium of instruction, but should draw on the translanguaging abilities of both teachers and learners (Garcia, 2009).

### **1.3 Rationale for study**

My first motivation which led to conducting this research is directly linked to the statement of the problem. As linguistic diversity and mixed linguistic repertoires have become evident in multilingual classrooms in our country, a need exists for the accommodation of linguistic diversity and mixed linguistic repertoires in the South African classroom context. Studies, such as the research done by Blackledge and Creese, 2010b and Garcia 2009, have addressed this problem and have identified how the borrowing of features across languages, by both learners and teachers, can function as resources in linguistically diverse classrooms. My research thus contributes to such studies.

My second motivation which encouraged this research is related to the availability of literature which investigates post apartheid South Africa as a possible superdiverse context and also the available literature on how to accommodate linguistic diversity in post apartheid South African classrooms. The majority of literature found on these topics, primarily focuses on the European context, such as the United Kingdom. Even though there has been a growing interest in research which explores post apartheid South Africa as a superdiverse context and accommodating linguistic diversity in post apartheid South African classrooms, research on these topics, unfortunately, still lags behind. A study of this nature, thus also contributes to such research.

### **1.4 Statement of the problem**

Considering our discussion so far, it is thus fair to argue that in a post apartheid South Africa, the multilingual classroom context can be viewed as very complex. This is due to the fact that these classrooms represent the linguistic diversity and language practices (borrowing of linguistic features across languages) present in societies that could be said to be superdiverse. However, the problem reproduced in superdiverse contexts is that even though diversification amongst the population of South Africa is rapidly increasing, the linguistic diversity and mixed linguistic repertoires of learners are very often not recognized by educational systems

or accommodated in the classroom (see Garcia, 2009; Woolard, 1994; Foucault, 1991; Ritzau, 2014). This is the problem addressed by this study.

## 1.5 Research Aims and Research Questions

This research focused on the language use of two grade R teachers and their learners in two classrooms in Manenberg, with the following research aims in mind:

- a) To determine to what extent the medium of instruction in these classrooms accommodate the linguistic diversity and mixed linguistic repertoires of the learners.
- b) To investigate whether the borrowing of linguistic features is present in the classroom discourse of my participants.
- c) To investigate how the borrowing of linguistic features are used as linguistic resources.
- d) To determine whether the borrowing of linguistic features across languages are present or absent in the classroom, and how the language ideologies of the teachers influence the occurrence or absence of such language practices.

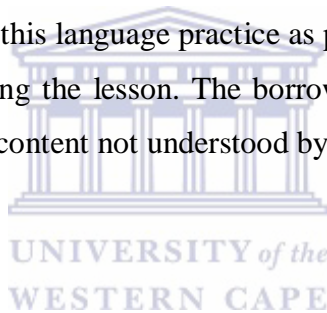
This study is based on the following research questions:

- a) To what extent does the medium of instruction in these two classrooms accommodate the linguistic diversity and mixed linguistic repertoires of the learners?
- b) Does the language use of the teachers and learners in the classroom context reveal that they are borrowing linguistic features across languages?
- c) If the borrowing of features is used by the teachers and learners in the classroom context, does it function as linguistic resources?
- d) How is the borrowing of linguistic features or the absence of this language practice in the classroom influenced by the language ideologies of the teachers?

## 1.6 Hypothesis

This research was conducted on the basis of the following hypotheses:

- a) The medium of instruction will not fully accommodate the linguistic diversity and the mixed linguistic repertoires of the learners.
- b) The borrowing of linguistic features across languages will be evident amongst learners when they communicate with their peers.
- c) If the teachers view the borrowing of features across languages as a language practice inappropriate for institutional contexts, such as the classroom, they might refrain from engaging in such language practices.
- d) If the languages ideologies of the teachers do not disregard the borrowing of linguistic features, the teachers will use this language practice as pedagogy when learners encounter difficulties with comprehending the lesson. The borrowing of linguistic features will be used to make explanations of content not understood by the learners, more clear.



## 1.7 Chapter Outline

Chapter one outlines the general introduction of the research. This includes a general background of the study, statement of research problem, rationale for the study, research aims and questions and the hypotheses of the study.

Chapter two is an overview of literature relevant to the topic studied in this paper. This chapter includes literature on deconstructing essentialist views of language, terms used to describe languaging practices, a critique of languaging practices, language ideologies and Languaging as heteroglossic resource.

Chapter three outlines the theoretical frame work for this study. This chapter start off with a brief discussion on discourse analysis. Thereafter, a discussion on Interactional

Sociolinguistics will follow. Firstly, this discussion will include insight on what Interactional Sociolinguistics is and some background on Interactional Sociolinguistics. A look will then be taken at the studying of language in social interactions. Thereafter, a discussion on how Interactional Sociolinguistics is generally applied follows. A review of previous studies where Interactional Sociolinguistics was used as framework will then be looked at. This discussion will then be ended off with key terms and concepts in Interactional Sociolinguistics and the reasons behind the selecting of Interactional Sociolinguistics as the best framework of analyses for this study.

Chapter four outlines the research methodology used for this study. This chapter will include a discussion on the research methods and techniques, a discussion on the schools and learners that participated in the study, data analysis, ethical considerations and research limitations.

Chapter five focuses on the first research question: *To what extent does the medium of instruction in the classrooms of the participants accommodate the linguistic diversity and mixed linguistic repertoires of the learners?* In answer of this research question, four aspects will be concentrated on: Firstly, I report on the linguistic diversity and multi-layered repertoires brought to the classrooms by the pupils. Here the notion of speech style will be applied for the purpose of analysing the language use of the pupils in the classroom context. A comparison will then be done between the linguistic diversity in the domain of the classroom and the language/s and language variety used for teaching. Making this comparison will give a better understanding of whether or not the linguistic diversity amongst the pupils is accommodated by the medium of instruction. Furthermore, I will consider possible efforts made by language policy makers of the two schools and the teachers who participated in this study to accommodate the diversification amongst their pupils. Here I will make use of the second interviews conducted with teacher A and B, in order to investigate aspects such as whether any support is given to the schools, in the form of workshops and training, to provide teachers with tools to assist with the growing linguistic diversity in their classes.

Thereafter, a look will be taken at visual aids found in the classrooms of the participants, in order to investigate whether the diversification amongst pupils were considered when these posters were displayed. This will then further uncover whether the linguistic diversity amongst learners are accommodated.

Finally, I will analyse observational data, where during class activities, additional speakers of the medium of instruction revealed difficulties with lessons, due to a language barrier between the language used for teaching and the mother tongue language of the pupil. Throughout the analysis in this chapter, the notion of stylization is applied, where applicable, to instances observed and occurrences during the interviews conducted with the teachers.

Chapter six of this thesis focuses on answering research question *b* and *c*. These two research questions will be discussed together as they are interconnected. Research question *b* looks at the following: *Does the language use of the teachers and learners in the classroom context reveal that they are borrowing linguistic features across languages?* Once it has been determined whether the borrowing of linguistic features occurs in the classroom context of the participants, research question *c* then focuses on whether the borrowing of linguistic features function as linguistic resources in the two grade R classrooms.

Chapter seven looks at the final research question, which investigates how the absence or the occurrence of languaging is influenced by the language ideologies of the teachers with regards to classroom discourse.

The final chapter, chapter eight, is the concluding chapter which looks at the following: An overview of the study, in order to reiterate the purpose for the conducting of this research. Thereafter, the focus will shift to an overview of the findings yielded through this research. A comparison will be drawn between the research findings and hypothesis in order to identify the correlation and differences between the anticipated findings and the actual research findings. Subsequently, a discussion vital to this study follows. This discussion looks at Manenberg and the two grade R classrooms studied as possible superdiverse spaces. The

discussion will take on an interrogative perspective. Thereafter, a brief look will be taken at the overall teaching methods and styles frequently used by the teachers in the two grade R classes. Finally, this chapter will be concluded with the implications of the study and suggestions for further research.



## Chapter 2

### 2. Literature Review

#### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter is an overview of literature relevant to the topic studied in this thesis. As the focus of my study takes a non-essentialist approach by looking at how heteroglossic languaging practices can be used as linguistic resources in diverse South African classrooms, it was of great importance that the following aspects were considered and discussed:

This chapter begins with a discussion on how views of languages have changed over the last decade. Here a look is taken at essentialist views of language and how these views are now disregarded by more recent research which focuses on languaging practices as dynamic actions amongst culturally and linguistically diverse speakers (Heugh, 2014). Thereafter, the notion of linguistic repertoire and its position in superdiverse contexts are discussed. The focus is then shifted to different terms used to describe the borrowing of linguistic features amongst diverse groups and debates surrounding these terms. These concepts include code-switching and mixing, Cárdenas-Claros and Isharyanti, 2009 and Muysken, 2011, Codemeshing, Canagarajah, 2011, translanguaging, Garcia, 2009; Wei, 2011; Garcia & Sylvan, 2011 and polylinguaging, Jørgensen, 2008; Jørgensen, et al, 2011. I then shift my attention to common language ideologies present in institutional spaces, such as the classroom. These ideologies will be looked at in relation to the use of hybrid languaging practices in classrooms. Here I will take a look at the monoglossic conceptions of language enforced by the educational system in their teaching and its potential implications for multicultural and multilingual pupils in such classrooms. A discussion highlighting languaging practices as a heteroglossic resource in classrooms will then follow. Finally, this chapter will be concluded by taking a look at what is needed in order to do away with monoglossic ideologies in the classroom context.



## 2.2 Deconstructing essentialist views of language

Blommaert and Rampton state that “proper languages” used to be regarded as separate entities which are “...bounded, pure and composed of structured sounds, grammar and vocabulary...” (2011:3-4). For this reason the languaging practices present in diverse contexts, where multicultural and multilingual speakers borrow features across languages, were often negatively viewed (Jørgensen, Karrebæk, Madsen & Møller, 2011). The language use of diverse groups were seen as practices which disregard structuralist views of languages as separable entities with “bounded systems” to which only specific linguistic features belong (Jørgensen, et al, 2011:32). Due to this reason, the languaging practices found amongst multicultural and multilingual speakers were often viewed as “impure”, “improper” or “incorrect” (Jørgensen, et al, 2011:32).

However, over the last decade there has been a dramatic shift away from conventional views of language, towards research that now regard these structural views as unnatural (Jørgensen, et al, 2011:32). These essentialist views of language are now seen as giving an inadequate description of the language practices occurring in “late modern, superdiverse societies and perhaps all together” and is regarded as “sociocultural constructions” which fail to represent language practices as it happens in real life situations (Jørgensen, et al, 2011:27). The essentialist views of languages as separate entities are thus seen as “based on linguistic normativity or ideology...” (Jørgensen, et al, 2011:27). Makoni and Pennycook (2007) support this argument by stating that languages as separate entities do not exist in real life and do not represent what happens in real life situations. Heller (2007) argues that language should instead be viewed as a practice that utilizes and organizes linguistic resources in ways that make sense in particular situations. Blommaert and Rampton argue that the study of language and language groups now focus on “mobility, mixing, political dynamics and historical embedding” (2011:3).

According to Heugh (2014), another view of language now exists where language is regarded as a dynamic action which occurs when people from different language backgrounds come together and communicate. These dynamic activities have been termed languaging (Heugh,

2014). Swain defines languaging as “...the process of making meaning and shaping knowledge and experience through language” (2006:98). Blommaert and Backus state that languaging refers to “... an increasing focus on ‘language’ as an emergent and dynamic pattern of practices in which semiotic resources are being used in a particular way...” (2012: 6).

Pennycook and Otsuji (2014: 164-165), recently identified three orientations of new languaging practices present in the twenty first century:

- a) Languaging practices focus on the “individual as the starting point”. This means that the individual is the “locus of linguistic resources”.
- b) It focuses on mobility (translanguaging) and the “plurality of linguistic features” (polylanguaging). Codemeshing can also be added here.
- c) Finally, Pennycook and Otsuji look at their own view of metrolingual multi-tasking, where it is argued that “space is the locus of activities” and language use. This includes the concept “spatial repertoire” (2014: 164-165).

### **2.3 Linguistic Repertoire**

As this study focuses on implementing the mixed linguistic repertoires of diverse groups of grade R pupils and their teachers, as a resource in the classroom context an important concept that will be discussed next is that of linguistic repertoires. In this discussion a look will be taken at how superdiversity have made notions such as linguistic repertoire more complex

Gumperz (1986) refers to the term “linguistic repertoire” as one of the basic terms in the field of sociolinguistics. In their earlier work, Gumperz and Hymes (1972, 1986) defines linguistic repertoire as the totality of linguistic resources accessible to members of particular communities. Blommaert & Backus (2012), states that the term repertoire is generally used as

a descriptive term which refers to the cluster of complex communicative resources which researchers find among the participants in their research. The notion of repertoire is directly tied to speech communities (Gumperz and Hymes 1972, 1986). Repertoires are said to characterize communities, where the “sharedness of repertoire” allows for smooth and functional communication (Blommaert and Backus, 2012: 3).

In the context of superdiversity, the notion of linguistic repertoire and other terms in the field of sociolinguistics have become a more complex (Blommaert and Backus, 2012). This is due to the unpredictable patterns in a superdiverse context, which can now be associated with terms such as identities, social and cultural structures and patterns of social and cultural behaviour (Blommaert and Backus, 2012). This means that one can no longer simply associate people to particular sociocultural groups as the meaning making practices of people can no longer be said to belong to a particular culture or language ((Blommaert and Backus, 2012).



#### **2.4 Terms used to describe languaging practices**

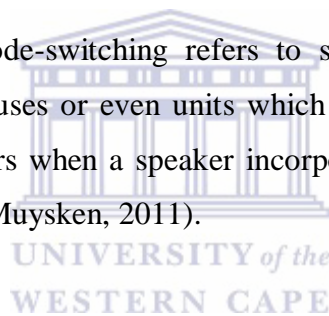
In the field of sociolinguistics, various terms, introduced above, which focus on different aspects of languaging, are used to capture the complex and dynamic language practices present in our daily lives. These terms include code-switching and mixing, Cárdenas-Claros and Isharyanti, 2009 and Muysken, 2011, Codemeshing, Canagarajah, 2011, translanguaging, Garcia, 2009; Wei, 2011; Garcia & Sylvan, 201 but to name a few. The following is a discussion on some of the terms used to describe these languaging practices and also debates surrounding these concepts. I will start off this discussion by looking at the older terms, code-switching and code- mixing. I will then turn my attention to translanguaging and polylanguaging.

Heugh states that a distinction can be made between instances when individuals “language between or across languages or codes” (2014:372). While code-switching and code-mixing focuses on the code, languaging puts emphasis on the linguistic action (Heugh, 2014:372).

### 2.4.1 Code-switching and Code-mixing

Various researchers, such as Cárdenas-Claros and Isharyanti (2009) and Muysken (2011) have differentiated between code-switching and code-mixing. Cárdenas-Claros and Isharyanti (2009) state that code-switching refers to instances when bilingual/multilingual individuals make use of more than one language in one solitary utterance beyond the level of a clause, in an attempt to express his/her intentions and goals. On the other hand, code-mixing takes place when those involved in the communicative event make use of two or more languages beneath the level of clause within one communicative situation (Cárdenas-Claros and Isharyanti, 2009)

Muysken (2011) argues that code-switching refers to switching between large units of language, such as sentences, clauses or even units which are longer than sentences. Code-mixing, on the other hand, occurs when a speaker incorporates more than one language in units of speech that are smaller (Muysken, 2011).



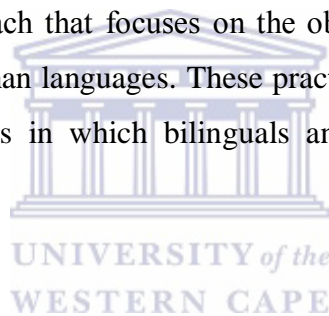
Furthermore, a distinction can be made between languaging practices and code-switching, on the basis of competence. Stroud (2014) states that whereas code-switching involves the use of languages that speakers have high competence in, languaging focuses more on the borrowing of languages that speakers do not necessarily master. Muysken (2011) supports this argument by stating that the most important feature of code-switching is the fact that speakers engaging in code-switching have high competence in the languages that he/she is using. High levels of competence are needed to code-switch, as large chunks of different languages should be produced when engaging in code-switching. A distinction is also made between code-switching and codemeshing.

### 2.4.2 Codemeshing

Canagarajah argues that codemeshing makes it possible to mix “communicative modes and diverse symbol systems (other than language)” (2011:403). While code-switching focuses on bilingual/multilingual proficiency and switches between two separate systems, codemeshing sees the languages as belonging to one integrated system (Canagarajah, 2011).

### 2.4.3 Translanguaging

Garcia (2009) states that, irrespective of how bilingualism and multilingualism is acquired, bilingual and multilingual individuals all over the world participate in translanguaging practices. Translanguaging refers to instances when bilingual or multilingual individuals make use of various linguistic features from what is normally seen as independent languages, with the goal of maximizing “communicative potential”(Garcia, 2009: 140). Translanguaging can thus be viewed as an approach that focuses on the observable “*practices*” of bilingual and multilingual people, rather than languages. These practices are often used to make sense of the multilingual environments in which bilinguals and multilinguals find themselves. (Garcia, 2009: 140).



In a subsequent paper written by Garcia and Sylvan, the term “translanguaging” was rejuvenated and described as the continuous “adaption of linguistic resources” used to facilitate meaning making during the communication process (2011:385).

### 2.4.4 Polylinguaging

Whereas translanguaging focuses on the mobility and language as a dynamic action (Garcia, 2009) polylinguaging focuses on the plurality of linguistic features (Jørgensen, 2008). Polylinguaging is thus described as “a view of language based on features” (Jørgensen, 2008:1). Jørgensen (2008) argues that while some speakers believe that languages should be kept separate, others combine three or four, or more different sets of features in their linguistic production. Speakers often use whatever linguistic features are available to them, with the purpose of achieving their communicative goals (Jørgensen, 2008). A significant

factor associated with polylinguaging is the fact that speakers often make use of linguistic features, which belong to languages to which they do not have admission. This means that speakers will often borrow linguistic features from languages that they do not have full competence in and that is said to belong to another group of speakers (Jørgensen, 2008).

## 2.5 Critique of languaging practices

Despite the fact that various researchers have highlighted how languaging practices, such as the above mentioned, can be viewed as a more accurate representation of language use amongst culturally and linguistically diverse speakers in the twenty first century, some theorists have expressed their opposed views on such languaging practices present in the postmodern era. One such theorist is (Orman, 2012).

In his article “New lingualisms, same old codes” Orman (2012) specifically focuses on and critiques a form of languaging, polylingualism. Some of his concerns raised include the following:

- a) The polylinguaging concept carries with it the recognition that a substitute of finer distinction is necessary to offer an acceptable analysis of actual language practices.
- b) The notion polylingualism is based on the fact that one should analyse language practices by looking at the linguistic features used in the interaction. However, an analysis of linguistic features could be immensely complicated, as it is difficult to determine what really counts as a linguistic feature.
- c) Concern is also raised about the discourse in the case of verbal communication. Orman argues that Jørgensen and his co-authors lessened the discourse, in the case of verbal communication, by reducing it to “audible elements” accessible “for retrospective inspection and subsequent conventional alphabetic transcription on the basis of audio recordings” (2012:93). The linguistic (as traditionally understood) element of discourse is thereby artificial and hence decontextualized from the integrated contemporaneous manifestation of any extra linguistic communicationally relevant elements” (2012: 93).

## **2.6 Language ideologies in language education**

In a time where hybrid language practices amongst cultural and linguistically diverse groups have become an ever growing reality and language and society studies have highlighted a paradigm shift which parts from structural views of language, languaging is still heavily frowned upon and disregarded by the South African educational systems and policy makers. This disregard for the mixed languaging practices present in the twenty first century stems from negative language ideologies associated with such language use (Garcia, 2009). McKinney, Carrim, Marshall & Layton support this argument by stating that there exists an obvious contrast between heteroglossic approaches to the comprehending of language and literacy as a “plural practice and resource” and the monoglossic views that often goes into national language as well as language in education policies (2015:109). South African language policies are no different (McKinney, et al, 2015). When considering the language ideologies present in current language policies in South Africa, the most noteworthy is the views of language as entities bounded and stable and evidently separated from each other (McKinney, et al, 2015). Makoni (1999, 2003) argues that there is a connection between the ways in which language was constructed during the apartheid era, in terms of the use of language as a divide and control tactic and the geographical separation found in the post apartheid constitution where the eleven official languages are listed.

Blommaert and Verschueren state that ideology refers to “any constellation of fundamental or commonsensical, and often normative, ideas and attitudes related to some aspect(s) of social reality” (1992:25). Cook and Simpson, on the other hand, argue that ideologies involve assumptions which are viewed as “common sense” by society, and therefore often go unchallenged (2008: 117).

### **2.6.1 Monoglossic language ideologies in the linguistically diverse classroom**

Garcia (2009) states that across the world, the languaging ability of bilinguals and multilinguals are rarely recognized by educational systems and in the classroom. This lack of acknowledgment of the hybrid languaging practices of pupils are due to monoglossic ideologies present in institutional settings such as classrooms (McKinney, et al, 2015). Monoglossia refers to the dominance of one language in a particular context (Ivanov, 2000).

According to Madsen, Karrebæk and Møller (2013) there exist distinctive and valued rules about what can be regarded as legitimate language use for education. For this reason, normativity can be seen as a central characteristic of schools around the world. Foucault (1991) created the term “governmentality”, to refer to the ways in which language use is regulated within the school system. This term addresses the implementation of language hierarchies, which favour certain languages and particular ways of using language, more than others (Foucault, 1991).

By encouraging all pupils to practice the legitimate language used for pedagogy, schools create learners that belong to a linguistic community which favours the language used for teaching and at the same time minimizes the importance of local speech communities that pupils might belong to (Madsen, et al, 2013). Research done by Ritzau (2014) yielded findings which supports the argument made by Madsen, et al, 2013).

In her study “Learner language and polylinguaging: how language students’ ideologies relate to their written language use”, Ritzau (2014) conducted research on polylinguaging in an institutional setting, a foreign language classroom, in Switzerland. This study focused on written language by using learning journals as data, to determine how the language ideologies of language learners are relayed in their language use. Ritzau (2014) states that the ideas expressed by the subjects in the study revealed that their goal is to produce the forms of language that the educational setting requires.

This means that the participants strive towards producing linguistic features that belong to one language, which in this case is Danish. However, the mixed linguistic repertoires of the



participants contest their language ideologies expressed and also that of the educational institution (Ritzau, 2014).

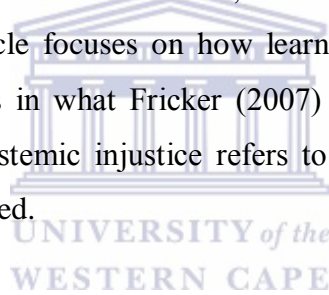
Spotti and Kroon state that in addition to “linguistic norms” there also exist “pragmatic norms” that pupils have to adhere to at school and in the classroom (2015: 7). This means that learners are taught which variety of language is deemed appropriate in specific contexts (Spotti and Kroon, 2015). Mixing the language used as medium of instruction at the school with minority or home languages or speaking the language used as medium of instruction with “too strong a regional or foreign accent”, is thus greatly prohibited (Spotti and Kroon, 2015). Such language use might also most likely lead to negative teacher assessment (Spotti and Kroon, 2015). The importance placed on normativity and accomplishment targets by teachers and other educational professionals, instead of focusing on the real and authentic ways in which pupils engage in languaging across institutional spaces, both formal and informal, is defined as “trained blindness” (Spotti and Kroon, 2015:2). As a result, the medium of instruction and standard variety expected to be used in the classroom context, becomes “everybody’s language” when it comes to teacher assessment when in reality it is not the first language and variety spoken by the majority of pupils (Spotti and Kroon, 2015: 8).

A form of language use often frowned upon in the classroom context, is code-switching. Park (2013) states that code-switching; have has not been well received in the second language classroom, where the target language and mother tongue language of pupils are clearly divided. In the domain of the classroom, the target language is thus seen as the “official” language for pedagogy (Park, 2013). This tendency is said to be due to the belief that switching between languages is seen as an indication of limited knowledge of the language in which an utterance was started (Reyes, 2004).

## **2.6.2 Implications of monoglossic language ideologies in the multilingual classroom**

According to Woolard (1994), hybrid forms of language use within the classroom context is often perceived as an indication of not having full linguistic competence or proficiency. When pupils come to school speaking differently from the language practices used at the school, they are often “stigmatized” and put in corrective “education tracks” (Garcia, 2009:140). This reveals the assumption that “the nature of language” is grounded in “literal standards” (Woolard: 1994:63). Particular languages, speech varieties and their speakers are thus often prohibited and other languages and their varieties favoured in most institutional contexts (Woolard, 1994).

In their paper, “What counts as language in South African schooling? Monoglossic ideologies and children’s participation, McKinney, Carrim, Marshall and Layton (2015) take a look at how monoglossic orientations in the schooling system negatively affect multicultural/multilingual learners in the classroom, with regards to how they are positioned at school. Furthermore, this article focuses on how learner participation is affected in the classroom context, which results in what Fricker (2007) has coined “epistemic injustice”. According to Fricker (2007) epistemic injustice refers to instances where certain people’s abilities as knowers are undermined.



For the purpose of their research, McKinney, et al, (2015) conducted classroom observations in three grade R classrooms at different schools situated in Cape Town. The second extract presented in this paper is an interaction which took place at a school which was legally set aside for white pupils during the apartheid era (McKinney, et al, 2015). However, Black African learners now solely attend the school (McKinney, et al, 2015). Even though all the learners in the class are African and have an African language as mother tongue language, the language used as pedagogy in the class and across all other grades is English only (McKinney, et al, 2015). The grade R teacher of this class is also a monolingual English speaker (McKinney, et al, 2015).

In the second extract, the class is busy with an oral exercise where individual learners are asked to tell the teacher and class about their morning news (McKinney, et al, 2015). The

grade R teacher then chooses and requests that one of the learners, Siphon, shares his morning news in the medium of instruction, English (McKinney, et al, 2015:104).

While Siphon is busy telling his morning news, the teacher communicates to the researcher that “This is one who couldn’t anything”, as a means of indicating that Siphon did not speak English when he joined the school a year ago (McKinney, et al, 2015:103). This comment made by the grade R teacher about Siphon’s lack of proficiency in the English language when he joined her class, indicates that it is not only the “power and privilege” given to the English language that results in learners’ non-English resources going unseen, but also the structuralist and monoglossic thinking that make up the educational system (McKinney, et al, 2015:104).

Such essentialist and monoglossic conceptions not only form part of pedagogy, but are included in educational policy, planning and curricula (McKinney, et al, 2015). In view of the fact that Siphon’s lack of proficiency in the English language is considered to be the equivalent of being unable to speak by an educational professional, it can be argued that such monoglossic and essentialist views of language “remove voice” from pupils (McKinney, et al, 2015:105). This is due to the fact that such language ideologies remove the multicultural/multilingual learner’s “capacity to be heard” (Blommaert, 2005: page number).

Extract 3 C is another interaction between teacher and learner taken from observations made at the same school and in the same grade R class mentioned above (McKinney, et al, 2015). During this interaction, the teacher requests that one of the learners raise their hand and tell her what the date is on that particular day (McKinney, et al, 2015). One of the pupils, Fihle, then answers the teacher by stating that “It is the two of August” (McKinney, et al, 2015: 118). The teacher then ignores the fact that Fihle had given the correct date and instead and very evidently shows that she disapproves of his answer, by stating “No, not the two, the second. Ok let’s count in ordinal numbers; first, second, third.” (McKinney, et al, 2015:18). McKinney, et al, (2015) argue that this example highlights that it is not only a particular language, English, which is valued in this classroom, but also a particular variety. The

emphasis placed on how words should be pronounced by the learners shows that there exists “a single standard English with a single, unified set of rules and phonological system that equates to the variety which she herself commands” (McKinney, et al, 2015:19). It can therefore be argued that the grade R teacher of this class teaches a variety of language often associated with “whiteness” and in the process constructs phonological features typical to Black South African English varieties ( Makelela, 2014) as lacking or inadequate (McKinney, et al, 2015).

### **2.6.3 Languageing as heteroglossic resource in multilingual classrooms**

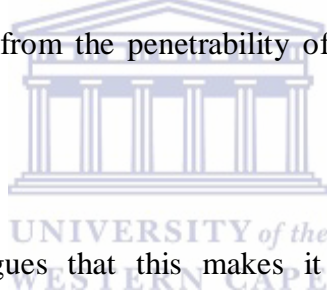
There are various studies on heteroglossic language practices between or across languages or codes, which favour the use of languageing in the classroom. Such studies focus on deconstructing essentialist views of language as bounded and stable, especially in institutional contexts (Blommaert and Backus 2011).

Bakhtin (1981) defines heteroglossia as the complex use of diverse registers, codes, voices, languages and variety of languages simultaneously, in everyday life. McKinney, et al, elaborates on the notion of heteroglossia by stating that the term is an approach to language which describes language as a “diverse set of resources” and that works well as an umbrella term for particular languageing practices such as polylanguageing, translanguaging, code–meshing and other “contemporary urban vernaculars and linguistic repertoires” (2015:109). Furthermore, heteroglossia refers to the communicative potential which lies within all language use across a range of contexts, across geographical spaces and also across various modes, which includes both spoken and written language (McKinney, et al, 2015: 109).

Park (2013) states that code-switching has been described as having various communicative purposes in the classroom. These communicative functions include using code-switching to make clear an intended message (Zentella,1997), to simplify tasks difficult to understand or comprehend (Reyes, 2004), to accommodate the language use of speakers in particular communicative situations (Park, 2013) and so forth. Cenoz and Gortner (2011) and Lewis,

Jones and Baker (2012), favour the use of translanguaging in the classroom by stating that translanguaging can be used to assist multilingual groups of speakers with creating meaning, gaining more understanding of the languages being used and even with helping learners to comprehend content taught in the classroom. Garcia (2009) makes a similar argument by stating that using translanguaging in the classroom allows learners to tactically use learning across languages, as an advantage. Other studies have shown how languaging is sometimes incorporated by curriculum developers, as a way of accommodating the mixed linguistic repertoires of multilingual learners (Blackledge and Creese, 2010).

According to Wei, it is anticipated that translanguaging will create a social space for multilingual speakers “by bringing together different dimensions of their personal history, experience and environment, their attitudes, beliefs and performance” (Wei, 2011:1223). The languages of multilingual speakers are therefore used strategically and amenably so that classroom partakers can benefit from the penetrability of learning across languages (Wei, 2011).



Furthermore, Garcia (2009) argues that this makes it possible for participants to be unrestricted by language separation and having to manage language identity and power, which often affect speakers of minority languages in the monolingual classroom context.

#### **2.6.4 Changing monoglossic and essentialist language ideologies in language policies and the classroom context**

As discussed earlier, language studies have begun to focus on the “non-essentialist theorising of [spoken] language” within recent years (McKinney, et al, 2015:105). However, structuralist notions of language have always been extremely resistant to change, especially within institutional contexts (McKinney,2014). Nevertheless, many studies in sociolinguistics and applied linguistics have begun focusing on the need for the deconstructing of essentialist and monoglossic conceptions within language policy planning in the schooling system and ultimately in the classroom context (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007).

McKinney, et al, (2015) argues that within monoglossic environments, such as classrooms, it is necessary for educational professionals to acknowledge and make visible the linguistic resources brought to school by individual learners. In order to work against monoglossic and essentialist conceptions and their damaging effects on multilingual/multicultural learners, it is necessary for every individual pupil to be seen as “[the] locus of a repertoire of linguistic and other meaning-making resources” (McKinney, et al, 2015:106). When viewing every individual learner as locus, the past, present and also “future trajectories” of the individual should be considered” (McKinney, et al, 2015:106).

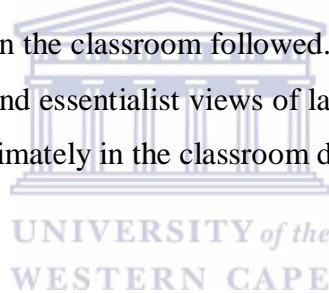
Furthermore, it is argued that “meaning-making” that comes from utilizing different linguistic resources and the use of combined or mixed codes should be permitted and encouraged (McKinney, et al, 2015: 106). If the teacher in the first extract discussed was aware and had knowledge of Siphos linguistic repertoire when he started at the school, this pupil would most likely have been positioned differently (McKinney, et al, 2015). Instead of being negatively positioned as “One who couldn’t [speak]” or a poor user of standard English, he might have been seen as a “meaning maker” instead (McKinney, et al, 2015: 106). It is therefore necessary for educational professionals to be fully aware of the linguistic resources present within themselves and such practices surrounding them (McKinney, et al, 2015).

## **2.7 Conclusion**

In section A of this chapter, I have focused on the literature relevant to the topic of this paper. This included taking a look at essentialist views of language and how such views are continuously deconstructed in more recent studies which views language as a dynamic action. The term languaging has been coined by Heugh (2014) to refer to non-essentialist views of language which sees language as a dynamic action used during the communicative process to reach communicative goals. Thereafter, I focused the notion of linguistic repertoire and the different terms used to describe different aspects of languaging practices.

This included translanguaging which focuses on the mobility of languaging, (Garcia, 2009; Wei, 2011; Garcia & Sylvan, 2011), polylinguaging which focuses on the plurality of linguistic features (Jørgensen, 2008; Jørgensen et al., 2011) and so forth. A brief look was also taken at some of the critiques of polylinguaging brought forward by Orman (2012).

Subsequently, I shifted my attention to the language ideologies present in the educational system and the classroom context. Here the focus was on essentialist and monoglossic ideologies which informs almost all aspects of the educational system such as policy making and pedagogy. I then looked at the potential implications for multicultural pupils with mixed linguistic repertoires and additional speakers of the language use for pedagogy in learning spaces where their mixed linguistic repertoires are ignored or negatively evaluated. Fricker's (2007) notion of "epistemic injustice", which refers to how particular people's ability as knowers are undermined, was introduced here. Thereafter, a discussion on heteroglossic language practices as a resource in the classroom followed. The chapter was ended off with a discussion on how monoglossic and essentialist views of languages can be moved away from by the educational system and ultimately in the classroom domain.



## Chapter 3

### 3. Theoretical Framework

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter will focus on the theoretical framework used for this research. As this research focuses on spoken discourse in the classroom domain, a branch of discourse analysis, Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS), was used as analytical tool. A general look will thus be taken at discourse analysis. However, the main focus of this section will be on Interactional Sociolinguistics as the framework used to collect and analyse the data for this research project.

More specifically, this section will start off with a brief discussion on discourse analysis. Thereafter, a discussion on Interactional Sociolinguistics will follow. Firstly, this discussion will include insight on what Interactional Sociolinguistics is and some background on Interactional Sociolinguistics. A look will then be taken at the studying of language in social interactions. Thereafter, a discussion on how Interactional Sociolinguistic is generally applied follows. A review of previous studies where Interactional Sociolinguistics was used as framework will then be looked at. This discussion will then be ended off with key terms and concepts in Interactional Sociolinguistics and the reasons behind the selecting of Interactional Sociolinguistics as the best framework of analyses for this study.

#### 3.2 Discourse Analysis

Various researchers, such as McCarthy, 1991; Johnstone, 2008; Cameron, 2001; Ehrlich and Romaniuk, 2013 but to name a few, have provided definitions for discourse analysis. According to McCarthy (1991), discourse analysis is the study of language and the significance of the context in which it is used. Cameron (2001) defines discourse analysis as the study of language production and the interpretation there of in the context of the real world. A distinct feature of discourse analysis is its high concern with “what and how language communicates” when it is used with purpose in specific contexts “and how the



phenomena we find in ‘real language’ (implicitly contrasted to the idealized, made up example sentences most often discussed by analysts of syntax)” can be explained by making reference to the communicative goal of an interaction or text (Cameron, 2001:13). McCarthy makes the argument that the prime focus of discourse analysts is to “study language in use: written texts of all kinds and spoken data, from conversation to highly institutionalized forms of talk” (1991, 5).

In the 1960 and early 1970s, discourse analysis emerged out of work in different disciplines (McCarthy, 1991). These disciplines included linguistics, sociology, psychology, semiotics and anthropology (McCarthy, 1991). One of the earliest discourse analysts, Zellig Harris, published a paper titled, “Discourse Analysis”, where he focused on how linguistic elements are distributed in protracted texts and the connection between the text and its social situation (Harris, 1952). Other influential discourse analysts include Hymes (1964), with his focus on speech production in social domains, Gumperz and Hymes (1972), with their study of people communicating in their natural setting, Halliday (1973), with his functional approach to language where the focus was on what language is used to do and Goffman, (1976, 1979) with his study of spoken discourse, which focused on conversational norms such as turn taking.

Cameron (2001) states that an increasing number of social scientists, which included linguists, are steering away from work done by discourse analysts, such as Zellig Harris, where the focus was on the way in which language works. Instead, discourse analysts now use this framework as a qualitative research method, which they use to study social phenomena such as “sexual harassment, attitudes to the monarchy and youth subcultures...” (Cameron, 2001: 13). For such researchers, discourse analysis is seen as a substitute for standardized instruments, such as questionnaires, which produces statistical data (Cameron, 2001).

When a researcher using quantitative methods wants to find out what people do in their free time, this researcher would provide his/her participants with the same questionnaire and then

produce a statistical summary of their answers (Cameron, 2001). A researcher using discourse analysis as a research method, would instead collect their data by perhaps having in depth conversations with a sample of people chosen for the study, where the participants are encouraged to discuss and explore the topic at hand, using their own words (Cameron, 2001). Researchers using discourse analysis as a qualitative research method therefore argue that by not simply focusing on “*what* people say, but [on] *how* they say it”, one is given a deeper understanding into how people understand certain topics (Cameron, 2001:14). Another advantage of using discourse analysis as a qualitative research method, is the fact that data is collected by getting participants engaged, or observing the participants as they are engaging in talking, an activity they are well acquainted with, instead of expecting them to undertake an “artificial task” (Cameron, 2001:15).

Another aspect social researchers using discourse analysis is greatly concerned with is the fact that we often talk in the words of others (Cameron, 2001). Lemke states that “we speak with the voices of our communities, and to the extent that we have individual voices, we fashion them out of social voices already available to us, appropriating the words of others to speak a word of our own” (1995:24-25). Cameron (2001) argues that in all communities there exists a finite number of conventional things which can be said about a particular subject matter. When people are discussing a particular subject matter, they will therefore use “the community’s repertoire” of possible things to say instead of coming up with a unique viewpoint on the topic at hand (Cameron, 2001:15). However, this is not to say that people cannot bring forth ideas of their own, but this may mean that the individual runs the risk of not being understood (Cameron, 2001). Discourse analysts thus use this research method to investigate the “social voices” accessible to people in particular communities (Cameron, 2001:15).

### **3.3 What is Interactional Sociolinguistics?**

#### **3.3.1 Background on Interactional Sociolinguistics as a theoretical framework**

Kerfoot and Bello-NonJengela (2014) state that Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS) is a branch of discourse analysis which combines and uses various tools as framework for analysis. These tools used as framework for analysis are borrowed from “anthropology, linguistics, pragmatics and conversation analysis” (Kerfoot and Bello- NonJengela, 2014:4). Interactional Sociolinguistics is grounded in the work of Gumperz (1982a, 1982b, 1996, and 1999). During the 1950’s and 1960s Gumperz did field work in Central Europe, Norway and India and based his earliest research on these findings.

Ehrlich and Romaniuk (2013) state that during these investigations Gumperz focused on the language practices of culturally and linguistically diverse groups of people, which mainly looked at how communication breakdowns occurred during interactions, as a result of differences in contextualization conventions. In the 1970s, Gumperz developed the theoretical framework and methodological approach that has become the basis of Interactional Sociolinguistics, which published in 1982 in his book “*DiscourseStrategies*”. In the years following the publishing of this book, Gumperz remained connected with advances in the field, by expanding on this approach and its terminology in a number of essays published (see Gumperz, 1992b, 1996). Over the last few decades, interest in Interactional Sociolinguistics has significantly grown, as a great number of sociolinguists and anthropologists have begun to focus on the analysis of language during face to face interactions (Tannen, 1992). Even though ordinary conversations have always been the most common interactions studied using this framework, the studying of other speech genres such as “interviews, public lecturers and classroom discourse”, have also gained more prominence (Tannen, 1992:9). Tannen argues that “work in this area can be distinguished by its relative focus either on the linguistic phenomena or on the interaction” (1992:9).

### **3.3.2 The Studying of Language in Social Interactions**

Gumperz (1982a) argues that communication can be viewed as a social activity which demands the synchronized efforts of two or more participants. Simply talking to produce sentences does not, on its own, constitute communication (Gumperz, 1982a). Only once a move has incited a response or reply, can we say that communication has occurred (Gumperz,

1982a). According to Gumperz (1999), Interactional Sociolinguistics focuses on how meaning is created and interpreted by participants during the communication process. Interactional Sociolinguistics places emphasis on communicative practices in the real world where societal and interactive forces merge (Gumperz, 1999). Gumperz argues that "...the goal [of Interactional Sociolinguistics] is to show how individuals participating in exchanges use talk to achieve their communicative goals in real life situations..." (1999: 453).

Rampton (2006), states that Interactional Sociolinguistics focuses on real life face to face interactions where there are significant cultural or power differences between the participants involved. Tannen has a similar argument as she states that Interactional Sociolinguistics is a form of "micro analysis" of the language use during real social interactions "in the context of social relationships" (2004:76). Interactional Sociolinguistics is therefore grounded in the tenet that language should only be studied in real social interactions and that the language use during social interactions is greatly influenced by social relationships (Tannen, 2004). Furthermore, Tannen (2004) argues that within social interactions, language is used by speakers and listeners to create meaning with the aim of achieving their interactive goals. Within Interactional Sociolinguistics, meaning is therefore not seen as "inherent in words" (Tannen, 2004: 76).

In comparison, Heller (2007) suggests that language, especially, multilingualism, should be researched by studying real social interactions. Researching multilingualism should be distanced from the "highly ideologized view of coexisting linguistic systems" (Heller, 2007:1). Heller argues that researchers of multilingualism should therefore take on a "critical approach", where language is considered to be a "social practice", participants involved are "social actors" and "boundaries as products of social action" (2007:1). Researchers, such as Creese, 2005; Blackledge and Creese, 2010a and Blackledge and Creese, 2010b, have adopted Heller's critical perspective on researching multilingualism in their studies on language use in multilingual classroom settings. In a similar vein, this study adopted a critical perspective. Blackledge and Creese argues that when we adopt a critical perspective to researching multilingualism, we are able to focus on how language practices are "socially and politically" positioned (2010b: 58).

### 3.3.3 How Interactional Sociolinguistics is generally applied

Rampton argues that Interactional Sociolinguistics “seeks as rich an extract on interaction as it can get” (2006, 24). Collecting data using Interactional Sociolinguistics thus comprises of the audio and/or video recording of situated interactions between people and groups, during particular events, which is complimented by “participant observation and retrospective commentary from local participants”(Rampton, 2006:24).

Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics places great emphasis on the semiotic resources used by participants when they are engaged in talk (Kerfoot and Bello- NonJengela, 2014:4). These semiotic resources can include intonation, glances, words, code switches and so forth (Kerfoot and Bello-NonJengela, 2014). Researchers that make use of Interactional Sociolinguistics thus pay attention to how these semiotic resources are used by participants, in order to achieve their communicative goal (Kerfoot and Bello-NonJengela, 2014). Ehrlich and Romaniuk (2013) adds to this discussion by stating that another key feature of interactional sociolinguistic analysis, which distinguishes it from conversation analysis, is the focus of this framework on the implicit meaning in speech production. This means that an interactional sociolinguistic approach to discourse goes beyond the analysis of what is openly stated in discourse, by also focusing on implicit meanings signalled by contextualization cues (Ehrlich and Romaniuk, 2013). It can therefore be argued that in addition to analysing linguistic features present in real life speech production and their part in signalling contextualizing frames, interactional sociolinguistic analysis also includes the investigation of “the nature of sociocultural context that is potentially signalled by these contextualization cues” (Ehrlich and Romaniuk, 2013: 470). Furthermore, as the context of frames are not always openly articulated, it is necessary for a researcher using this framework to have additional ways of accessing information about the context in which these features are used (Ehrlich and Romaniuk, 2013).

Schiffrin also suggests that “contextual knowledge” is key when doing an interactional sociolinguistic analysis (1994: 106). In order to gather more information about “the broader

sociolinguistic context”, researchers using interactional sociolinguistics often rely on ethnographic research (Ehrlich and Romaniuk, 2013). Researchers making use of Interactional Sociolinguistics thus use a combination of interactional data which have been closely analysed, their knowledge about their participants and their comprehension of the sociocultural context in which the interactional data takes place (Stubbe, et al, 2003).

In chapter 4, the methodology chapter, I discuss how Interactional Sociolinguistics was applied in this study.

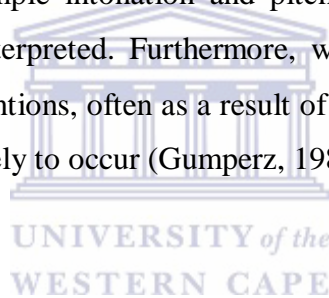
### **3.4 A review of previous studies where Interactional Sociolinguistics was used as framework**

Interactional Sociolinguistics has shifted away from researching language in conversational contexts to other settings, such as interactions in the work place, interviews and institutional contexts, such as the classroom (Tannen, 1992). These studies include work done by linguists and linguistic anthropologists such as Gumperz, 1982a, 1982b, 1999; Schiffrin, 1994; Tannen, 1992, 1994, 2004, Drew and Heritage, (1992) Rampton, 2006, 2013 and Kerfoot and Bello-NonJengela, 2014.

According to Gumperz (1982a), interactional sociolinguists used to investigate how communication breakdown occurred in the workplace as a result of cultural differences which led to different meaning being attached to certain contextualization conventions. Gumperz (1982a) states for this research, an audio recorder was used as instrument to record real life interactions between customers and recently hired servers from South Asian background, at a British airport cafeteria. The purpose of recording these interactions were to investigate claims made by customers, using the cafeteria that the South Asian servers tend to be rude during their interactions with customers (Gumperz, 1982a). Through his analysis of audio recordings, Gumperz was able to determine a small contrast in the use of paralinguistic features that could be seen as the reasons behind the claims made by the customers (Gumperz, 1982a). When customers selected a meat course, they were given the option of

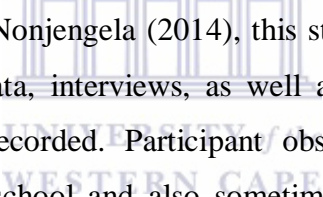
having gravy with their dish (Gumperz, 1982a). Even though both British and South Asian servers offered it by merely uttering the word “gravy”, the British servers uttered this word with rising intonation, while the South Asian Servers used falling intonation (Gumperz, 1982a). Due to this small contrast in the use of this paralinguistic feature, the uttering of this word was interpreted in very different ways by the customers in the cafeteria (Gumperz, 1982a). The rising intonation of the British servers was viewed as a question and therefore more polite, whereas the falling intonation of the South Asian servers was viewed as a statement and therefore more crass and rude (Gumperz, 1982a).

However, when Gumperz took into account the contextualization conventions of South Asians, it was discovered that speaking with a falling intonation is simply their way of speaking (Gumperz, 1982a). Through this study, Gumperz thus revealed the following: Contextualization cues, for example intonation and pitch, play a central part in how the meaning of spoken words is interpreted. Furthermore, when those engaging in talk have different contextualization conventions, often as a result of cultural and language differences, communication breakdown is likely to occur (Gumperz, 1982a).



Gumperz (1999) also studied linguistic interactions between British English speakers and individuals of South Asian origin within the context of an interview. These interviews were selection interviews for South Asian applicants to a British skills training program funded by the government (Gumperz, 1999). During this study it is showed how an applicant of South Asian origin fails to identify the implied invitation to elaborate on information provided in the application (Gumperz, 1999). In the interview it is evident that the interviewer depends on culturally shared expectations to communicate what type of information should be shared during this interaction. The interviewer attempts to achieve this by making use of selective accenting of lexical items. However, as the South Asian interviewee is not aware of the interviewer’s contextualization cues and is relying on his own sociocultural norms, which views self-promotion as unsuitable for this context, the applicant does not recognize the invitation to elaborate and promote his skill set (Gumperz, 1999).

In a more recent study done by Kerfoot and Bello-Nonjengela (2014), Interactional Sociolinguistics was used to study language interactions amongst pupils in an institutional context, school. These researchers worked with a primary school in an impoverished township in Cape Town, where “two historically separated groups”, Coloured and Black African learners, attend school (Kerfoot and Bello- Nonjengela, 2014). The languages spoken by the learners at the school, include Afrikaans, English and IsiXhosa (Kerfoot and Bello-Nonjengela, 2014). The participants used for this study were multilingual pupils between the ages of 10 and 12 in grade 6 (Kerfoot and Bello-Nonjengela, 2014). For the purpose of this investigation, an interactional sociolinguistic approach was used to determine how groups of learners that are linguistically diverse, utilize their linguistic repertoires as a semiotic resource in order to emphasize certain aspects of their identity or to generate new ones in this diverse setting (Kerfoot and Bello-Nonjengela, 2014).



According to Kerfoot and Bello-Nonjengela (2014), this study was a linguistic ethnography which relied on observational data, interviews, as well as interactional data amongst the participants which was audio recorded. Participant observation included following the learners to various locations in school and also sometimes accompanying learners’ home (Kerfoot and Bello-Nonjengela, 2014). Furthermore, pocket recorders were provided to pupils during group activities, when playing outside and also when these learners were taking part in extramural activities (Kerfoot and Bello-Nonjengela, 2014). The data collected consisted of 120 hours of recordings and were complimented by interviews which were conducted in English but included switches prompted by the learners (Kerfoot and Bello-Nonjengela, 2014).

With regards to the analysis of the data, Kerfoot and Bello-Nonjengela (2014) state that the focus of the analysis was on instances in learners’ speech where translanguaging practices were used. Furthermore, Kerfoot and Bello-Nonjengela state that “the authors’ field notes provided an idea of how interaction fitted into wider social relations, institutional structures and individual biographies” (2014: 5).



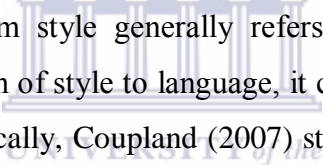
At end of the study, it was concluded that the observational data and interviews revealed the ways in which different “social experiences and trajectories across Cape Town’s peripheries have resulted in biographically organized complexes” (Kerfoot and Bello-Nonjengela, 2014: 16). According to Kerfoot and Bello-Nonjengela (2014), this distorts the natural connection between certain linguistic forms and certain social categories. Furthermore, it was discovered that when these diverse groups of learners make contact at school or in the neighbourhood in which the school is located, learners utilize their “meta awareness” about their own linguistic repertoires and also the linguistic repertoires of others, in order to create social and linguistic identities for themselves (Kerfoot and Bello-Nonjengela, 2014:16).

### **3.5 Key Terms in Interactional Sociolinguistics**

The concepts style, stylization, frame and contextual cues are some of the key terms in interactional sociolinguistics. In this section, I will discuss these terms, as they were greatly applied in the analysis of the data for this research project. As my research involves the studying of real life language practices within the classroom context, these concepts proved to be important as they play significant roles in the production and interpretation of utterances during interactions. Due to the fact that this study mainly focuses on the diverse languages and mixed linguistic repertoires brought to the classroom context by the pupils, an analysis of their style of speech plays an important role. In the first data analysis chapter, a look is taken at whether the language diversity and mixed linguistic repertoires of the pupils are accommodated by the medium of instruction in the classrooms of teacher A and teacher B. For this reason, it was necessary to pay attention to the language diversity and mixed linguistic repertoires brought to the classroom context by the learners. In this data analysis chapter, the concept style was applied to analyse the language practices of the grade R pupils, which finally made it possible to decipher whether their repertoires were being accommodated by the languages used as pedagogy. Stylization was also greatly applied in the data analysis chapters, which made possible the analysis of various classroom activities such as the storytelling session observed. In chapter 6, the second data analysis chapter, the focus is on identifying spoken classroom discourse which reveals the borrowing of linguistic features. The instances where the borrowing of linguistic features occurred were further analysed in order to determine whether these languaging practices function as linguistic

resources. In chapter 6, frame and contextualization cues were applied for the purpose of this analysis. As my research investigates how the borrowing of linguistic features function as linguistic resources in the classroom context, contextualization cues were focused on as it revealed the interpretive frame of the utterances produced. By identifying the interpretive frame of each of these instances where languaging occurred, it was possible to then investigate whether these instances of languaging within the classroom context functions as linguistic resources. The final data analysis chapter, chapter 7, investigates how the language ideologies of the teachers, with regards to spoken classroom discourse, influences the occurrence or absence of languaging practices. For this reason, it was important to determine what the language use of the teachers reveals about their language ideologies. Contextualization cues were thus once again used as a tool to gather such information.

### 3.5.1 Style and Stylization

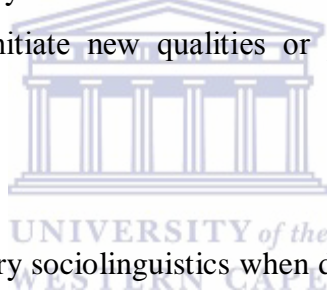


According to Coupland, the term style generally refers to “ways of doing something” (2007:1). When relating the notion of style to language, it can be seen as “ways of speaking” (Coupland, 2007:2). More specifically, Coupland (2007) states that style refers to the way in which speakers use language variation as a meaning P making resource when engaged in social interactions (Coupland, 2007).

As sociolinguistics investigates the social significance present in language, emphasis is placed on the social meaning attached to speech style (Coupland, 2007). Coupland argues that a “social constructionist approach to social meaning cannot avoid researching into complex territories of cultural, personal, historical and sequential meaning” (2007:19). For this reason, research in sociolinguistics should adopt a constructionist approach to social interpretation, as social interactions present in everyday life involve this level of intricacy (Coupland, 2007). Three concepts within sociolinguistics that are greatly connected to the notion of style are social identities, social relationships and social context (Coupland, 2007). People often express various social identities and create various social relationships by making use of style (Coupland, 2007). Furthermore, speech style carries great importance when connecting it to social context as speakers often alter or change their speech style,

based on the context in which they find themselves (Coupland, 2007). When taking the above made connections between these concepts into account, the notion of style can further be defined as the various ways in which speakers engage in deliberate performances, as a way of constructing their personal identity and their social lives (Coupland, 2007).

Coupland (2007) argues that when considering how speakers shift their speech style across social situations or contexts, we get an idea of the freedom that speakers enjoy through the use of style in their speech. According to Bell (1984) the stylistic freedom of speakers derives from and is limited by the social variation observable in the community of the speaker. In other words, the speech community to which a speaker belongs creates boundaries which allow them to only perform or engage in the act of speech shifting within these tolerances (Bell, 1984). Nonetheless, Bell (1984) also recognizes the creative ability of speakers, by providing the idea of initiated style shift. The idea of initiated style shift recognizes that speakers have the ability “to initiate new qualities or perceptions of a local situation” (Coupland, 2007: 82).



A term often used in contemporary sociolinguistics when discussing the style shifting ability of speakers is speech repertoire (Wardhaugh, 2002). According to Wardhaugh (2002), speech repertoire refers to when speakers regulate numerous varieties of a language within their speech. Coupland (2007) makes the comparison between the notion of speech repertoire and owning a closet with a number of clothing items. Through this comparison, Coupland (2007) conveys that just like selecting clothing out of one’s closet to fit into a particular social situation or to deviate from the context, speakers can select varieties of a language from their speech repertoire as they deem it appropriate for the context or choose to select a variety that deviates from a particular social context. This resonates with Hymes’ (1974) early work on speech style.

Stylization on the other hand, is a notion initially associated with the literary and cultural criticism of Mikhail Bakhtin (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986). According to Bakhtin, stylization can be seen as “an artistic image of another’s language” (1981: 362). However, he states that

stylization is also a general quality of language practice (Bakhtin, 1981). Bakhtin argues that “Modern man does not proclaim”; instead, he “speaks with reservations”; “he stylizes . . . the proclamatory genres of priests, prophets, preachers, judges, patriarchal fathers, and so forth” (1986:132). Stylization as described by Bakhtin is thus a “subversive form of multi-voiced utterance, one that discredits hegemonic, monologic discourses by appropriating the voices of the powerful, and reworking them for new purposes” (Coupland, 2007:150).

A key term associated with the stylization of speech, is that of performance. Bauman states that performance includes a “special interpretive frame” where speakers take “responsibility for a display of communicative competence” and produce utterances with the purpose of enhancing the “experience” of their listeners (1975:2001). Various researchers have used Bauman’s notion of *performance* to investigate stylization practices in various public contexts. This includes the research done by Coupland (2001) where he investigated the dialect stylization present in the language use of Welsh radio presenters, who often used the variables (ou) and (ei) as semiotic resources in their speech. In his article “Interactional ritual and not just artful performance in crossing and stylization”, Rampton argues that Bauman’s notion of *performance* can be well applied to studies focusing on stylization in “relatively public, commercial and/or mass mediated contexts”, as they are in the company of “substantial audiences, professional and other high profile communicators” (2009:150). Research of this nature includes studies done on stylization by Pagliai and Farr (2000) and the above mentioned study by Coupland (2001). However, Rampton (2009) also makes the argument that when studying stylization and language crossing practices in real life language use, Bauman’s notion of performance becomes less pertinent. This argument is based on studies done by Rampton (2005, 2006).

In Rampton (2005), a look was taken at the use of Creole, Punjabi and Indian English across ethnic boundaries. During this study ethnicity and race proved to be quite controversial and it was revealed that the performing of other ethnic styles was hazardous, as it received immense disapproval from those “owning” the style being performed (Rampton, 2005). For this reason, Rampton (2009) argues that the notion of “interaction ritual” (Goffman, 1976) provides a better account “of the framing for [such] expressive practices, like the above

mentioned study on the performance of other ethnic styles. This is due to the fact that the notion of interaction ritual viewed crossing and stylization as pressing responses to the demands present in these interactions (Rampton, 2009).

### 3.5.2 Frame

The concept frame was coined by the anthropologist Gregory Bateson (1972), who argues that no spoken words or symbolic act can be comprehended unless reference is made to a metafunction that recognizes the character of the interaction. In other words, no communicative move can be comprehended during the communication process, unless a metamessage is sent letting the listener know which frame of interpretation applies (Bateson, 1972). Bateson (1972) states that as he was watching monkeys in the zoo, he pondered on how it is possible for monkeys to see an aggressive action, such as a bite, as a friendly gesture. Bateson later came to the conclusion that when one monkey bites the other, he not only sends a message (the bite), but also a metamessage, which communicates that the bite is a playful gesture (Bateson, 1972). Tannen (2004) states that metamessages can be viewed as a set of instructions which guide how a message is to be interpreted. Tannen (1992) makes an example of frame by stating that spoken words may refer the opposite of what is said, if it is placed in a frame of teasing, irony, joking or play. If the frame of interpretation is not understood and the listener does not comprehend that the speaker is teasing, joking, playing or using irony the message being sent might be misinterpreted. (Tannen, 2001).

A sociologist greatly invested in the importance of frame in day to day interactions is Erving Goffman. In his book “Frame Analysis” (Goffman, 1974), he explains the multi layers of frame which exists in everyday interactions and provides a number of concepts and examples to explain these different levels of framing. Over the years Goffman became more and more interested in the notion of frame in day to day language use and relied greatly on linguistic discourse analysis (Goffman, 1981). In his later book, “Forms of Talk” (Goffman, 1981), Goffman directly applies Bateson’s theory and his complex levels of frame to his linguistic analysis of real life face to face interactions.

Tannen argues that while discourse analysis gives us immense insight into “the linguistic means” (1993:4) used to create frames in face to face interaction, the notion of frame offers researchers “a theoretical foundation” (1993: 4) for the analysis of discourse during interactions. For this reason, the theory of frame forms an important part of studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics (Tannen, 1993). This is made evident in studies done in Interactional Sociolinguistics by researchers such as Gumperz (1982a). Gumperz (1982a) with his theory on conversational inference argues that a necessary component during conversations is that of contextualization cues. Tannen (1993) states that contextualization cues can be seen as a vital part of linguistic interaction as it makes it possible for speakers to frame their utterances during speech production, which signals to the interlocutors the communicative event wherein/in which they are engaged. The following discussion takes a look at contextualization cues.

### **3.4.3 Contextualization cues**

Cameron (2001) states that when we are engaged in talk, we send quite intricate information to the person with whom we are interacting about how we would like them to interpret and treat the message we are sending. This intricate information includes for example “‘I am speaking to you confidently as a trusted friend’, or ‘I am addressing you as a respected elder’, or ‘I intend this ironically, not seriously’, or ‘this is my main point so listen carefully’ ” (Cameron, 2001:109). As participants constantly engaged in talk, we are able to communicate this complex information by making use of what Gumperz (1982a), refers to as contextualization cues. According to Cameron (2001), contextual cues refer to the use of paralinguistic cues, which include pauses, contrast of volume and speed, hesitation and simultaneous speech, prosody: pitch, stress contrasts and intonation, or switching to a different dialect, style, register or language. When a speaker wants to communicate to the listener that this particular section in the conversation has significance and should be paid attention to, these contextual cues are then used (Cameron, 2001). When those participating in conversation do not grasp or comprehend the contextual cues used by the speaker, the meaning that the speaker is trying to communicate to the listener might be lost (Cameron, 2001).

When individuals from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds interact, there exists a greater possibility of miscommunication occurring as a result of the contextual cues not being grasped by the listener (Gumperz, 1982a). This is due to the fact that speakers using different cultural systems attach different meanings to particular contextualization cues (Cameron, 2001). According to Cameron, a substantial amount of research in Interactional Sociolinguistics has been done with the purpose of assisting those who, on a regular basis, find themselves engaged in “intercultural communication (such as teachers or work in multi ethnic schools or businesses)” (2001: 108). Research of this nature focuses on making participants aware of cultural variations that might lead to problems in day to day real life interactions, as a result of interactional differences created by different cultural systems (Cameron, 2001).

### **3.6 Why Interactional Sociolinguistics can be viewed as the best framework for this study**

My reasons behind choosing Interactional Sociolinguistics for this research were immensely influenced by the following aspects of this framework:

- a) Interactional Sociolinguistics is grounded in the notion that language should be researched by studying real social interactions.
- b) This framework places great importance on the language practices between culturally and linguistically diverse groups of people.
- c) Interactional Sociolinguistics studies more than just explicit language use during linguistic interactions, as it also focuses on implicit meaning revealed during linguistic exchanges through the studying of contextualization cues.

As pointed out above, one of my reasons for choosing Interactional Sociolinguistics for my study, lies in the fact that this framework places great emphasis on studying language in real social interactions. To start off this discussion, I find it necessary to look at arguments made

by Jørgensen, et al, 2011; Makoni and Pennycook, 2006 and Blommaert and Rampton, 2011. What all of these researchers have in common is the disregard for the structural views of language, where language is considered to be separable entities with “bounded systems” to which only specific linguistic features belong (Jørgensen, et al, 2011:32).

Jørgensen, et al, argues that these structural views of language is seen as giving an inadequate description of the language practices occurring in “late modern, superdiverse societies and perhaps all together” and is regarded as “sociocultural constructions” which fail to represent language practices as it happens in real life situations (Jørgensen, et al, 2011:27). Makoni and Pennycook (2006) adds to this discussion by stating that languages as separate entities do not exist in real life and do not represent what happens in real life situations. As my research focuses on the borrowing of linguistic features across languages, a language practice common in late modern superdiverse societies, I thus saw the importance of studying this languaging practice during real social interaction, as this enabled me as a researcher to adequately represent language practices in a late modern, possibly superdiverse context. As Interactional Sociolinguistics values the importance of studying language during real life social interactions, I regarded it as a framework which would value the importance of my investigation. Gumperz states that Interactional Sociolinguistics is committed to doing analysis that focuses on “facts of [contemporary] urban life (1982a:4).

My second reason for choosing Interactional Sociolinguistics is due to the importance this framework places on language practices between cultural and linguistically diverse groups of people. As my research investigated languaging practices amongst culturally and linguistically diverse groups of pupils in the classroom context, Interactional Sociolinguistics appeared to be the most effective framework for this study. For the purpose of my research, I investigated how cultural and linguistically diverse groups of pupils bring to the classroom context the diversity amongst residents in their area, Manenberg. More specifically, I focused on how the borrowing of linguistic features across languages, a language practice common amongst linguistically diverse groups of people coexisting (Stroud, 2014), can be used in the diverse classroom as linguistic resources.



By choosing Interactional Sociolinguistics, a framework embedded in studying linguistic interactions amongst culturally and linguistically diverse groups of people, I was thus able to analyse the linguistic utterances in my data with the cultural and linguistic backgrounds of my participants in mind, which aided the understanding of the language practices found in my data.

My final reason for choosing Interactional Sociolinguistics for this study is related to the fact that this framework not only studies the explicit meaning revealed during linguistic interactions but also the implicit meaning. Interactional Sociolinguistics achieves this by focusing on the contextualization cues present in linguistic exchanges, which then furthermore reveals the frame in which an utterance was placed. By making use of Interactional Sociolinguistics various analytical goals were accomplished. In the first data analysis chapter, chapter 5, the focus is on the extent to which the language/s and language variety used for pedagogy at the two schools accommodate the linguistic diversity and mixed linguistic repertoires of the pupils. By making use of interactional sociolinguistic analysis, contextualization cues together with explicit meaning in classroom discourse observed and interviews with the teachers could be analysed in answer of this research question. Then, as the purpose of my study is to determine whether languaging practices in the classrooms of my participants function as linguistic resource, interactional sociolinguistic analysis was used in chapter 7 to determine the frame of particular classroom discourse which contained languaging practices. This was done by studying the contextualization cues present in utterances which showed the use of languaging practices.

The identifying of the frames, in which these utterances were placed, then made it possible to determine whether these utterances function as linguistic resources. Finally, in chapter 8 of this thesis, the studying of contextualization cues, together with the explicit meaning of utterances helped to reveal the language ideologies of teachers present in their classroom discourse and language use during interviews conducted.

### 3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, a theoretical overview is given of the analytical framework used for this study. As the framework used, Interactional Sociolinguistics, is a branch of discourse analysis, the chapter was started with a general look at discourse analysis. Thereafter, the focus was shifted to all the important aspects within Interactional Sociolinguistics. These include the following: Background on the framework, key features of Interactional Sociolinguistics, the methodological approach of the framework, key concepts and an overview of previous studies which used interactional sociolinguistic as an approach. Finally, this chapter looks at the reasons which motivated the choosing of Interactional Sociolinguistics as analytical tool and how the framework was applied to my study.



## Chapter 4

### 4. Research Methodology

#### 4.1 Introduction

The following chapter will outline the research methodology used for this study. This chapter will include a discussion on the research methods and techniques, a discussion on the schools and learners that participated in the study, data analysis, ethical considerations and research limitations.

#### 4.2 Research Methods and Techniques

##### 4.2.1 Qualitative Research

This study took on a qualitative approach, as I mainly relied on classroom observations to collect data. These observations involved the video recording of the language practices of participants (teachers and learners) as they engaged in the classroom context. The fact that observations were mainly used to gather data, contributed to the authenticity of my data, as this allowed me to observe the spontaneous language use of my participants in their learning space. Capturing the observations on video camera, allowed me to analyse not only the language use of the teachers and learners but also the non-verbal communication (body language) of the participants. Furthermore, by making use of a video camera, I was able to capture all visual artefacts in the classrooms, which gave deeper insight into the topic being investigated. In addition to video recording my observations; I also made use of field notes to record certain observations made.

Lincoln (1995) argues that qualitative researchers focus on things in their natural setting and attempt to understand and make meaning of daily life occurrences or things that are revealed to them by everyday people. On the other hand, Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Painter (2006) state that qualitative research refers to observing and studying incidents in all of their

complexity. Qualitative researchers aim to interpret feelings, experiences, social conditions, or phenomena, as it happens in the real world (Terre Blanche, Durrheim, & Painter, 2006).

Richards (2003: 9) gives four reasons for using qualitative methodology to collect data:

- a) It gets the researcher closer to the practice, to getting a first-hand sense of what actually goes on in the community;
- b) It is above all else a person-centered enterprise;
- c) It has transformative potential for a researcher; and
- d) Analysis is based on a wide range of features.

In addition to the use of observations and making field notes to gather data, I conducted non-scheduled structured interviews with the teachers at the beginning of the data collection process and also at the end of my time in the field. The reason behind conducting interviews before starting with the classroom observations was to assemble information that could not be gathered by doing observations. For example, gathering information about the language backgrounds of the participants. The fact that I was then able to start the classroom observations with the language backgrounds of my participants in mind, gave me a better understanding of the language interactions occurring in the classroom. Furthermore, interviews were conducted with the teachers once the classroom observations had been done. This was done so that the teachers could clarify or substantiate certain observations made. These interviews were audio recorded. Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Painter (2006) argue that a non-scheduled structured interview is structured in the sense that the researcher makes a list of the issues to be investigated before the interview. The interviewer has a list of precise questions, but depending on the answers from the participant, the interviewer can use alternative or sub-questions. Non-scheduled structured interviews were ideal for my interviews with the teachers as having prepared questions ensured that the most important questions were asked. However, because the interviews were non-scheduled, I was able to ask additional questions that came to mind during the interviews.

### 4.2.2 Ethnographic Fieldwork

In this section, I make the argument that even though the research methods used for this study resemble ethnographic fieldwork, it cannot be regarded as ethnographic in an anthropological sense. The data collection was done over the duration of three months. During these three months, I went to Manenberg thrice a week. The first week of being in the field was used to familiarize myself with the area of Manenberg, as the two schools used in my research are situated in this area. (Refer to chapter 1 for discussion on the community of Manenberg). This was done by interacting with community members and visiting public community spaces, such as the community library. By familiarizing myself with the community, I gained insight into the diversification in the area (cultural and linguistic) and the economic and social conditions in which the residents of Manenberg live. To document these findings field notes were used and a digital camera to capture images of the area. In the second week in the field, I went to the two grade R classes to familiarize myself with the learning spaces of my participants and to establish good relationships with the teachers and pupils. Furthermore, this week was used to conduct the first interviews with the teachers. Thereafter, my classroom observations commenced. In the final week after classroom observations had been done, I once again interviewed both grade R teachers in order to clarify and substantiate certain observations made.

As my research involved regularly going to the community of Manenberg to do observations in the area and most importantly classroom observations in the learning space of my participants, one could argue that my research methods resemble anthropological fieldwork which is regarded as ethnographic in nature. Cameron (2001) states that the term ethnography belongs to the field of anthropology and involves the researching of culture(s) through the use of participant observations. Anthropologists using ethnographic research methods make use of “observable techniques” (such as the recording of natural interactions and interviewing of participants), and partake as much as possible in activities happening within the community being studied (Cameron, 2001: 53). The goal of such researchers is to gain insight into how particular communities or cultures function (Cameron, 2001). This is done by the researcher immersing him/herself into the community/ culture’s day to day activities but still remaining an “outsider” in order to act as observer (Cameron, 2001: 53). Blackledge and Creese (2010a)

argue that ethnographers aim to mirror the social context of their research participants as they interact in social interactions, through representation and interpretation.

Participant observation is not only a research method used in the field of anthropology, but also by those researchers working in fields such as sociolinguistics and cultural studies (Cameron, 2001). However, there are various on-going debates about whether the use of participant observation by researchers in other fields can be labelled ethnography (Cameron, 2001). This is due to the fact that unlike anthropologists, researchers in other fields do not immerse themselves within the worlds of their participants by living with them and do not spend extensive periods researching their participants and their surroundings (Cameron, 2001). One could argue that the term ethnography has been used extensively in social sciences and it is apparent that what is sometimes regarded as ethnographic research does not meet the standards of “classical anthropology” (Cameron, 2001: 54). On the other hand, there are often very apparent “family resemblances” between ethnographic studies done in the field of anthropology and research in other fields which make use of participant observation (Cameron, 2001: 54). These resemblances include doing research in naturalistic settings, continuous and regular contact with participants, a certain degree of participation by the researcher in the culture/community being investigated and most importantly, the aim of the researcher to gain a group membership level of understanding of the culture/community being studied, instead of seeking “objective factual data” (Cameron, 2001:54).

During the data collection process, I gained insight into how the residents of Manenberg live, as the majority of the pupils that participated in the study are from the area. As stated early, I did this by regularly visiting the area and community spaces, such as the public library. Furthermore, observational techniques were used to study the natural linguistic interactions of pupils and teachers in the domain of the classroom. The majority of my data was thus collected through observational data in the classrooms of my participants. Finally interviews were used to gather additional information about observations made. However, unlike anthropological research, I did not spend extensive periods of time with my participants as I only visited the area and schools thrice a week. It can thus be argued that unlike anthropologists, I did not submerge myself in the daily activities of my participants. The

argument can therefore be made that my research methods used for this study were not ethnographic in an anthropological sense, but simply resemble research methods ethnographic in nature.

### **4.3 Schools that participated in the study**

Two schools situated in the area of Manenberg were used in this study. In order to protect the identity of these schools, the schools will be referred to as school A and school B. For the purpose of this research, the grade R classes at schools A and B were used. At school A, the language used as medium of instruction is standard Afrikaans across all grades, including the grade R class used in this study. This was made evident in the first interview conducted with teacher A when she was asked about the language used for pedagogy at the school and stated “Afrikaans↓”. Furthermore, when the teacher was asked in this interview whether the language used for teaching is only Afrikaans, she replied by saying “Yep↓”.

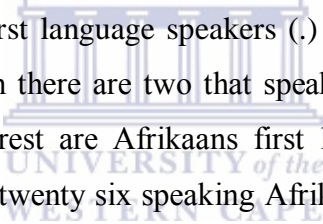
At school B, the dual medium of instruction is used from grade 1 to grade 7. Baker (2007) states that in classes where dual medium of instruction is used, educators teach the subject curriculum in one language one day and then in a different language the following day. In dual medium of instruction classes, the two languages used are very strictly alternated (Baker, 2007). However, the grade R class at school B, only has English as a medium of instruction. This can be seen in the first interview with teacher B, where she stated that “We use English for grade R↓ (.) Then dual medium from grade 1 to 7↓ (...) English and Afrikaans↓”. In the interviews conducted with teachers A and B, after classroom observations had been done, these teachers once again confirmed the languages used for teaching at these schools to be as explained above.

### **4.4 Participants**

The participants used for this study included two grade R teachers and the grade R pupils in their classes. As the pupils used in the study were in grade R, they were between the ages of

five and six during the data collection period. This was established by both teachers in the first interviews. Furthermore, both teachers confirmed that the majority of the pupils are from the area of Maneneberg. This can be seen in turn 4 of the first interview when teacher A replied “Yes↓” when she was asked whether the majority of the pupils reside in Manenberg. Teacher B also revealed that most of her grade R learners reside in the area, when she said in turn 4 of the first interview with her “From the area (...) Manenberg↓”, in response to my question about where the majority of the pupils are from. At the time my research was conducted in these two grade R classrooms, there were thirty one learners in teacher A’s class and thirty seven pupils in teacher B’s class.

In terms of linguistic diversity found in the classroom of teacher A, she stated the following in turn 10 during the first interview:



“There are two English first language speakers (.) that uhm have Afrikaans as their second language↓ (.) Then there are two that speak isiXhosa first language and one French speaker↓ (.) The rest are Afrikaans first language with English as second language↓ (.) That is (...) twenty six speaking Afrikaans first language↓ (.) But those that speak IsiXhosa and French even know a little Afrikaans and English ↓(.) They don’t speak it well now but it is there coz they are growing up in Manenberg so they pick it up here↓ (.) Its limited English and Afrikaans though↓”

On the other hand, the language variety brought to the classroom context by the learners of teacher A was described as “street slang” by the teacher in the first interview. In the second interview conducted with teacher A she also made comments which indicate a non-standard variety brought to the classroom by her learners. An example of this can be seen in turn 28 of the second interview when the teacher states the following about the varieties brought to the classroom context:

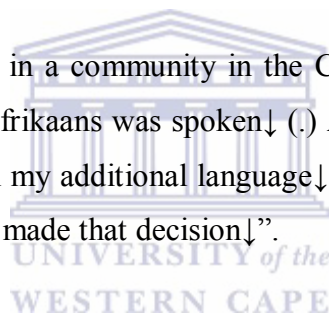
“ ↑SLANG↓ (.) because their parents speak like that at home↓ (.)They would say uhm (.) they would mix languages↓...”.



Holmes (1992) argues that non-standard varieties of languages refer to those varieties that did not undergo regulation and codification and are often regarded as inferior when compared to standard varieties. This is due to the fact that non-standard varieties are often used for low functions, such as when communicating in informal domains (Holmes, 1992). Furthermore, Holmes states that a standard variety of a language would be one that has “undergone some degree of regulation and codification”; it is viewed as a variety or code with prestige and is used for high functions, such as for teaching at educational institutions, or official functions (1992: 83).

When asking the grade R teacher at school A about her linguistic background, she had the following to say:

“...I was born and raised in a community in the Cape Flats (.) where we used uhm Afrikaans↓ (.) At home Afrikaans was spoken↓ (.) At school level I had Afrikaans as first language and English my additional language↓ (...) My husband and I raised our kids with English↓ (.) We made that decision↓”.



Similar questions were asked in the two interviews with teacher B. With regards to the linguistic diversity in the grade R class at school B, teacher B stated that

“Most of them speak Afrikaans but their parents mos want them to be in an English class↓ (.) There is a handful that really speaks English at home also and then I have five that speak IsiXhosa↓ (...) These isiXhosa speakers know other languages also↓ (.) Like they maybe have uhm other African languages or maybe English as second language and they pick up the language in the area also↓(.) They speak a bit of Afrikaans even coz they hear by their friends when they playing↓ (.) They mos live here or around here so they pick up Afrikaans↓=”

Moreover, teacher B said the following about the repertoires of the Afrikaans and English mother tongue speakers in her class:

Then when the teacher was asked about the language variety which her learners bring to the classroom, teacher B revealed that they bring with them an informal variety. This made evident in turn 20 of the second interview when she stated “You know when they (.) when they speak to each other (.) they (.) they use those (...) the slang↓=”

In terms of the language background of the grade R teacher at school B she stated “=I am Afrikaans↓ (.) I grew up in an Afrikaans community↓ (.) I actually attended this school and they had no English (.) only Afrikaans↓”.

Furthermore, teacher B also revealed that even though she had English as additional language in high school, “...it was still mostly Afrikaans↓” Then when the teacher was asked when she started using English she informed me that she started using English in her “adult life” when she started working and had “English speaking friends↓”

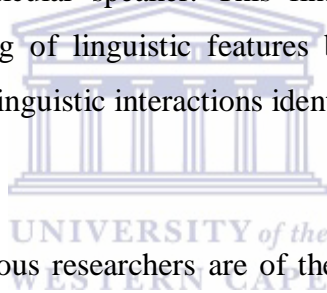
#### 4.5 Data Analysis



Once I had collected my interactional data, I started with the transcription of these recordings from oral to text medium. As a researcher, I made the decision to transcribe all of my data, as I wanted to ensure that no important findings that the data might reveal go unnoticed. This decision proved to be advantageous, when during the transcription process patterns were already arising out of the data, which went unnoticed during the time in the field.

The patterns were noted down for further investigation once the transcription process was complete. As my study focuses on the explicit as well as the implicit meaning attached to the spoken classroom discourse of my participants, detailed transcriptions were necessary. These transcriptions thus not only focuses on what is said by the participants but also indicate contextualization cues in the form of pauses, voice volume, pitch, stressed words and so forth. Even though all of my data was transcribed, using all of it proved to be impractical. For this reason only the most relevant data was selected.

Once all the data was transcribed, the language use of my participants was studied more closely, with the cultural and linguistically diverse backgrounds of the participants in mind. The terms, style and stylization, important concepts in interactional sociolinguistic analysis, helped to explain the language use brought to the classroom by the grade R pupils and the stylization of certain linguistic interactions within the classroom context. Furthermore, with Interactional Sociolinguistics as a tool, it was possible to analyse both implicit and explicit meanings attached to the classroom discourse observed and meanings shared during the interviews. This therefore made it possible to thoroughly answer each research question. For example, once instances where the borrowing of linguistic features occurred in the spoken classroom, discourse of teachers and learners were identified, my attention shifted to the contextualization cues used during these utterances. By focusing on the contextualization cues used during these utterances, I was able focus on the significance of the frame in which the utterances were produced, which revealed the implicit meaning attached to it and also the communicative goal of the particular speaker. This finally made it possible for me to determine whether the borrowing of linguistic features by the participants functioned as linguistic resources during these linguistic interactions identified.



Nagy and Sharma state that various researchers are of the belief that transcriptions merely involve “mechanical translation from oral medium to text medium”, when there are various decisions to be made with regards to which parts of a recording to include and also how much detail to include in the segments chosen (2013: 236).

One of the very first decisions to be made during the transcription process is whether or not recordings should be transcribed at all, as some researchers see it as more efficient to move on directly to extracting all the relevant examples from the audio stream. The decision is then made by the researcher to not transcribe at all or to only transcribe these relevant extracts (Nagy and Sharma: 2013).

On the other hand, there are researchers who prefer transcribing all of their data first so that all their material is available to them in text medium. This approach reduces the risk of

missing certain extracts or examples and may also save valuable time if the goal is to use the data again in future (Nagy and Sharma, 2013). Nagy and Sharma state that the first approach to transcribing is used by “Labov’s course on sociolinguistic fieldwork methodology in Philadelphia” and the latter is used by the “Ottawa- Hull Corpus (Poplack 1989), Sankoff and Thibault’s Montreal Anglophone project (Sankoff, et al, 1997) and the Montreal Francophone Corpora (Sankoff and Sankoff 1973)” (2013: 236). In some cases, researchers prefer handing the transcribing of material over to professional transcribers, which might negatively influence how well the researcher knows and comprehends the material and study as a whole ( Nagy and Sharma, 2013).

Nagy and Sharma (2013) states that during the actual transcription process, the researcher already starts noticing patterns in the data and is made aware of elements that may not be so apparent when simply listening to the material in oral form. Due to this reason, various researchers opt for transcribing their own data as far as they possibly can (Nagy and Sharma, 2013). There are however various reasons as to why researchers often do not transcribe all of the data collected. These reasons range from merely not having the time to transcribe all the data, funding difficulties, certain sections cannot be understood as it is inaudible or the researcher might simply have collected more data than was necessary ( Nagy and Sharma, 2013).

Nagy and Sharma (2013), argues that transcriptions differ greatly with regards to how well details of the recorded interactions are preserved. Even though there is no “accurate” level of detail that should be given by researchers in transcriptions, there is however a correct amount of detail that should be given for specific research questions (Nagy and Sharma, 2013). Edwards (2001), argues that choosing conventions during the transcription process, is normally determined by the nature of the interaction recorded and also by the analytical goal. Nagy and Sharma state that qualitative sociolinguistic modes of analysis “require more faithful documentation of fine details of speech production, interactional structure and non - verbal activity” (Nagy and Sharma, 2013: 243). Due to the increase attention given to these features during the transcription process, transcriptions of discourse analysis eliminates any punctuation and only includes the conventions listed by the researcher (Nagy and Sharma,

2013:234). According to Schiffrin (1994), interactional sociolinguistic transcripts should include enough detail about the features of talk used during interactions, as these features often function as contextualization cues. As contextualization cues can function at numerous linguistic levels interactional sociolinguistic transcripts are thus rather detailed (Ehrlich and Romaniuk, 2013).

#### **4.6 Ethical Considerations**

As this study involved working with teachers and their learners within the classroom domain, ethical issues needed to be considered throughout the research process. Once I was given permission and clearance to start my research, I met with the principals of school A and B (Refer to appendix 2 for ethics clearance document). During these meetings, I provided them with an information sheet which summarizes this study (Refer to appendix 3 for information sheet). In addition to the information sheet, I answered any questions about the study during the meeting. After the principals had understood the purpose of my study and I was given written consent to proceed, I met with both grade R teachers.



During my meetings with the teachers, I once again explained the nature of my research. An information sheet summarizing my research was also provided to them. Furthermore, I discussed their roles as participants and explained the following:

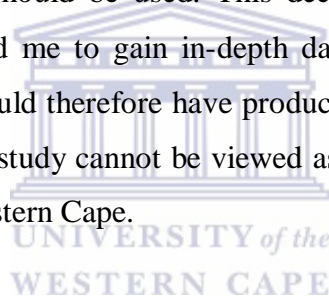
1. Your participation is voluntary.
2. You may withdraw from the study at any time.
3. If you decide to withdraw from the study, all data gathered as a result of your participation, will be destroyed.
4. Your identity will be protected on camera, as your face will be visually distorted.
5. Your identity will be protected in transcriptions as pseudonyms will be used.

Once the teachers had been informed, I went through the consent form with them. Thereafter, I sent out informed consent letters to the parents/guardians of the learners in these classrooms, as they are still underage (Refer appendix 4 for the consent form).

Once my research is complete, I will provide both schools with copies of the thesis so that they are able to see that the data gathered was used for the purpose explained to them. I will also leave extra copies at the school, so that any parent/s or guardian, who would like to read the paper, can have access to a copy.

#### **4.7 Research Limitations**

As with most research, this study had limitations. For the purpose of this research, it was decided that only two schools should be used. This decision was based on the fact that focusing on two schools allowed me to gain in-depth data on the topic being researched. Using more than two schools would therefore have produced less focused data. However, as only two schools were used, my study cannot be viewed as a representative of all schools in the area of Manenberg or the Western Cape.



My second research limitation involves the use of a video camera to record classroom observations. Even though the use of a video camera ensured that both audio and visual classroom activities and discourse could be recorded, it nonetheless proved to be a research instrument which could not be discreetly used. For this reason, research participants were often reminded of the presence of me as researcher.

Finally, a research limitation which greatly impacted the amount of data that was collected is the presence of crime in the form of gangsterism in Manenberg. As discussed in chapter one of this thesis, Manenberg is a community ruled by a high crime rate due to the evident presence of gangsterism. As a result, my research days were often shortened. One particular occasions I had arrived in Manenberg and was advised by police officials that gang wars were occurring which affected the safety of me as researcher in the area. On such days, fieldwork had to be cancelled. Finding someone to accompany me to the area also proved to

be difficult as I was often advised to not enter the area alone. This immensely impacted my time spent doing fieldwork.

#### **4.8 Conclusion**

Chapter four has outlined the research methodology for this study. It looked at the research methods and techniques used, which included a discussion on qualitative research and the debates around what classifies as ethnographic research techniques. Thereafter, a discussion on the schools and participants used in the study follows. The data analysis process was then discussed. Finally, this chapter ended with the ethical considerations of this study and a brief summary of the research limitations. The following chapter, chapter 5, will be the first data analysis chapter of this thesis.

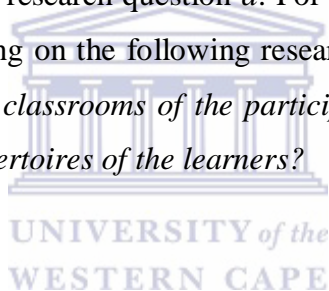


## Chapter 5

### 5. Data Analysis

#### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter is the first of three chapters in this thesis, dedicated to the analysis of the data collected. The data is presented in the form of transcribed classroom observations, interviews conducted with participants and images of classroom visual aids. To thoroughly investigate the topic being researched, I based my investigation on four research questions to guide this study. In answer of research question *a*, the terms speech style and stylization are mainly applied in the analysis. In answer of research questions *b* to *d*, contextualization cues and the notion of frame are primarily used in the data analysis. This data analysis chapter will focus on the first research question, chapter six will look at research questions *b* and *c* and the final data analysis chapter will answer research question *d*. For the purpose of this particular data analysis chapter, I will be focusing on the following research question: *To what extent does the medium of instruction in the classrooms of the participants accommodate the linguistic diversity and mixed linguistic repertoires of the learners?*



In answer of this research question, four aspects will be concentrated on: Firstly, I report on the linguistic diversity and multi-layered repertoires brought to the classrooms by the pupils. Here the notion of speech style will be applied for the purpose of analysing the language use of the pupils in the classroom context. A comparison will then be done between the linguistic diversity in the domain of the classroom and the language/s and language variety used for teaching. Making this comparison will give a better understanding of whether or not the linguistic diversity amongst the pupils is accommodated by the medium of instruction. Furthermore, I will consider possible efforts made by language policy makers of the two schools and the teachers who participated in this study to accommodate the diversification amongst their pupils. Here I will make use of the second interviews conducted with teacher A and B, in order to investigate aspects such as whether any support is given to the schools, in the form of workshops and training, to provide teachers with tools to assist with the growing linguistic diversity in their classes.



Thereafter, a look will be taken at visual aids found in the classrooms of the participants, in order to investigate whether the diversification amongst pupils were considered when these posters were displayed. This will then further uncover whether the linguistic diversity amongst learners are accommodated.

Finally, I will analyse observational data, where during class activities, additional speakers of the medium of instruction revealed difficulties with lessons, due to a language barrier between the language used for teaching and the mother tongue language of the pupil. Throughout the analysis in this chapter, the notion of stylization is applied, where applicable, to instances observed and occurrences during the interviews conducted with the teachers.

## **5.2 The linguistic diversity brought to the classroom by the pupils**

Prior to the observations done in the classrooms of my participants, I familiarized myself with the area of Manenberg, to gain insight into the diversification in the community, specifically the linguistic diversity brought from home by pupils. For this purpose I also consulted census of the area. When acquainting myself with the area, an increase in cultural and linguistic diversity became visible. Classroom observations and interviews with both teachers used in this study, further established that this diversification is evident in their classrooms. (For a discussion on the community of Manenberg, refer to 1.2.4 in chapter one).

### **5.2.1 The linguistic diversity amongst pupils in the classroom of teacher A**

In the first interview conducted with teacher A (refer to appendix 3), we discussed the linguistic backgrounds of the pupils in her class. In turn 10, teacher A revealed the following about the repertoires of her learners:

“...There are two English first language speakers (.) that uhm have Afrikaans as their second language↓ (.) Then there are two that speak isiXhosa first language and one French speaker↓ (.) The rest are Afrikaans first language with English as second

language↓ (.) That is (...) twenty six speaking Afrikaans first language↓ (.) But those that speak IsiXhosa and French even know a little Afrikaans and English ↓(.) They don't speak it well now but it is there coz they are growing up in Manenberg so they pick it up here↓ (.) Its limited English and Afrikaans though↓”.

In this quotation from teacher A, she stated that in a class of thirty one learners, the majority of the learners are Afrikaans mother tongue speakers, with English, IsiXhosa and French speakers being in the minority. She also states that the Afrikaans first language speakers have English as their second language and English first language speakers have Afrikaans as second language. Furthermore, the teacher revealed that those speaking isiXhosa and French have Afrikaans and English in their repertoires as they are “...growing up in Manenberg so they pick it up [there]↓”. However, the Afrikaans and English of isiXhosa and French learners are viewed as “limited” by teacher A.

In the interview conducted with teacher A, a few months after I had collected my data (Refer to appendix 11 ); she shared with me that the cultural and linguistic diversity in her class increased quite rapidly. This can be seen in turn 10:

Teacher A: “You know (.) when you were here doing your research (.) the uhm (.)- I had learners that are IsiXhosa and so on in the class but there weren't a lot of them↓ (.) Now(.) I have a lot more learners from other cultures that speak different languages ↓”.

In turn 10 of the second interview, the teacher thus made apparent an increase in both cultural and linguistic diversity in her class, which could be argued to mirror the constant increase in cultural and linguistic diversity in the area of Manenberg.

In addition to teacher A communicating in the first interview that Afrikaans first language speakers are in the majority in the class and English, isiXhosa and French speakers are in the minority, she also pointed out the multi-layered repertoires of her pupils when she stated, in

turn 10, that isiXhosa and French speakers have picked up English and Afrikaans in the area of Manenberg where they reside:

Teacher A "...But those that speak IsiXhosa and French even know a little Afrikaans and English ↓(.) They don't speak it well now but it is there coz they are growing up in Manenberg so they pick it up here↓...".

Observational data gathered in the class of the teacher and comments made in the second interview by teacher A, also confirmed that learners bring to the classroom non-standard language varieties. The following, extract 5.1 and 5.2 are from the transcriptions of the video recorded observations made in the classroom of teacher A, which captured the speech style brought to the classroom domain by pupils. The language use of the learners in these extracts also conveys immense historical and political significance. This will be discussed below. The first extract is a linguistic exchange between teacher A and some of her pupils, one of her grade R learners in particular. This interaction occurred during a storytelling session where pupils had moved away from the story being told by the teacher and started sharing personal experiences of their home lives.

### **Extract 5.1 (Appendix 6)**

49. Teacher: (Surprised) ↓Hou jy daa van as dit donker is? ↑

Teacher: ↓*Do you like it when it is dark?* ↑

50. Few of the Learners: [JAAAAA↓ ]

Few of the Learners: [YEEES↓]

(One of the learners trying to get the teacher's attention)

51. Teacher: Ek hou daa van as die lig an is en as die sonskyn want dan kan ek sien↓

Teacher: *I like it when the light is on and when the sun is shining because then I can see*↓

52. One of the learners: Juffrou toe die krag afgegan het by os en toe maak my pa my bang giste aand ↓

One of the Learners: *Teacher last night when our electricity went out my father scared me* ↓

53. Teacher: ↓Was julle krag af? ↑

Teacher: ↓*Was your electricity off?* ↑

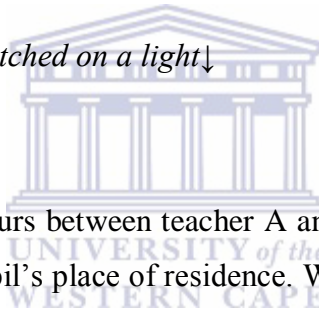
(Learner nods)

54. Teacher: ↓En- en toe? ↑Toe uhm wat maak julle? ↑

Teacher: ↓*And and then?* ↑ *Uhm what did you guys do?* ↑

55. Learner: Toe sit my ouma `n lig an ↓

Learner: *So my grandma switched on a light* ↓



In extract 5.1, a conversation occurs between teacher A and one of her grade R pupils about the electricity being off at the pupil's place of residence. When looking at the speech style of the pupil, it is apparent that an informal variety of Afrikaans, better known as Kaaps, is used by the learner. This is made evident when looking at words such as “afgegan”, “os” and “giste”, as the standard variety of these words are “afgegaan” *switched off*, “ons” *we* and “gister” *yesterday*.

According to Hendricks (2016), “Kaaps”, a popular term currently in the field of academics, is a speech style which is unique to the Western Cape and its surrounding areas. The South African writer and Black Consciousness Movement activist, Adam Smal,<sup>1</sup> played a significant role in the coining of the term “Kaaps” ( Gerwel, 2012). Hendricks (2016) states that there exist various alternative terms to refer to this speech style. These terms include “Kaapse Vernakulêre Afrikaans” (Ponelis, 2009), Kaapse Vernakulêr-Afrikaans- *Cape Vernacular Afrikaans* (Du Plessis 1987:130) and “Kaapse Afrikaans” - *Cape Town Afrikaans* (Hendricks 1978:13-26; Carstens 2003:291; Le Cordier 2011:763-766).

This ever expanding speech style is said to be commonly used by the lower social class but does not exclude speakers from the middle and higher social classes (Hendricks, 2016). Nevertheless, Kaapse Afrikaans (*Cape Town Afrikaans*) is mainly viewed as a speech style practiced by the working class (Hendricks, 2016).

Vernakulêre Afrikaans *Cape Vernacular Afrikaans*, is regarded a non-standard variety of Afrikaans and is greatly influenced by the English language. (Hendricks, 2016) Moreover, Kaaps is made up of a combination of lexical and grammatical markers, morphological imbedding and expressions (Hendricks, 2016). Some of the many English imbedding in Kaaps include examples such as *racistgeid* (Snyders, Political Joke: 55) and *ge-enter* (Snyders, Die Burger Landelik, 10/5/2001). Kaaps is also recognised through the unique pronunciation of words by its speakers. (Hendricks 2016). Kaaps generally includes speech style characteristics such as, the exclusion or deletion of certain speech sounds in words, the adding of speech sounds in words, the changing of speech sounds, a lack of rounding of certain sounds and so forth (Hendricks, 2016). In extract 5.1, the words “afgegan”, “os” and “giste” was identified in the speech of one of the grade R learners in the class of teacher A. In extract 5.1 it is evident that the pupil is making use of Kaaps as she excludes certain sound in her pronunciation of these words.

Furthermore, Kaaps is also made up of lexical markers and expressions such as “kwaai”: (adjective), meaning good or fantastic (Son, “Oom Sonnie”, 11/3/2010), *lai-lai/laai-laai* (adjective), meaning grumpy or difficult (De Vries, Baie melk, 76) but to name a few. The following extract demonstrates the use of a Kaaps expression often used by speakers on the Cape Flats. This extract is taken from the same storytelling session as in Extract 5.1. However, in this extract, teacher A is engaged in a conversation with different grade R pupils in her class.

### **Extract 5.2 (Appendix 6)**

96. One of the learners: Juffrou my pa roek entjies ne↓ (.) daa by ons huis↓ (.) en dagga↓

One of the learners: *Teacher my dad smokes cigarettes ↓(.) at our house↓ (.) and marijuana↓*

(Learners laugh)

97. Teacher: (Looking embarrassed) *Hy kan mos nie dit doenie↓*

Teacher: (*Looking embarrassed*) *He cannot do that ↓*

(Learners laugh louder)

98: One of the learners: *My boeta roek ook dagga↓*

One of the learners: *My brother also smokes marijuana↓*

99. Teacher: *Oh↓ (.) kan kinders dagga roek? ↑*

Teacher: *Oh ↓(.) can children smoke marijuana? ↑*

100: Some of the learners: [NEEEE↓]

Some of the learners: [NOOO↓]

101. One of the learners: ↑DIE BOERE GAAN HULLE OPTEL↓

One of the learners: ↑*THE POLICE IS GOING TO PICK THEM UP*↓

102. Teacher: ↓DIE WIE?↑ (.) Se vir my nog a word vir boere↓

Teacher: ↓*THE WHO?*↑ (.) Give me another word for “boere”↓

103. One of the learners: ↑POLISIE↓

One of the learners:↑ *POLICE*↓

104. Teacher: JAAA↓ (.) polisie↓

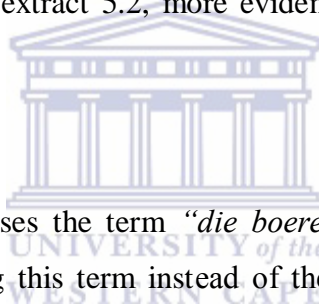
Teacher: *YEEES*↓ (.) *police*↓

105: One of the learners: *Dan sit hulle jou in die tronk↓*

One of the learners: *Then they put you in jail↓*

In extract 5.2, we see teacher A interacting with different pupils in her class. What is apparent in this extract is that Kaaps is once again used by the learners. During this interaction, the learners make use of non-standard Afrikaans words such as “roek”, “entjies”, “daa” and “boere”. The word “roek” is the non-standard variety of the Afrikaans word “rook” *smoke*, “entjies” is the non-standard variety of the word “cigarette” *cigarette*, “daa” is the non-standard variety of the word “daar” *there* and the word “boere” is a slang term for the Afrikaans word “polisie” *police*.

The speech style of the pupils in extracts 5.1 and 5.2 are examples of Kaaps that is used in the classroom of teacher A throughout the observation period. When taking into account that the majority of the learners reside in the area of Manenberg, it becomes evident that the non-standard variety of Afrikaans seen in extract 5.1 and 5.2 are examples of the speech style used in the area. In turn 101 of extract 5.2, more evidence substantiating the above made claim can be found.



In line 101, one of the pupils uses the term “*die boere*” to refer to the police. What is noteworthy about the pupil using this term instead of the Afrikaans word “polisie”, is the historical and political reference attached to the term. During the apartheid era, non-whites, especially the Coloured population, referred the apartheid law enforcement as “*die boere*”, which translates to “the whites”. This term was created during the apartheid era due to the fact that the majority of those employed by the government as police officers were white South Africans. Many non-whites, especially Coloured South Africans therefore used this term to refer to the police, who at the time carried immense authority and was greatly feared by non-white South Africans. When relating this to the use of the term by the pupil in the class of teacher A, various conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, we could argue that the pupil is non-white, mostly likely, Coloured and living in the area of Manenberg. This argument is based on the fact that, during the apartheid era, Manenberg, the area in which this school is situated, was set aside for so called Coloured people. Secondly, the argument can be made that the term “*die boere*” has remained in the language use of the family and community members of the pupil, who experienced apartheid. The term was then picked up in the environment the learner is growing up in and used. Lastly, one could argue that the

connotations attached to this word, has also been carried over to the pupil who made use of the term.

As stated earlier, during the apartheid era, the term “*die boere*”, was used to refer to a group with great authority and power that should be feared. However, post apartheid the police are seen by most as an entity offering safety and protection. When looking at the context in which the pupil uses the term, it is evident that the pupil is attaching negative connotations (authority, power, fear) carried over from the apartheid era to this word. In other words, even though various positive connotations (safety and protection) are attached to the police in the post apartheid era, the use of the term by the learner shows negative connotations related to the era of apartheid. This is made apparent when the pupil tells the teacher that the father and brother of the two learners will be arrested for smoking an illegal substance, marijuana.

After classroom observations had revealed the use of Kaaps by the pupils in the classroom context, I asked the teacher about the language varieties brought to the classroom context by her learners. She then substantiated observations made when she stated the following:

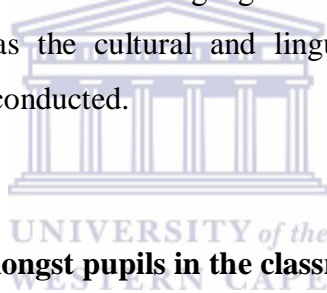
“↑SLANG↓ (.) because their parents speak like that at home↓ (.)They would say uhm (.) they would mix languages↓ (.) If I say “inkleur potlood” *colouring pencil* they say colour↓(.) “↓Juffrou kan ek hierdie colour gebruik?↑” ↓*Teacher can I use this colour?↑* “Juffrou ons het a colouring tv↓” *Teacher we have a colouring tv↓* (.) Those words↓ (Teacher laughs) (.) It actually irritates me↓ (.) They bring it from the home and streets↓ (.) They refer to the police as “die boere” *the whites↓*(Lowers her head in her hands)”.

This quotation, taken from turn 28 of the second interview with the teacher, revealed that learners make use of Kaaps or “mix languages”, as explained by teacher A. In this extract, we see the occurrence of stylization, as the teacher imitates the language use of her learners during this instance. Here we see teacher A take on the persona of her pupils and mimicking the way she believes they speak. This can be seen in turn 28, when she says “...“↓Juffrou kan ek hierdie colour gebruik?↑” ↓*Teacher can I use this colour?↑* “Juffrou ons het a colouring



tv↓” *Teacher we have a colouring tv↓...*”. Through the stylization of her speech to imitate her pupils, one could argue that the teacher is attempting to not only communicate her disapproval of the speech style of her pupils, as can be seen soon after the occurrence of stylization when she says “...It actually irritates me↓...”, but is also trying to relay that she, unlike her pupils, do not make use of Kaaps.

In the above discussion, it was showed that even though Afrikaans is the first language of most of the pupils in the classroom of teacher A, when my research was conducted, there nevertheless existed linguistic diversity in this classroom, as there were learners speaking other first languages besides Afrikaans in the class of teacher A, i.e. English, IsiXhosa and French. Furthermore, it was also established that learners bring to the classroom non-standard varieties in the form of Kaaps and languaging practices as they often “mix languages” or borrow linguistic features from each other’s languages. Lastly, teacher A also pointed out a constant increase in diversity, as the cultural and linguistic diversity in her class had increased since my research was conducted.



### **5.2.2 The linguistic diversity amongst pupils in the classroom of teacher B**

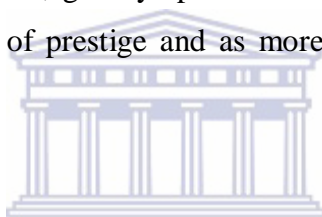
This section of the chapter focuses on the diversification, especially the linguistic diversity found in the grade R classroom at school B. In the second interview conducted with teacher B, she had the following to say when she was asked about the diversity amongst the learners in her class:

Teacher B: It is- It is diverse↓ (.) It is diverse↓ (.) There are a lot of Coloured and African uhm learners here in my class↓. In this quotation the teacher addresses the cultural diversity amongst her learners by stating that there are various Coloured and “African learners” in her class.

In the first interview with teacher B, we discussed the linguistic backgrounds of her learners, where the teacher then stated:

“Most of them speak Afrikaans but their parents mos want them to be in an English class↓ (.) There is a handful that really speaks English at home also and then I have five that speak IsiXhosa↓ (...) These isiXhosa speakers know other languages also↓ (.) Like they maybe have uhm other African languages or maybe English as second language and they pick up the language in the area also↓ (.) They speak a bit of Afrikaans even coz they hear by their friends when they playing↓ (.) They mos live here or around here so they pick up Afrikaans↓=” .

This information gathered from teacher B, revealed that the majority of her learners are Afrikaans mother tongue speakers, the dominant language spoken in the community of Manenberg. This was made evident when she stated “Most of them speak Afrikaans but their parents mos want them to be in an English class↓...”. With this statement, the teacher revealed that parents find an English medium of instruction class preferable. The views of the parents, as expressed by the teacher, greatly speaks of a common language attitude where English is viewed as a language of prestige and as more valuable than the mother tongue language.



These positive language attitudes towards English stems from an era during apartheid where various black activists and intellectuals viewed English as the language which would liberate non-whites from the apartheid regime and Bantu education (Crawhall, 1993). The use of English was given preference for public expression by apartheid activists as a means of rejecting the language of the oppressor, Afrikaans (Crawhall, 1993). Heugh (1995) states that this rejection of Afrikaans in the mid-1970s had unknowingly advanced the role of English, not simply over Afrikaans but also over the African languages in our country. Post apartheid, research has revealed a demand for English as language of pedagogy by an increasing number of groups previously disadvantaged by apartheid (Black African and Coloured parents) (Pluddeman 1996). However, English medium of instruction given to additional speakers of the language has often been held responsible for the impeding of learning, which is said to lead to poor competence in not only English but also the mother tongue language (Pluddeman, 1996). Nonetheless, the teacher informed me that out of the thirty seven learners in her class, there are “a handful” English first language speakers.

Teacher B also revealed the multifaceted repertoires of the Black African learners when she stated that they have other African languages or English as a second language and have even begun to pick up the dominant language in the area of Maneneberg, Afrikaans. According to teacher B, learners thus bring to the classroom context, linguistic diversity and multi-layered repertoires.

The multifaceted repertoires of her learners were once again discussed in the second interview conducted with teacher B, when she, in turn 12, pointed out the use of languaging practices amongst learners. This is evident in the following quote: “↑HA AH↓ ↑HA AH↓FORMAL↓ (.) NO SLANG↓ (.) They must- they must use formal English not come with the languages they mix↓”.

In this utterance by the teacher she reveals that learners bring to the classroom “...languages that they mix↓”, which she regards as non-standard varieties or “slang”. This makes apparent that amongst the linguistic diverse groups in her class, with mixed linguistic repertoires, linguistic production which involves the borrowing of linguistic features across languages also occurs.

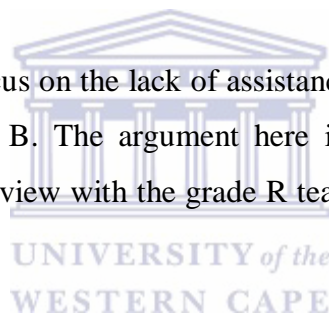
In the second interview with teacher B, a teacher at the school joined in on this interview and communicated an increase in linguistic diversity at the school. This can be seen in turn 53, when teacher 2 stated “... but now we got kids from Malawi and Kenyans↓ (.) We got everybody now↓ (.) ↑IN OUR CLASSES↓ so it’s quite difficult...”. This comment made by teacher 2 thus speaks of a growth in diversification amongst pupils at the school, as not only Coloured and Black African learners are found at the school anymore, but pupils that immigrated to Cape Town, South Africa, from countries such as Malawi and Kenya.

In the above discussion on the linguistic diversity found in the classroom of teacher B, various significant aspects surfaced. Firstly, teacher B revealed that the majority of the learners in her class are Afrikaans mother tongue speakers, who have been placed into an English class by their parents. This is due to the fact that the English medium of instruction is

favoured by parents and guardians. The teacher also revealed that there are nevertheless English first language speakers in her class, who form part of the minority. Then teacher B stated that amongst her pupils there are five IsiXhosa pupils in her class with English or other African languages as a second language. These learners, as stated by the teacher, have quite evidently added Afrikaans, the dominant language spoken in their community, to their linguistic repertoires. Moreover, languaging practices have also been identified amongst pupils by their teacher. Finally, teacher 2, who teaches at the same school as teacher B, communicated an apparent increase in cultural diversity at the school, as a result of immigrants from African countries who now attend the school.

### **5.3 . Reluctance of school A and B to accommodate the linguistic diversity at the school and in the classroom**

The following discussion will focus on the lack of assistance offered to the diverse groups of learners found at school A and B. The argument here is based on information gathered through the first and second interview with the grade R teachers. The discussion begins with School A.



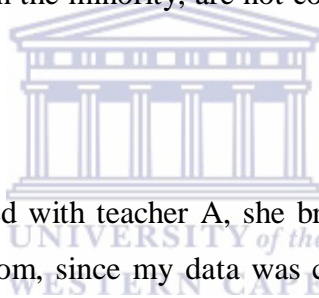
#### **5.3.1 School A: Grade R class of Teacher A**

It was established in the first and second interview conducted with teacher A, that the medium of instruction at school A is a formal variety of the dominant language spoken in the area of Manenberg, Afrikaans. The language used for teaching is therefore Afrikaans across all grades, including the grade R class used in this study. This was established in turns 11 to 16 in the first interview conducted with teacher A. In the second interview conducted, teacher A then again confirmed that the medium of instruction is still Afrikaans when she was asked about the language used for teaching:

Teacher A: “Afrikaans (.) the school is registered as an Afrikaans only school↓ (.) It says so in the language policy of our school↓”. With regards to the language variety

used for teaching at the school, the teacher stated in the first interview “It is formal” and then gave a similar answer in the second interview when she said “...we try to make them speak a formal variety...”.

When comparing the standard single medium of instruction used at school A to the linguistic diversity present amongst the grade R pupils, various conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, when considering that the school only offers Afrikaans as the language used for teaching, it is made apparent that only those which have the majority language in the community as first language are accommodated. Even though Afrikaans mother tongue speakers made up the majority of the pupil population in the grade R class of teacher A, there were also English and isiXhosa first language speakers, as well as a French mother tongue speaker in her class during the data collection period. This means that these learners, with first languages other than the medium of instruction, although in the minority, are not considered by the language policy of the school.

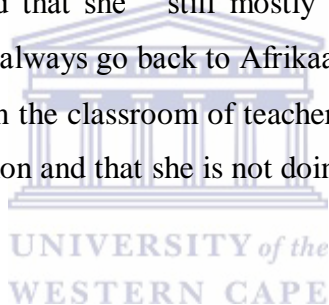


In the second interview conducted with teacher A, she brought to my attention an increase in linguistic diversity in her classroom, since my data was collected. However, when asked if the school had made changes in their language policy, to accommodate the growing diversification, teacher A shared that no such actions have occurred. This is made evident in turn 20: “Now we are getting a lot of other languages like English and IsiXhosa↓ (.) So that is the only reason why I had to change but no it’s not in the language policy of the school↓ (.) It still says Afrikaans in there↓...”

What was also made evident in the data collected, both observations and in the second interview conducted was the reluctance of teacher A to accommodate the linguistic diversity and especially the mixed linguistic repertoires of learners in the classroom context. This was made evident in observational data when pupils were corrected on various occasions for making use of languaging practices or a language variety which varies from that of the school language policy. In the second interview, teacher A also, on various occasions shared that she does not accept the use of other languages and non-standard varieties when learners are

engaged in linguistic interactions in the classroom. Due to this reason, she corrects her learners for making use of language practices which evades the standard Afrikaans medium of instruction. This is discussed in more detail in chapter 7, when the language ideology of teacher A is analysed.

Furthermore, teacher A, in turns 14 and 20 of the second interview stated that she has recently begun to make use of English to accommodate the growing linguistic diversity in her classroom. However, no such instances where the teacher varied from the medium of instruction to accommodate learners were observed during my data collection period. What was also made evident by teacher A was the fact that even though she claimed to have started using English to accommodate linguistic diversity, a reluctance to do so was also made evident in the interview. This can be seen in turn 14 when she stated that she only makes use of English “now and then”, and that she “still mostly [uses] Afrikaans↓”. Furthermore, teacher B also stated that she “...always go back to Afrikaans↓”. The use of such words thus revealed that the diversification in the classroom of teacher A has now begun to force her to vary from the medium of instruction and that she is not doing it by choice.



The reluctance of teacher A to move away from the language used for teaching can also be seen in turn 20, where she stated “Now we are getting a lot of other languages like English and IsiXhosa↓ (.). So that is the only reason why I had to change... I don’t really have a choice but to use another language sometimes↓”. This shows that even though teacher A states that she have started making use of a language other than the medium of instruction, it is not done very frequently as stated by the teacher, and that she still mainly makes use of the medium of instruction, Afrikaans. Based on this information we can thus argue that the linguistic diversity in the class of teacher A is accommodated on infrequent occasions.

Lastly, when teacher A was asked in the second interview about whether or not the school offers training or workshops to provide teachers with tools to accommodate the growing diversification at the school, it was revealed that the teacher have received no form of assistance from the school. This can be seen in turn 62: Teacher A: “No (.). there’s no training

or workshops↓ (.) You go with what you have↓ (.) Each situation is different so you just deal with it you know (.) and we must also try to stick to the guideline of the policy laid out by the department↓”.

What teacher A thus reveals here is that not only have they not received assistance from the school in terms of workshops and training, but one is also given the idea that teachers at the school are made aware that it is expected of them to abide by what is stated in the language policy, with regards to acceptable classroom discourse. Evidence of this can be seen in turn 62 when teacher A states “...and we must also try to stick to the guideline of the policy laid out by the department↓”. More evidence of this can be found in turns 64 and 72. When asking teacher A about whether the language policy of the school states anything about the use of non-standard varieties and languaging practices in the classroom, the teacher replied in turn 64 by saying the following:

“Yep (.) we are not supposed to↓ (.) It says you must stick to the medium of instruction↓ (.) They tell you you need to↓”. Then teacher A also stated in turn 72 “{No} (.) It’s just Afrikaans↓ (.) The school is registered Afrikaans so (.) that is actually what we need to stick to↓(.) so it is law that we need to use the language of instruction↓=”

These findings suggest that the linguistic diversity and multifaceted repertoires of the pupils at school A and in the classroom of teacher A, are not accommodated by both language policy makers of the school and also teacher A. This argument is based on the fact that the above findings revealed a language used for teaching, which only accommodates the Afrikaans speakers at the school. Furthermore, the standard variety expected to be used for pedagogy, is not a variety that pupils commonly use and bring to the classroom domain. Teacher A also revealed that policy makers have not made attempts to accommodate linguistic diversity in their language policy, even though there is an apparent increase in linguistic diversity occurring. Then, no tools have been given to teachers, in terms of workshops and training programmes, to assist with the diversification that teachers are confronted with, in the classroom context.

In addition to language policy makers not adapting to the diversification at school A, teacher A has also revealed a reluctance to assist with the diversification in her classroom. This was made evident through negative views shared about the use of language practices which varies from the standard Afrikaans used for pedagogy. Furthermore, even though teacher A has recently begun switching to English, she also shared that this is done due to lack of choice and very infrequently.

### 5.3.2 School B: Grade R class of Teacher B

During the first interview conducted with teacher B she stated the following about the medium of instruction at school B: “We use English for grade R↓ (.) Then dual medium from grade 1 to 7↓(...) English and Afrikaans↓”. Here teacher B makes known that two languages are used for teaching at school B, English and Afrikaans. These languages are taught by means of dual medium of instruction. However, the grade R class at school B receives their instruction in English. The same question, with regards to the medium of instruction, was posed to teacher B during the second interview and a similar answer was given, which indicated that the languages used at the school for pedagogy still remains the same.

In terms of the language variety used for teaching, the teacher made apparent that the use of a standard variety of English is required and practiced. This can be seen in turn 12 of the second interview: “Teacher B: =↑HA AH↓ ↑HA AH↓ FORMAL↓ (.) NO SLANG↓ (.)They must- they must use formal English not come with the languages they mix↓”.

When asking teacher B whether a non-standard variety can be used in the classroom she quickly and loudly stated “↑HA AH↓ ↑HA AH↓ FORMAL↓ (.) NO SLANG↓...” Thereafter, I asked her who has stated that a formal variety should be used and she replied in turn 16 by saying “The school↓ (.) It’s registered like that↓...”. It is thus evident that the language used for teaching in the classroom of teacher B is a standard variety of English.



When considering the fact that the language used for teaching in the grade R class is a formal variety of English, one immediately begins to realize that linguistic diversity and mixed linguistic repertoires of pupils were not taken into account by the language policy makers of the school. Firstly, when looking at the fact that teacher B revealed English mother tongue speakers to be in the minority in her class, one learns that merely a small amount of pupils are thus accommodated by the English medium of instruction in this class. Then, in view of teacher B establishing earlier in this chapter that learners bring to the classroom domain multifaceted repertoires and non-standard language varieties, it becomes evident that the formal variety used for teaching further deviates from the language practices represented amongst learners.

In the second interview, a constant increase in diversity at school B was communicated by the teacher (teacher 2) that joined in on the interview with teacher B, as pupils from various countries such as Kenya and Malawi also now attend the school. In view of this increase, one would assume intervention on the part of language policy makers of the school. However, teacher B and teacher 2 have made apparent that no such intervention has occurred. This is made evident in turns 48, 50, 53 and 54 of the second interview when I asked whether workshops and training for teachers have possibly occurred to provide tools to accommodate diversification, especially linguistic diversity. In turn 48 teacher B stated that the school had a programme called “Word Works”. However, in turn 50 she elaborated on this programme and made clear that the programme did not cover the topic of diversity but rather “literacy development”. Thereafter, teacher 2 joined in on the interview and quite blatantly revealed the absence in workshops and training to accommodate diversity. This can be seen in turn 53 when she states

“↑NO↓ (.) No we get no training on how to deal with diversity in our classrooms↓  
(...) As an educator you will find out whatever information↓ (.) Like I went for uhm  
(.) a course called barriers to learning and there they ↑TOUCHED↓ on diversity but  
most of the teachers here don’t have no clue (.) about how to handle it↓ (...).That is a  
↑BIG BIG BIG THING↓ (.) and the thing is this there is A LOT when it comes to  
barriers to learning↓ (.) there’s LANGUAGE because that child comes into our

classes and yes you maybe ask the child next to him explain to him in Xhosa (.) but now we got kids from Malawi and Kenyans↓ (.) We got everybody now↓ (.) ↑IN OUR CLASSES↓ so it's quite difficult and I feel (.) ↑MOST↓ teachers aint equipped↓ (.) They not equipped (.) when it comes to multilingualism also↓ (.) They are not equipped ↓”.

In this quote, teacher 2 emphasized the lack of support from the school when she said “↑NO↓ (.) No we get no training on how to deal with diversity in our classrooms↓...” She also revealed that teachers are left to their own devices as they have to find their own methods which assists with the growing diversity in their classes. This is seen when teacher says “...as an educator you will find out whatever information↓ (.) Like I went for uhm (.) a course called Barriers to Learning and there they ↑TOUCHED↓ on diversity...” Furthermore, teacher 2 also revealed that teachers are encountering great difficulty in the domain of the classroom as diversity is growing in their classes and their methods are beginning to fail them. This is made apparent when teacher reveals “... but most of the teachers here don't have no clue (.) about how to handle it↓ (...) That is a ↑BIG BIG BIG THING↓ (.) and the thing is this there is A LOT when it comes to barriers to learning↓ (.) there's LANGUAGE because that child comes into our classes and yes you maybe ask the child next to him explain to him in Xhosa (.) but now we got kids from Malawi and Kenyans↓ (.) we got everybody now↓ (.) ↑IN OUR CLASSES↓ so it's quite difficult and I feel (.) ↑MOST↓teachers aint equipped↓ (.) they not equipped (.) when it comes to multilingualism also↓ (.) they are not equipped↓”. Teacher 2 greatly emphasizes the need for assistance on the part of the school with regards to the growing linguistic diversity, as she describes the inability of teachers to manage the diversification in their classes as “a ↑BIG BIG THING↓”.

She also specifically pointed out and emphasized that “LANGUAGE” is one of the barriers to learning occurring in these linguistically diverse classes. Furthermore, she explains that whereas peer assistance is sometimes used as a tool to accommodate linguistic diversity, such resources are sometimes not viable as the diversification amongst pupils in their classes are becoming more and more varied.

In turn 54, teacher B further confirmed the need for assistance from policy makers when she stated “And I think from the department side they can do something because if you must go then ↑YOU MUST PAY↓ (.) like she is studying now (Referring to teacher 2) ↑SHE MUST PAY FOR THAT↓ (.) ↑FOR HERSELF↓ (.) The department don’t pay for us and it is a lot of money...” After appealing for assistance from “the department”, teacher B shared that in order for teachers to receive training on diversity, they need to enrol for such training themselves which is often costly. This reinforces the argument made earlier, by teacher 2, where she stated that because no effort is made by the school, teachers are left to navigate their way through the diversification in the classes on their own.

Finally, when considering the fact that teacher B had on a few occasions made known a negative attitude towards the use of language practices which vary from the formal English language used for teaching, one could also argue unwillingness on her part to accommodate the linguistic diversity in her classroom. An example of this can be found in turn 22 of the second interview where teacher B stated the following: “...Man I don’t like this slang↓(...) They must use it at home ↑NOT HERE↓”. The argument could be made here that the negative attitude of teacher B portrayed in this quote, could lead to unwillingness to accommodate the linguistic diversity and mixed linguistic repertoires that pupils bring to the classroom.

Based on the above discussions, we can therefore begin to argue that the linguistic diversity and multi-layered repertoires of pupils in the grade R class of teacher B, is not accommodated by policy makers or the teacher. The lack of assistance from teacher B might however be as a result of either a monoglossic ideology or due to a lack in training provided by the school. (The language ideology of teacher B, will be discussed in detail in chapter seven).

#### **5.4 Do the visual aids in the classrooms of teacher A and B accommodate linguistic diversity?**

In order to further investigate whether the medium of instruction in these two grade R classes accommodate the linguistic diversity represented in this context, I studied the visual aids in these spaces. This indicated whether the linguistic diversity amongst pupils was considered when the decision was made to display these visual aids on the walls of the classrooms.

For the purpose of this section of analysis, I asked teacher A and B to choose visual aids against the walls of their classrooms and to then take pictures of the posters they had chosen. These pictures were then sent to me. When giving the teachers this instruction, they were given the freedom to choose any visual aids against the walls of their classrooms. I ensured this by not specifying exactly which posters should be taken pictures of. Furthermore, they were also allowed to take any amount of pictures. Teacher A presented me with two pictures and teacher B with four.

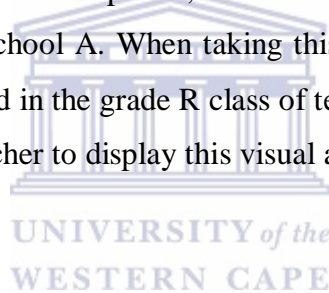
The following figures 5.1 and 5.2, focuses on the visual aids found in the classroom of teacher A:



**Figure 5.1** "My liggaam" *My body*

One of the two pictures chosen by teacher A, is a printed educational poster about the human body. This visual aid seems to be a typical educational poster that would be found in a grade R class, in order to support the learning of five to six year olds. The poster titled “My liggaam” *My body*, makes use of two modes of communication, that of text and image. On the visual aid, there is an image of a boy and girl at the beach, wearing bathing costumes. Then there are various words around the boy and girl, which point out their different body parts. Next to the image of the girl, there are four words: “arm” *arm*,”maag” *stomach*,”vingers” *fingers* and “been” *leg*. Each of these words point to the particular body part of the girl. Next to the image of the boy, there are the words “kop” *head* ,”skouer” *shoulders*, “ kniee” *knees* and “tone” *toes*. Just like in the case of the girl, these words point to the body parts of the boy.

With regards to the language use of the poster, one sees that it is simply in Afrikaans, the language used for pedagogy at school A. When taking this into account, one can argue that the linguistic diversity represented in the grade R class of teacher A was not considered when the decision was made by the teacher to display this visual aid on her classroom wall.



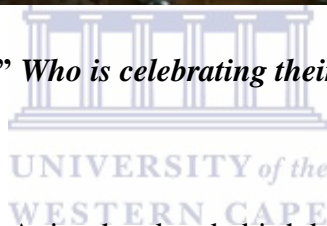
However, when paying attention to the image of the boy and girl, it is evident to see that ethnicity or cultural diversity was considered by the manufacturers of this visual aid, as the boy is a non-white individual and the little girl white. It can be argued that although ethnicity and the cultural diversity was considered when hanging this poster, no aspect of this poster reveals the accommodation of the linguistic diversity represented in the classroom. When teacher A was asked about this poster during the second interview, she confirmed that ethnicity and the cultural diversification in her class were considered when hanging the poster but not linguistic diversity.

This can be seen in turn 74: “↓ Oh those posters of the body and that?↓(...) Well(.) the body poster- I used the poster uhm-uhm because it’s a nice way to teach the grade R’s about their body and so↓(...) and it shows the rainbow nation in South Africa you know↓(.) coz it shows different races↓(.) I like that one↓...”This quote thus supports the argument made here that

the ethnic and cultural diversification was deliberated when this poster was considered as a visual aid for the class of teacher A.



**Figure 5.2- Wie verjaar vandag” Who is celebrating their birthday today**

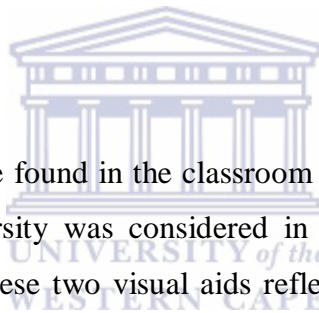


The second poster sent by teacher A, is a handmade birthday chart. This birthday chart seems to be on the classroom wall of teacher A, in order to show to the grade learners when classmates are celebrating their birthdays as well as who is celebrating their birthdays. This is made evident by the layout of the poster. On top of the chart is a hand written note which reads “Wie verjaar vandag” *Who is celebrating their birthdays today* and an image of a birthday cake. In the middle of the note and image, a place is reserved for the name or names of the learners who are celebrating their birthday on that specific day. Furthermore, at the bottom of the chart, twelve notes are displayed, each representing a month. Underneath each month, the birthdays of learners are presented.

What is noteworthy about this chart is however not the function of it, but once again the language choice. On the chart one notices that all written text, such as the statement “Veels geluk met jou verjaars dag” *Happy birthday to you*, the question “Wie verjaar vandag” *Who is celebrating their birthdays today* and also each month indicated below, is in the medium of

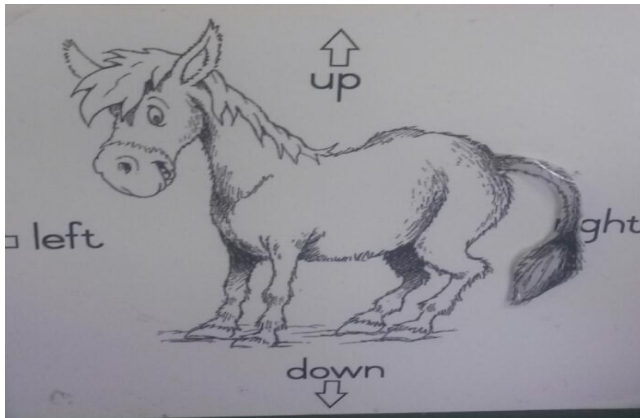
instruction, Afrikaans. This observation then again shows that only the majority group, those with Afrikaans as mother tongue language, is catered to by this visual aid. This then means that the additional speakers of the language used as pedagogy are not considered. Moreover, it is quite apparent that this chart was handmade, most probably by teacher A. What this then means is that teacher A had control over the language choice of this poster and then chose to merely use Afrikaans.

In terms of why this poster chart was chosen as a visual aid by teacher A, she claimed the following in turn 74 of the second interview: "...The Happy birthday poster I decided to put in- in uhm class coz learners must feel special uhm when its their birthdays and that –that way no one forgets your birthday↓ ( Teacher laughs)". No aspect of this quote about the birthday chart reveals the consideration of linguistic diversity amongst learners in the grade R class.



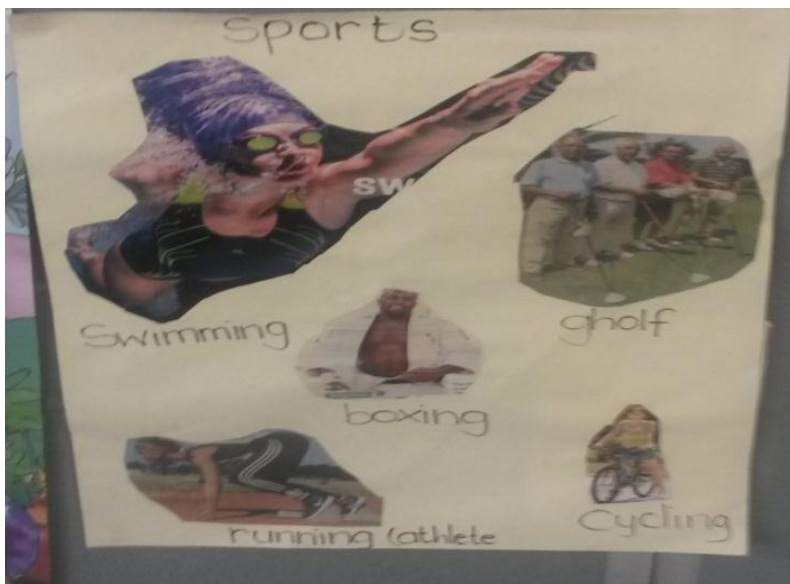
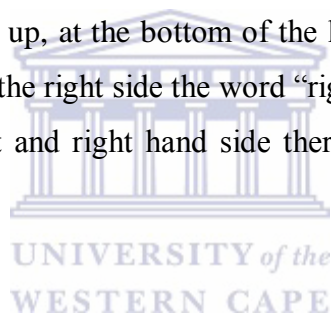
Analysis of both visual aids to be found in the classroom of teacher A, has shown that even though ethnic and cultural diversity was considered in the poster under figure 5.1 "Die liggaam" *The body*, neither of these two visual aids reflected a consideration for linguistic diversity, as both posters were solely in the medium of instruction. In turn 75 of the second interview conducted with teacher A, I made her aware that her visual aids were all in the medium of instruction, Afrikaans. I then asked her to provide a reason as to why this is the case. She then stated "We have to make it English↓-↑ AG↓ Afrikaans coz the school is Afrikaans↓". This comment then establishes that linguistic diversity in the classroom of teacher A was not considered because she feels...compelled to adhere to the language used for pedagogy.

I now turn my focus to the visual aids found in the classroom of teacher B. Figures 5.3- 5.6 are visual aids sent to me by teacher B. Similar to the visual aids in the grade R class at school A, these posters are classic examples of visual learning aids for children between the ages of five and six.



**Figure 5.3-Poster about opposites**

The first poster, figure 5.3, is an educational visual aid which teaches learners about opposites. The poster mainly contains an image of a horse. On top of the horse, the word “up” is written with an arrow pointing up, at the bottom of the horse the word “down” is written, with an arrow pointing down, on the right side the word “right” is written and on the left side, the word “left”. On both the left and right hand side there are once again arrows pointing right and left.



**Figure 5.4-Sports**



The poster, under figure 5.4 depicts various sports codes, such as swimming, golf, boxing, running and cycling. This poster is a handmade visual aid which portrays each sports code through the use of both image and text.



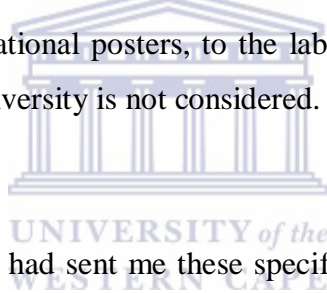
Figures 5.5- Labelled Areas and Objects



Figures 5.6 Labelled Areas and Objects

The last two images under figure 5.5 and 5.6 are images of written signs, which are used to label sections and also everyday objects in the class of teacher B. The first image is the section of the wall in the classroom used for creative art pieces done by the pupils. In the middle of all the work done by the learners is a written sign which reads “Art Area”. Like this “Art area” dedicated to the creative pieces of the learners, there are also various other sections in the classroom, dedicated to other classroom activities, such as the “block area”, where pupils go to play with blocks. The second image is of two objects, a microwave and a fridge, which are labelled with their names. Just like these two images most of the everyday objects in the grade R class are labelled with their names.

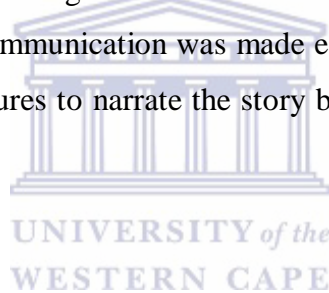
Once again, the significance of these visual aids under figures 5.3- 5.6 is related to language choice, as it is very apparent that like in the case of the visual aids in the classroom of teacher A, the only language used here is the medium of instruction. The use of the medium of instruction ranges from the educational posters, to the labelling of classroom objects. Once again, this shows that linguistic diversity is not considered.



When asking teacher B why she had sent me these specific visual aids against the walls of her classroom she stated that, “The kids like the donkey poster coz of the donkey on it↓ (laughs) But I like it coz we are-we cover opposites in class↓ (...) The sports placard we made as a class↓(.)It was a class activity↓ (.) ↓And what’s the other pics I sent?↑(...) Oh ya the art corner and the microwave one↓(.) I just wanted to show that I label everything for the kids to see I guess↓”. Then when it was brought to the attention of teacher B that the visual aids discussed here and in her class are all in English, she stated the following in turn 65 of the second interview: Teacher B: “=Look the medium of instruction is English so the stuff on the wall must also be↓(.) Its an English class mos↓”. This reason provided by the teacher for the use of English for the visual aids in her class thus speaks of an obligation to do so because English is the language used for teaching. As seen earlier, a similar reason was given by teacher A for having solely Afrikaans visual aids. Furthermore, we can therefore conclude that like in the case of teacher A, linguistic diversity was not considered when visual aids were chosen for her classroom walls.

Apart from the above mentioned posters in the classrooms of teacher A and B solely being in the medium of instruction, one also sees an apparent use of multimodality by the visual aids, as more than one mode of communication is often used, often that of text together with image. Iedema (2003) states that the term multimodality was introduced to highlight the significance of semiotic resources other than language. These semiotic resources include image, gesture, music and so forth.

The use of more than one mode of communication is a common learning tool used in these two grade R classes, as all of the work related class activities observed in these grade R classes revealed the use of more than one mode of communication. During a written exercise observed in the class of teacher A, one sees the use of both text and image, as each word on the worksheet was complimented by an image (Refer to figure 5. to see image of the worksheet). Then during a storytelling session observed in the classroom of teacher A, the use of more than one mode of communication was made evident, as the teacher made use of both spoken word and hand gestures to narrate the story being told. This can be seen in the image below:



Figures 5.7: Hand gestures during storytelling



Figures 5.8: Hand gestures during storytelling

Then in the classroom of teacher B, the use of multimodality was also found, when during the reading exercise observed the teacher often guided pupils with her index finger, by pointing to the words in the book while pupils read. This can be seen below:



Figure 5.9: Class of teacher B: Points to words during reading exercise

In the second interview conducted with teacher B, she confirmed the use of more than one mode of communication in the classroom context and also when pupils are encountering difficulties with the lesson, when she stated the following in turn 57: “(...) {Like in the uhm class maybe} (.) Say the child don’t understand (.) we will use pictures (.) flash cards (.) posters (...) and things like that (.) body movement↓=”.

## 5.2. Additional speakers of the medium of instruction encountering difficulties with lessons

Since the findings in this chapter have established various times that linguistic diversity is not accommodated in the classroom of teacher A and B, I would like to direct my attention to observations made in the classroom of teacher A and B. These observations indicate that additional speakers of the medium of instruction in both of the two grade R classes are encountering difficulties with lesson, due to the language used for pedagogy not being their first language. This analysis will start off with an observation made in the classroom of teacher A:

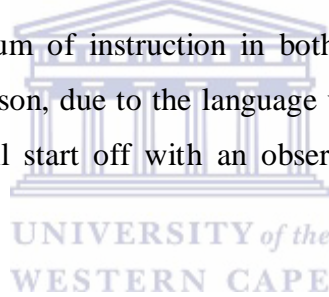


Figure 5.10

### Extract 5.3 (Appendix 5)

(Camera zooms in on a Coloured learner and African learner)

(One of the learners says something to the teacher - Inaudible)

235. Learner: (Coloured learner to African pupil next to her) – {I- lekese↓}(...)

Learner: (Coloured learner to African pupil next to her) {Sweet↓}(...)

(Coloured learner that continues with her own exercise)

236. Learner: (Turning to African pupil again) {Irenji↓}

Learner: (Turning to African pupil again) {Orange↓}

( Coloured learner goes back to completing her own exercise)

(Teacher asks a group of learners a question- inaudible due to learners chatting in the background)

237. Teacher: \*Peter (.) jy kan joune in die boks sit↓

Teacher: \*Peter (.) you can put yours in the box↓

(Learners continue to chat in the background)

The picture under figure 10 is of a written exercise that was given to the grade R pupils of teacher A. As can be seen in the picture, the exercise was in the medium of instruction, Afrikaans and focuses on the /L/ sound. For the purpose of this task, the grade R pupils were given four words: “lemoen” *orange*, “leer”, *ladder*, “lekkers” *sweets* and “lepel” *spoon*. The first letters of these words were left out, and it was expected of the pupils to fill in the correct letter. Furthermore, the pupils had to use the appropriate colour, to colour each picture, complimenting the specific word. For example, next to the word ladder missing an /l/, there is an image of a ladder, which should be coloured brown.

However, extract 5.3 revealed that not all pupils found the written exercise to be easy. The extract in extract 5.3 is an interaction between a Coloured learner and an isiXhosa learner, which occurred towards the end of the time given to do the exercise. At the time of the

interaction between the Coloured learner and her isiXhosa classmate, the majority of the learners had already put their work in their boxes and were waiting on further instructions from teacher A. When first noticing the interaction, while video recording the pupils doing the exercise, it immediately became evident that even though the isiXhosa pupil that Coloured learner is addressing does not respond, her attention was fixed on the Coloured learner. Thereafter an interesting interaction occurs. Although the Coloured learner tries to not grab the attention of teacher A by always going back to her own exercise, we notice that she is in fact attempting to assist the isiXhosa learner with the exercise.

This is made evident in turn 235: Learner: (Coloured learner to isiXhosa pupil next to her) “{I- lekese↓}(...)” Learner: (Coloured learner to isiXhosa pupil next to her) {Sweet↓}(...) and in turn 236: Learner: (Turning to isiXhosa pupil again) {Irenji↓} Learner: (Turning to isiXhosa pupil again) {Orange↓}. When analysing these turns, one sees that the Coloured learner is helping the isiXhosa learner with the lesson by translating the Afrikaans words “lekkers” *sweets* and “lemoen” *orange*, to the first language of the isiXhosa pupil, “{I- lekese↓}” and “{Irenji↓}”. One could argue that in order to assist the isiXhosa pupil with the Afrikaans exercise, the Coloured pupil is stylizing her language use across ethnic boundaries as she translates the Afrikaans lesson into the mother tongue language of the isiXhosa pupil. This interaction can be seen as an example of polylinguaging (Jørgensen, 2008). A significant factor associated with polylinguaging is the fact that speakers often make use of linguistic features, which belong to languages to which they do not have, admission. This means that speakers will often borrow linguistic features from languages that belong to another group of speakers and that they do not have full competence in. (Jørgensen, 2008). (Refer to the literature review chapter, chapter two, for a discussion on polylinguaging). As the Coloured learner is borrowing from a language that she is not fully competent in and that belongs to another group of speakers, isiXhosa speakers, we can therefore argue that polylinguaging is occurring. Based on this interaction, we can draw the conclusion that the isiXhosa learner is encountering difficulties with the written exercise, as it is in a language other than her first language and that the Coloured learner made use of polylinguaging to assist the isiXhosa learner.

In the follow up interview conducted with teacher A, she admitted that additional speakers of the medium of instruction sometimes encounter difficulties with the lesson, which is in the medium of instruction, Afrikaans. This can be seen in turns 23 to 26:

**Extract 5.4 (Appendix 12)**

23. Researcher: ↓These learners that speak first languages other than the language used for teaching (.) do they sometimes find it difficult to cope and comprehend the Afrikaans lessons?↑

24. Teacher A: Yes (.) they do↓ (.) It sometimes takes longer for them to (.) register what I am saying↓ (.) and to uhm try to figure out what I am saying and then they- or they look at what the friend is doing and just copy ↓

25. Researcher: ↓Okay (.) and that is all because they speak a different first language?↑

26. Teacher A: Ya (.) the medium of instruction and their home language is not the same↓

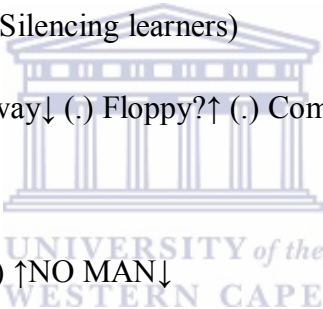
In the above interaction with teacher A, she communicated that due to the fact that the “medium of instruction and their home language is not the same↓”, additional speakers of the medium of instruction thus take longer to “register” or comprehend what the teacher is saying. This then sometimes leads to them copying from classmates.

The significance of the interaction observed between the two classmates, in extract 5.3, surpasses merely showing that an additional speaker of the medium of instruction is encountering problems with an exercise. The additional significance of this interaction will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter, as it relates to answering research question c: If the borrowing of linguistic features is used by the teachers and learners in the classroom context, how does it function as linguistic resources?

This section of the discussion now shifts to an observation made in the classroom of teacher B, where an additional speaker of the language used for pedagogy, encountered difficulties. This learner will be called learner 5.



### Extract 5.5 (Appendix 10)

1. Learner 5: (...) Go↓ (.) away↓=
2. Teacher: = You must read hard↓ (.) ↑YOU MUST READ HARD↓
3. One of the learners: FLOPPY↓
4. Teacher: ↑SSSHHHHH↓ (Silencing learners)
5. Learner 5: Floppy↓  
(Teacher pages book and points at words on page)
6. One of the learners: ↑DELANDA↓
7. Teacher: ↑SSSSHHHH↓ (Silencing learners)
8. Learner 5: (...) Go↓ (...) away↓ (.) Floppy?↑ (.) Come back↓
9. Teacher: ↑NOOOO↓
10. Learner 5: ↑HAAAIBO↓ (.) ↑NO MAN↓  
The logo of the University of the Western Cape, featuring a classical building with columns and the text 'UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE' below it.
- Learner 5: (Indicating that he is dissatisfied) ↑NO MAN↓
11. Teacher: No don't come haibo me↓ (.)↓ We are?↑ (points to word) Here↓ (.) SSSSS↓
12. Learner 5: (...)SORRY↓
13. Teacher: No ↓(.) skipping.↓
14. Learner 5: SKIPPING↓
15. Teacher: (Still pointing to the word "skipping") We↓ (.) ↑AGAIN↓
16. Learner 5: (...) We↓ (...)
17. Teacher: Are↓
18. Learner 5: Are↓(...)
19. Teacher: ↓What are they doing?↑

20. Learner 5...Skipping↓

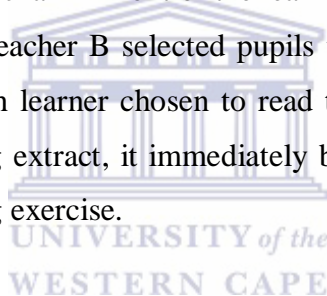
21. Teacher: Skipping (.) You must even watch the pictures to get it ↓(Teacher flips page and points at words.) Come↓

22. Learner 5: Go (.) away(...)(Learner looks at picture) PAINTING↓

23. Teacher: No↓

Extract 5.5 is taken from an oral reading exercise done in the grade R classroom of teacher B. For this reading exercise, the learners in the class used a book, which is in the medium of instruction, English. The book is titled “Come back Floppy”.

For the purpose of this reading exercise, the learners were instructed to first read the book as a class, while the teacher sat on a chair in front of the learners holding up and paging through it as the class read. Thereafter, teacher B selected pupils to come to the front and read the story book individually. The fifth learner chosen to read the book was an isiXhosa mother tongue speaker. When examining extract, it immediately becomes apparent that learner 5 is having difficulty with this reading exercise.



At the beginning of the extract, one immediately notices that he is very reluctant to read alone and is told by the teacher to read louder. This is evident in turn 2: Teacher: = “You must read hard↓ (.) ↑YOU MUST READ HARD↓”. Throughout the reading exercise learner 5 makes a number of mistakes and is repeatedly corrected by the teacher. Examples of this are in turn 8 right through to turn 22. One also notices the clear disapproval shown by teacher B in turns such as turn 9, where she shouts “↑NOOOO↓”. Furthermore, learner 5 take numerous pauses, both long and short, while reading, further indicating that he is struggling. Evidence of these pauses can be found in lines 1, 8, 12, 16, 18, 20 and 22. When examining the extract closely, another interesting observation is made in turn 8 and 12.

When looking at these turns one sees that learner 5 is not really reading the words pointed out by the teacher, instead he is trying to recall the book from his memory. In turn 8 we see that the learner starts off his sentence by uttering the words with which most of the sentences in

the book starts “(...) Go↓ (...) away↓ (.) Floppy?↑”. However, his memory fails him and he utters the words “Come back↓” a little too early, as those words are only found towards the end of the book. A similar example can be found in turn 12. In turn 11, the teacher tries to assist learner 5 by pointing to the word she wants him to read. Furthermore, she tells him the sound of the first letter of this word: Teacher: “... We are?↑ (points to word) Here↓ (.) SSSSS↓”. Upon hearing that the word the teacher is pointing to starts with the /s/sound, learner 5 once again attempts to rely on his previous knowledge of the book and utters the word “SORRY↓”, a word also found later in the book, instead of the word skipping.

When taking into consideration the above discussion, one can make the following conclusion: When considering the reluctance shown from the beginning by learner 5, when he was asked to read alone, the numerous pauses taken by this learner, the various mistakes made while reading and finally his attempt to memorize the book as a solution to his difficulties with it, the following argument can be made: As learner 5 is an additional speaker, of the medium of instruction, English, reading this book proved to be a difficult task. This once again shows that instead of the language used for teaching accommodating the linguistic diversity amongst the pupils in this class, it is actually causing learning difficulties.

In the second interview conducted with teacher B, she confirmed that additional speakers of the medium of instruction are sometimes faced with difficulties, due to the difference in home language and language used for pedagogy. This is made evident in turn 40: “Teacher B: Yes (.) because then I must use them↓ (.) I use them to explain to each other↓ (.) ↓Like the IsiXhosa learners- I ask them to interpret you know?↑ (.) To guide that one with what I just said↓”. In this quotation, teacher B replied “Yes” when she was asked if additional speakers encounter difficulties. She then elaborated that she then has to make use of peer assistance, where speakers of the same first language are asked to interpret or translate the English lesson into the mother tongue language of the learner. Even though no instances were observed in the class of teacher B, where she allowed learners to assist one another by making use of mother tongue languages, the comments made by the teacher nevertheless substantiates the argument that additional speakers of the medium of instruction encounter difficulties with the English lessons, as seen in extract 5.5

## 5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter the focus was on research question *a*, which investigates to which degree the language and language variety used for pedagogy in the classrooms of teacher A and B accommodates the linguistic diversity and mixed linguistic repertoires of pupils. In order to best answer this question, I firstly looked at the linguistic variety and multifaceted repertoires which exist amongst learners in these classrooms. Thereafter, I investigated the language and language variety used for teaching in these classrooms and then compared it to linguistic backgrounds of the pupils.

In the classrooms of teacher A and B, it was found that the language used for pedagogy does not accommodate the linguistic variety and multifaceted repertoires which exist amongst the grade R pupils. This argument was based on the fact that the learners of teacher A and B bring to the single medium classroom, linguistic diversity. It was also found that in these grade R classes a standard variety is used. However, pupils speak a non-standard variety and bring this to the classroom context.

Moreover, I focused my attention on whether assistance is provided by language policy makers of the school to assist with diversification in the classroom context. Findings yielded in this chapter revealed no support for linguistic diversity and mixed linguistic repertoires from the language policy makers of the school.

The willingness of the teachers to accommodate linguistic diversity was also discussed. Here reluctance by the teachers to accommodate the linguistic diversity in the grade R classes was identified. The next section of this chapter looked at the visual aids in the classrooms of teacher A and B to decipher whether linguistic diversity was considered when these posters were chosen as visual aids. This analysis revealed that only ethnic diversity and not linguistic diversity was considered when the posters were chosen.

Lastly, extracts taken from observational data were analysed in order to demonstrate how additional speakers of the medium of instruction are met with difficulties with lessons due to a difference in the language used for pedagogy in these grade R classes and the first language of the learner.

In this chapter it was established that a need exists for the accommodation of linguistic diversity in the classrooms of teacher A and B. The next chapter will focus on languaging practices as a possible resource to assist with the diversification in the classrooms of my participants.



## Chapter 6

### 6. Data Analysis

#### 6.1 Introduction

Chapter 6 of this thesis focuses on answering research question *b* and *c*. These two research questions will be discussed together as they are interconnected. Research question *b* looks at the following: *Does the language use of the teachers and learners in the classroom context reveal that they are borrowing linguistic features across languages?* Once it has been determined whether the borrowing of linguistic features occurs in the classroom context of the participants, research question *c* then focuses on whether the borrowing of linguistic features function as linguistic resources in the two grade R classrooms.

As stated in the introductory chapter, the borrowing of linguistic features by the participants will be classified as a linguistic resource in the classroom context, if the languaging practices of the participants helps learners with work related tasks. Studies which have identified the use of languaging practices as linguistic resources in the diverse classroom context includes the work done by Garcia (2009), where translanguaging was used amongst learners to resolve confusion with classroom exercises caused by single medium instruction. Blackledge and Creese (2010b), on the other hand, revealed how using translanguaging as pedagogy can act as a linguistic resource in the diverse classroom.

As the purpose of this study is to determine whether the borrowing of linguistic features can be used as linguistic resources to assist additional speakers of the medium of instruction when they are encountering difficulties with a lesson, due to the language used for pedagogy not being their first language, research question *b* plays a vital role. This is due to the fact that, in order to determine whether the borrowing of linguistic features can be used as a linguistic resource, it should first be established whether or not the borrowing of linguistic features actually occurs in the classroom of my participants. Furthermore, I will determine whether both teachers and pupils borrow linguistic features in the domain of the classroom.

In addition to investigating whether the borrowing of linguistic features occur in the two grade R classrooms of the participants, each extract containing languaging practices will be contextualized using tools provided by Interactional Sociolinguistics. This will be done by taking into consideration how each extract was framed by the different participants. This will indicate how the different utterances in the specific extract were meant to be interpreted by the intended receiver. As speakers make use of contextualization cues to signal to the receiver/s the intended frame of an utterance, the contextualization cues in each extract will be carefully considered. This will then finally allow me to determine whether the borrowing of linguistic features present in these extracts, were used as linguistic resources by the participants.

After collecting and transcribing the data for this study, various interesting discoveries were made with regards to the borrowing of linguistic features or the use of languaging practices by the teachers and pupils in the two grade R classes. This chapter will begin by concentrating on spoken classroom discourse which reveals languaging practices in the grade R class of teacher A. Thereafter, I will investigate whether each instance where languaging practices were used functions as a linguistic resource in the classroom. I will start by focusing on the linguistic production of the teacher A. The focus will then shift to grade R class of teacher B, where similar analysis of the spoken classroom discourse will be done.

## **6.2 The borrowing of linguistic features by teacher A in the classroom context**

### **Extract 6.1 (Appendix 5)**

(Some learners still getting their crayons and boards, while others are back on the mat starting with the exercise)

(Learners talking while working- teacher says something- inaudible due to learners talking)

59. Teacher A: (To one of the learners.) Gaan kry vi jou kryt ↓

Teacher A: (To one of the learners) *Go get yourself some crayons*↓

(Learners chatting in the background)

60. Teacher A: (To learners getting boards in the corner) ↑KOOOM↓(.) maak KLA in die corner ↓

Teacher A: (To learners getting boards in the corner) ↑COOOME↓ get *DONE* in the corner↓

(Chatting of learners continue in the background)

61. Teacher A: As jy jou bord en jou kryt het dan kan jy be-(.)dan kan jy begin↓

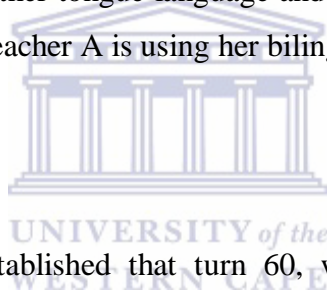
Teacher A: *If you have your board and your crayons then you can-(.) then you can start*↓

In the extract above, one sees teacher A giving learners various instructions, as the learners prepare for a written classroom exercise (For details of written exercise, refer to the discussion on extract 5.3 in chapters 5). An example of this can be seen in turn 59 when the teacher says “Gaan kry vi jou kryt↓” *Go get yourself some crayons*↓, to one of the learners. The utterance by the teacher in this turn can be framed as that of an instruction or command as indicated by the falling intonation with which this sentence ends. However, in terms of the teacher’s utterance in turn 60, one is given the idea that the teacher is no longer only giving an instruction but that she is giving a demand due the fact that she is upset with the learners being addressed, as they are taking unnecessarily long to collect boards. In turn 60, teacher A demands the pupils standing in the corner of the classroom by stating “↑KOOOM↓ (.) maak KLA in die corner↓” ↑COOOME↓(.) *get DONE in the corner*↓. Here one sees that not only does the teacher stress the word “↑KOOOM↓” ↑COOOME↓, but she also raises the volume of her voice when she utters this word. In addition to this, she uses a high pitch and furthermore puts emphasis on the word “KLA” *DONE*, as she raises the volume of her voice again to place emphasis on the fact that the pupils should leave the corner.

The demand given to learners in turn 60 carries great significance, as one observes the teacher making use of the medium of instruction, Afrikaans and another language other than



the medium of instruction, English. Teacher A: (To learners getting boards in the corner) ↑KOOOM↓ (.) maak KLA in die corner↓(To learners getting boards in the corner) ↑COOOME↓ (.) *get DONE in the corner*↓. What is further apparent in turn 60 is the use of Afrikaans and English in one sentence. This utterance, which is predominantly in Afrikaans, quite evidently also contains the English word “corner”. As the Afrikaans sentence contains one single English word, it can be argued that when analysing this utterance on the level of code, it could be said that code-mixing is occurring in the utterance of teacher A in turn 60. This argument is based on the fact that two languages are used in the linguistic production of the teacher, below the level of clause, in this communicative situation (Cárdenas-Claros and Isharyanti, 2009). It can also be argued that translanguaging is occurring during the linguistic production of teacher A, as translanguaging focuses on the ability of individuals to engage in language practices where their bilingual/multilingual ability is utilized, to achieve communicative goals (Garcia, 2009). In the first interview conducted with teacher A, she revealed that Afrikaans is her mother tongue language and English her second language. For this reason one could argue that teacher A is using her bilingual ability in turn 60, to bring her instruction across.



Furthermore, as it has been established that turn 60, where the teacher makes use of languaging by using the word “corner” in her Afrikaans sentence, can be placed in the frame of a demand, it can be argued that the languaging practice of the teacher does not function as a linguistic resource. This is due to the fact that her utterance does not assist pupils with work or a lesson. The utterance was merely produced to demand learners to leave the corner.

**Extract 6.2 (Appendix 5 )**

(One of the learners shows the teacher his worksheet)

194. Teacher A: Jy moet die hele blaaï da onne kla maak ↓

Teacher A: *You must finish everything at the bottom of the page*↓

195. Two learners: (Holding up their worksheets) ↓JUFFROU?↑

Two learners: (Holding up their worksheets) ↓TEACHER?↑

196. Teacher A: (To the two learners holding up their pages) Dais fiiine↓

Teacher A: (To the two learners holding up their pages) *That's fiiine*↓

(Another learner shows the teacher his page)

197. Teacher A: Twee lyne da onne ↓

Teacher A: *Two lines at the bottom*↓

This extract occurred after extract 6.1. Whereas the learners in extract 6.1 were still preparing to do the written exercise, the linguistic interactions in this extract occurred once learners had already begun to do the written exercise. In extract 6.2, various learners called out to teacher A for assistance as the teacher was walking around, monitoring the work of the learners and helping where needed. This can be seen in turn 194 when teacher A says to a learner “Jy moet die hele blaaie da onne kla maak↓” *You must finish everything at the bottom of the page*↓

In turn 195, two learners hold up their worksheets for teacher A to evaluate while loudly shouting “↓JUFFROU?↑”↓*TEACHER?*↑ Teacher A then responds to the two learners in turn 196 by saying “Dais fiiine↓” *That's fiiine*↓, to assure the learners that she is satisfied with the work done by them. When making this comment, teacher A makes use of an informal variety of Afrikaans “Dais” and the English word “fine”. It can therefore be argued that just like in the case of extract 12, the teacher is making use of code-mixing as she is using more than one language beneath clause level and also translanguaging as she is using her bilingual ability as a resource to communicate to these two pupils that their work is satisfactory.

Furthermore, the utterance of teacher A in turn 196, where code-mixing and translanguaging is used, can be said to be a statement as indicated by the falling intonation with which the utterance ends. During this utterance, we see the teacher stressing the word “fiiine↓”, in order to communicate to the learners that she is pleased with the work they have produced. One can therefore argue that by stressing this word, teacher A is framing this statement as an utterance meant to relay to the two pupils that she is satisfied with the work done by them. When taking into account that the utterance of the teacher in which translanguaging occurred was part of a

statement which was produced with the purpose of indicating to two learners that she is content with their work done, it can be argued that just like the occurrence of translanguaging in extract 6.1, the languaging practice produced in this extract does not function as a linguistic resource. This is due to the fact that the statement was not produced with the purpose of assisting the learners with the written exercise, but rather to comment on learners' work that were already completed.

The succeeding extracts are the spoken classroom discourse produced by the pupils in the class of teacher A, which revealed the use of languaging. These instances of the borrowing of linguistic features will also be analysed in order to determine whether each of these utterances functioned as linguistic resources.

### **6.3 The borrowing of linguistic features by the pupils of teacher A in the classroom context**



The following extracts focus on observational data where the pupils in the classroom of teacher A borrowed linguistic features while engaged in classroom discourse. In chapter 5, extract 5.3 an instance where a pupil made use of polylinguaging in the class of teacher A was already discussed. For this reason it will not be discussed again in this chapter. The subsequent analysis of learners making use of languaging in this classroom will thus only include extracts which have not been discussed.

#### **Extract 6.3 ( Appendix 5 )**

(Camera zooming in on two learner's worksheets while the learners are busy colouring in the picture of an orange.)

(One of the learners banging on his board.)

(Teacher gets up from her chair and starts monitoring work sheets again.)

(Camera zooms in on two learners)

148. One of the learners: (Reaches into her pocket and takes out bubblegum. Speaks to the learner next to her) {Hie is bubblegum↓}

One of the learners: (Reaches into her pocket and takes out bubblegum. Speaks to the learner next to her.) {*Here is bubblegum*↓}

149 Teacher A: ↓Is jy klaar met jou werk?↑ (.) ↑\*Keano? ↑

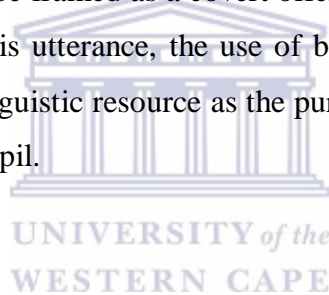
Teacher A: ↓*Are you done with your work?*↑ (.)↑ \**Keano?*↑

Extract 6.3 is taken from classroom discourse which was produced during the written exercise referred to in chapter 5, figure 5.10 and extract 5.3. Throughout this extract, pupils are engaged in various activities. While some are working on their exercises, others are engaged in activities unrelated to the exercise, like banging on the board used to press on while writing. During this extract teacher A starts monitoring the work of her learners again, after she had taken a break by returning to her chair. This can be seen when looking at the additional information provided. The video camera then focuses on an interaction between two learners. While busy with the exercise, an Afrikaans first language speaker takes bubblegum out of her pocket and offers some to the pupil sitting next to her. This can be seen in turn 148 when the learner offering the bubblegum says “{Hie is bubblegum↓}” {*Here is bubblegum*↓}.

During this utterance, it is evident that the learner is making this offer in Afrikaans. However, she includes an English word into this sentence when she uses the word “bubblegum” and not the Afrikaans word “kougom”. An important fact to note here is the fact that even though “kougom” is the standard Afrikaans word for this treat, it is very rarely used, especially by those speaking Kaaps. Instead, the English word “bubblegum” is more commonly used. As the learner most probably lives in the area of Manenberg, where an informal variety of Afrikaans or Kaaps is mostly spoken, it is unlikely that the pupil would thus use the word “kougom”. Nonetheless, when taking into consideration that the pupil includes a single English word into an Afrikaans sentence, it could be argued that code-mixing is occurring in this utterance. Furthermore, as teacher A stated during the interview that those with Afrikaans as mother tongue language, have English as additional language, it could be argued that

similar to the utterances produced by teacher A, this pupil is making use of translanguaging, as she is utilizing both her first and second language to reach her communicative goal, which is to offer bubblegum to her classmate. Moreover, when considering that the learner offering the bubblegum is making use of a low voice volume when she says “{Hie is bubblegum↓}” {*Here is bubblegum↓*} to a fellow classmate, one realizes that the pupil does not wish to announce her offer, but instead attempts to keep it covert. This could be due to the fact that the learners are not allowed to chew bubblegum in the classroom, and for this reason the speaker in turn 148 is trying to make her utterance go unnoticed by the teacher and possibly pupils which might inform the teacher that she has bubblegum.

In view of the fact that the learner in turn 148 is offering her classmate bubblegum by saying “{Hie is bubblegum↓}” {*Here is bubblegum↓*} and her shared contextualization cue, a low voice volume, this utterance can be framed as a covert offer. For this reason, it can be argued that the languaging present in this utterance, the use of both Afrikaans and English by the pupil, cannot be regarded as a linguistic resource as the purpose of this utterance was merely to offer bubblegum to a fellow pupil.



#### **Extract 6.4 ( Appendix 5 )**

215. Teacher A: (To a learner) Moenie dit soe makie ↓

Teacher A: (To a learner) *Do not make it like that*↓

216. One of the learners: EN EKKE ↓

One of the learners: *AND ME*↓

(Teacher talking in the background- inaudible)

217. One of the learners: ↓WIE WIL DIE COLOUR HE? ↑

One of the learners: ↓*WHO WANTS THIS COLOUR?* ↑

218. One of the learners: Eke ↓

One of the learners: *Me* ↓

219. Teacher A: (Pointing to the worksheet of a learner) Soes dai ene ↓

Teacher A: (Pointing to the worksheet of a learner) *Like that one* ↓

220. Learner: (Showing the teacher his worksheet) {↓Juffrou? ↑}

Learner: (showing the teacher his worksheet) {↓*Teacher?* ↑}

Extract 6.4 occurred towards the end of the written exercise in the classroom of teacher A. When this extract took place, most of the pupils had completed the exercise, while a few were still busy. Throughout this extract, teacher A was assisting learners who were still busy with the lesson. An example of this can be seen in the following turn: Teacher A: (To a learner) Moenie dit soe makie ↓ Teacher A: (To a learner) *Do not make it like that* ↓ Whilst the teacher was assisting some learners, another pupil exclaimed to no one in particular “↓WIE WIL DIE COLOUR HE?↑” ↓ *WHO WANTS THIS COLOUR?* ↑. This learner seemed to be done with using the colouring pencil which he used to colour images on the worksheet. He therefore offered it to any of his classmates that still needed it. This question uttered by the pupil in turn 217 was produced by a different Afrikaans mother tongue speaker in the class, but is quite similar to the utterance of the Afrikaans mother tongue speaker in extract 6.3. Like the pupil in extract 6.3, the speaker in extract 6.4 produces a sentence mainly in Afrikaans but includes a single English word, “colour” into this sentence. For this reason it can once again be argued that code-mixing is occurring. Moreover, it can also be argued that once again translanguaging is being used, as the first and second language of the pupil is being utilized to ask if any other learner would like to use the colouring pencil in the possession of the learner.

The learner who produced the utterance in turn 217, frames his speech as a question, as indicated by the rising intonation used. In addition to this, a high volume is used by the pupil, which makes one aware that this question is addressed to any pupil in the class who might be in need of the specific colour he seems to be done with. The translanguaging present in this

question posed to fellow pupils can therefore be said to not function as a linguistic resource as the learner's intended function of this utterance is to simply offer a colouring pencil to peers.

### Extract 6.5 (Appendix 6)

71. Teacher: Okay↓ (.) nou wurm was in die- en hy skrik wakke↓ (pretending to be waking up) en hy kan hom nie (.) roer nie↓ en hy begin KAP KAP en breek dit oop ↓(Pretending to crawl out of the cocoon) ↑ EK MOET YT KOM(.)↓ ↑EK HOU NIE-HOU NIE VAN WANEER DIT SO DONKER IS NIE↓ (.) en toe hy yt kom sien hy die sonskyn↓ (.) en hy kom yt↓ (.) hy rek dit en maak dit oop↓ (.) en toe hy yt kom toe kom sy? ↑

*Okay (.) now worm was is this- and then he woke↓ (pretending to be waking up) and he could not (.) move and he started HITTING and HITTING until it broke ↓(Pretending to crawl out of the cocoon) ↑ I MUST GET OUT OF HERE↓(.)↑I DO NOT- I DO NOT LIKE IT WHEN IT IS DARK↓ (.) and when he was out he saw that the sun was shining ↓(.) and he stretched the cocoon open even wider↓ (.) ↓and when he was finally out he was a? ↑.*

72. One of the learners: ↑BUTTERFLY ↓

73. Teacher: ↓Toe kom sy vlerke yt en hy is nie meer `n? ↑

Teacher: ↓*Then his wings appeared and he was no longer a?*↑

74. Few of the learners: [↑WURM↓ ]

Few of the learners: ↑[*WORM*↓]

75. Teacher: ↓Wie kan my se wat was hy? ↑

Teacher: ↓*Who can tell me what he was?* ↑

76. Few of the learners: [↑N BUTTERFLY↓]

Few of the learners: ↑[*A BUTTERFLY*↓]

77. Teacher: Nie `n butterfly nie↓ (.) a ↑SKOENLAPPER↓ (Correcting the learners for not using the proper Afrikaans word for “butterfly”)

Teacher: *Not a butterfly*↓ (.) ↑SKOENLAPPER↓ (*Correcting the learners for not using the proper Afrikaans word for “butterfly”*)

78. Few of the learners: SKOENLAPPER↓

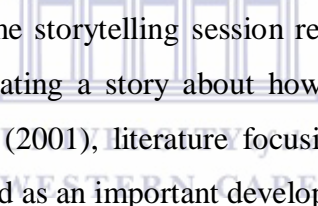
Few of the learners: *BUTTERFLY*↓

79. Teacher: Ja↓ (.) a skoenlapper↓ (.) ↓en wat kan hy nou doen?↑ (Pretending to be flying)

Teacher: *Yes*↓ (.) *a butterfly* ↓(.)↓ *and what can he now do?*↑ (*Pretending to be flying*)

80. Few of the learners: [↑VLIEG↓]

Few of the learners: [↑FLY↓]



Extract 6.5, is taken from the same storytelling session referred to in chapter 5, extract 5.1 and 5.2, where teacher A is narrating a story about how a caterpillar turns into a worm. According to Cassell & Kimiko (2001), literature focusing on pedagogy and psychology suggests that storytelling be viewed as an important developmental tool for children.

In the above extract and throughout the storytelling session, there are various indicators which shows teacher A making use of stylization as she stylizes her speech to fit that of a narrator of stories. One of these indicators includes the structure of the narration. Parylo (2011) argues that a story can be seen as a unit of conversation which contains a recognizable sequence and format. The identifying of this extract as that of storytelling is thus made evident by a certain structure and sequence adhered to by the teacher.

At the beginning of the narration, in turn 22 , before the occurrence of the above extract, the grade R teacher opens with “↑EENDAG ↓was daar a wurm wat in die woud gebly het↓” ↑ONE DAY↓ *there was a worm that lived in the woods*↓. As starting a story with the word “Eendag” *One day* is the generic opening of children’s stories, the listener is immediately made aware of the fact that a story is about to commence. The use of the word “↑EENDAG↓” ↑ONE DAY↓ in the opening line of the teacher’s storytelling session, thus frames the communicative situation as that of storytelling from the starting point. Then when looking



beyond the apparent fact that the teacher signalled story time with the word “↑EENDAG↓” ↑*ONE DAY*↓, one also sees that the teacher makes use of a contextualization cue to signal that she is about to tell a story. This is achieved by the teacher, in turn 22, when she allows for contrast in the volume of her voice. In turn 22, the teacher starts off by saying the word “↑EENDAG↓” ↑*ONE DAY*↓, in a high volume. Thereafter she quickly regulates her voice by lowering it to a normal conversational volume again. By doing this, the teacher is assured that the attention of the learners will fall on the word “↑EENDAG↓”, which undoubtedly signals the context of the communicative situation to the learners as that of storytelling and the teacher as the narrator.

Then one is also able to determine that teacher A is stylizing her speech to fit that of a narrator of stories as she plays with voice volume and pitch throughout the storytelling session, which further indicates that extract is occurring in the context of storytelling and that teacher A is performing the role of narrator. In the first turn, turn 71, teacher A explains the worm waking up in the cocoon after a long nap. Here we see teacher A making use of contrast in the volume of her voice, as well as the pitch of her voice to better describe a particular aspect of the story. In the first few lines of turn 27, teacher A narrates: “Okay↓ (.) nou wurm was in die- en hy skrik wakke↓ (pretending to be waking up) en hy kan hom nie (.) roer nie↓ en hy begin KAP KAP en breek dit oop ↓...” *Okay (.) now worm was in this- and then he woke↓ (pretending to be waking up) and he could not (.) move and he started HITTING and HITTING until it broke ↓*. In these lines the teacher describes the main character worm waking up in the cocoon and realizing that he is trapped. She then describes him hitting against the cocoon by stating “en hy begin KAP KAP...” *and he started HITTING and HITTING*. When the teacher utters the words “KAP KAP” *HITTING and HITTING*, one sees contrast in the volume of her voice as she increases the volume of her voice when producing these two words. One can argue that contrast in volume was used here to mimic the loud noise created when worm banged against the cocoon in order to set himself free.

Then, when looking at the last few lines of turn 71, one sees that the teacher makes use of both contrast in volume and pitch to better describe the next occurrence in the story. In the

last few lines of turn 71, the teacher describes the great desire of worm to be set free from the cocoon by switching to first person narration and saying “...↑ EK MOET YT KOM(.)↓ ↑EK HOU NIE-HOU NIE VAN WANEER DIT SO DONKER IS NIE↓...” ↑. *I MUST GET OUT OF HERE↓(.)↑I DO NOT- I DO NOT LIKE IT WHEN IT IS DARK↓*. When uttering these words, teacher A uses a high volume throughout the utterance as well as a high pitch. When taking into account that the teacher is trying to bring across that worm does not like the darkness in the cocoon, one can argue that by using a high voice volume and high pitch, she effectively brings across the distress felt by worm. It is thus evident in turn 71 that a high voice volume and a high pitched voice are used for the purpose of storytelling.

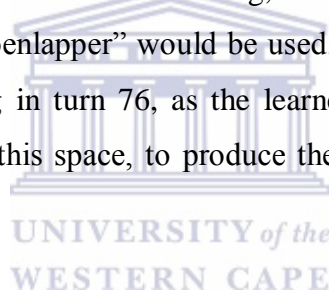
All of the above mentioned elements discussed, generic structure of the narration followed by teacher A, the contextualization cues used by the teacher and the play with pitch and volume of voice, serve as indicators that teacher A in this extract stylized her speech to fit that of a narrator of stories and that extract 16 can thus be framed in the context of storytelling.

Throughout this storytelling session, we also see teacher A attempting to engage the learners by asking them various questions related to the story. While telling the story, teacher A frequently ends her utterances with questions addressed to the learners to encourage participation and also to test the comprehension skills of the pupils. An example of this can be seen in turn 73: Teacher “...↓Toe kom sy vlerke yt en hy is nie meer `n↑?”... ↓*Then his wings appeared and he was no longer a↑?* By doing this, one is given the idea that the storytelling is more than just a narrative, but can also be framed in the context of a lesson. The attempts made by teacher A to engage the pupils in the storytelling can also be seen as common storytelling technics. Parylo (2011) substantiates this argument by stating that storytelling is a two-way endeavor which between storyteller and the listener/s.

What is significant about this extract is the responses of the learners in turn 72 and 76. In turn 71 the teacher seeks the response “vlerke” *wings*, when she asks “...↓en toe hy yt kom toe kom sy↑” ...↓*and when he finally came out and then his?↑*. However, one of the pupils, already realizing that the caterpillar had become a butterfly, exclaims “↑BUTTERFLY↓” in

response to the teacher question. In turn 75, the teacher once again asks the learners what the caterpillar had become and is given the same answer “[↑N BUTTERFLY↓]”↑A BUTTERFLY↓, by some of the learners in turn 76. This answer given by the pupils stood out while observing this interaction, as the learners used the English word for this flying insect, instead of the Afrikaans word “skoenlapper”.

However, when thinking about the use of this word, the realization was made that just like the use of the word “bubblegum” used by an Afrikaans learner in extract 6.3, the word “butterfly” is also commonly used by Afrikaans speakers. In other words, even though “skoenlapper” is the standard Afrikaans word for “butterfly”, it is very rarely used even by Afrikaans mother tongue speakers, especially those speaking non-standard varieties of Afrikaans, such as Kaaps. When once again taking into consideration that most of the learners in the class of teacher A are from Manenberg, where Kaaps is used, it becomes even more unlikely that the word “skoenlapper” would be used. It can also once again be argued that translanguaging is occurring in turn 76, as the learners utilized their mixed linguistic repertoires, which they bring to this space, to produce the answer, “[↑N BUTTERFLY↓]”, in answer of the teacher’s question.



Furthermore, when considering that the answer “[↑A BUTTERFLY↓]” was produced by some of the learners in response to one of the story related questions asked by the teacher, the conclusion can be drawn that the languaging practice produced here functions as a linguistic resource for the learners, as by utilizing their mixed linguistic repertoires they are able to provide the teacher with the correct answer. However, this answer is rejected by the teacher due to the fact that it is not solely in the medium of instruction Afrikaans. This can be seen in turn 77: Teacher: “Nie `n butterfly nie ↓(.) a ↑SKOENLAPPER↓” (Correcting the learners for not using the proper Afrikaans word for “butterfly”) *Not a butterfly (.) SKOENLAPPER (Correcting the learners for not using the proper Afrikaans word for “butterfly”)*. The significance in teacher A rejecting the answer provided by the learners in turn 76 of this extract will be discussed in the following chapter, chapter 7, which focuses on the language ideologies of the teachers with regards to classroom discourse.

### Extract 6.6 (Appendix 5)

(Camera zooms in on a Coloured learner and African learner)

(One of the learners says something to the teacher - Inaudible)

235. Learner: (Coloured learner to African pupil next to her) – {I- lekese↓}(...)

Learner: (Coloured learner to African pupil next to her) {Sweet↓}(...)

(Coloured learner that continues with her own exercise)

236. Learner: (Turning to African pupil again) {Irenji↓}

Learner: (Turning to African pupil again) {Orange↓}

( Coloured learner goes back to completing her own exercise)

(Teacher asks a group of learners a question- inaudible due to learners chatting in the background)

237. Teacher: \*Peter (.) jy kan joune in die boks sit↓

Teacher: \*Peter (.) you can put yours in the box↓

(Learners continue to chat in the background)

Extract 6.6 focuses on a linguistic interaction which occurred between two pupils later into the written exercise discussed in extracts 6.3 and 6.4. During the occurrence of this extract, most of the learners had completed the written exercise and were waiting on those still busy finishing the exercise. During this extract, an interaction was noticed between a Coloured learner and an isiXhosa learner. The video camera was then zoomed on these two learners to better hear the interaction which was occurring. In turn 235, the Coloured learner softly says to the isiXhosa pupil sitting next to her “{I- lekese↓} (...)” { Sweet↓} (...). Thereafter, the interaction comes to a quick halt when the Coloured learner pauses for quite a while and then proceeds with her own work. In turn 238, the learner which produced the utterance in 236, turns to the isiXhosa learner again and this time in the same a low volume voice says the word “{Irenji↓}”{Orange↓}, to the isiXhosa people.

When considering the contextualization cues used, one realizes that the speaker, the Coloured pupil, is framing her utterances as covert. This is made apparent by the low voice volume used by the Coloured pupil in turn 235 and 236 and the long pause in between her utterances. Furthermore, the framing of these utterances as covert is indicated by the fact that the Coloured pupil continues with her own work in between her utterances produced. Then, by focusing on what the learner producing the utterances is saying, one comes to the realization that she is translating some of the words on the worksheet for the isiXhosa learner, as it is in the medium of instruction, Afrikaans.

When combining what the learner is saying and the contextualization cues communicated by the Coloured learner, it becomes apparent that the purpose of this interaction is to secretly assist the isiXhosa learner with the written exercise, by means of translation. As stated in the previous chapter, the learner producing the utterances in turns 237 and 238 is making use of polylinguaging, as she is using a language to which she does not have admission and which belongs to a group of speakers to which she does not belong (Jørgensen, 2008).

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The frame in which the utterances of the Coloured learner is placed (that of covert assistance with the written exercise) indicates that these instances of polylinguaging functions as a linguistic resource, as the end goal is to make more comprehensible the exercise to the isiXhosa pupil, as it is in a language which is not her mother tongue language. It can therefore be argued that polylinguaging is taking place here during an instance of peer assistance.

#### **6.4 The borrowing of linguistic features by teacher B in the classroom context**

The following section of this chapter focuses on the classroom discourse of teacher B, which revealed languaging practices. Here, the linguistic production of the teacher in this space will first be analysed.

**Extract 6.7 (Appendix 7)**

62. Teacher: (Points to the word “back”) ↓And (.) that word?↑

(No one answers)

63. Teacher :(Still pointing to the word “back”) ↓What is that word?↑

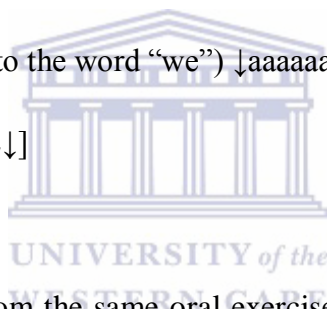
64. A few learners: {[Back↓]}

65. Teacher:(Still pointing to the word “back”)↓ So what is that word?↑

66. Most of the learners: [BACK↓]

67. Teacher: Ja ↓Yes↓ (.) (Points to the word “we”) ↓aaaaaaand what is that word?↑

68. Majority of the learners: [WE↓]



Extract 6.7 is an extract taken from the same oral exercise referred to in chapter 5. Prior to this extract occurring, teacher B instructed the learners to read as a class. Once the grade R learners had read together, teacher B pointed to words in the book, “Go away Floppy”, and then asked the pupils to identify the words pointed out by her. An example can be found in turn 63 where the teacher asks “↓What is that word?↑” and is then given the answer “[Back↓]” by some of the learners, in turn 64. Throughout this extract, teacher B makes use of the medium of instruction English.

However, in turn 67, she uses the word “Ja↓” *Yes↓* in order to let the class know that she is satisfied with their answer given in turn 66. When examining the word “Ja” used by the teacher in turn 67, one sees that it is added to an English sentence: “Ja↓ *Yes↓* (.) (Points to the word we) ↓aaaaaaand what is that word?↑” This brings to mind the question: Is this an example of teacher B borrowing linguistic features from the Afrikaans language? In order to

answer this question, I would like to shift my attention to the language background of teacher B.

As discovered in the interview conducted with teacher B, she is an Afrikaans mother tongue speaker and has English as an additional language. Teacher B can therefore be labelled as a bilingual. When considering the fact that the teacher borrows from her mother tongue language, and adds this word into an English sentence, her additional language, one could argue that just like in the case of teacher A, extract 6.1 and 6.2, teacher B is engaging in translanguaging. This argument is based on the fact that teacher B is using her bilingual capabilities in this utterance to bring across that she is satisfied with the answer provided by the learners. Furthermore, when analysing the linguistic production of teacher B in turn 67 on the level of code, it could be argued that teacher B is making use of code-mixing. The language use of teacher B in turn 67, thus resembles the language use of teacher A in extract 12 and 13, as teacher A too makes use of code-mixing and translanguage practices.

Furthermore, in turn 67, teacher B begins her utterance by making use of Afrikaans to state “Ja↓” Yes↓, with a falling intonation. By making use of falling intonation, the teacher indicates that she is making a statement. When considering the context of the statement, a question and answer reading exercise between teacher and learners, it is apparent that this statement conveys to the pupils engaged in this linguistic interaction that the teacher is satisfied with the answer provided in turn 66, [BACK↓]. In the same turn, one also sees a change in frame, from statement to question, as the rest of the utterance involves a rise in intonation. As teacher B, in this turn made use of languaging to state that she is satisfied with the answer provided by the learners and to furthermore ask an additional question, it is then clear that the purpose of her utterance in turn 67 was not to assist learners with the lesson but to simply give affirmation that the answer provided by the pupils is correct and to test the comprehension skills of the pupils. Translanguaging was therefore not used here as a linguistic resource.

### **Extract 6.8 (Appendix 7 )**

71. Teacher: ↓So who's gonna read alone?↑

72. A few learners: [↑ME↓]

73. Teacher: Sit down↓ (.) sit↓ (.) ↓ and↓\*Natasha?↑ (.) Go ↓(.) \*Tammy gan nie ent kry nie↓(.) \*Tammy is op stage nou↓ (Teacher laughs) \*Tammy is op stage idag↓

Teacher: *Sit down↓ (.) sit↓ (.) ↓and \*Natasha?↑ (.) Go ↓(.) \*Tammy will not let this go↓ (.) \*Tammy is on stage now↓ (Teacher laughs) \*Tammy is on stage today↓*

(Learners start making a noise. Some learners get up.)

(A lot of learners chatting in the background. A few learners jumps up. Two learners get up, moves away from the class and starts chatting in IsiXhosa.)

(Learners start making a noise. Some learners get up.)

74. Teacher: ↑SIT \*Tammy (Learners start making a noise again.) ↓\*TAMMY?↑

Extract 6.8 is also from the reading exercise, where learners were instructed to read the book “Go away Floppy”. The interaction in this extract takes place after the class had read to book together. Once the class had finished with the reading of the book, teacher B decided to let the pupils read individually. She does this by stating “↓So who's gonna read alone?↑” in turn 71. This utterance can be framed as a question due to the rising intonation with which the utterance is ended.

This caused great excitement amongst some of the learners and a few learners volunteered themselves by calling out “[↑ME↑]” in turn 72 and by jumping up. This is followed by the teacher attempting to control the situation. Teacher B does this by instructing the learners who jumped up to sit down and chooses a pupil to come read. This is seen in turn 73 when she states “Sit down↓ (.) sit↓ (.) ↓ and\*Natasha?↑ (.) Go↓ (.) \*Tammy gan nie ent kry nie↓ (.) \*Tammy is op stage nou↓ (Teacher laughs) \*Tammy is op stage idag↓”*Sit down ↓(.) sit↓ (.) ↓and \*Natasha?↑ (.) Go↓ (.) \*Tammy will not let this go↓ (.) \*Tammy is on stage now↓ (Teacher laughs) \*Tammy is on stage today ↓*. The falling intonation present in the utterances of the teacher, communicates that these lines are being framed as instructions. What is



significant about this utterance in turn 73, is the language use of the teacher. Whereas the teacher solely uses the medium of instruction in the rest of the extract, she switches to Afrikaans in the last few lines of turn 73. In this turn, teacher B starts off with an English sentence. “Sit down↓ (.) sit↓ (.) ↓and\*Natasha?↑ (.) Go↓ ”. This sentence is followed by an Afrikaans sentence “\*Tammy gan nie ent kry nie↓”. Finally she ends off her utterance with two more Afrikaans sentences in which she incorporates English words: “\*Tammy is op stage nou↓ (Teacher laughs)\*Tammy is op stage vidag↓”.

When analysing this utterance of teacher B, we can argue that the teacher is making use of code-switching, code-mixing and translanguaging. The first two sentences in turn 73 are examples of code-switching as the teacher switches languages between sentences when she says “Sit down↓ (.) sit↓ (.) ↓and\*Natasha?↑ (.) Go↓ (.) \*Tammy gaan nie ent kry nie” “Muysken (2011) substantiates this argument by stating that code-switching refers to switching between large units of language, such as sentences, clauses or even units which are longer than sentences. In the last two sentences in turn 73, “\*Tammy is op stage nou↓ (Teacher laughs) \*Tammy is op stage vandag” *Tammy is on stage now↓(Teacher laughs)Tammy is on stage today*, teacher B makes use of code-mixing. This is made evident by the fact that the sentences are mainly in Afrikaans but the English word “*stage*” is incorporated into the Afrikaans sentences. Finally we can once again argue that translanguaging is used in turn 73, as the teacher, throughout this utterance, greatly relies on her bilingual ability and uses it with the communicative goal of making her utterance humorous.

Furthermore, on closer analysis of turn 73, one comes to the realization that when teacher B switches to another language and makes use of languaging practices, the frame of her utterances also changes. Whereas as simply the medium of instruction, English, was used by teacher B to instruct her learners to sit down and the one pupil to go read, she switches to languaging in the remainder of turn 73, when she begins to mock one of her learners, \*Tammy, for liking the spotlight. One can therefore argue that by moving from only English to switching to Afrikaans and using languaging, the teacher is using another language and languaging practices as contextualization cues, to indicate that she has moved away from

giving instructions and is in fact now joking or saying something humorous. As it is evident here that languaging was used by teacher B for humorous effect, it is thus apparent that it does not function as a linguistic resource in this context.

### **6.5 The borrowing of linguistic features by the pupils of teacher B in the classroom context**

#### **Extract 6.9 (Appendix 10)**

8. Learner 5: (...) Go↓ (...) away↓ (.) ↓Floppy?↑ (.) Come back↓

9. Teacher: ↑NOOOO↓

10. Learner 5: ↑HAAAIBO↓ (.) ↑NO MAN↓

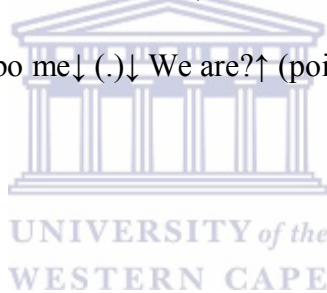
Learner 5: (Indicating that he is dissatisfied) ↑NO MAN↓

11. Teacher: No don't come haibo me↓ (.)↓ We are?↑ (points to word) Here↓ (.) SSSSS↓

12. Learner 5: (...)SORRY↓

13. Teacher: No ↓(.) skipping.↓

14. Learner 5: SKIPPING↓



This extract is taken from an instance during the reading exercise where teacher B asked an IsiXhosa pupil to read the English book “Come back Floppy” by himself. As the language used for pedagogy in this class is the third language of the isiXhosa pupil, he encountered various difficulties during this reading exercise and was often corrected by teacher B. An example of this can be seen in turn 8, when after a long pause the pupil reads “(...) Go ↓(...) away↓ (.) ↓Floppy ↑(.) Come back↓” which is then followed by teacher B showing her disapproval in the following turn when she exclaims “↑NOOOO↓”.

As the isiXhosa learner had from the start encountered difficulties with the reading of this book, he in turn 10 expresses his frustration by loudly saying “↑HAAAIBO↓ (.) ↑NO MAN↓”. Furthermore, the pupil also makes use of a high voice volume to make known his

frustration. When considering the first word used in this utterance, “↑HAAAIBO↓”, one recognizes that even though the learner had been reading an English book, he at this point, borrows from his mother tongue language to convey that he is displeased with the fact that he cannot seem to read the book well enough for teacher B to be satisfied. This is made evident when considering that the word “haaibo” is an expression which stems from the isiXhosa language and its speakers. This expression is often used by isiXhosa speakers to show dissatisfaction. After uttering this expression, the learner then continues by saying “↑NO MAN↓” to further indicate that he is unhappy and frustrated.

The utterance produced by the pupil in turn 10 can be argued to be an instance in which translanguaging is taking place. This argument is based on the fact that the pupil is relying on his multi-layered repertoire, which includes IsiXhosa, English and possibly other language/s. In the above linguistic production of the pupil, he is thus making use of his repertoire to fully express or bring across his dissatisfaction.

Furthermore, as the utterance of the pupil can quite apparently be framed as that of frustration with the reading exercise and the teacher’s dissatisfaction, as indicated by the contextualization cues such as a high voice volume and languaging, it can therefore be argued that the expression borrowed from his mother tongue language does not function as a linguistic resource. This is due to the fact that it was not borrowed to perhaps help him with the difficulties he was encountering with the reading exercise, but it was instead used to express his frustration.

### **Extract 6.10 (Appendix 7)**

71. Teacher: ↓So who’s gonna read alone?↑

72. A few learners: [↑ME↓]

73. Teacher: Sit down↓ (.) sit↓ (.) ↓and\*Natasha?↑ (.) Go ↓(.) \*Tammy gan nie ent kry nie↓(.)  
\*Tammy is op stage nou↓ ( Teacher laughs) \*Tammy is op stage vidag↓

Teacher: *Sit down*↓ (.) *sit*↓ (.) *and* ↓\**Natasha?*↑ (.) *Go*↓ (.) \**Tammy will not let this go*↓  
(.)\**Tammy is on stage now*↓ (*Teacher laughs*) \**Tammy is on stage today*↓

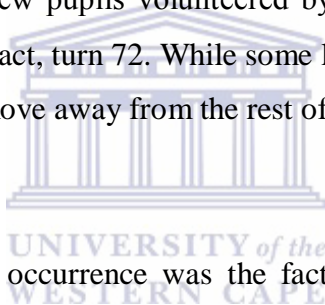
(Learners start making a noise. Some learners get up.)

(A lot of learners chatting in the background. A few learners jumps up. Two learners get up, moves away from the class and starts chatting in IsiXhosa.)

(Learners start making a noise. Some learners get up.)

74. Teacher: ↑*SIT* \**Tammy* (Learners start making a noise again.) ↓\**TAMMY?*↑

Extract 6.10 occurs during the reading exercise in the class of teacher B, immediately after the class read the book “Come Back Floppy” together. Thereafter, the teacher asked who would like to read alone and a few pupils volunteered by exclaiming “[↑*ME*↓]” as can be seen in the second turn of the extract, turn 72. While some learners jumped up to go read, two learners took the opportunity to move away from the rest of their classmates.



What was significant about this occurrence was the fact that the two pupils, after being distanced from the class, started engaging in a linguistic interaction, in what was quite apparently their mother tongue language, IsiXhosa. When realizing that the video camera was on them, these two learners joined the rest of the class again.

As a result of the high noise levels in the classroom, the short exchange between the two isiXhosa mother tongue speakers proved impossible to hear. For this reason, the utterances produced during the quick interaction could not be analysed. However, as it was evident that a peer exchange in their mother tongue language occurred in the class context, I approached the two pupils once the reading exercise had come to an end. I then asked them about the exchange while recording them on a voice recorder. In this transcription, I will refer to the one isiXhosa learner as Pupil X and the other pupil Z.

### **Extract 6.11 ( Appendix 13)**

1. Researcher: ↑HEY GUYS↓  
(Learners chatting in the background)
2. A learner: (Sitting next to pupil X and Z) ↓They ↑TALKING↓ to you there↓
3. Pupil X: (To me) {↓Yes?↑} (Shyly smiles)
4. Researcher: (To learner X) ↓Don't look so ↑NERVOUS MAAAN↓ (Laughs) (.) The conversation between you two looked very interesting earlier↓=
5. Pupil Z: =↓When?↑
6. Researcher: When you guys were standing there in the- in the corner↓ (.) When the kids were reading↓
7. Pupil Z: {Oh↓} (Laughs)
8. Researcher: Now I also wana know what you(.) you were talking about↓  
(Few learners in close proximity laughs)
9. Pupil X: (Laughs) (To pupil Z)↑ NOW TELL HER YOU↓
10. Pupil Z: I was-I was telling him we are gonna play soccer at break and↓=
11. Pupil X: =↑THAT WASN'T ALL↓ (Laughs)
12. Pupil Z: ( To pupil X) ↑STOPPIT MAN↓
13. Researcher: ↓I heard you guys talking Xhosa?↑
14. Pupil X: {Yes↓}
15. Researcher:↓ Is that the language you speak at home?↑ ↓With your mom and so?↑
16. Pupil X: {Yes↓}
17. Researcher: (Referring to people Z) ↓Yours also?↑
18. Pupil Z: Yep↓
19. Researcher: ↓Cool man (.) ↓Can you guys speak other languages together with Xhosa?↑

20. Pupil Z: ↓Like how?↑

21. Researcher: Like use Xhosa and another language together↓ (.) In a sentence↓

22. Pupil X: Yes we do that↓ (Laughs)

(Teacher talking to a learner in the background)

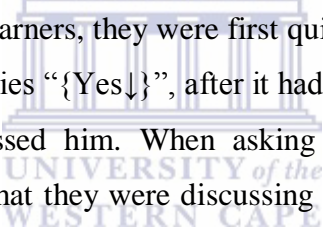
23. ↓Do you speak like that in class?↑

24. Pupil X: {Sometimes↓}

25. Researcher: Okay↓ (.)↓ with- with your friends?↑

(Bell rings for break. Learners get up and run to the door to make a line)

26. Teacher B: ↑PEOPLE PLEASE↓



When first approaching the two learners, they were first quite evidently shy. This can be seen in turn 3, when pupil X softly replies “{Yes↓}”, after it had been brought to his attention by a fellow learner that I had addressed him. When asking the two pupils what they were discussing pupil Z informed me that they were discussing a soccer match at break. This can be seen in turn 10: “I was-I was telling him we are gonna play soccer at break and↓=”. Next I enquired about the language that was used during this linguistic interaction, to verify whether isiXhosa was used. Pupil X then confirmed that isiXhosa was used. In turn 16 and 18 the learners further confirmed that it was indeed their mother tongues that they used during their conversation. When asking the two learners about whether they engage in languaging practices, pupil X informed me that they do by stating “Yes we do that↓” in turn 22. Then finally in turn 24, people X stated that they {“Sometimes↓}” make use of the borrowing of linguistic features in the classroom context.

Although I was not able to analyse the actual interaction between the two learners in order to determine whether the borrowing of linguistic features occurred during their interaction, this short interview with the learners revealed the following: The learners are mother tongue isiXhosa speakers and bring their first language to the classroom. In the classroom context they do not merely make use of the language used for pedagogy, English, but also their first

language which they seem to utilize during peer interactions in this space. Furthermore, when asked whether they make use of languaging, they stated that they do and occasionally make use of this language practice in class. This can be seen in turns 19-24.

## 6.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I focused on answering research question *b* and *c*. In answer of research question *b*, I analysed the spoken classroom discourse in the class of teacher A and B in order to identify utterances where the two teachers and their learners borrowed linguistic features from different languages within the classroom context. Then in answer of research question *c*, each extract containing languaging practices was contextualized using tools provided by Interactional Sociolinguistic analysis. This was achieved by taking into account how each extract was framed by the participants. By paying attention to the frame of each of the extracts containing languaging, I was able to see how the utterance was meant to be interpreted, which finally allowed me to determine whether utterances containing the borrowing of linguistic features functioned as linguistic resources.

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The findings of this chapter revealed that both teachers and learners make use of the borrowing of linguistic features in the domain of the classroom. However, this chapter revealed that both grade R teachers, at no point made use of the borrowing of linguistic features as a linguistic resource or as a tool to assist the linguistically diverse pupils in their classes. Instead, the findings showed the borrowing of linguistic features used as resource by the pupils in the class of teacher A. The final data analysis chapter, chapter 7, will investigate the reasons behind the teachers not using languaging as a linguistic tool or resource in the domain of the classroom.

## Chapter 7

### 7. Data Analysis

#### 7.1 Introduction

In the first data analysis chapter, chapter 5, it was established that the languages used as medium of instruction do not accommodate the linguistic diversity present in the grade R classrooms of my participants, as it only caters to the majority, those with Afrikaans as mother tongue language (school A) and those with English as first language (school B). Furthermore, it was found that the language variety used in these classrooms is of a formal nature, whereas pupils bring from the domain of the home the speech style Kaaps, which is considered a non-standard variety. It was therefore made apparent that a need exists for the accommodation of linguistic diversity in these classes.

As this study proposes the use of the borrowing of linguistic features across languages, as a tool which can be used to accommodate linguistic diversity in the classroom, it was then investigated whether languaging practices occurred in the classrooms of the participants and if it is used as a resource or tool to accommodate the diversification in the class (See chapter 6). In chapter 6, the findings revealed that even though languaging practices formed part of spoken classroom discourse, in both classes, it was never used by teacher A and B as a linguistic resource to assist pupils with lessons or work related activities. Instead, the borrowing of linguistic features was used by these teachers outside the context of lessons and for purposes unrelated to work, for example, for humorous effect. Furthermore, an interesting observation was made in the classroom of teacher A, when it was discovered that the only two instances when languaging was used as linguistic resources was during peer assistance to assist an additional speaker of the medium of instruction and when pupils in the classroom of teacher A made use of their mixed repertoires to provide teacher A with an answer to a question posed by the teacher during storytelling.



This final data analysis chapter will address the reasons behind the borrowing of linguistic features only being used as a linguistic resource by the pupils in these classrooms and the reluctance of the two teachers to apply languaging as a possible tool to assist their diverse groups of pupils in their classes. This will be done by addressing the final research question: *How is the borrowing of linguistic features or the absence of this language practice in the classroom influenced by the language ideologies of the teachers?*

In this chapter, the argument will be made that both grade R teachers, used for the purpose of this study, have monoglossic language ideologies when it comes to classroom discourse. However, on closer inspection, one discovers that the monoglossic language ideologies displayed by these teachers are especially directed towards certain contexts within their classrooms. More specifically, the monoglossic language ideologies of both teachers are definitely visible, but it is more situation specific, subject depended and governed by the participants involved in the exchange. It will be argued that teacher A puts greater emphasis on no informal language use and no use of languages other than the medium of instruction during lessons, while teacher B stresses a dislike for the use of languages and varieties other than that used for pedagogy when learners are addressing her. Later, one also learns that with regards to the classroom discourse of teacher B, she seems to be of the view that even though she makes use of non-standard varieties and languages other than the medium of instruction during lessons, she should not be making use of such language use when she is explaining work related material to learners. Due to these monoglossic views of the teachers, the borrowing of linguistic features from different languages was not used as a tool or resource in the classroom context. This argument will be based on information gathered during follow up interviews conducted with the teachers as well as observations made during the data collection period.

## **7.2 Monoglossic language ideology of teacher A**

This analysis chapter will start off by focusing on the monoglossic language ideology of teacher A, with regards to classroom discourse. In the second interview conducted with teacher A, she at various points in the interview, overtly expressed a negative attitude towards

the use of languages other than the medium of instruction and the use of a variety other than a formal one in the classroom context. This can be seen in the following extracts from the second interview with teacher A:

### Extract 7.1 (Appendix 11)

27. Researcher: ↓Which language varieties do the kids uhm (.) come to the classroom with?↑(.) ↓So I mean (.) do they come to the class speaking a standard variety or slang or a non-standard variety?↑

28. Teacher A: ↑SLANG↓ (.) because their parents speak like that at home↓ (.)They would say uhm (.) they would mix languages↓ (.) If I say “ inkleur potlood” *colouring pencil* they say colour↓(.) “↓Juffrou kan ek hierdie colour gebruik?↑” ↓*Teacher can I use this colour?*↑ “Juffrou ons het a colouring tv↓” *Teacher we have a colouring tv*↓ (.) Those words↓ (Teacher laughs) (.) It actually irritates me↓ (.) They bring it from the home and streets↓ (.) They refer to the police as “die boere” *the whites*↓ (Lowers her head in her hands).

In the above extract when teacher A is asked during the interview about the language variety brought to the classroom by the learners, she emphasises that it is not a standard variety brought to the class by stating quite loudly and with a high pitch that it is “↑SLANG↓” that the pupils bring from “home and [the] streets”. She then elaborates by giving examples of some of the English words, incorporated by the learners, into Afrikaans linguistic interactions. These examples include words like “colouring” to refer to colouring pencils and “colouring TV” to refer to a television which plays in colour.

When giving these examples of the English terms used by the pupils, teacher A makes a comparison between the “proper” Afrikaans terms that she uses and the English terms used by the learners. An example of this comparison can be seen in the following line: “If I say inkleur potlood *colouring pencil* they say colour↓”.

By making this comparison, it is evident that teacher A views her Afrikaans terms as correct and acceptable and the English terms used by the learners as incorrect and improper, as these English terms used are incorporated into Afrikaans sentences.

Immediately after giving examples of the English terms used by the pupils, teacher A laughs, which further indicates that she sees the use of these English terms in the Afrikaans classroom as unacceptable. To further bring across her view that languages other than the medium of instruction should not be used in the classroom context, her laugh is followed by the sentence “It actually irritates me↓”, which openly conveys her negative view towards the use of another language, in this case English, in the Afrikaans classroom.

In the last sentence in turn 28, teacher A also communicates that not only does she disapprove of the “mixing of languages” but also learners using informal, Kaaps styled terms in the classroom, such as “die boere” *the whites*, to refer to the police. Teacher A: “They refer to the police as “die boere” *the whites*↓” (Lowers her head in her hands). By lowering her head into her hands immediately after sharing that learners make use of the term “die boere” *the whites* to refer to the police, it is apparent that teacher A deems the use of such informal, Kaaps terms in the classroom context as wrong. While doing observations in the grade R class of teacher A, there was an actual instance where I was able witness one of the learners making use of the term “die boere” *the whites*. The following extract is taken from the interactional classroom discourse recorded, where the learner made use of this term.

### **Extract 7.2 (Appendix 5)**

96. One of the learners: Juffrou my pa roek entjies ne↓ (.) daa by ons huis↓ (.) en dagga↓

One of the learners: *Teacher my dad smokes cigarettes ↓(.) at our house↓ (.) and marijuana↓*

(Learners laugh)

97. Teacher: (Looking embarrassed) Hy kan mos nie dit doenie↓

Teacher: (*Looking embarrassed*) *He cannot do that* ↓

(Learners laugh harder)

98: One of the learners: *My boeta roek ook dagga*↓

One of the learners: *My brother also smokes marijuana*↓

99. Teacher: *Oh*↓ (.) *kan kinders dagga roek?* ↑

Teacher: *Oh* ↓(.) *can children smoke marijuana?* ↑

100: Some of the learners: [NEEEE↓]

Some of the learners: [NOOO↓]

101. One of the learners: ↑*DIE BOERE GAAN HULLE OPTEL*↓

One of the learners: ↑*THE POLICE IS GOING TO PICK THEM UP*↓

102. Teacher: ↓*DIE WIE?*↑ (.) *Se vir my nog a woord vir boere*↓

Teacher: ↓*THE WHO?*↑ (.) *Give me another word for “boere”*↓

103. One of the learners: ↑*POLISIE*↓

One of the learners:↑ *POLICE*↓

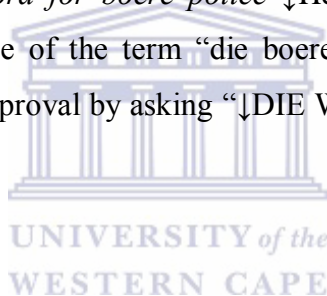
104. Teacher: *JAAA*↓ (.) *polisie*↓

Teacher: *YEEES*↓ (.) *police*↓

The above extract occurred during a storytelling session in the classroom of teacher A. During the storytelling session, some of the learners moved away from the subject at hand i.e. the story of a caterpillar turning into a butterfly and to more personal stories relating to their home life and family. On this subject, one learner shared with the teacher and class that his father smokes cigarettes and marijuana, as can be seen in turn 96: One of the learners: “*Juffrou my pa roek entjies ne*↓ (.) *daa by ons huis*↓ (.) *en dagga*↓” One of the learners: *Teacher my dad smokes cigarettes* ↓(.) *at our house*↓ (.) *and marijuana*↓ This comment then opens the floor to another learner, in turn 98, who states that his brother too smokes

marijuana: One of the learners: “My boeta roek oek dagga↓” *My brother also smokes marijuana*↓ These statements do not really stimulate much of a reaction out of teacher A, as she simply asks if children are allowed to smoke marijuana, as can be seen in turn 99.

However, what gets a greater reaction out of teacher A is a statement made by a learner in turn 101: One of the learners: ↑DIE BOERE GAAN HULLE OPTEL↓ One of the learners: ↑*THE POLICE IS GOING TO PICK THEM UP*↓. In response to the teacher asking whether children are allowed to smoke marijuana, a learner in turn 101 states that smoking marijuana will result in “die boere” *the whites* (referring to the police) arresting you. When this statement is made by the learner, it is quickly followed by the teacher demonstrating that she disapproves of the use of this informal, Kaaps term by the learner. This is made evident in turn 102: Teacher A: ↓DIE WIE?↑ (.) Sê vir my nog a woord vir boere↓ Teacher A: ↓*THE WHO?*↑ (.) *Give me another word for boere police* ↓ Here the teacher shows that she is unpleasantly surprised by the use of the term “die boere” *the whites* by the learner. She demonstrates her shock and disapproval by asking “↓DIE WIE?↑↓*THE WHO?*↑ with a raised voice and high pitch.



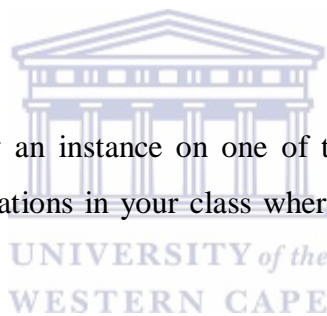
Immediately after indicating her disapproval of this term, the teacher asks the rest of the class to give her another term for “die boere” *the whites*. When some of the learners present her with the Afrikaans term “polisie”, she is quite satisfied and shows that she approves in turn 104, by stating “Teacher A: JAAA↓ (.) polisie↓” Teacher A: *YEEES* ↓(.) *police*↓ She achieves this by putting great emphasis on the word “JAAA↓” *YEEES*↓, when some of the learners give her the answer she sought, “polisie” *police*. This is done through stressing the word “JAAA↓” and using a high voice volume.

Another interesting observation made in extract 7.2 is the manner in which teacher A chooses to relay that she disapproves of the use of the term “die boere” *the whites*. Even though teacher A makes it evident that she does not agree with the use of the term “die boere” *the whites* by stating “↓DIE WIE?↑↓*THE WHO?*↑” and asking for an alternative term, she at no point overtly corrects the learner. Instead, she asks for an alternative term. The fact that

teacher A asks for an alternative term instead of openly correcting the learner can be seen as a pedagogical strategy. By making use of this teaching strategy, teacher A guides the learner and the rest of the class to the correct answer without having to openly express her disagreement with the use of the term.

Based on this observation made and also the above mentioned answers given to questions in the second interview conducted with the teacher, it is therefore evident that she disagrees with the linguistic practice of “mixing languages” and also the use of informal terms in the classroom context. In the second interview conducted with teacher A, there were also other instances where she communicated that she does not approve of informal language use in the classroom context. This can be seen in the following extract:

**Extract 7.3 (Appendix 11)**



29. Researcher: There is actually an instance on one of the uhm video recordings I made when I was doing my observations in your class where one of the learners made use of that term↓
30. Teacher A: (Laughs) ↑YOU SEE↓
31. Researcher: The use of the term by the pupils actually speaks volumes↓=
32. Teacher A:= I try to tell them it’s not “boere” *white*↓s (.) A boer is someone that works on a farm↓ (.) It’s actually a POLISIEMAN *POLICEMAN* and they STILL tell you↓=
33. Researcher: = But it just shows (.) how such terms were carried over to them↓ (.) because they were not part of the Apartheid era↓ (.) Yet they use terms that were used in the Apartheid era↓
34. Teacher A: It’s been passed on yes from parents (.) definitely↓
35. Researcher: ↓Okay (.) so do the learners struggle with the lesson because they speak a variety different from the one used in class?↓ Like (.) at home and in the streets they speak uhm non-standard variety and then in the classroom it is expected that they should speak a standard variety↓

36. Teacher A: ↑OH YES↓ and we try to make them speak a formal variety but it's difficult for them to not say stuff like uhm ↑BOERE↓ *WHITES* you know↓ (.) I really don't like slang in the classroom ↓(.) And sometimes they get it right to not do it in the classroom but when they ↑GO HOME↓ (.) they just switch↓ (.) You can sometimes see them thinking (.) wait here in class I can't say this word (.) *polisieman policeman* not boere *whites* ↓
37. Researcher: ↓Uhm how do you as their teacher personally feel about the use of non-standard varieties in the classroom?↑ This includes the mixing of languages such as using the English word “colour” in their Afrikaans sentences and the use of slang such as “boere” *whites* to refer to the police↓
38. Teacher A: I try to correct them↓ (.) I don't like the mixing of different languages because they are not learning the proper language itself↓ (.) So I don't like the fact that they mix it (.) But it's difficult getting it out of them ↓

During this part of the interview, turns 29 to 38, teacher A and I discussed the observation made during my data collection period, where one of the learners used the term “die boere” *the whites*. In turn 29, I shared with teacher A that I observed the use of the term “die boere” *the whites* by one of the learners, while conducting my research.

When teacher A hears this, she laughs and says with great emphasis “↑YOU SEE↓”, which indicated that she is quite satisfied that I too have witnessed the improper form of language practices brought from home by the learners and that she did not exaggerate in the examples of the learners' language use that she presented me with. In the turn that follows, turn 31, I attempt to explain to teacher A how significant the use of the term “die boere” *the whites* is as it is linked to the apartheid era and was carried over from parents to children. However, I am overlapped by teacher A, in turn 32, who then further tries to communicate how unacceptable the use of such informal terms by her pupils are: Teacher A: “= I try to tell them it's not “boere” *white*↓s (.) A boer is someone that works on a farm↓ (.) It's actually a POLISIEMAN *POLICEMAN* and they *STILL* tell you↓=” In turn 32, the teacher once again lets me know that the use of non-standard varieties are unacceptable in the classroom, as she explains how she attempts to correct the learners when using such terms and also how her attempts are often futile.

In turn 35, teacher A is asked if the difference in the varieties spoken at home and in the classroom leads to learning difficulties for her learners. Teacher A replies to this question by confidently assuring me that pupils indeed encounter learning difficulties due to the differences in the language varieties spoken at home and in the classroom. This is made apparent in the following lines “↑OH YES↓ and we try to make them speak a formal variety but it’s difficult for them to not say stuff like uhm ↑BOERE ↓WHITES you know↓...”.

This statement made by teacher A is rather significant, as she firstly emphasises that her pupils indeed encounter learning difficulties in the classroom because they are used to speaking a different language variety at home. She achieves this by stating “↑OH YES↓” in response to my question in turn 35. However, what is interesting here is that even though she acknowledges that learners have difficulty with lessons, due to this language variety difference she does not indicate that perhaps the informal variety spoken by the learners should be accommodated in the classroom. Instead, she points out that “...we try to make them speak a formal variety but it’s difficult for them not to say stuff like uhm ↑BOERE↓ WHITES you know↓...”. By saying that “we” (referring to teachers and the school) attempt to correct the pupils when they use informal varieties, teacher A communicates that she, together with other teachers and the school, is of the view that it is the learners that are causing themselves to encounter difficulties with the lesson, as they cannot adapt to the “correct” formal variety spoken at school. It is thus at no point indicated here that teacher A feels that perhaps the school can adapt to the variety brought to the classroom by the learners, rather than expecting the pupils to adapt to the formal variety used at school.

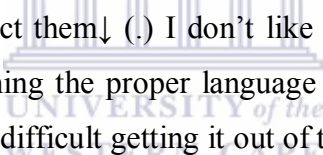
In the same turn, turn 36, one is also given the idea that the pupils of teacher A have become aware that the use of non-standard varieties in the classroom are unacceptable and will lead to them being negatively reinforced by their teacher. This is evident in the following lines in turn 36: Teacher A:

“I really don’t like slang in the classroom↓ (.) And sometimes they get it right to not do it in the classroom but when they ↑GO HOME↓ (.) they just switch↓ (.) You can sometimes see



them thinking (.) wait here in class I can't say this word (.) polisieman *policeman* not boere *whites*↓”.

After once again openly communicating that she does not appreciate the use of non-standard varieties in the classroom context, teacher A informs me that the learners sometimes “get it right” to not use informal varieties in the classroom. What is also noteworthy here is that the learners consciously remind themselves to not make use of non-standard varieties. This is made apparent in the following lines: Teacher: “...You can sometimes see them thinking (.) wait here in class I can't say that word (.) polisieman *policeman* not boere *whites*↓.” As it is noticeable for teacher A to see that her pupils make a conscious effort to remember to use standard varieties in the classroom context, it is once again proven that they are often made aware that their informal varieties are not appreciated by teacher A and will result in negative reinforcement. Furthermore, in turn 38, teacher A expresses a view rooted in essentialism:

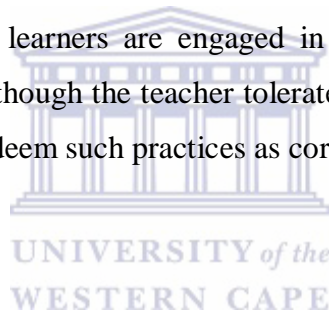


Teacher A: “I try to correct them↓ (.) I don't like the mixing of different languages because they are not learning the proper language itself↓ (.) So I don't like the fact that they mix it (.) But it's difficult getting it out of them↓”.

In this turn, teacher A states that she “does not like the mixing of languages” and then provides a reason which indicates that she is of the belief that language can only be seen as “proper” when it is used as separate entities “...bounded, pure and composed of structured sounds, grammar and vocabulary...” (Blommaert and Rampton, 2011:3-4). Teacher A justifies her dislike for languaging practices and says that it is necessary to correct her learners as “mixing languages”, will result in them not “learning proper language”. We can therefore argue that she believes that if her pupils are “mixing languages” they are “not learning the proper language itself↓”, which indicates that she does not see the borrowing of linguistic features across languages, as an actual language practice. This clearly indicates that teacher A's views of language is embedded in essentialism.

### 7.3 A monoglossic language ideology greatly focused on the context of lessons

In the above analysis, it was established that teacher A has a monoglossic language ideology with regards to classroom discourse. The monoglossic language ideology of the teacher was recognized through information gathered during the second interview conducted and also observations made during the data collection period. In this section of the chapter, it will be argued that, upon closer analysis, one learns that the monoglossic language ideology of teacher A is particularly directed towards certain contexts within the classroom. Here the argument will be made that when teacher A is giving a lesson, she does not tolerate the use of languages other than the medium of instruction and non-standard varieties at all. While she has previously stated that she does not like “the mixing of languages”, the use of non-standard terms and the use of languages that deviate from the medium of instruction, one is made aware that she still tolerates such language practices in the classroom, when she is not busy giving a lesson and when learners are engaged in peer discussions. However, it is important to note here that even though the teacher tolerates such language practices outside these contexts, she still does not deem such practices as correct or acceptable, as shown in the previous section of analysis.



The following extract, taken from the context of a lesson, reveals the disapproval of teacher A towards the use of a language other than the medium of instruction while she is giving a lesson.

#### Extract 7.4 (Appendix 6)

71. Teacher: Okay↓ (.) nou wurm was in die- en hy skrik wakke↓ (pretending to be waking up) en hy kan hom nie (.) roer nie↓ en hy begin KAP KAP en breek dit oop ↓(Pretending to crawl out of the cocoon) ↑ EK MOET YT KOM(.)↓ ↑EK HOU NIE-HOU NIE VAN WANEER DIT SO DONKER IS NIE↓ (.) en toe hy yt kom sien hy die sonskyn↓ (.) en hy kom yt↓ (.) hy rek dit en maak dit oop↓ (.) en toe hy yt kom toe kom sy? ↑

*Okay (.) now worm was in this- and then he woke↓ (pretending to be waking up) and he could not (.) move and he started HITTING and HITTING until it broke ↓(Pretending to crawl out of the cocoon) ↑ I MUST GET OUT OF HERE↓(.)↑I DO NOT- I DO NOT*

*LIKE IT WHEN IT IS DARK*↓ (.) *and when he was out he saw that the sun was shining*  
↓(.) *and he stretched the cocoon open even wider*↓ (.) ↓*and when he was finally out he*  
*was a?* ↑.

72. One of the learners: ↑BUTTERFLY ↓

73. Teacher: ↓Toe kom sy vlerke yt en hy is nie meer `n? ↑

Teacher: ↓*Then his wings appeared and he was no longer a?*↑

73. Few of the learners: [↑WURM↓ ]

Few of the learners: ↑[*WORM*↓]

7.5 Teacher: ↓Wie kan my se wat was hy? ↑

Teacher: ↓*Who can tell me what he was?* ↑

7.6 Few of the learners: [ `↑N BUTTERFLY↓]

Few of the learners: ↑[*A BUTTERFLY*↓]

7.7 Teacher: Nie `n butterfly nie↓ (.) a ↑SKOENLAPPER↓ (Correcting the learners for not using the proper Afrikaans word for “butterfly”)

Teacher: *Not a butterfly*↓ (.) ↑*SKOENLAPPER*↓ (Correcting the learners for not using the proper Afrikaans word for “butterfly”)

7.8 Few of the learners: [SKOENLAPPER↓]

Few of the learners: [*BUTTERFLY*↓]

7.9 Teacher: Ja↓ (.) a skoenlapper↓ (.) ↓en wat kan hy nou doen?↑ (Pretending to be flying)

Teacher: *Yes*↓ (.) *a butterfly* ↓(.)↓ *and what can he now do?*↑ (Pretending to be flying)

7.10 Few of the learners: [↑VLIEG↓]

Few of the learners: [↑*FLY*↓]

As stated in the previous data analysis chapters, the above extract occurred in the context of a storytelling session in the classroom of teacher A. During the storytelling session, teacher A told her learners a story about how a caterpillar turns into a butterfly. Even though various aspects of this extract have been discussed, i.e. the language use in this extract and the significance thereof and whether or not the borrowing of the English word “butterfly” functions as a linguistic resource in this context, there lies further importance in the above extract. The additional importance of this extract relates to the argument to be made that when teacher A is giving a lesson, the use of languages other than the medium of instruction, is unacceptable.

In the above extract, it is evident that even though the teacher takes on the role of narrator during the storytelling assemblage, she nevertheless encourages learners to participate. Teacher A achieves a storytelling session interactive in nature by posing various questions about what is to happen next in the story. Evidence of this can be found throughout the extract. In turn 71, teacher A ends of her utterance with “...en toe hy yt kom toe kom sy?↑”. As in the case of most of the turns in this extract, one sees that teacher A ends off turn 71 with a question. By doing so, the teacher urges pupils to not only listen to the story, but also interact. The efforts made by teacher A to encourage interaction prove to be successful as her questions posed are often met with eager answers by some or the majority of the learners present. Examples of the eager responses of the learners can be seen in turns 74, 76, 78 and 80. However, a response by the pupils that carries great value in this extract can be found in turn 76.

In turn 76, one sees that most of the learners present the answer “[↑N BUTTERFLY↓]”, when they are asked what the caterpillar turned into towards the end of the story. Turn 75: “↓Wie kan my se wat was hy?↑” ↓*Who can tell me what he was?*↑. The eager response by the learners in turn 76 carries great importance as it explicitly uncovers the monoglossic language ideology of teacher A, with regards to acceptable language use during lessons. Throughout the storytelling session, the medium of instruction, Afrikaans, was solely used by teacher A to relay the story. However, when some of the learners, in their response in turn

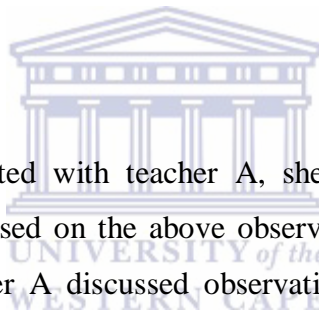
76, use the English word “butterfly” and not the Afrikaans word “skoenlapper”, teacher A quite evidently shows her disapproval of the use of the English term.

This is apparent in turn 77, when teacher a states “Nie `n butterfly nie ↓(.) n ↑SKOENLAPPER↓ (Correcting the learners for not using the Afrikaans word for “butterfly”) *Not a butterfly*↓(.) a ↑SKOENLAPPER↓ (Correcting the learners for not using the Afrikaans word for “butterfly”). The emphasis placed on the Afrikaans term that the teacher deems “correct”, “↑SKOENLAPPER↓”, and the high pitch used by the teacher shows that even though the learners gave the correct answer to the question posed by the teacher, she does not accept this answer as correct, as it is not in the medium of instruction, Afrikaans. When considering the fact that teacher A does not accept the answer of the pupils as correct, due to the fact that a language other than the language used for pedagogy was used by the pupils, it can be argued that in this case epistemic injustice is taking place (Fricker 2007). The term epistemic injustice refers to the undermining of pupils as knowers when learners participate in classroom activities and answers given by them are deemed incorrect as they are using a language practice seen as unacceptable by educators (Fricker, 2007). Through the rejection of the answer in turn 76 given by the pupils, the negative attitude of the teacher to languages other than the medium of instruction, therefore undermines the knowledge of her learners. We can therefore argue that because this English term was used while teacher A was busy with a lesson, she did not see it as acceptable, as she is of the view that only the medium of instruction, Afrikaans should be used while a lesson is in progress.

It can also be argued that not only are languages other than the medium of instruction seen as unacceptable during lessons, but any other language use which is not of a standard variety is also not allowed. This can be seen during extract 5.2 previously discussed, where a learner made use of the term “die boere” *the whites*. As stated in the discussion on the extract, the term “die boere” *the whites* was used by a learner, during an instance when learners moved away from the subject during this storytelling session and instead shared personal experiences with teacher A. It is during this linguistic interaction that a learner makes use of the non-standard term. Teacher A then shows her disapproval of the term used by asking: Teacher A: “↓DIE WIE?↑ (.) Sê vir my nog a word vir boere↓” Teacher A: ↓ *THE WHO?*↑ (.) *Give me*

another word for “boere”?↑ *police*. The learners then give her the Afrikaans word, “polisie” *police* and she shows that she approves in turn 104 by stating “Teacher A: “ JAAA↓ (.) polisie↓” Teacher A: YEEES↓ (.) *police*↓.

The reason for referring back to this extract is related to the context in which the teacher corrected the learner. Even though learners steered off the subject of the lesson, the teacher and her learners were still in the context of storytelling when teacher A corrected the learner for using the non-standard term “die boere” *the whites*. As storytelling sessions are often of an educational nature, in this case, teaching the pupils about how a caterpillar transforms into a butterfly, it can be argued that it is deemed a lesson by the teacher. As the non-standard term was used by the learner in this context, teacher A therefore found it necessary to correct the learner, which once again reveals that she does not tolerate non-standard varieties in the context of a lesson.



In the second interview conducted with teacher A, she made various statements which substantiated arguments made based on the above observations. The following are extracts from the interview where teacher A discussed observations made about her monoglossic language ideology being greatly directed towards lessons.

#### **Extract 7.5 (Appendix 11 )**

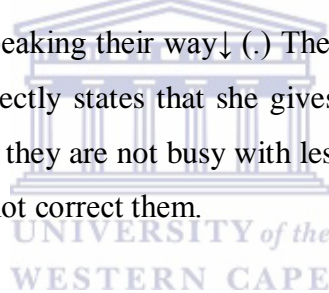
47. Researcher: The butterfly example (.) where you corrected the learners for using an English word (.) happened within the context of a lesson↓ (.) However (.) I noticed when the kids were working on their own or just playing in the uhm class they would sometimes mix languages and use slang but you do not correct them↓ (.) ↓Why is that?↑.

48. Teacher A: Look I will allow it outside the context of a lesson↓ (.) Sometimes you will hear them speaking their way↓ (.) They are free then↓ (.) You restrict them sometimes when they can only speak a certain way↓ (.) They can express themselves when they speak their way↓ (.) They don't think its wrong↓ (.) It's what they were taught at home↓ (.) The parent speaks to the child like that↓ (.) When they do role play you also see the stuff that happens at home↓ (.) The shootings on the uhm streets here and that (.) It comes out in their play (.) They-They make a lot of guns also↓ (.) When they play with the legos

and things (.) so much ne that I have to tell them↓ (.)I don't want to see a gun↓ (.) You make a car (.) boy or girl↓ (.) ↑I MUST TELL THEM WHAT TO MAKE↓ (.) because to them it's just a gun ↓.

In turn 47, I brought to the attention of teacher A that my observations revealed that she, like in the case of the butterfly example, only corrected the learners for using languages other than the medium of instruction and other non- standard varieties when a lesson was in progress but that I did not observe her correcting learners outside the context of a lesson.

The teacher's response in turn 48, substantiated arguments made based on what I had observed, as she admitted to allowing the use of other languages and non-standard varieties outside the context of lessons: "Look I will allow it outside the context of a lesson ↓(.) Sometimes you will hear them speaking their way↓ (.) They are free then↓ ...". In this quote from the interview teacher A directly states that she gives them more freedom to use their mixed linguistic repertoires when they are not busy with lessons and that she even hears them "speaking their way↓", but does not correct them.



What is also quite interesting in the response of the teacher is the fact she is aware that by expecting learners to solely make use of the medium of instruction and standard varieties, the linguistic production of the learners are limited in the classroom. This is made evident when the teacher states that "...You restrict them sometimes when they can only speak a certain way↓ (.) They can express themselves when they speak their way↓...".

However, even though the teacher allows the use of non-standard varieties outside the context of lessons and admits that giving learners linguistic freedom leads to better expression, one is still given the idea that the teacher sees such informal varieties as an incorrect or improper form of language use. This is made apparent when immediately after stating that allowing learners to "speak their way" results in better self-expression, she states "...They don't think it's wrong↓ (.) It's what they were taught at home↓ (.) The parent speaks to the child like that↓ ...". This indicates that even though she recognizes the advantages of allowing learners

to use their mixed linguistic repertoires, she communicates that she, unlike the learners, is still of the belief that such languaging practices are not proper forms of language use.

In the final lines of turn 48, teacher A shares that just like the informal varieties brought to the classroom by the learners, the learners also bring with them the violence and crime often witnessed in the community and at home:

“...When they do role play you also see the stuff that happens at home↓ (.) The shootings on the uhm streets here and that (.) It comes out in their play (.) They-They make a lot of guns also↓ (.) When they play with the legos and things (.) so much ne that I have to tell them↓ (.) I don't want to see a gun↓ (.) You make a car (.) boy or girl↓ (.) ↑I MUST TELL THEM WHAT TO MAKE↓ (.) because to them it's just a gun↓”.

What is significant in teacher A discussing the violence and crime witnessed in the home environment and acted out in class by the learners, while she was on the subject of the non-standard varieties brought to the classroom by the learners, is the fact that one is given the idea that she views all facets brought from the home environment as wrongful behaviour. This includes violent behaviour as well as improper forms of language use. These views revealed by teacher A strongly contradicts her admitting in the same turn, that the languaging practices that learners bring from home are actually of an advantage as it leads to them better expressing themselves. It can therefore be argued that even though teacher A substantiated observations made about her allowing non-standard varieties when a lesson is not in progress, she is still of the view that such language practices are incorrect and merely tolerates it outside the context of lessons.

The following extract, also taken from the second interview with the teacher, further establishes that teacher A, allow learners to make use of non-standard variety outside the context of lessons. However, the extract also reveals, as stated earlier, that the use of non-standard varieties are merely tolerated by the teacher instead of being deemed correct, even when a lesson is not in progress. This can be seen in the following responses given by teacher A.



### Extract 7.6 (Appendix 11)

55. Researcher: ↓We spoke a bit about this earlier but do you allow the learners to use a non-standard variety in the class?↑

56. Teacher A: When we are doing formal work then no but when we are not doing work then it's okay↓ (.) When they are just playing in the uhm little kitchen we have in class(.) or just painting then its okay but not with work↓(...) But I still try you know to correct them↓=

57. Researcher: = ↓So just to be clear (.) during lessons (.) no mixing of languages and other non-standard varieties?↑

58. Teacher A: Not at all yes↓

In turn 55, I once again give teacher A the opportunity to express her views on the use of non-standard varieties by her pupils in the classroom. Just like in the previous extract, she again establishes that she does not accept the use of non-standard varieties in the context of lessons but will allow it when lessons are not taking place:

Teacher A: “When we are doing formal work then no but when we are not doing work then it's okay↓ (.) When they are just playing in the uhm little kitchen we have in class (.) or just painting then its okay but not with work↓ (...) But I still try you know to correct them↓=”.

After teacher A had once again reassured me that she allows the learners to use non-standard varieties outside the context of lessons and when they are engaged in peer interaction, i.e. playing in the kitchen or painting, her final words in turn 56 again shows that the linguistic freedom given to learners in these particular contexts are simply tolerated but not accepted. This is made visible when she ends of turn 56 with the words “...but I still try you know to correct them=”. By stating that she still tries to correct learners, even though she has given the learners permission to use their mixed linguistic repertoires when lessons are not occurring, teacher A again shows that she does not accept such language practices, even within a context where she claims to allow it.

Although teacher A had stated in the second interview that she still tries to correct the pupils, even when lessons are not in progress, the observations made during data collection revealed that she in fact does give her pupils more freedom to use their mixed linguistic repertoires when she is not giving a lesson. The following two extracts are instances where teacher A was not busy with a lesson and learners made use of other languages, besides the medium of instruction, during peer interactions. During these interactions, the teacher did not correct the learners in question. The argument will thus be made here that because these interactions happened outside the context of a lesson, the teacher did not see it as necessary to correct her learners.

### **Extract 7.7 (Appendix 5)**

215. Teacher A: (To a learner) Moenie dit soe makie ↓

Teacher A: (To a learner) *Do not make it like that* ↓

216. One of the learners: EN EKKE ↓

One of the learners: *AND ME* ↓

(Teacher talking in the background- inaudible)

217. One of the learners: ↓WIE WIL DIE COLOUR HE? ↑

One of the learners: ↓*WHO WANTS THIS COLOUR?* ↑

218. One of the learners: Eke ↓

One of the learners: *Me* ↓

219. Teacher A: (Pointing to the worksheet of a learner) Soes dai ene ↓

Teacher A: (Pointing to the worksheet of a learner) *Like that one* ↓

220. Learner: (Showing the teacher his worksheet) {↓Juffrou? ↑}

Learner: (showing the teacher his worksheet) {↓*Teacher?* ↑}

The above extract includes teacher and learner linguistic interactions as well as peer interactions which occurred while learners were working on a written exercise.

The linguistic interactions in the extract took place after teacher A had given her lesson which included instruction about what was expected of the learners for the particular written exercises and also when most pupils had completed their work. To assist pupils that were still busy with the lesson, teacher A walked around and occasionally looked at what learners were doing and assisted with the exercise where necessary. While teacher A was busy assisting learners with the written exercise, pupils had various linguistic interactions amongst themselves. One such exchange is the following interaction amongst two pupils:

217. One of the learners: ↓WIE WIL DIE COLOUR HE? ↑

One of the learners: ↓*WHO WANTS THIS COLOUR?* ↑



218. One of the learners: Eke ↓

One of the learners: *Me* ↓

During this exchange between two learners, one pupil, while busy with her exercise, offers a colouring pencil to her fellow classmates. She does this by loudly asking “↓WIE WIL DIE COLOUR HE?↑” ↓*WHO WANTS THIS COLOUR?*↑. What is significant about this question posed by the learner is the learner’s language use. When asking whether one of her classmates, needs the colouring pencil with which she is done, the pupil predominantly speaks Afrikaans, but then incorporates the English word “colour” to refer to the colouring pencil. What is further significant about this interaction is the lack of reaction from teacher A. When the pupil, quite loudly and for everyone to hear, poses this question to her classmates, teacher A at no point corrects her for making use of this English term. Instead, she continues to assist learners with the written exercise, which can be seen in the following turn (Camera focuses on teacher and a learner again) Teacher A: (Pointing to the worksheet of a learner) “Soes dai ene↓” Teacher A: (Pointing to the worksheet of a learner) *Like that one*↓. Based on

the fact that teacher A did not correct or reprimand the learner for making use of the term “colour”, the conclusion can be drawn that the teacher did not deem it necessary to correct to the pupil, as the term was not used while she was still busy giving a lesson, it occurred while the learners were working on the class exercise, after she had given her lesson. This therefore gives more evidence that the monoglossic language ideology of teacher A is more focused on the context of lessons.

A similar instance, where teacher A did not correct a pupil for making use of a language other than the medium of instruction, outside the context of a lesson, can be found in the following extract:

**Extract 7.8 (Appendix 5)**

(Camera zooming in on two learner’s worksheets while the learners are busy colouring in the picture of an orange.)

(One of the learners banging on his board.)

(Teacher gets up from her chair and starts monitoring work sheets again.)

(Camera zooms in on two learners)

148. One of the learners: (Reaches into her pocket and takes out bubblegum. Speaks to the learner next to her) {Hie is bubblegum↓}

One of the learners: (Reaches into her pocket and takes out bubblegum. Speaks to the learner next to her.) {Here is bubblegum↓}

149 Teacher A: ↓Is jy klaar met jou werk?↑ (.) ↑\*Keano? ↑

Teacher A: ↓Are you done with your work?↑ (.)↑ \*Keano?↑

The above extract occurred after the lesson on what is expected of pupils for the written exercise. Pupils were thus all sitting on the mat trying to complete the task. During this extract, the video camera focuses on various activities taking place while the learners are working on the written exercise. The video camera captures two learners colouring the orange

on their work sheet, then captures a learner banging on his board, which is used to work on, then it shows teacher A getting up from her chair and moving around again to monitor the work of the learners. Thereafter, the camera zooms in on two learners and captured a linguistic interaction between them. While in the process of working on their exercises, the one learner reaches into her pocket and offers bubblegum to her classmate working next to her by stating “{Hie is bubblegum↓}” {*Here is bubblegum↓*}. In her statement the learner makes use of the English term “bubblegum”, while the rest of her sentence is in Afrikaans. Such an utterance is typical language use which would be corrected by teacher A. However, it is once again seen that teacher A does not address the pupil for making use of the word. Instead, she continues to monitor the work of the learners and checks who has completed the exercise, which can be seen in the final turn of this extract Teacher A: “↓Is jy klaar met jou werk?↑ (.) ↓\*Keano?↑ ↓*Are you done with your work?*↑ (.) ↓\*Keano?↑. In this extract, it is thus once again established that teacher A tolerates the use of non-standard varieties, which she would have corrected, had it occurred while she was giving a lesson.

#### 7.4 Language use of the teacher outside the context of lessons

Another significant observation made during the time spent in the classroom of teacher A, was the language practices of the teacher when she was not giving a lesson. Her language practices outside the context of lessons revealed that, just like her learners, she too makes use of a language other than the medium of instruction. She does this by including English words within Afrikaans sentences. This can be seen in the following examples:

##### Extract 7.9 (Appendix 5)

Some learners still getting their crayons and boards, while others are back on the mat starting with the exercise)

(Learners talking while working- teacher says something- inaudible due to learners talking)

59. Teacher A: (To one of the learners.) Gaan kry vi jou kryt ↓

Teacher A: (To one of the learners) *Go get yourself some crayons*↓

(Learners chatting in the background)

60. Teacher A: (To learners getting boards in the corner) ↑KOOOM↓(.) maak KLA in die corner ↓

Teacher A: (*To learners getting boards in the corner*) ↑COOOME↓ *get DONE in the corner*↓

(Chatting of learners continue in the background)

61. Teacher A: As jy jou bord en jou kryt het dan kan jy be-(.)dan kan jy begin↓

Teacher A: *If you have your board and your crayons then you can-(.) then you can start*↓

This extract once again includes linguistic interactions which occurred while the pupils of teacher A were working on their written exercises. During this Extract, the teacher was giving various instructions to her learners. This can be seen throughout the extract. For example, in the first turn of the Extract, teacher A instructs a learner by saying “Gaan kry vir jou kryt↓” *Go get yourself some crayons*↓ In turn 60, one sees teacher A giving demand to learners who are getting boards in the corner of the class. These learners had begun to engage in peer conversation, resulting in them taking long to collect their boards. Teacher A notices this and then tells them to finish up in the corner of the class by stating “↑KOOOM↓ (.) maak KLA in die corner↓”↑ COOOME↓ *get DONE in the corner*↓. When instructing these learners to collect their boards and leave the corner, teacher A does not solely make use of the medium of instruction, Afrikaans. Instead, she incorporates the English word “corner” into her Afrikaans sentence. This reveals that even though teacher A has revealed various times that she is of the belief that the mixing of languages is an unacceptable language practice; she too makes use of such language use in the classroom context, when she is not giving a lesson.

### **Extract 7.10 (Appendix 5)**

(One of the learners shows the teacher his worksheet)

194. Teacher A: Jy moet die hele blaaie da onne kla maak ↓

Teacher A: *You must finish everything at the bottom of the page*↓

195. Two learners: (Holding up their worksheets) ↓JUFFROU?↑

Two learners: (Holding up their worksheets) ↓TEACHER?↑

196. Teacher A: (To the two learners holding up their pages) Dais fiiine↓

Teacher A: (To the two learners holding up their pages) *That's fiiine*↓

(Another learner shows the teacher his page)

198. Teacher A: Twee lyne da onne ↓

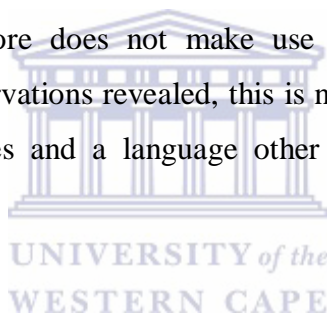
Teacher A: *Two lines at the bottom*↓

In this extract, teacher A is assisting learners that are still busy with the written exercise. Here various learners come to her and show her their worksheet so that she can either tell them what she is not happy with or whether she is satisfied with the work done by them. In the first turn of this extract, a learner comes to teacher A and shows her his worksheet. After she had taken a look at the worksheet, she then gives him feedback by stating “Jy moet die hele blaai da onne kla maak↓” *You must finish everything at the bottom of the page*↓. With this statement teacher A informs the learner that his work is still incomplete. When considering the language use of teacher A when addressing this pupil, it is made evident that she is making use of Kaaps and not a standard variety of the medium of instruction. In her statement in turn 194, teacher A says “daa onne”, a pronunciation of “daar onder”, which is commonly used when speaking Kaaps. The use of Kaaps by teacher A is notable as Kaaps is seen as a non-standard variety, a variety that teacher A claims to not tolerate in the classroom context. Moreover, in the remainder of the Extract, two more learners present their work to the teacher by holding it up for her to see. She then indicates that she is satisfied with their work by stating “Dais fiiine↓” *That's fiiine*↓. Here teacher A once again makes use of another language besides the medium of instruction, when she includes the English word “fine” into her comment. The above instances observed where the teacher made use of Kaaps, a non-standard variety and a language other than the medium of instruction, English, strongly contradicts statements made by teacher A about her linguistic production in the classroom context.

In the second interview conducted with the teacher, she was asked about her language use in the classroom context. This can be seen in turn 53 and 54:

Researcher: “{Okay↓ (.)↓So where are we now?↑} (...) ↓Do you as the teacher make use of non- standard varieties in the classroom?↑” Teacher A: “↑OH NO↓ (.) They must learn from me so no↓ (.) They imitate you↓”.

In these turns one sees that when teacher A is asked about whether or not she makes use of non-standard varieties in the classroom context, she puts emphasis on the fact that she does not make use of informal varieties. She does this by stating boldly and with a high pitch “↑OH NO↓”. She then elaborates and gives reason as to why she does not make use of non-standard varieties in the classroom: “...They must learn from me so no↓ (.) They imitate you↓”. The teacher claims here that because she must be an example to her pupils so that they can learn from her, she therefore does not make use of non-standard varieties in the classroom. However, as the observations revealed, this is not the case, as teacher A on a few occasions used informal varieties and a language other than the medium of instruction, English.



### **7.5 The monoglossic ideology of teacher A influenced by the language policy of the school**

In the second interview conducted with teacher A, she stated that school A is an Afrikaans medium of instruction school and is registered as such. This is made evident in turn 12 where teacher A states that “...the school is registered as Afrikaans only school↓ (.) It says so in the language policy of our school↓”. Then in turn 63, I asked the teacher if there is anything in the guideline of the school’s language policy about the use of non-standard varieties in the classroom. Teacher A responded by saying “Yep (.) we are not supposed to↓ (.) It says you must stick to the medium of instruction↓ (.) They tell you you need to↓”. In turn 64, teacher A informs me that “[they] are not supposed to” make use of non-standard varieties in the classroom context and that it is expected of them to “stick to the medium of instruction↓”.



In various discussions in this chapter, it has been established that teacher A is of the view that medium of instruction should not be steered away from and the formal variety is expected to be used in the classroom context, especially when a lesson is in progress.

When comparing this monoglossic view of teacher A, with the strict standard, single medium of instruction language policy of school A, one is given the idea that teacher A's strong views against the use of other languages besides the medium of instruction and non-standard varieties in the classroom, could be influenced by what has been instructed by the language policy of the school. Various comments made by teacher A in the follow up interview substantiate this argument. Examples of such comments can be seen in the extract below:

**Extract 7.11 (Appendix 11)**

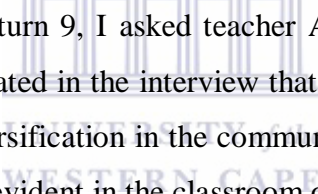
9. Researcher: ↓Is this cultural and linguistic diversity present in your class?↑
10. Teacher A: You know (.) when you were here doing your research (.) the uhm (.)- I had learners that are IsiXhosa and so on in the class but there weren't a lot of them↓ (.) Now (.) I have a lot more learners from other cultures that speak different languages ↓
11. Researcher:↓ Hmm (.) Ok (.) So what is the language or languages used for teaching in your class and at the school?↑
12. Teacher A: Afrikaans (.) the school is registered as an Afrikaans only school↓ (.) It says so in the language policy of our school↓
13. Researcher: ↓Only Afrikaans?↑
14. Teacher A: Yes (.) But you know now and then I use English↓ (.) I started doing this recently since I now have so many coming in speaking other uhm languages now↓ (.) But still mostly Afrikaans↓(.) I always go back to Afrikaans↓
15. Researcher: When I did my research here you only made use of Afrikaans during lessons though↓
16. Teacher A: Yes (.) I only used Afrikaans ↓
17. By the way (.) when I was doing my observations in your class you said "boks" *box* a lot ↓ But your pronunciation of the word sounded Afrikaans↓ (.) Not like the English

pronunciation “box”↓ So just to clarify (.) ↓when you said “boks” (.) “Gaan sit jou goed in jou boks↓” ↓Did you mean the Afrikaans direct translation “boks” or were you using English as in “box”?↓

18. Teacher A: No I meant the Afrikaans direct translation “boks”↓(.) Not English “box” with an x↓

19. Researcher: So you have recently started using other languages in your class↓ (.) ↓Has it changed in the policy of the school?↑(.) ↓Or is it just something that you have started doing?↑

20. Teacher A: Now we are getting a lot of other languages like English and IsiXhosa↓ (.) So that is the only reason why I had to change but no it’s not in the language policy of the school↓ (.) It still says Afrikaans in there↓ (.) I don’t really have a choice but to use another language sometimes↓



At the beginning of this extract, turn 9, I asked teacher A about the diversity found in her classroom. As I had previously stated in the interview that research conducted on the area of Manenberg has revealed that diversification in the community is growing, I therefore wanted to know whether this diversity is evident in the classroom of teacher A. In turn 10, teacher A then informed me that:

“...when you were here doing your research (.) the uhm (.)- I had learners that are IsiXhosa and so on in the class but there weren’t a lot of them↓ (.) Now (.) I have a lot more learners from other cultures that speak different languages↓”.

In this response of the teacher, she states that even though there were learners speaking other languages besides the medium of instruction in her class during my data collection period, these learners were in the minority. This is made evident when she says “... I had learners that are isiXhosa and so on in the class but there weren’t a lot of them↓...” However, since then the diversification in her class has grown, as there are now “a lot more learners from other cultures that speak different languages↓” in her class.

Thereafter, I then asked the teacher about the language used for instruction at the school and in her class. In turn 12, she says that the medium of instruction, as stated by the language policy of the school is Afrikaans. When taking into account the increase in diversity happening in the classroom of teacher A and the fact that the school is still registered as an Afrikaans only school, it then becomes evident that even though the linguistic diversity is increasing in classes at the school, the language policy of the school has not been adjusted to accommodate the growing diversification.

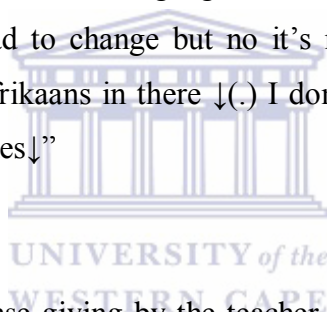
In order to verify whether the school, in the midst of increasing diversity, is still an Afrikaans only medium of instruction school, I then asked the teacher in turn 13 “↓Only Afrikaans?↑”. In response to this question the teacher then made an interesting comment when she stated “Yes (.) But you know now and then I use English↓ (.) I started doing this recently since I now have so many coming in speaking other uhm languages now↓ (.) But still mostly Afrikaans↓(...) I always go back to Afrikaans↓”. This statement made by the teacher informed me that even though the medium of instruction is Afrikaans, as stated in the language policy of the school, solely using the medium of instruction has proven to be insufficient for teacher A, in a class where the linguistic diversity is growing. For this reason, teacher A has recently started using English to accommodate the linguistic diversity found in the classroom. This is made apparent when she states that “... But you know now and then I use English↓ (.) I started doing this recently since I now have so many coming in speaking other uhm languages now↓...”. This comment made by teacher A could be interpreted as her going against what the language policy of the school states, as it seems that she as a teacher, has perhaps had a change of view with regards to the use of languages other than the medium of instruction in the classroom context.

However, on closer analysis of turn 14, one learns that teacher A might not have had a change of view after all and that her ideology on classroom discourse is still a monoglossic one. This is made apparent when she states that she only switches to English “now and then” and “still mostly [use] Afrikaans↓”. The choice of these words used by the teacher thus informs me that there still exists an unwillingness on the part of teacher A to make use of a language which is not the medium of instruction, as she still tries to stick to the medium of

instruction, as instructed by the language policy of the school. This argument is further confirmed in the final line of turn 14, when the teacher ends off her explanation with “I always go back to Afrikaans↓”, which once again shows the need of the teacher to always go back to the language the school has instructed her to teach in.

In the last two turns of this extract, more evidence is given that even though teacher A has admitted to switching to English to accommodate the linguistic diversity in her class, she does not switch languages out of choice but rather because the growing diversity in her class is now forcing her to. In turn 19, I asked teacher A whether the language policy of the school has perhaps changed and now maybe states that other languages can be used to accommodate the diverse groups of learners at the school. Teacher A then responds by saying:

“Now we are getting a lot of other languages like English and IsiXhosa↓ (.) So that is the only reason why I had to change but no it’s not in the language policy of the school↓ (.) It still says Afrikaans in there ↓(.) I don’t really have a choice but to use another language sometimes↓”



In the opening line of this response given by the teacher, she immediately informs me that “the only reason why [she] had to change” or move away from the medium of instruction during certain instances is because the linguistic diversity in the class has started growing, which indicates that she felt compelled to switch due to the increase in linguistic diversity in the class. This indicates that if she had the choice she would prefer using the medium of instruction. Thereafter, she informs me that the language policy of the school still says only Afrikaans should be used: “... but no it’s not in the language policy of the school↓ (.) It still says Afrikaans in there↓”

What is notable when teacher A says that the language policy of the school still states that only the medium of instruction should be used, is the fact that directly after saying this teacher A quickly points out that “... I don’t really have a choice but to use another language sometimes↓” This gave me the idea that the teacher felt that she needed to justify her decision to switch to English in certain instances in the classroom, as the language policy of the school

does not give her permission to do so. This is made evident by her expressing her lack of choice in the matter. Based on these comments made by teacher A, one can therefore argue that her views on appropriate or acceptable language use in the classroom is immensely dictated by what the language policy of the school deems to be acceptable.

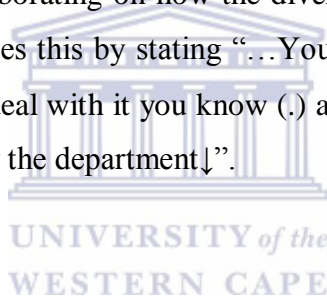
In the following extract, more evidence is found which shows that the views of teacher A, with regards to acceptable language use in the classroom context is strongly dictated by the monoglossic language policy of the school.

### **Extract 7.12 (Appendix 11)**

59. Researcher: Okay↓ (.) ↓ Do teachers at the school get uhm some-some form of training to deal with cultural and linguistic diversity in the classroom context? ↑
60. Teacher A: No we ↑NEVER↓
61. Researcher: ↓You mentioned earlier that diversity is increasing now (.) But-So(.) no training?↑ (.)↓No workshops?↑
62. Teacher A: No (.) there's no training or workshops↓ (.) You go with what you have↓ (.) Each situation is different so you just deal with it you know (.) and we must also try to stick to the guideline of the policy laid out by the department↓
63. Researcher: ↓Is there anything in this guideline of the policy about non-standard varieties such as mixing languages in the classroom?↑
64. Teacher A: Yep (.) we are not supposed to↓ (.) It says you must stick to the medium of instruction↓ (.) They tell you you need to ↓
65. Researcher: ↓Now if there is a learner with a first language other than the medium of instruction in you class↓ (.) right?↑(.) ↓and they have some sort of difficulty with the lesson coz it's in Afrikaans↓(.) ↓What do you then do?↑(...) You pointed out earlier that you only recently started incorporating the language of the that specific child↓=

66. Teacher A: = Yes↓ (.) Now in those circumstances I switch to the other language but quickly switch back ↑AGAIN↓ (.) to the medium of instruction↓ (.) Then I repeat what I said in English again in Afrikaans↓

In the first turn of this extract, I asked teacher A if the school offers training or workshops on how to navigate the linguistic diversity, which is now increasing at the school and in the classroom context. The teacher, in turn 60, then responds by emphasising “No we ↑NEVER↓”, to indicate that no such training has taken place. The emphasis put on the answer given by teacher A shows that no support has been offered by the school with regards to managing and accommodating the growing diversity amongst its pupils. In turn 62, teacher A once again reassures me that no training or workshops have ever taken place to provide teachers at the school with tools to accommodate the linguistic diversity. In the same turn, the teacher then continues by elaborating on how the diversification amongst the learners is handled in the classroom. She does this by stating “...You go with what you have↓ (.) each situation is different so you just deal with it you know (.) and we must also try to stick to the guideline of the policy laid out by the department↓”.



Based on this quotation by the teacher, one learns that teachers are left to their own devices and are expected to come up with methods to accommodate the diversification on their own. This is made apparent when teacher A says “...You go with what you have↓ (.) each situation is different so you just deal with it you know...” Teacher A ends of this statement by saying “... and we must also try to stick to the guideline of the policy laid out by the department↓” In this final line of the teacher in turn 62, teacher A informs me that even though the teachers at the school are expected to come up with their own tools to accommodate the linguistic diversity that learners bring to the classroom, it is further expected of the teachers to also consider the guidelines in the language policy of the school, which states that only the medium of instruction should be used. This once again shows that even though teacher A has begun to make use of English with her diverse group of pupils, she still shows great awareness of what the language policy of the school says, which shows that her monoglossic language views revealed in various analysis in this chapter, is influenced by what the

language policy of the school expects from her. This argument is again confirmed in turn 64 when the teacher states:

“... we are not supposed to↓ (.) It says you must stick to the medium of instruction↓ (.) They tell you you need to↓” In this turn teacher A openly admits that they are told “...you need to↓” only make use of standard varieties in the classroom context and that they are supposed to “... stick to the medium of instruction↓...”.

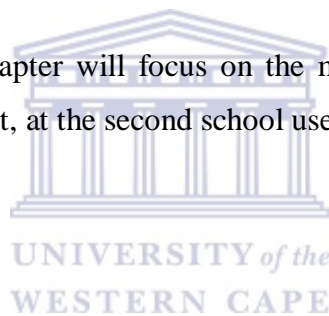
In the following turn, I asked the teacher what she would then do in cases where additional speakers of the medium of instruction encountered difficulties with the lesson because the medium of instruction is not their first language. Teacher A then replied by saying “= Yes↓ (.) Now in those circumstances I switch to the other language but quickly switch back ↑AGAIN↓ (.) to the medium of instruction ↓(.) Then I repeat what I said in English again in Afrikaans↓”. In the answer given by teacher A in turn 66, she states that like mentioned earlier, she switches to the other language (English) when additional speakers of the medium of instruction encounter difficulties with the lesson. Nevertheless, teacher A again informs me that even though she switches to English in these difficult situations, she does not like moving away from the medium of instruction. This is made evident when she states “... I switch to the other language but quickly switch back ↑AGAIN↓ (.) to the medium of instruction↓ (.) Then I repeat what I said in English again in Afrikaans↓”

The fact that teacher A felt the need to point out that even though she makes use of English, she chooses to “...quickly switch back ↑AGAIN↓ (.) to the medium of instruction↓...” shows that she is of the view that switching to English is wrong and unacceptable, as the language policy of the school states that they should not steer from the medium of instruction. One also sees that teacher A puts great emphasis on the word “↑AGAIN↓” when she shares that she always switches back from English to Afrikaans, which further indicates that she feels her switching to English is wrongful. Finally, when the teacher ends off her utterance in turn 66, she shares “...I repeat what I said in English again in Afrikaans↓”. This final line in turn 66 provides more evidence that lets one know that the teacher does not see the use of English as

acceptable, as the medium of instruction is Afrikaans, as stated by the language policy of the school. For this reason she thus feels obligated to repeat what she said in English, again in Afrikaans.

Based on the above discussion, we can therefore argue that the monoglossic language views of teacher A, with regards to classroom discourse, are strongly influenced by the monoglossic language policy of the school. Even though teacher A has recognized and recently put into practice the incorporation of English as resource to accommodate the linguistic diversity in her classroom, she is still of the view that she should not be making use of a language which is not the medium of instruction, as the language policy of the school deems the use of other languages, besides Afrikaans, as unacceptable.

The following section of this chapter will focus on the monoglossic language ideology of teacher B in the classroom context, at the second school used for this study.



## 7.6 Monoglossic Ideology of teacher B in the classroom

The extracts to be analysed next are taken from the second interview conducted with teacher B. During this interview, teacher B on various occasions communicated that she believes in the use of a standard variety of the medium of instruction in the classroom context. These instances will be discussed next.

### Extract 7.13 (Appendix 12 )

9. Researcher: Okay↓ (.) ↓uhm (.) is the language/s that is used for teaching at the school and specifically in this classroom a standard or non-standard (.)- or non- standard variety?↑

10. Teacher B: uhm↓(...)

11. Researcher: ↓Formal↑ ↓or informal?↑ ↓Can the learners use slang in the=



12. Teacher B: =↑HA AH ↓↑HA AH↑ FORMAL↓ (.) NO SLANG↓ (.)They must- they must use formal English not come with the languages they mix↓
13. Researcher: ↓So its- its expected that they uhm use a formal or standard of the medium of instruction? ↑
14. Teacher B: Yes↓
15. Researcher: ↓Who has given this instruction?↑(.) ↓That a standard- standard variety of the medium of instruction should be used?↑
16. Teacher B: The school↓ (.) Its registered like that↓ So we must adhere to this↓

In the second interview conducted with teacher B, she started showing signs of a monoglossic language ideology early into the interview. In turns 9-16, after conversing about the medium of instruction at the school and in her class, teacher B and I started discussing the language variety used at the school and specifically in her classroom. In turn 9, I introduced the topic of the language variety used by asking “Okay↓ (.) uhm (.) is the language/s that is used for teaching at the school and specifically in this classroom a standard or non-standard(.)- or non-standard variety?↑”. When posing this question, the long pause of teacher B in turn 10 indicates that she did not fully comprehend the question: Teacher B: “uhm↓(...)”. When realizing this, I then rephrased the question in the following turn: Researcher: “↓Formal↑ or ↓informal?↑ ↓Can the learners use slang in the=”. Immediately, once teacher B realizes what it is that I am asking, she does not allow me to complete my question. She achieves this by overlapping my utterance and then boldly claims that a non-standard variety is not allowed by stating “=↑HA AH↓ ↑HA AH↓ FORMAL↓ (.) NO SLANG ↓(.) They must- they must use formal English not come with the languages they mix↓”.

At the beginning of this turn, teacher B puts a lot of emphasis on the fact that a non-standard variety of the medium of instruction is not allowed by using a high pitch and loudly repeating “=↑HA AH↓ ↑HA AH↓...” to indicate that such language use is unacceptable. Thereafter, teacher B reaffirms that she does not approve of informal varieties in the classroom by saying “... FORMAL↓ (.) NO SLANG↓” to ensure that I am made fully aware that such language use is not seen by her as appropriate in this context. Thereafter, teacher B reveals her dislike

of languaging practices by saying "...They must- they must use formal English not come with the languages they mix↓". Just like in the case of teacher A, teacher B communicates here that she is of the view that languages are separate entities which should not be kept separate. This is made apparent when teacher B says they "...must not come with the languages that they mix↓". Teacher B thus too reveals a language ideology imbedded in structuralism.

In turn 13, I then once again asked the teacher whether only a formal or standard variety is expected to be used in the classroom and was once again reassured that this is the case by the teacher in turn 14, with her reply "Yes↓". Next, I asked teacher B to share with me who has instructed that only a standard variety of the medium of instruction can be used.

The teacher then replied by saying "The school (.) it's registered like that↓ (...) So we must adhere to this↓". What is significant about this answer given by teacher B, is the fact that after she informed me that the school has instructed them to make use of a standard language variety, she states "... So we must adhere to this↓". This shows that just like in the case of teacher A, who feels compelled by the language policy of the school she teaches at to make use of a standard variety in the classroom context, teacher B too communicates an obligation to do so. This is made evident by her use of the words "must" and "adhere".

In the following extract, teacher A provides more evidence which reveals her dislike for the use of informal language practices in the classroom context.

#### **Extract 7.14 (Appendix 12 )**

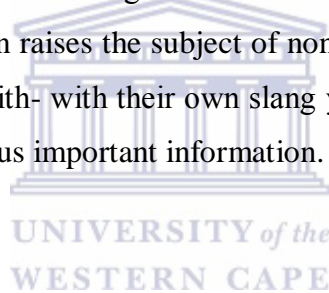
17. Researcher: Okay↓ (.) In the first interview that we did (.) before I even started with my observation in your classroom(.) you stated that most of the learners are from Manenberg↓=  
18. Teacher B: =Manenberg yes (.) ↓And they come with- with their own slang you know?↑  
19. Researcher: Okay↓

20. Teacher B: You know when they (.) when they speak to each other (.) they (.) they use those (...) the slang↓=

21. Researcher: = ↓That they bring from home?↑

22. Teacher B: Yes (.) from home↓ and I –Man I don't like this slang ↓(...) They must use it at home ↑NOT HERE↓

In the first turn in this Extract, I attempted to confirm with teacher B that in our first interview conducted, she stated that most pupils reside in Manenberg. This was done in order to introduce the subject of diversification found in Manenberg and amongst her pupils that reside in the area. While attempting to make this confirmation in the first turn, I am overlapped by teacher B as she states “=Manenberg yes (.) ↓and they come with- with their own slang you know?↑” After confirming that most of her pupils reside in the area of Manenberg, teacher B, once again raises the subject of non -standard varieties. She does this by stating “...↓ and they come with- with their own slang you know?↑” This comment made by teacher B communicates various important information.

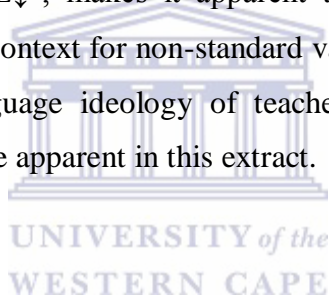


Firstly, as we were on the subject of Manenberg, the area where most of the learners are from, when teacher B raised the topic of non-standard varieties again, one is given the idea that teacher B associates these non-standard varieties with the domain of the home. Furthermore, by referring to the pupils as “they”, teacher B portrays the pupils as the other, a group that she does not want membership of as they make use of non-standard varieties. This is further verified looking at the rest of her wording in this line “... they come with their own slang...” . The phrase “...their own slang...” gives more evidence which shows that teacher B feels that the informal language use of her pupils, is a language practice which is part of the identity of her learners and not hers. In turn 20, teacher B gives more reason to believe that she does not feel that she shares this identity with her learners when she states “You know when they (.) when they speak to each other (.) they (.) they use those (...) the slang↓=”. In this turn, teacher B says that the pupils in her class make use of “the slang” during linguistic interactions amongst themselves or when they are “speaking to each other”. By pointing out that informal varieties are used by the learners when they are interacting with each other,

teacher B once again tries to let me understand that she does not partake in non-standard language practices, as such language use only occurs during peer interaction.

In the second last turn in this extract, turn 21, I asked teacher B if she believes these informal varieties that learners use in the classroom context is brought from home. In her response to this question, teacher B then answers “Yes” and then continues by overtly stating her dislike for informal language practices: “... I –man I don’t like this slang↓..”.

The final comment made in turn 22 then confirms the monoglossic language ideology of teacher B with regards to classroom discourse when she makes the statement “...They must use it at home ↑NOT HERE↓”. This comment made by teacher B, together with the emphasis put on the words “↑NOT HERE↓”, makes it apparent that according to the teacher the classroom is not the appropriate context for non-standard varieties whereas the domain of the home is. The monoglossic language ideology of teacher B, with regards to classroom discourse, is thus once again made apparent in this extract.

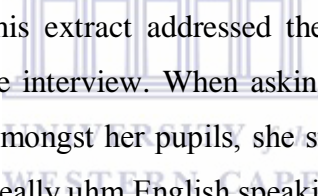


## **7.7 Monoglossic views of teacher B focused on teacher and learner interactions**

In the previous extracts, teacher B on a few occasions shared the view that she does not approve of the use of non-standard varieties, such as the borrowing of linguistic features across languages, in the classroom context. However, further into the second interview conducted with teacher B, she expressed views which pointed to her monoglossic language ideology being more directed towards teacher and learner interactions. More specifically, she revealed that when learners are engaged in linguistic interactions with her, she does not tolerate the use of non-standard varieties, especially the switching from the medium of instruction to other languages.

### **Extract 7.15 (Appendix 12)**

27. Researcher: ↓And in terms of linguistic diversity?↑ ↓The different languages that learners speak?↑ ↓Do you find that in the class?↑
28. Teacher B: Yes (.) you do↓ (.) because you find that the children are not really uhm English speaking you know?↑ (.) They Afrikaans but the mommy –the child ↑MUST↓(.) speak English↓
29. Researcher: Oh I see↓=
30. Teacher B: =Now the mummies will put them in an English class (.) even though (.) they speak Afrikaans at home↓ and you ↑HEAR↓ the- the Afrikaans coming through↓=
31. Researcher: =Yes↓ yes↓=
32. Teacher B: =They speak their language↓ (.) The mother tongue at home and here ↓(...)But never with me↓(...) None of that with me↓

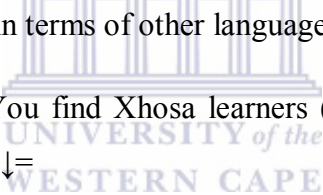


The discussion taking place in this extract addressed the linguistic diversity found in the classroom of teacher B during the interview. When asking the teacher, in turn 27, whether linguistic diversity is prominent amongst her pupils, she stated “Yes (.) you do↓ (.) because you find that the children are not really uhm English speaking you know?↑ (.) They Afrikaans but the mommy –the child↑ MUST↓ (.) speak English↓=”. In the response given by teacher B she informed me that various learners in the class are in fact Afrikaans mother tongue speakers but that the parents of the children favours English medium of instruction more, as they want their child to be competent in English. This is made evident when teacher B states that parents feel that the learners “...↑MUST↓ (.) speak English↓=”. After teacher B had informed me about the keenness of parents to put their Afrikaans speaking children in an English medium classroom, she, in turn 32 relays important information which reveals that she does not approve of the use of mother tongue languages by additional speakers of the medium of instruction, when they are involved in a linguistic interaction with her. Teacher B: “=They speak their language↓ (.) The mother tongue at home and here ↓(...) But never with me↓ (...) None of that with me↓”. In the last two lines in this utterance teacher B states that even though learners bring to the classroom their mother tongue language and use it in the classroom context, they refrain from doing so when interacting with her. This is made apparent when she says “... But never with me↓ (...) None of that with me↓”. One is thus

given the idea that teacher B must have made it clear to her learners that she does not allow the use of their mother tongue languages when she is a participant in the linguistic interaction. For this reason her learners therefore refrain from using their mother tongue language with the teacher. This substantiates the argument that the monoglossic language ideology of teacher B is concentrated on linguistic exchanges between her and learners.

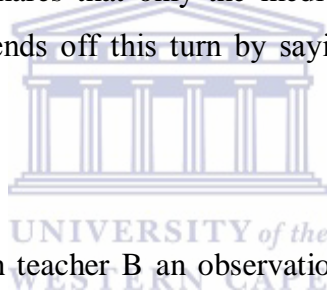
More evidence is revealed in the following extract which shows that teacher B feels very strongly that other languages besides the medium of instruction should not be used by pupils during exchanges with her. Furthermore, this Extract also shows why additional speakers of the medium of instruction have shown reluctance to use their first language with their teacher.

**Extract 7.16 (Appendix 12)**

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33. Researcher: ↓Oh okay (.) and in terms of other languages brought to the classroom?↓
34. Teacher B: ↑YES YES↓ (.) You find Xhosa learners (.) and they – they speak to each other in their language in class↓=
35. Researcher: =↓In isiXhosa?↑
36. Teacher B: = ↓Yes but they must know when they speak to ME ?↑(.) It is English↓
37. Researcher: When I did my observations in this class(.) I observed two learners moving away from the class while you were doing a reading exercise and uhm although –although I could not hear what the conversation was about (.)I heard that they were speaking isiXhosa and↓=
38. Teacher: =Now they do that amongst each other here↓ (.) ↓They must use it with me?↑(.) I scold them↓

The above extract is a discussion between teacher B and me about other languages besides Afrikaans, brought to the classroom context by her pupils. When asking teacher B about these languages, she states in turn 34, that isiXhosa first language speakers bring their mother

tongue language to the classroom. This can be seen when the teacher says “↑YES YES↓ (.) You find Xhosa learners (.) and they – they speak to each other in their language in class↓=” . Even though the teacher admits in turn 34 that isiXhosa pupils bring to the classroom context their mother tongue language, one is once again made aware that just like the Afrikaans mother tongue speakers, the IsiXhosa learners too avoid using their home language with the teacher. This is apparent when teacher B claims “...and they – they speak to each other in their language in class↓=” . The fact that teacher B has once again pointed out that the learners use their mother tongue language during peer interactions, and not when interacting with her, makes it clear that she places additional importance on no use of mother tongue languages during linguistic interactions with her. This is verified in turn 36 when teacher B yet again highlights that learners must be aware that no isiXhosa should be used when talking to her: Teacher B: = ↓Yes but they must know when they speak to ME?↑ (.) It is English↓ The teacher emphasizes this point by using a high voice volume when she says “ME?↑” in this sentence. She furthermore shares that only the medium of instruction should be used when addressing her when she ends off this turn by saying “...It is English↓” that pupils should know to use.

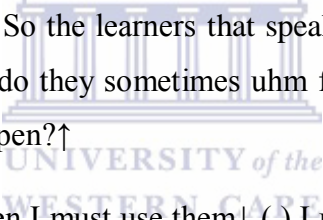


In turn 37, I attempt shared with teacher B an observation I made in her class where two learners distanced themselves from the reading exercise which was occurring and then spoke in their mother tongue isiXhosa ( Refer to chapter 6, extract 21). When hearing this I am overlapped by teacher B, who then quickly, in her opening line in turn 38, points out that pupils make use of their mother tongue language during peer interactions. She does this by stating “= Now they do that amongst each other here↓...”, which can be interpreted as yet another occasion where the teacher tries to communicate that mother tongue languages by additional speakers of the medium of instruction are used amongst peers and not with her. In the following statements, in the same turn, teacher B provides reason which motivates why learners, as stated by teacher B in previous extracts and also in this extract, do not make use of their mother tongue language or any other language besides the medium of instruction, when engaged in linguistic exchanges with their teacher: Teacher B: “... ↓They must use it with me?↑(.) I scold them↓”. In these statements made by teacher B, she shares that she reprimands her pupils when she becomes aware that they are speaking isiXhosa. This disciplining of the teacher happens in the form of scolding. It can therefore be argued that for

this reason the learners avoid using languages other than the medium of instruction with their teacher.

The following extract, involves dialogue between teacher B and me where we discussed difficulties encountered in the classroom by additional speakers of the medium of instruction, as a result of the language used for teaching not being their first language of most of the pupils in her class. This discussion uncovered the tolerance of teacher B with regards to the use of languages other than the medium of instruction, when it occurs during peer interactions. In this extract, she also substantiated various arguments about her feeling strongly about the use of the formal use of the medium of instruction, when pupils are engaged with her. Lastly, this extract also validates the argument made in a previous discussion about the essentialist views of teacher B.

**Extract 7.17 (Appendix 12)**

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39. Researcher: Uuum okay↓ (.) So the learners that speak languages other than English (.) like teacher pointed out↓ (.) ↓do they sometimes uhm find it difficult to cope in class (.) with lessons?↑↓ Does that happen?↑
40. Teacher B: Yes (.) because then I must use them↓ (.) I use them to explain to each other↓ (.) ↓Like the IsiXhosa learners- I ask them to interpret you know?↑ (.) To guide that one with what I just said↓
41. Researcher: Oh okay ↓
42. Teacher: With me I want them to use the correct way↓ (.) They must express themselves in the best way↓(...) Even with the slang coz they mix languages- they uhm struggle really to express themselves in a good formal way because they are not use to-to uhm formal structuring and all that↓

When asking the teacher about whether additional speakers of the language used for teaching encounter difficulties with the English lessons, teacher B confirms that this is indeed so in turn 40 by saying “Yes”. She then elaborates by stating that during such incidences, she then makes use of peer assistance to aid the understanding of the additional speakers. This is made



apparent when she says "...because then I must use them↓ (.) ↓ I use them to explain to each other (.) ↓Like the IsiXhosa learners- I ask them to interpret you know?↑ (.) To guide that one with what I just said↓". What is striking about teacher B revealing this is the fact that she had on various occasions in the interview, stressed that she is opposed to the use of mother tongue languages by the additional speakers of the medium of instruction in the classroom. However, when considering the fact that teacher B is expressing a willingness to allow the use of mother tongue languages during peer interactions specifically, she thus verifies that she tolerates such language use during peer exchanges more than during interactions with her as the teacher. In turn 42, teacher B confirms this by saying that "With me I want them to use the correct way↓ (.) They must express themselves in the best way↓..."

Moreover, a statement made in the turn 42 also shows that, as previously argued, teacher B expresses an essentialist view. After teacher B had stated that learners must use English when interacting with her, she shifts her attention to the use of non-standard varieties by the learners. Here teacher B claims that "... coz they mix languages they- they [pupils] uhm struggle really to express themselves in a good formal way because they are not use to-to uhm formal structuring and all that.↓" In this quotation, one notices that teacher B portrays the borrowing of linguistic features across languages as a negative language practice, as she places blame on languaging practices for learners not being able to "...express themselves in a good formal way...". What is also made obvious here is that in contrast to languaging being depicted as detrimental to pupils and their language use, teacher B chooses the word "good" to describe more standard varieties, where linguistic features are not borrowed across languages. This thus once again reveals the essentialist views of teacher B.

### **7.8 Language use of teacher B in contradictions with her monoglossic ideologies expressed**

Even though teacher B, throughout the second interview, made clear that she expects her pupils to use a standard variety of the medium of instruction when engaged in linguistic interactions with her, observations discussed in chapter 6 revealed that she however made

use of another language other than English and non-standard varieties with her learners during the data collection period. This is made evident in the following two extracts:

### **Extract 7.18 (Appendix 7)**

62. Teacher:(Points to the word “back”) ↓And (.) that word?↑

(No one answers)

63. Teacher:(Still pointing to the word “back”) ↓What is that word?↑

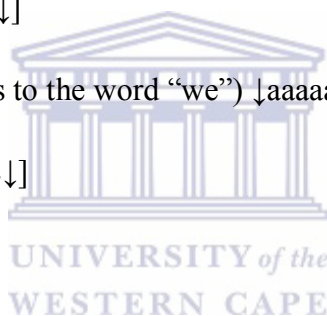
64. A few learners: {[Back↓]}

65. Teacher: (Still pointing to the word “back”)↓ So what is that word?↑

66. Most of the learners: [BACK↓]

67. Teacher: Ja↓ Yes↓ (.) (Points to the word “we”) ↓aaaaaand what is that word?↑

68. Majority of the learners: [WE↓]



The linguistic exchanges occurring in the above Extract are taken from a reading exercise that teacher B did with her pupils. During this exercise, the teacher asked the learners to read a book titled “Go away Floppy” as a class. Once the learners had read the book as a class, she went back to the first page and then pointed to random words in the book and then asked the pupils to identify the words she was pointing to. In this extract, teacher B was focusing on the word “back”. An example of this can be seen in turn 62. Teacher: (Points to the word “back”) “↓And (.) that word?↑”. After learners had loudly stated in line 66, that the word teacher B is pointing to is “[BACK↓]”, teacher B shows her approval in turn 67 by saying “Ja↓” Yes↓, before moving to on to the word “we”. In this turn we see that even though teacher B had strongly expressed that she disapproves of non-standard varieties, such as the borrowing of linguistic features across languages and the use of other languages besides the medium of instruction when her pupils are addressing her, it is brought to one’s attention here that she however, makes use of the language practices that she claims to disapprove of when engaging with her learners. Another example where the language use of teacher B reveals this, can be found in the following extract:

### Extract 7.19 (Appendix 7)

71. Teacher: ↓So who's gonna read alone?↑

72. A few learners: [↑ME↓]

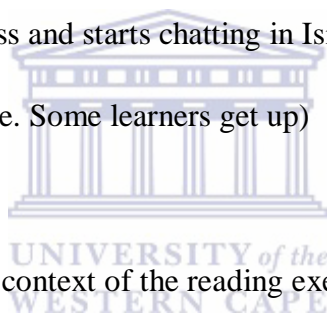
73. Teacher: Sit down↓ (.) sit↓ (.) ↓and \*Natasha?↑ (.) Go ↓(.) \*Tammy gan nie ent kry nie↓(.) \*Tammy is op stage nou↓ (Teacher laughs) \*Tammy is op stage vidag↓

Teacher: *Sit down↓ (.) sit↓ (.) ↓and \*Natasha?↑ (.) Go↓ (.) \*Tammy will not let this go↓ (.) \*Tammy is on stage now↓ (Teacher laughs) \*Tammy is on stage today↓*

(Learners start making a noise. Some learners get up.)

(A lot of learners chatting in the background. A few learners jumps up. Two learners get up, moves away from the class and starts chatting in IsiXhosa.)

(Learners start making a noise. Some learners get up)



This extract too is taken from the context of the reading exercise. During this Extract, teacher B allowed learners to come to the front and read the same story, “Go away Floppy”, alone. In turn 71, the teacher asked the class “↓So who’s gonna read alone?↑”. This question results in a few learners volunteering when they eagerly shout out “[↑ME↓]” while jumping up. When seeing this, teacher B uses the medium of instruction, English, to order some of the learners to sit down and gives a female learner, \*Natasha, permission to go to the front. She does this by saying “Sit down↓ (.) sit↓ (.) ↓and \*Natasha?↑ go...”. In the rest of turn 73, right after instructing learners to sit down and \*Natasha to go to the front and read, teacher B makes a humorous comment about one of the learners, \*Tammy, who still indicated that she wants to read, even though teacher B had already asked \*Natasha to read. When commenting on the eagerness of \*Tammy to read, teacher B states " ... \*Tammy gan nie ent kry nie↓ (.) \*Tammy is op stage nou↓ (Teacher laughs) \*Tammy is op stage vidag↓" ... \*Tammy will not let this go↓ (.) \*Tammy is on stage now ↓(Teacher laughs) \*Tammy is on stage today↓ Here one sees teacher a switching mainly to Afrikaans when commenting on the actions of \*Tammy. She also incorporates the English word “stage” into two of her statements. Furthermore, the teacher makes use of Kaaps, an informal variety of Afrikaans, when she uses the word “ent”

in her statement "...\*Tammy gaan nie ent kry nie↓...", in order to describe the eagerness of \*Tammy to read. This observation is an important one, as the language use of teacher B goes against her monoglossic views expressed in the second interview, with regards to the use of non-standard varieties, such as the borrowing of linguistic features across languages as well as the use of other languages besides the one used for teaching.

In the follow up interview with teacher B, I asked her to clarify the dissimilarities between her views expressed and her language practices observed. This can be seen in the follow extract from the interview:

**Extract 7.20 (Appendix 12)**

43. Researcher: It is- It is uhm interesting that you have pointed out a few times that you – you want learners to make use of a standard variety of English with you uhm↓ (...) Yet-yet instances were observed where you used Afrikaans and also made use of informal language use with pupils↓(...) Like when you joked with a learner↓

44. Teacher: Look (.) I –I will use that language use so now and then when I crack a joke or something↓ (.) ↓You know?↑ (.) But when I speak about work stuff I use English and no slang↓(.) That is why also I use them to explain to each other in their way when they struggle↓

When asking about the contradictions between the monoglossic views expressed by teacher B and her linguistic production, she makes two interesting points. Firstly, she shares that even though she uses informal varieties and a language other than the medium of instruction “Now and then” on light hearted subjects like when she wishes to “crack a joke”, she refrains from language practices of this nature when on the subject of work. This can be seen when she says “Look (.) I –I will use that language use so now and then when I crack a joke or something↓ (.) ↓You know?↑ (.) But when I speak about work stuff I use English and no slang↓...”.

Teacher B then elaborates in her last statement made by claiming that because she does not believe in using non-standard varieties and languages other than the medium of instruction when on the topic of work, she therefore allows peer assistance during instances when additional speakers encounter difficulties with work. This is made apparent when she says "... That is why also I use them to explain to each other in their way when they struggle↓." Finally, it is also important to note here that even though teacher B has previously stated that her pupils may under no circumstances make use of language use other than a standard variety of the medium of instruction with her, she however feels that she is allowed to do so with her pupils, as long it is not work related topics being discussed.

## 7.9 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have addressed the fourth and final research question for this study: *How is the borrowing of linguistic features or the absence of this language practice in the classroom influenced by the language ideologies of the teachers.* In previous data analysis chapters, it was established that even though languaging practices were used by the teachers and learners in the classroom context, it was never used as a linguistic resource by teacher A or B to accommodate the linguistic diversity in their classrooms. It was however only used as a linguistic resource by pupils in the class of teacher A. This chapter thus explored the reasons behind the reluctance of teacher A and B to use the borrowing of linguistic features across languages to accommodate the linguistic diversity in the classroom context. In order to achieve this, I focused on the relations between languaging practices not being used as a linguistic resource by the teachers and what their language ideologies with regards to classroom discourse revealed. It was then found that both teachers expressed ideologies monoglossic in nature in the classroom context.

The monoglossic language ideologies expressed by the teachers provided an explanation as to why the teachers did not feel comfortable with the use of the borrowing of linguistic features in the classroom context. It was also found that these monoglossic language ideologies are greatly influenced by the language policy of the schools, which makes the teachers feel an obligation towards adhering to the formal, single medium of instruction expected to be used

in their grade R classes. Furthermore, the findings also revealed that the teachers are of the belief that languages should not be “mixed” but should instead be seen and utilized as separate entities. This view revealed language ideologies imbedded in structuralism.

Lastly, it was found that teacher A places a lot of importance on the use of a standard variety during lessons, as she communicated steering from the formal medium of instruction is especially not allowed when she is busy with a lesson. On the other hand, teacher B stated that she particularly values the use of a standard variety of the medium of instruction when pupils are engaged in a linguistic interaction with her.



## Chapter 8

### 8. Conclusion

#### 8.1 Introduction

This chapter starts with an overview of the study, in order to reiterate the purpose for the conducting of this research. Thereafter, the focus will shift to an overview of the findings yielded through this research. A comparison will be drawn between the research findings and hypothesis in order to identify the correlation and differences between the anticipated findings and the actual research findings. Subsequently, a discussion vital to this study follows. This discussion looks at Manenberg and the two grade R classrooms studied as possible superdiverse spaces. The discussion will take on an interrogative perspective. Thereafter, a brief look will be taken at the overall teaching methods and styles frequently used by the teachers in the two grade R classes. Finally, this chapter will be concluded with the implications of the study and suggestions for further research.

#### 8.2 Overview of study

In this thesis I have addressed the need for the accommodation of linguistic diversity and mixed linguistic repertoires in two grade R classrooms situated in Manenberg, Western Cape. As discussed in previous chapters, this demand for the accommodation of linguistic diversity and mixed linguistic repertoires in these educational spaces exist as a result of a constant increase in diversification in the area in which the two classrooms are situated. The continuous increase in linguistic diversity in the community of Manenberg is quite apparent amongst the pupils found in the grade R classrooms studied, as learners bring to the classroom context linguistic diversity and their multifaceted repertoires. As a means of accommodating the linguistic diversification in these two grade R classrooms, this thesis focused on how the multifaceted repertoires of both teachers and learners, could be utilized as linguistic tools in the classroom context when pupils encounter difficulties with lessons as a result of the language used as pedagogy not being their first language.

### 8.3 Overview of research findings

In order to analyse the data collected, Interactional Sociolinguistics was used. The first research question, discussed in chapter 5, focused on the following research question: *To what extent does the medium of instruction in these two classrooms accommodate the linguistic diversity and mixed linguistic repertoires of the learners?* In answer of the first research question, the data produced the following findings:

The medium of instruction in the grade R class of teacher A is a standard variety of Afrikaans even though there are English, isiXhosa and French learners in this domain. As the majority of the learners in this class are Afrikaans first language speakers, the majority is thus catered to and not additional speakers of Afrikaans which makes up the minority. The pupils in the class of teacher A brings to this space non-standard varieties, which includes Kaaps, code-mixing and translanguaging, which varies from the formal variety that is expected to be used in this space. A great need exists for the intervention of the school in order to assist with the growing linguistic diversity in this class, as teachers at school A have never received any training or workshops that provide them with tools to accommodate linguistic diversity. Furthermore, teacher A stated that she has begun to switch to English to assist with the linguistic diversity in her class. However, it was proven that teacher A shows reluctance to do so and thus still mainly makes use of Afrikaans.

A look was also taken at the visual aids found in the classrooms of teacher A which revealed that in this class all of the visual aids are in Afrikaans. This indicated that the linguistic diversity amongst pupils in this class was not considered when these posters were made or chosen. What this analysis did however reveal was an attempt by teacher A to accommodate ethnic diversity by hanging an educational poster in her class, which represented more than one ethnicity. Finally, an extract from observational data in the class of teacher A revealed how the difference in language of instruction and the first language of a pupil resulted in an isiXhosa learner experiencing problems with the Afrikaans lesson.



In the class of teacher B, it was revealed that the medium of instruction in the grade R class is a standard variety of English. However, the majority of the pupils function in Afrikaans in the domain of the home. There was also isiXhosa first language speakers found amongst the pupils in this English medium of instruction classroom. A few learners who have English as first language were also identified. The English mother tongue speakers and isiXhosa speakers were in the minority. Only the few English first language speakers are thus instructed in a language which is their mother tongue. Moreover, it was found that pupils bring non-standard varieties such as languaging practices from the domain of the home, but it is required of them to make use of a standard variety in the classroom context.

In the second interview teacher B and teacher 2 revealed a constant increase in diversification as immigrants from African countries now attend school B. Yet, no assistance is offered from the school in terms of helping to assist with this growing diversification. For this reason, teacher B and teacher 2 emphasized an immense need for training and workshops to provide tools to navigate the diversification in their classes. A negative attitude by teacher B with regards to language practices which vary from the formal medium of instruction was also identified, which was argued could result in her being unwilling to assist with the diversification in her class.

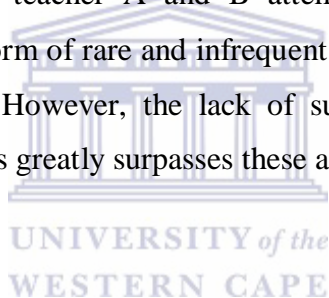
The visual aids in the classroom of teacher B were also studied. In this class, it was revealed that similar the visual aids in the class of teacher A, solely in the medium of instruction was considered when these posters were chosen. One can thus argue that once again those pupils speaking languages other than the medium of instruction were not considered. When asking teacher B about the posters only being in English, she stated that this is the case because the medium of instruction is English.

Furthermore, I analysed an extract taken from the class of teacher B, where an isiXhosa learner was quite evidently struggling with an oral reading exercise, which was in the medium of instruction, English. This extract demonstrated the effects of learners being taught in a language which is not their first, as various indicators made obvious that the learner was encountering difficulties with the reading exercise. These indicators include long and short pauses, the number of mistakes made by the pupil which often led to the teacher correcting

the pupil and also the attempts made by the IsiXhosa learner to recall the book from memory to avoid having to actually read the book.

Based on the findings summarized above, research question *a* can be answered. When taking these findings into account we can argue that the language in the class of teacher A and B and also the standard language variety used as medium of instruction in these classes, offers little to no consideration for the linguistic diversity and mixed linguistic repertoires of the learners. In the analysis of the visual aids used in the classroom of teacher A, it was revealed that she attempted to accommodate ethnic and cultural diversification in her class. However only one such attempt was found.

Furthermore, it was found that teacher A and B attempted to accommodate linguistic diversity in their classes, in the form of rare and infrequent switches to other languages or by making use of peer assistance. However, the lack of support offered to assist with the linguistic diversity in these classes greatly surpasses these attempts made by the teachers.



When relating the findings of this research question to the research topic of this paper, it can be argued that a need definitely exists for resources assisting the linguistic diverse groups of pupils in these two classrooms, as the languages and language variety used for teaching are not accommodating the diversification amongst these learners.

Once it was established, that a need exists for the accommodation of linguistic diversity in the classrooms of my participants. My focus turned to whether the multi-faceted repertoires of the teachers and their pupils can be used as linguistic resources within the classroom. However, in order to determine whether languaging could be used as linguistic resources, it first had to be determined whether languaging practices occur in the classrooms of my participants. Research question (*b*) thus focused on the following: *Does the language use of the teachers and learners in the classroom context reveal that they are borrowing linguistic features across languages?* In answer of reason question *b*, the data yielded interesting findings.

In the class of teacher A and B instances of languaging could be identified in the spoken discourse of the participants. In the classroom of teacher A, the teacher and her pupils mostly made use of code-mixing and translanguaging. Code-mixing was often used by these participants as they often included single English words into Afrikaans sentences. Translanguaging was also frequently used as teacher A and her pupils often utilized their bilingual/multilingual abilities to reach specific communicative goals in the extracts discussed in this thesis. An instance where a pupil made use of polylinguaging was also identified in chapter 5, extract 5.3, when an Afrikaans first language speaker translated Afrikaans words into the mother tongue of an IsiXhosa classmate. It was argued that polylinguaging was used as the Afrikaans pupil borrowed from a group of speakers to which she does not belong.

In the class of teacher B, code-mixing and switching as well as translanguaging appeared during the linguistic production of the teacher. This can be seen in chapter 6, extract 6.7 and 6.8. In extract 6.7 teacher B included a single Afrikaans word into a sentence which was predominantly in the medium of instruction English. However, in extract 6.8, an example of both code-switching and code-mixing was identified, when teacher B used, English and Afrikaans, between sentences or beyond the level of clause. Then in a following utterance the teacher included an English word beneath clause level into an Afrikaans sentence, which made apparent the use of code-mixing. Furthermore, it was discovered that translanguaging was used by teacher B, as she, just like in the case of teacher A, often utilized her first and second language to reach her communicative goal.

Moreover, in the class of teacher B, it was found that an isiXhosa pupil made use of code-mixing and translanguaging. In extract 6.9, a learner included the isiXhosa expression “haaibo” into an utterance which was predominantly in the medium of instruction, English. An instance was also identified in the classroom of teacher B, where two isiXhosa pupils engaged in a linguistic interaction in their first language. During this interaction between two isiXhosa learners, their mother tongue was used to discuss a possible soccer match which might be occurring during break time. However, the actual language use of the interaction could not be analysed, as the noise level in the class made the linguistic interaction inaudible

to me. An unforeseen interview was then conducted with the learners to gain information on what their linguistic exchange was about. During the interview I learnt that the learners are indeed isiXhosa mother tongue speakers and was using their first language during the interaction observed. Furthermore, they also stated that they on occasion make use of languaging practices in the classroom.

Once it was established that languaging practices occurred in the classes of teacher A and B, research question *c* focused on whether these languaging practices functioned as linguistic resources in the classroom of my participants. In answer of research question *c*, the following findings were revealed:

In the classroom of teacher A it was revealed that languaging practices produced by the teacher during the observation period were never used as linguistic resources. Instead, languaging was used to give instructions, demands and to communicate approval with work produced by certain learners.

With regards to the borrowing of linguistic features by pupils in the classroom of teacher A, it was revealed that in two instances where languaging practice were used; it was utilized as linguistic resources. The first example can be found during peer assistance in extract 5.3. In this extract, an Afrikaans mother tongue speaking made use of polylanguaging during a written exercise as a means of assisting her isiXhosa first language classmate, who encountered difficulties with the Afrikaans lesson. Furthermore, in extract 6.5 a linguistic interaction occurs between teacher A and her pupils where the learners relied on their mixed linguistic repertoire to provide teacher A with the correct answer to a question she posed during a storytelling session. Other instances where the pupils in the class of teacher A borrowed linguistic features, occurred during peer interaction when a pupil offered bubblegum to a fellow classmate and during another interaction when a different pupil offered a colouring pencil to any of his classmates in need of it. It can therefore be concluded that in the classroom of teacher A, languaging was only used as a resource in the classroom context by the pupils of teacher A.

In the classroom of teacher B, an analysis of contextualization cues used during languaging practices in the classroom of teacher B revealed that none of these utterances functioned as linguistic resources. This is due to the fact the languaging practices used in the classroom were framed as humorous and affirmation statements.

The final research question focused on how the borrowing of linguistic features or the absence of this language practice in the classroom is influenced by the language ideologies of the teachers. The following findings were revealed:

In the case of teacher A, observations and a second interview conducted with her showed that she does not view the use of other languages besides the medium of instruction and non-standard varieties in the classroom context as appropriate. Furthermore, her views expressed also indicated an ideology rooted in essentialism.

Upon closer analysis, it was established that even though teacher A had expressed a disapproving attitude towards the use of language practices other than a standard variety of the medium of instruction, she was more tolerant of the use of non-standard varieties and other languages when it occurred outside the context of lessons. However, such language use was not approved of when she was giving a lesson. This was made apparent through the analysing of observational data and comments made during the second interview with teacher A. Observational data showed that the teacher does not correct her learners for using their mixed linguistic repertoires when she is not busy with a lesson, whereas learners were always corrected during lessons. Analysis of classroom observations also revealed that outside the context of lessons, even teacher A made use of a language other than the medium of instruction. However, she denied this during the second interview. Lastly, it was discovered that the monoglossic language ideology of teacher A is greatly influenced by the language policy of the school which states that a formal variety of the medium of instruction should be used at all times. Various statements made by teacher A in the second interview substantiated this argument. These findings, especially the reluctance of teacher A to make use of other language varieties and languages other than the medium of instruction during lessons, can be given as motives as to why the borrowing of linguistic features across languages was not used as a linguistic resource by teacher A.

In the case of teacher B, the findings also indicated a monoglossic language ideology when it comes to classroom discourse. When exploring the monoglossic language ideologies expressed by teacher B, various similarities were found between the views of teacher A and B with regards to classroom discourse. Firstly, teacher B too expressed views in the second interview which indicated a monoglossic language ideology. Furthermore, during the interview she also made visible views which led to the understanding that she has an ideology rooted in essentialism.

On closer analysis of the monoglossic views revealed by teacher B, it was also found that like teacher A, teacher B's monoglossic language ideology with regards to classroom discourse, is more focused on particular instances within the classroom. Whereas as teacher A did not accept the use of non-standard varieties and other languages in the addition to the medium of instruction during lessons, teacher B shared that she does not tolerate such language use from learners when they are engaged in linguistic interactions with her.

However, after pointing out to teacher B that she has been observed practicing language use that she claims to not allow by learners when they are addressing her, she argued that she allows herself to make use of such language practices infrequently and when she is not on the subject of work. For this reason, she thus claims makes use of peer assistance when additional speakers of the medium of instruction encounter difficulties with the English lesson.

Lastly, in the follow up interview, teacher B showed an obligation to follow the instructions given by the school when she stated that learners should use "formal English", followed by "The school (.) it's registered like that". However, this commitment to the language policy of the school was not as strongly expressed by teacher B as it was by teacher A. Based on these findings, particularly, the reluctance of teacher B to make use of non-standard varieties with her learners when she is discussing work, gives reason as to why teacher B too did not make

use of the borrowing of linguistic features across languages as a tool to accommodate the diversification in her class.

#### **8.4 Comparison between hypothesis and findings of the study**

This study was based on the following hypotheses:

- a) The medium of instruction will not fully accommodate the linguistic diversity and the mixed linguistic repertoires of the learners.
- b) The borrowing of linguistic features across languages will be evident amongst learners when they communicate with their peers.
- c) If the teachers view the borrowing of linguistic features across languages as a language practice inappropriate for institutional contexts, such as the classroom, they might refrain from engaging in such language practices.
- d) If the languages ideologies of the teachers do not disregard the borrowing of linguistic features, the teachers will use this language practice as pedagogy when learners encounter difficulties with comprehending the lesson. The borrowing of linguistic features will be used to make explanations of content not understood by the learners, more clear. The borrowing of linguistic features will also be used by both learners and teachers to accommodate cultural diversity in the classroom.

The first hypothesis that this study was based on focused on the languages and language variety used as pedagogy in the grade R classrooms of teacher A and B. This hypothesis anticipated that the languages and variety used for teaching will not fully accommodate the linguistic diversity and mixed linguistic repertoires of pupils in these classes. The findings yielded in chapter five corresponds with the first supposition which stated that the language and language variety used for teaching will not fully accommodate the linguistic diversity found amongst the pupils. This was made evident through a comparison between the standard, single medium of instruction used in the class of teacher A and B and the multifaceted repertoires brought to the classroom by the pupils.

The reluctance of the teacher A and B to accommodate the linguistic diversity and multifaceted repertoires of the pupils were also made evident in the findings of chapter 5.

Furthermore, it could also be established that no assistance is offered from the school to assist the teachers with the linguistic diversity found in their classes. Finally, the observations which revealed additional speakers of the medium of instruction encountering difficulties with the lesson further correspond with the hypothesis which anticipated the linguistic diversity and multifaceted repertoires of pupils will not be accommodated.

The second hypothesis that this study was based on stated that the borrowing of linguistic features across languages will be evident amongst learners when they communicate with their peers within the classroom context. The classroom observations done revealed that this indeed occurred as anticipated. This is made evident when considering that in the grade R class of teacher A the borrowing of linguistic features or languaging practices mainly occurred when the pupils were interacting with each other. In the classroom of teacher A, four instances were observed where pupils engaged in languaging. Out of those occurrences three took place during peer interactions. The use of languaging mainly during peer interactions in the class of teacher A can be directly related to the teacher's negative views expressed with regards to the use of non-standard varieties in her classroom. In extract 26, we saw teacher A correcting the pupils for using an English word "butterfly" during an Afrikaans storytelling session. Moreover, in the second interview conducted with teacher A it was also made clear by the teacher that she does not allow the use of other languages besides a formal variety of Afrikaans in the classroom context. It thus comes as no surprise that the pupil in this grade R class primarily made use of languaging during peer interaction, as it is apparent that they have been made aware that such language practices are not accepted by teacher A. The use of languaging mainly during peer interaction reveals a freedom to communicate as pupils wish when interacting with their fellow classmates, as this freedom is not granted in the classroom context as a whole.

However, observations in the classroom of teacher B yielded different findings. In the grade R classroom of teacher B, only two instances of pupils engaging in languaging were observed. The first instance occurred during teacher and pupil interaction and the second took place in a covert linguistic exchange between two isiXhosa classmates. However, as the two pupils which engaged in a peer linguistic interaction separated themselves from the rest of the



class during this peer interaction, the languaging practices used by them were not audible and could not actually be analysed. However, the pupils confirmed that they indeed make use of languaging in the classroom.

It can thus be argued that only one covert interaction where a language other than the medium of instruction was used occurred during peer interaction in the grade R class of teacher B.

The third hypothesis focused on the language ideologies of the two grade R teachers, with regards to classroom discourse, and the effect that their ideologies have on the occurrence of languaging practices in their classrooms. The hypothesis thus anticipated that *“If the teachers view the borrowing of linguistic features across languages as a language practice inappropriate for institutional contexts, such as the classroom, they might refrain from engaging in such language practices.”*

Through the findings produced in chapter 7, it was made evident that the language ideologies of teacher A and B, as revealed through observational data and interviews, showed that the teacher do not see the use of languaging practices in the classroom context as an acceptable language practice for the classroom domain.

However, during the observational period in the classes of teachers, interesting observations were made with regards to the language use of the teachers in the classroom context. As both teachers expressed negative views with regards to the use of language in the classroom context, the expectation was that they would refrain from using such language practices in the domain of the classroom. Nevertheless, observational data showed that even though teacher A and B often expressed views which made apparent that they do not condone the use of languaging practices and the use of languages other than the medium of instruction in their classes, it was observed that teacher A and B nevertheless engaged in languaging practices in the classroom context. Examples of teacher A making use of languaging can be seen in chapter six, extracts 6.1 and 6.2. Through the analysis of these two extracts in chapter 6, it was found that teacher A made use of code-mixing, and translanguaging in the classroom context.

Furthermore, extracts 6.7 and 6.8 in chapter six revealed the use of languaging by teacher B, as the teacher made use of code-mixing, code-switching and translanguaging.

These findings strongly contradict hypothesis *c*, as the teachers engaged in languaging practices in the domain of the classroom despite the language ideologies expressed by them.

In the second interview conducted with teacher A, clarification was given on this contradiction when the teacher stated that she is more lenient towards the use of languaging practices outside the context of lessons. This can be seen in turn 48 of the second interview:

“...Look I will allow it outside the context of a lesson↓ (.). Sometimes you will hear them speaking their way↓ (.). They are free then↓ (.). You restrict them sometimes when they can only speak a certain way↓ (.). They can express themselves when they speak their way↓ (.). They don't think its wrong↓ (.). It's what they were taught at home↓ (.). The parent speaks to the child like that↓ (.).”

When comparing the comments made by the teacher in turn 48 to the context in which her languaging practices occurred, one comes to the realization that both of the instances in which the teacher made use of languaging occurred outside of the lesson. The argument was therefore made in chapter 7, that the monoglossic, essentialist views of teacher A is more directed towards the contexts of lessons. In other words, the argument made here is that teacher A did not completely refrain from making use of languaging in the classroom context, even though her language ideologies revealed indicated that she would, as the teacher feels more strongly about the refraining from languaging in the context of a lesson than during classroom discourse as a whole. As seen in turn 48 of the interview, the teacher communicated that she is much more lenient towards the use of languaging outside of the context of lessons and do not correct pupils when a lesson is not occurring and languaging is used. The leniency towards the use of languaging outside of the context of lessons can be said to be the reason for teacher A using languaging herself when she was not busy with giving a lesson.

During the analysis of the data collected, it also became apparent that teacher A is greatly concerned with the language policy of school A. Through statements made in the second

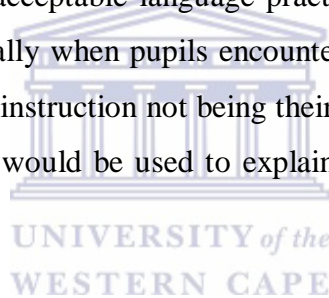
interview with the teacher, she often communicated an obligation to abide by what is considered acceptable language use for the classroom context, as stated by the language policy. As the language ideologies of the teacher, with regards to acceptable classroom discourse, seems to be greatly shaped by the language policy of the school, the argument could be made that the teacher might not have such an immense disregard for the use of languaging in the classroom context, but simply feels that it is expected that she abides by the language policy of the school. This too could be seen as a reason why teacher A expressed a monoglossic and essentialist views but also engaged in languaging in the domain of the classroom.

In the classroom of teacher B, it was found that just like teacher A, this teacher too expressed views which indicated a monoglossic, essentialist view of language use within the domain of the classroom. This was made clear in the interviews conducted with teacher B. An example from the second interview which indicated this can be seen in turn 12 of the second interview: “=↑HA AH ↓↑HA AH↑ FORMAL↓ (.) NO SLANG↓ (.) They must- they must use formal English not come with the languages they mix↓”. In this statement made by teacher B, she overtly communicated that only a formal variety of English should be used in the classroom and that learners are not allowed to “mix” languages in this domain. This comment reveals both essentialist views and monoglossic views of language use in the classroom.

Nonetheless, as anticipated by hypothesis *c*, it was predicted that teacher B too would refrain from languaging as she communicated monoglossic and essentialist views of language use. However, even though the statement made in turn 12 and various other statements made in the second interview indicated monoglossic and essentialist views of language, it was found that just like teacher A, teacher B too made use of languaging, code-mixing and code-switching in the domain of the classroom. In the analysis of extracts 6.7 and 6.8, it was found that teacher B made use of languaging, code-mixing and code-switching to communicate to her class that she was satisfied with their answer provided and also for comical effect. What was significant about the instances in which teacher B made use of languaging is the fact that teacher B stated during the second interview that she only allows pupils to make use of a formal variety of English when they are engaged in a linguistic interaction with her. However, in both extracts observed, where teacher B made use of languaging, she was communicating with the pupils in her class.

Similarly to teacher A, teacher B also communicated an obligation to only make use of a formal variety of English, as stated in the language policy. This can be seen in turn 16 of the second interview where teacher B stated “The school↓ (.) It’s registered like that↓ So we must adhere to this↓”, upon being asked who instructed that only a formal variety of English should be used in her classroom. The argument can therefore once again be made that even though teacher B expressed monoglossic, essentialist views of language, she might not be very set in these views but feels that she needs to abide by the instructions given by the school, with regards to acceptable language use in the classroom. This could be seen as the reason for teacher B expressing monoglossic, essentialist views of language but nevertheless engaging in languaging practices in the classroom domain.

Finally, hypothesis *d*, anticipated that if the teachers regard the borrowing of linguistic features across languages as an acceptable language practice for the classroom, languaging will be used for teaching, especially when pupils encounter difficulties with comprehending the lesson, due to the medium of instruction not being their first language. More specifically, it was predicted that languaging would be used to explain specific content which pupils are having difficulty grasping.



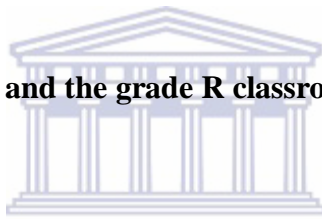
As previously mentioned, observational data showed that both teacher A and B revealed monoglossic, essentialist language ideologies, which are greatly influenced by the language policies of the schools at which they teach. Nonetheless, it was discovered that even though both teachers revealed monoglossic and essentialist views of language, especially in relation to classroom discourse, it was observed that both teachers engaged in languaging practices within the classroom context. More importantly, in the findings of this thesis, it was discovered that even though both teachers engaged in languaging practices in the classroom, languaging was at no point used for pedagogy or for the purpose of assisting pupils encountering difficulties with the lesson. In other words, even though hypothesis *d* anticipated that if languaging is used by the teachers in the domain of the classroom, it would be used as a linguistic resource during teaching, this was not the case. Instead, it was found that languaging, code-mixing and code-switching were used in the classroom context by both teachers for purposes such as humorous effect, to communicate to pupils that they were

satisfied with work produced and to communicate to the pupils dissatisfaction with their actions.

Furthermore, the observational data revealed that instead of making use of languaging during lessons, teacher A is of the view that languaging should especially not be used in the context of lesson.

The observational data collected in both grade R classes only revealed two instances in which languaging was used as a linguistic resource. One of these two instances of languaging used as a linguistic resource occurred in the classroom of teacher during peer assistance. The second instance occurred during the storytelling session in the classroom of teacher A, when learners made use of the English word “butterfly”, in answer of a question posted by their teacher. It can therefore be concluded that at no point during the observational period, was languaging used by teacher A and B as a linguistic resource, as anticipated by hypothesis *d*.

### **8.5 Can the area of Manenberg and the grade R classrooms studied be classified as superdiverse spaces?**



The community of Manenberg and the two grade R classrooms used for the purpose of this research were studied as possible superdiverse spaces. The area of Manenberg and the classrooms of my participants were explored as possible superdiverse spaces as characteristics of the superdiversity phenomenon could be identified in the area of Manenberg and in the grade R classrooms that participated in this study. The most apparent characteristic of superdiversity recognized in the community of Manenberg as well as in the classrooms of my participants is the increase in cultural and linguistic diversification amongst residents of Manenberg and also amongst the pupil population in the grade R classrooms at school A and B.

Furthermore, it was also established that in the community of Manenberg, the borrowing of linguistic features across languages occurs amongst residents, which is then ultimately brought to the classroom context by pupils. As the borrowing of linguistic features across languages is a languaging practice which primarily occurs in superdiverse contexts, it could then be argued that perhaps these domains can be regarded as superdiverse spaces.

However, upon closer investigation, one comes to the realization that the defining of Manenberg and the two grade R classrooms in question as superdiverse spaces are not as apparent and linear as one might wish to believe. For this reason, the discussions surrounding the classifying of these spaces as superdiverse will take on an interrogative perspective. Through the use of an interrogative perspective, the seemingly obvious characteristics of superdiversity identifiable in the area of Manenberg as well as the classrooms of my participants will be challenged in this section of the concluding chapter.

In chapter one of this thesis, it was established that Manenberg was an area set aside for coloured people during the apartheid era (Willenberg and September, 2008). Census done by the City of Cape Town revealed that post apartheid, the majority of the population of Manenberg is still made up of Coloured residents (City of Cape Town, 2013). In 2011 it was found that Coloured residents make up 61615 of the population of Manenberg (City of Cape Town, 2013). However, even though census disclosed that the majority of the population living in Manenberg still mainly consists of the ethnic group placed there by segregation laws during the apartheid era, an apparent increase in the 'ethnic groups' living in the community is also identifiable.

In the first chapter of this dissertation, the category 'ethnic group' in census of Manenberg were compared. Here censuses of 2001, conducted by the City of Cape Town, were compared to census of 2011. Through the comparison of the category labelled Coloured in census of 2001 and 2011, a decrease in coloured residents in the area was noted between 2001 and 2011. In 2001, Coloured residents consisted of 94% of the population of Manenberg (City of Cape Town, 2001). By 2011, this percentage reduced to 84.5% (City of Cape Town, 2013). While the percentage of Coloured residents in the area significantly decreased, the percentage of Black African residents in Manenberg greatly increased from 4.5% in 2001 to 10.4% in 2011 ( City of Cape Town, 2001, 2013). The category labelled Asian slightly increased from 0.89% to 1.5%.

Another significant observation made was the adding of a category labelled 'other' to the census of 2011, which is not seen in the census of 2001. This category reflected 3.5% (City of Cape Town, 2011). The above statistics thus clearly show a decrease in Coloured residents of Manenberg and growth in ethnic diversity in the community. This brings to mind the following question: Could one then argue that Manenberg is experiencing the phenomenon of superdiversity? When considering the clear increase in ethnic diversity between 2001 and 2011 one could easily argue that perhaps Manenberg is indeed experiencing superdiversity. However, when one begins to consider important aspects of not only superdiversity but also of our country and its history, one begins to realize that labelling Manenberg as superdiverse is not as forthright as one wish to think.

Scholars such as Vertovec (2007) have identified various characteristics of superdiversity. One such characteristic is the inability to precisely determine the ethnicity of immigrants, their reasons for immigrating, the variability of the countries from which migrants come and so forth (Vertovec, 2007). Whereas the ethnicity, nationality and reasons for migration of immigrants could thus be easily determined in the past, such specifics are rather difficult to determine in the midst of superdiversity (Stroud, 2014). This is due to the fact that in the past migrants came from specific countries and left their places of birth for specific reasons, which is no longer the case in an era of superdiversity (Stroud, 2014). A key characteristic of superdiversity thus lies in the uncertainty surrounding migrants and their migration patterns (Vertovec, 2007).

When using the above characteristic of superdiversity as a basis to interrogate Manenberg as a superdiverse space, one comes to realize that the increase in ethnic diversity in Manenberg, as revealed by the census of 2001 and 2011 is still very predictable in comparison to superdiverse spaces. The comparison done between census of 2001 and 2011 on the 'ethnic groups' found in Manenberg, showed that the greatest increase occurred in the category labelled Black African. As previously stated, Black African residents in the area included 4.5% of the population of Manenberg in 2001(City of Cape Town, 2001). By 2011, the percentage greatly increased to 10.4%. This immense increase in Black Africans in Manenberg between 2001 and 2011 thus begs the questions: Why did this category

specifically increase so significantly? Is this as a result of superdiversity occurring in the community of Manenberg?

In order to answer these questions, it is of utmost importance that the apartheid history of South Africa is considered. In 1950 the apartheid government implemented the Group Areas Act in South Africa. As stated in the introductory chapter of this paper, this law segregated racial groups merely based on their race. Particular areas, such as Manenberg, demarcated for Coloured population. Moreover, the Western Cape was declared a province where employment was reserved for the Coloured people (Muyeba and Seeking, 2011). This made it difficult for Black Africans to find employment in the Western Cape (Muyeba and Seeking, 2011).

Post apartheid, with the demolishing of apartheid laws such as the Group Areas Act, various plans have been put into place to promote integration into areas once set aside for specific racial groups. The community of Manenberg, which was set aside for Coloured people in the apartheid era, is no different. Furthermore, laws prohibiting black Africans from finding employment in the Western Cape have also been removed. With the removal of such laws together with apartheid, black Africans began to slowly move into areas where they were once not allowed to reside. Due to the promotion of integration in areas once set aside for particular racial groups, the percentage of black Africans are rapidly increasing in these areas. Furthermore, as Black Africans are able to find employment in the Western Cape in a post apartheid era, an increasing number of Black Africans are relocating to the Western Cape.

The great increase in Black Africans in Manenberg between 2001 and 2011 can therefore be awarded to the fall of apartheid and its segregation laws. The decrease in Coloured residents in Manenberg between 2001 and 2011 (from 94% to 85%,) can also be said to be related to the non-existence of apartheid laws in a post apartheid South Africa, which restricted Coloured citizens to particular areas set aside for them. In a democratic South Africa, Coloured citizens of our country thus now too have the freedom to reside where they wish to live. One could thus argue that the growing diversity in the area of Manenberg is perhaps not



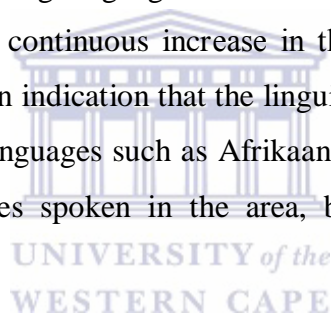
as a result of superdiversity but rather due to a now democratic, apartheid free country, which allows all races the freedom to reside and find employment wherever they wish.

However, my view point that diversity is occurring in the community of Manenberg as apartheid laws prohibiting this have been demolished, does not mean oblivion to the fact that superdiversity could still slowly be infiltrating the area of Manenberg. When taking into account the fact that the 'ethnic group' category labelled 'other' did not exist in the census of 2001 but was added to the census of 2011, one could argue that within recent years, there exists a level of uncertainty with regards to 'ethnic group' now moving into the community of Manenberg. In other words, whereas it was once possible to distinguish the 'ethnic group' moving into the area in earlier census, it is perhaps more difficult to do so in recent years, due to the unpredictable nature of migration in an era of superdiversity. However, the argument can be made that Manenberg is not yet a community that can be classified as superdiverse.

Another characteristic of superdiverse spaces is the borrowing of linguistic features across languages amongst linguistically diverse groups (Stroud, 2014). Such languaging practices are said to occur when linguistically diverse groups of people co-exist (Stroud, 2014). In chapter one, the census reviewed on the community of Manenberg not only focused on the increase in diversity amongst the 'ethnic groups' found in the area, but also the increase in linguistic diversity in Manenberg between 2001 and 2011. Similar to the comparison done on the 'ethnic groups' found in the community, a comparison was done on the languages spoken in Manenberg between 2001 and 2011. The comparison of census revealed a decrease in residents with the dominant language in the area, Afrikaans, as the first language. In 2001, 72.07% of the population of Manenberg were Afrikaans mother tongue speakers (City of Cape Town, 2001). In 2011 this percentage decreased to 71.8 % (City of Cape Town, 2011). English first language speakers also decreased from 24.57% in 2001 to 17.8 in 2011 (City of Cape Town, 2011). The number of isiXhosa first language speakers showed the biggest increase from 2.94% in 2001 to 6.8% in 2011 (City of Cape Town, 2001, 2011). Residents with a first language other than the above mentioned languages, increased from 0.13% in 2001 to 3.6% in 2011 (City of Cape Town, 2001, 2011).

The significant increase in IsiXhosa speakers corresponds with the immense increase in the 'ethnic group category Black Africans. This increase in IsiXhosa speakers in the community therefore comes as no surprise, as Black Africans brought with them their mother tongue language and in the process increased linguistic diversity in the area. It can once again be argued that the increase in linguistic diversity amongst residents in Manenberg is not due to superdiversity but rather as a result of post apartheid freedom which makes it possible for racial groups and speakers of all languages to reside in the community.

Furthermore, it is once again important to point out that the above argument does not deny that superdiversity could be infiltrating the area of Manenberg. The category 'other' reserved for those speaking languages other than Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa also showed an increase from 0.13% in 2001 to 3.6% in 2011 ( City of Cape Town, 2001, 2011). The increase in this category thus reveals that even though isiXhosa speakers in the community have greatly increased those speaking languages other than the three official languages of the Western Cape also increased. A continuous increase in the category for 'other' languages spoken in Manenberg, could be an indication that the linguistic diversity in Manenberg could soon increase to a point where languages such as Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa no longer makes up the majority languages spoken in the area, but rather a number of different languages.



The two grade R classes at school A and B, situated in the area of Manenberg were also studied as possible superdiverse spaces. The pupils in the two grade R classes studied reflected the demographics in the community of Manenberg. In both grade R classes the majority of the pupils could be said to be Coloured, Afrikaans first language speakers. Coloured pupils with English as first language and 'Black African' pupils with isiXhosa as mother tongue language, made up the second highest numbers in these classes. In the class of teacher A, only one French first language speaker was found amongst the learners in the class. In the class of teacher B only Coloured English and Afrikaans mother tongue pupils and Black African isiXhosa pupils were found. In the classroom of teacher B, no pupils from an ethnic group other than the above mentioned, speaking languages other than Afrikaans, English or isiXhosa were found during the data collection period

The main aim of this research involved the analysis of the language use of the pupil population in the two grade R classrooms used in this study. Through this analysis, it was found that pupils bring to the classroom context linguistic diversity, mixed linguistic repertoires and styled speech used in the community that they reside in, Manenberg. Furthermore, the analysis of the language practices of the pupils within the domain of the classroom revealed that learners engage in languaging practices found in superdiverse contexts. The observational data revealed that pupils and even teacher A and B often made use of the two main languages spoken in the area of Manenberg, Afrikaans and English. These two languages were often used together in the same utterance or conversation. An instance was also observed in the classroom of teacher B where an isiXhosa first language speaker made use of an IsiXhosa expression during an English interaction with his teacher.

However, what was also quite evident in the analysis of the spoken classroom discourse of pupils was the use of Kaaps, a style of speech unique to the Cape Flats. Kaaps is regarded as an informal or non-standard variety which, amongst other things, involves the use of linguistic features from different languages during one linguistic interaction. Based on the observational data on the language use of pupils found in these two grade R classes, one could argue that instead of languaging practices occurring in the community of Manenberg and in the classroom context of my participants due to these spaces being superdiverse, it could simply be said that residents make use of a language practice which has remained unique to them on the Cape Flats for years. This language use is then brought from the domain of the home by pupils and used in the classroom context. In other words, even though the borrowing of linguistic features from different languages is a characteristic of superdiversity and evident in the language use of residents in Manenberg and the pupils in the two grade R classes studied, one could argue that such language practices form part of a particular style of speech when people on the Cape Flats produce Kaaps. The borrowing of linguistic features from different languages in Manenberg and the classrooms of my participants can therefore be argued to not be as a result of superdiversity.

Even though the argument here is that area of Manenberg and the two grade R classrooms studied cannot be viewed as superdiverse spaces, indicators that superdiversity might slowly

be infiltrating the area have been noted. More evidence of superdiversity possibly making its way into the community of Manenberg was revealed during the second, follow up interviews conducted with teachers A and B. During the follow up interviews, it was relayed that after the data collection period for this study, an increase in ethnic and linguistic diversity amongst pupils occurred in their classes and at the schools as her whole. The following is a statement made by teacher A during the second interview conducted with her: : “You know (.) when you were here doing your research (.) the uhm (.)- I had learners that are IsiXhosa and so on in the class but there weren’t a lot of them↓ (.) Now (.) I have a lot more learners from other cultures that speak different languages ↓”. Furthermore, a teacher, identified as teacher 1, briefly joined the second interview with teacher B and communicated similar views as teacher A on the growth in ethnic diversity in at the school, Teacher 1 stated the following: “... but now we got kids from Malawi and Kenyans↓ (.) We got everybody now↓ (.) ↑IN OUR CLASSES↓”

Based on these statements made by teacher A and teacher 1, the argument could be made that even though Manenberg and the two classrooms used in this study could not be viewed as superdiverse spaces during the data collection period, recent traces of superdiversity have come to light. Such traces include the growth in ethnic and linguistic diversity occurring in the community of Manenberg and the great variety of countries from which residents of the area are now said to come from. During the data collection period, the community of Manenberg and the two grade R classes was already viewed as diverse since people from different ethnicities, speaking different language could be found in these spaces. However, statements such as the above made by teacher A and teacher 1 indicates that ethnic and linguistic diversification amongst residents of Manenberg and pupils in their classes are becoming more varied and unpredictable. It will therefore come as no surprise if future studies find superdiversity greatly imbedded in the community.

## **8.6 Overall teaching methods of teachers A and B**

The observational data collected in the classroom of teacher A and B revealed the use of traditional teaching methods commonly used for foundation phase. These teaching methods

focus greatly on multimodality (Cassell and Kimiko, 2001). Various facets of teaching and learning in these two grade R classrooms studied rely immensely on the use of more than one mode of communication.

In the classroom of teacher A, the use of both image and text on educational posters was quite apparent (refer to chapter 5). On the educational posters used in the classroom of teacher A, images were used to reiterate what is said in text. An example of this is the poster “My liggaam” *My body* found against the classroom wall of teacher A. On this poster, one sees various words identifying various parts of the human body. To compliment this text, there is an image on the poster of a boy and girl. This image was used to visually point out the different body parts identified by the words on the poster. The use of more than one mode of communication was thus immensely evident on the educational poster.

Then there were also various other instances observed where text together with image was used for the purpose of teaching and learning. The written exercise is one such instance. As stated in the data analysis chapters, this written exercise focused on the /L/ sound. The image of the written exercise, as shown under figure 10, chapter five, shows the use of both text and image. This written exercise was in the medium of instruction, Afrikaans, and included the names of various objects starting with the /L/ sound. For example: “lekkers” *sweets*, lemoen *orange*, “leer” *ladder* and “lepel” *spoon*. However, on the exercise the first letters of these words are left out and pupils were then asked to fill in the missing letter. More importantly, next to each word, an image of each of these words can be found. This once again reveals the use of both text and image for teaching and learning purposes.

Another important observation made with regards to the use of multimodality as a teaching method in the classroom of teacher A, was the use of gestures together with spoken word. An example of this can be found in extract 6.5, chapter six. This extract looks at a storytelling session which occurred in the classroom of teacher A. During this storytelling session one sees teacher A not only making use of spoken word to tell the story but she also makes use of

various body and hand gestures to emphasize and compliment what she is verbalizing. This can be seen in the following extract:

71. Teacher: Okay↓ (.) nou wurm was in die- en hy skrik wakke↓ (pretending to be waking up) en hy kan hom nie (.) roer nie↓ en hy begin KAP KAP en breek dit oop ↓(Pretending to crawl out of the cocoon) ↑ EK MOET YT KOM(.)↓ ↑EK HOU NIE-HOU NIE VAN WANEER DIT SO DONKER IS NIE↓ (.) en toe hy yt kom sien hy die sonskyn↓ (.) en hy kom yt↓ (.) hy rek dit en maak dit oop↓ (.) en toe hy yt kom toe kom sy? ↑

*Okay (.) now worm was is this- and then he woke↓ (pretending to be waking up) and he could not (.) move and he started HITTING and HITTING until it broke ↓(Pretending to crawl out of the cocoon) ↑ I MUST GET OUT OF HERE↓(.)↑I DO NOT- I DO NOT LIKE IT WHEN IT IS DARK↓ (.) and when he was out he saw that the sun was shining ↓(.) and he stretched the cocoon open even wider↓ (.) ↓and when he was finally out he was a? ↑*

In this extract teacher A is telling a story about a caterpillar turning into a butterfly. In turn 71, when the teacher gets to the part of the story where the caterpillar breaks free out of his cocoon, she not only describes the caterpillar breaking free but also uses body and hand gestures to demonstrate the caterpillar breaking free. This is one of many examples found not only during this storytelling session but also during various other classroom activities where body and hand gestures are used to compliment spoken word (Refer to figures 5.7 and 5.8 for images of hand gestures during this storytelling session.)

In the grade R classroom of teacher B the use of multimodality as a teaching and learning method was also commonly used. Various aspects of teaching and learning incorporated more than one mode of communication. Just like in the classroom of teacher A, teaching and learning often included the use of text and image.

On the majority of posters in the classroom of teacher B, text was often used together with an image. One of the many examples of such posters in this grade R classroom was the educational poster pointing various sports codes (Refer to chapter five, figure 5.4 for the poster of the sports codes). On this poster a number of images of various sports codes such as swimming, golf, boxing, cycling and running can be found. Each of these images are then

complimented with text which gives the word for each of these sports codes. More than one mode of communication is thus quite evidently used here.

The use of multimodality was also present in other class activities in the classroom of teacher B. During the data collection period, the pupils engaged in a reading exercise with the teacher. For the purpose of the reading exercise, the pupils were asked to firstly read the book “Go away Floppy” as a class (Refer to appendix 7). Thereafter the learners were called to the front one by one to read the book individually (Refer to appendices 8-10). During this reading exercise, the use of more than one mode of communication was also evident. When looking at the book “Go away Floppy” used during this reading exercise, one sees that the book contains both image and text (Refer to figure 5.9 for an image of the book). While the reading exercise was occurring, pupils were often encouraged to pay attention to the images in the book to help them comprehend the text in the book. This can be seen in extract 11, appendix 17: Teacher: “Skipping (.) You must even watch the pictures to get it ↓(Teacher flips page and points at words.) Come↓”. In extract 5.5 an isiXhosa pupil is encountering great difficulty with the book which is in the medium of instruction, English. As a means of helping the pupil with the reading exercise that he is having difficulty with, teacher B advises the isiXhosa pupil to pay attention to the images in the book to help him comprehend the text. It is thus apparent that image together with text is used here for the purpose of teaching and learning.

During the same reading exercise discussed above, more than one mode of communication yet again takes place when teacher B makes use of hand gestures to point to the various words while pupils were reading the book. An image of the use of hand gestures by teacher B can be seen under figure 5.9. The following is an example from extract 5.5, appendix 10 where hand gestures were used by teacher B during the reading exercise:

74. Learner 5: (...) Go↓ (...) away↓ (.) ↓Floppy?↑ (.) Come back↓

75. Teacher: ↑NOOOO↓

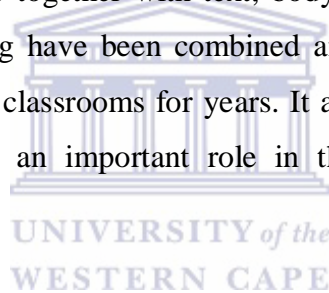
76. Learner 5: ↑HAAAIBO↓ (.) ↑NO MAN↓

Learner 5: (Indicating that he is dissatisfied) ↑NO MAN↓

77. Teacher: No don't come haibo me↓ (.)↓ We are?↑ (points to word) Here↓ (.) SSSSS↓

In this extract the same isiXhosa pupil discussed above is encountering difficulties with the reading exercise. In turn 83, teacher B then attempts to assist the pupil with the reading of a specific word by pointing to the word, while making the first sound with which the word starts, “SSSS↓”. One can therefore argue that the teacher is making use of more than one mode of communication, that of speech and hand gestures to help the pupil with reading the book.

Based on the above observations made in the two grade R classrooms studied, it is apparent that the use of multimodality plays a big role in teaching and learning in both classes. As shown in the above discussions, images and body and hand gestures were often used to compliment written text or spoken word during various classroom activities and exercises. The use of multimodality for teaching and learning in foundation phases, such as grade R, is however not uncommon (Cassell and Kimiko, 2001). The use of more than one mode of communication, especially image together with text, body and hand gestures together with spoken word and often also song have been combined and used as teaching and learning methods in the foundation phase classrooms for years. It is also very likely that multimodality will in future continue to play an important role in the classroom context, especially foundation phase classes.



### **8.7 Implications for this study and suggestions for further work.**

The rationale behind this study was the need which exists for the accommodation of the constant increase in linguistic diversity in South African classrooms. Studies, such as the research done by Blackledge and Creese, 2010b and Garcia 2009, have addressed this problem and have identified how the borrowing of features across languages, by both learners and teachers, can function as resources in linguistically diverse classrooms. In order to determine whether the borrowing of linguistic features across languages could accommodate linguistic diversity in classes in the Western Cape, this research was thus conducted.

Through the findings yielded in this thesis, it was revealed that languaging practices can indeed be used as a linguistic resource in linguistically diverse Western Cape classrooms. This was made evident in chapter six when languaging was used during peer interaction to assist



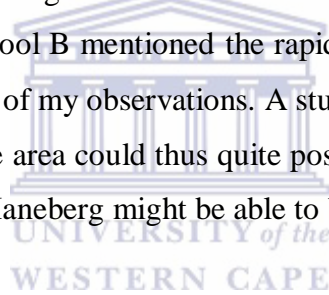
an additional speaker of the medium of instruction with an exercise that was not in her first language. Another example of the borrowing of linguistic features as resource could be seen in the same chapter when the pupils of teacher A used their multifaceted repertoires to correctly answer a question posed by teacher A during a storytelling session.

However, it can be argued that in order for languaging practices to be fully utilized as a linguistic resource, the ideologies attached to languaging practices used in the classroom context would have to change. Through observational data and interviews conducted with both teachers, it was made apparent that the exclusion of languaging practices from pedagogy can directly be related to the monoglossic language ideologies and essentialist views of language which exist within the educational system and school policies. These monoglossic language ideologies and essentialist views of language within the schooling system functions on the belief that there should not be steered away from the medium of instruction used at the school and that only standard, formal varieties are acceptable in educational spaces such as the classroom. Language practices which involve borrowing of linguistic features across languages are thus often viewed as impure, non-standard varieties that should not be allowed in the classroom context. This study revealed that such views of languages strongly contradict the reality of Cape Town classrooms, such as the two grade R classrooms studied in the community of Manenberg. This is due to the fact that pupils bring to the classroom context the linguistic diversity and multifaceted repertoires which exist amongst residents in diverse areas such as Manenberg.

For this reason, it is thus of vital importance that policy makers in the educational system change their views of language from monoglossic to heteroglossic in order for languaging practices to be accepted and properly utilized within educational domains. A shift in what is regarded as acceptable language use for pedagogy can only take place if policy makers within the schooling system begin to recognize the borrowing of linguistic features as a useful tool or linguistic resource in the classroom context, instead of viewing it as not suited for educational domains. When the negative views of the use of languaging practices in the classroom shift for policy makers, it is quite possible that educators too will feel less reluctant

to recognize and use the borrowing of linguistic features as a linguistic resource within their ever growing diverse classrooms.

My second motivation which encouraged this research is related to the availability of literature which investigates post apartheid South Africa as a possible superdiverse context. The majority of literature found on these topics, primarily focuses on the European context, such as the United Kingdom. In this thesis I have investigated the community of Manenberg and also two classes in the area as possible superdiverse spaces. This investigation thus contributes to the literature on South Africa as a possible superdiverse context. Even though it was argued that superdiversity have not yet infiltrated the community of Manenberg and the two grade R classrooms at the time the observational data was collected for this thesis, certain characteristics of superdiversity have nevertheless begin to appear in the area and in the classrooms situated in Manenberg. This was made evident in the second interview when teacher A and the teachers of school B mentioned the rapid increase in linguistic diversity in their classes since the conducting of my observations. A study of the current diversification in Manenberg and the schools in the area could thus quite possibly yield interesting findings, as the area and schools situated in Maneberg might be able to be regarded as superdiverse now.



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Appendix 1: Information Sheet  
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**Topic: Schooling Superdiversity: Linguistic features as linguistic resources in two Manenberg classrooms in the Western Cape**

**Information Sheet: Classroom Observations and interviews with teachers and pupils if necessary.**

I, Madelynn Madell, am a Masters student in the Department of Linguistics, at the University of the Western Cape, South Africa. For the purpose of this degree, I am investigating how the borrowing of linguistic features across languages (mixing of various languages during speech) can be used as linguistic resources in the classroom context.

This study entails observing the language use of two grade R teachers and their learners in their classrooms. During these observations, the language use of the teachers and learners will be video recorded. Furthermore, interviews will be conducted with the teachers to gain additional information, such as clarifying observations made. Interviews pupils may be done if deemed necessary. Interviews with will be audio recorded.

More specifically, these classroom observations and interviews will be done with the aim of investigating the following:

- a) To what extent does the medium of instruction in these two classrooms accommodate the linguistic diversity and mixed linguistic repertoires of the learners?
- b) Does the language use of the teachers and learners in the classroom context reveal that they are borrowing linguistic features across languages?

- c) If the borrowing of features is used by the teachers and learners in the classroom context, does it function as linguistic resources?
- d) How is the borrowing of linguistic features or the absence of this language practice in the classroom influenced by the language ideologies of the teachers?

Teachers and learners are kindly requested to participate in these classroom observations and interviews. Teachers and learners requested to participate in in this study, can be assured of the following:

- Your participation is voluntary.
- You may withdraw from the study at any time.
- If you decide to withdraw from the study, all data gathered as a result of your participation, will be destroyed.
- The identity of all participants (teachers and learners) will be protected on camera, as your face will be visually distorted.
- The identity of teachers will be protected during audio recorded interviews, as pseudonyms will be used.
- The identity of all participants (teachers and learners) will be protected in transcriptions, as pseudonyms will once again be used.
- This data collected will not be used for any purpose other than this study.

My supervisor is Professor Christopher Stroud in the Department of Linguistics, University of the Western Cape, South Africa. He can be contacted at +27 21 959 2978 or [cstroud@uwc.ac.za](mailto:cstroud@uwc.ac.za).

My contact details are as follows: Madelynne Madell, Linguistics Dept., UWC, cell: 071 020 1478 or [2754785@myuwc.ac.za](mailto:2754785@myuwc.ac.za) /[madelynnmadell@gmail.com](mailto:madelynnmadell@gmail.com)

This information sheet is for you to keep so that you can be aware of the nature of the classroom observations and interviews (interviews only apply to the teachers). With your signature on the attached document, you indicate that you understand the purpose of the exercise.

**Yours truly,**

**Madelynne Madell**

## Appendix 2: Consent Form



Consent Form

University of the Western Cape

### Topic: Schooling Superdiversity: Linguistic features as linguistic resources in two Manenberg classrooms in the Western Cape

Researcher: Madelynne Madell

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline. (If I wish to withdraw I may contact the lead research at anytime)
3. I understand my responses and personal data will be kept strictly confidential. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the reports or publications that result for the research.
4. As a participant of the discussion, I will not discuss or divulge information shared by others in the group or the researcher outside of this group.
5. I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research.
6. I agree for to take part in the above research project.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name of Participant  
(or legal representative)

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name of person taking consent  
(If different from lead researcher)

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Lead Researcher  
(To be signed and dated in presence of the participant)

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature



*Copies: All participants will receive a copy of the signed and dated version of the consent form and information sheet for themselves. A copy of this will be filed and kept in a secure location for research purposes only.*

**Researcher:**

**Supervisor:**

**HOD:**



### Appendix 3-First interview with teacher A

#### First interview teacher A (Prior to doing observations)

Research Area: Manenberg

School: School A

Class: Grade R Class (Foundation Phase)

Participants: Researcher and Teacher A

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS			
English Translation	Italics	Additional Information	( )
Short Pause	(.)	Question	?
Long Pause	(...)	Name Changed ( Pseudonym)	*
Overlapping	=	Intonation: High Pitch	↑
Simultaneous speech	[ ]	Intonation: Low Pitch	↓
High Volume	Capital Letters	False Start	-
Low Volume	{ }		

1. Researcher: ↓What is the uhm- What is main language spoken in the area of Manenberg?↑
2. Teacher A: Afrikaans↓
3. Researcher: ↓Are most of the learners at the school and in your class from the area?↑
4. Teacher A: Yes↓
5. Researcher: ↓How many learners are in you class?↑
6. Teacher A: Uhm I have (.) thirty one learners in my class currently ↓
7. Researcher: ↓What is the age group of these learners?↑
8. Teacher A: They are five and six↓
9. Researcher: ↓And which languages do these learners speak?↑

10. Teacher A: Uhm↓ (.) let me think↓ (...) There are two English first language speakers (.) that uhm have Afrikaans as their second language↓ (.) Then there are two that speak isiXhosa first language and one French speaker↓ (.) The rest are Afrikaans first language↓ (.) That is (...) twenty six speaking Afrikaans first language↓ (.) But those that speak IsiXhosa and French even know a little Afrikaans and English ↓(.) They don't speak it well now but it is there coz they are growing up in Manenberg so they pick it up here↓ (.) Its limited English and Afrikaans though↓
11. Researcher: ↓What is the medium of instruction at the school?↑ (.) ↓The language used for teaching↑?
12. Teacher A: Afrikaans↓
13. Researcher:↓ Only Afrikaans↑
14. Teacher A: Yep↓
15. Researcher:↓ What is the language variety used in the class?↑(.) ↓Formal or Informal?↑
16. Teacher A: It is formal↓
17. Researcher: ↓Which language variety do the kids bring to class?↑
18. Teacher A: They speak that street slang and they bring it here↓ (.) They want to come speak that here in class↓ (.) so it's definitely informal styles that they bring uhm from home ↓
19. Researcher: Okay↓(.) Tell me a bit about your linguistic background↓
20. Well (.) I was born and raised in a community in the cape flats (.) where we used uhm Afrikaans↓ (.) At home Afrikaans was spoken↓ (.) At school level I had Afrikaans as first language and English my additional language↓ (...) My husband and I raised our kids with English↓ (.) We made that decision↓
21. Researcher: Thank you for your time ↓
22. Teacher A: (Smiles)

## Appendix 4 -First interview with Teacher B

### First interview with Teacher B (Prior to doing observations)

Research Area: Manenberg

School: School B

Class: Grade R Class (Foundation Phase)

Participants: Researcher and Teacher B

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS			
English Translation	Italics	Additional Information	( )
Short Pause	(.)	Question	?
Long Pause	(...)	Name Changed ( Pseudonym)	*
Overlapping	=	Intonation: High Pitch	↑
Simultaneous speech	[ ]	Intonation: Low Pitch	↓
High Volume	Capital Letters	False Start	-
Low Volume	{ }		

1. Researcher: ↓What is the main language spoken in the area of Manenberg?↑
2. Teacher B: It's Afrikaans↓
3. Researcher: ↓Where are uhm (.) most of the learners at the school and in your area from?↑
4. Teacher B: From the area (...) Manenberg↓
5. Researcher: ↓What is the language or languages used for teaching in your class?↑
6. Teacher B: We use English for grade r↓ (.) Then dual medium from grade 1 to 7↓(...) English and Afrikaans↓
7. Researcher: I see↓(.) ↓How many learners do you currently have in your class?↑
8. Teacher B: They are thirty seven↓
9. Researcher: ↓What age group are they?↑

10. Teacher B: Some are five and some six↓
11. Researcher: ↓What language or languages do these learners speak as first language?↑
12. Teacher B: Most of them speak Afrikaans but their parents mos want them to be in an English class↓ (.) There is a handful that really speaks English at home also and then I have five that speak IsiXhosa↓ (...) These isiXhosa speakers know other languages also↓ (.) Like they maybe have uhm other African languages or maybe English as second language and they pick up the language in the area also↓(.) They speak a bit of Afrikaans even coz they hear by their friends when they playing↓ (.) They mos live here or around here so they pick up Afrikaans↓=
13. Researcher: =↓What about the uhm- what about the Afrikaans and English first language speakers?↑
14. Teacher B: They also pick up things when they play in the streets↓ (.) They learn IsiXhosa words again by- by their friends↓ (.) They all play together↓ (.) Here at school they also play together and you hear how they pick up the languages ↓
15. Researcher: ↓Then lastly (.) can you perhaps tell me a bit about your linguistic background?↑ (.) Your first language?↑ (.) second language?↑=
16. Teacher B: =I am Afrikaans↓ (.) I grew up in an Afrikaans community↓ (.) I actually attended this school and they had no English (.) only Afrikaans↓
17. Researcher: ↑WOW↓ I didn't realize the school has been around for so long↓
- (Everyone chuckles)
18. Researcher: ↓So when did you start really using English?↑
19. Teacher B: Mostly in my adult life↓ (.) You know when you start work and you have English speaking friends↓ (.) In high school I had English as additional language but it was still mostly Afrikaans ↓
20. That's it↓ (.) Thank you ↓

## Appendix 5- Teacher A-Written exercise

Area: Manenberg

School: School A

Class: Grade R Class (Foundation Phase)

Medium of Instruction: Afrikaans

Participants: Teacher A and her grade r learners

Background: The following transcription starts off with a lesson given by teacher A on a written exercise about the /L/ sound. Thereafter, the pupils are given time to work on their own and complete the written exercise. The participants in this transcription include teacher A and various pupils in her class.

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS			
English Translation	Italics	Additional Information	( )
Short Pause	(.)	Question	?
Long Pause	(...)	Name Changed ( Pseudonym)	*
Overlapping	=	Intonation: High Pitch	↑
Simultaneous speech	[ ]	Intonation: Low Pitch	↓
High Volume	Capital Letters	False Start	-
Low Volume	{ }		

(All of the Grade R learners are sitting on the mat, while the teacher discusses an exercise that they are about to do)

1. Teacher : Wat eet jy nog?↑(.) wat eet jy? ↑

Teacher : *What do you still eat?*↑ (.) *What do you eat?*↑

2. All the learners together: [LEKKES↓]

All the learners together: [SWEETS↓]

3. Teacher : Lekkes?↑ Waa is die lekkers? ↑

Teacher : Sweets?↑ *Where are the sweets?*↑

4. All the learners together: [HIE↓] (Learners point to their worksheet)

All the learners together: [HERE↓] (*Learners point to their worksheet*)

5. Teacher: Waa- Waa is hy? ↑

Teacher : *Where-Where is it?*↑

6. Learners: BOEEE↓ (Points to worksheet again)

Learners: *ON TOP*↓ (Points to worksheet again)

7. Learner: HIE IN DIE MIDDEL↓

Learner: *HERE IN THE MIDDLE* ↓

8. Teacher: (Teacher walks to \*Michelle) \*Michelle sal my se waasie(.) wasie lekkes↓ (.)

\*Michelle?↑

Teacher: (*Teacher walks to \*Michelle*) \*Michelle will tell me where the sweets are↓ (.)\*

*Michelle?*↑

9. \*Michelle: Boe die lepel↓

\*Michelle: *Above the spoon*↓

10. Teacher: Boe die lepel↓(.) ↑DAASY. Kan jy hom sien? ↑

Teacher: *Above the spoon*↓ (.)↑ *THERE YOU GO* (.) *Can you see it?*↑

11. All the learners together:[ JA JUFFROU↓]

All the learners together: [YES TEACHER↓]

12. Teacher: Kan jy vi my se hoeveel lekkers is daa? ↑

Teacher: *Can you tell me how many sweets there are?*↑

(Learners counting sweets on work sheet out loud)

13. One of the learners: DRIE ↓

One of the learners: *THREE*↓

14. Few of the learners: [DRIE↓]

Few of the learners: [*THREE*↓]

15. Teacher: Hoveel \*Carlo? ↑  
Teacher: *How many \*Carlo?*↑
16. All the learners: [THREE↓]  
All the learners: [*DRIE*↓]
17. Teacher: \*Carlo se hy het drie getel↓ (.) Kom tel saam met my↓  
Teacher: *\*Carlo says he counted three ↓(.)Count with me*↓
18. Teacher and learners: [EEN↓]  
Teacher and learners: [*ONE*↓]
19. Learners: [TWEE↓]  
Learners: [*TWO*↓]
20. Teacher and learners:[ *DRIE*↓]  
Teacher and Learners: [*THREE*↓]
21. Teacher: Is daa drie lekkes?↑  
Teacher: *Are there three sweets?*↑
22. All the learners: [JA JUFFROU↓]  
All the learners: [*YES TEACHER*↓]
23. Teacher: Ja (.) \*Bob wat ken jy nog oppie blaai (.) wat ons nog nie gese hetie?↑  
Teacher: *Yes (.) \*Bob what do you still know on the page (.) that we didn't say yet?*↑
- (Learner answers but answer inaudible)
24. Teacher: Ha ah 'n LEMOEN (.) Is daa n lemoen op die blaai?↑  
Teacher: *No an ORANGE (.) Is there an orange on the page?*↑
25. All the learners: [JA JUFFROU↓]  
All the learners: [*YES TEACHER*↓]
26. Teacher: Waa isi lemoen?↑  
Teacher: *Where is the orange?*↑
27. All the learners:[ Hie↓]  
All the learners: [*Here*↓]
28. Teacher: Nie nie hee nie↓ (.)Wa?↑  
Teacher: *Not here*↓ (.)*Where?*↑
29. All the learners: [Boe (.) hie↓]



- All the learners: [*On top* (.)*here*↓]
30. Teacher and learners: [Boe↓]  
Teacher and learners: [*On top*↓]
31. Teacher: Die lemoen is reg - dis reg↓ (.) Hys reg boe (.) Is daar nog iets wat op die blaaï?↑  
Teacher: *The orange is right*↓ - *it is right on top* (.) *Is there something else on the page?*↑
32. Learners: [N LEER↓]  
Learners: [*A LADDER*↓]
33. Teacher: Waa?↑ (.) ‘n wat? ↑  
Teacher: *Where?*↑ (.) *and what?* ↑
34. Learners: [A LEER↓]  
Learners: [*A LADDER*↓]
35. Teacher: ‘N leer?↑ (.)Waa is die leer? ↑  
Teacher: *A ladder?*↑ (.)*Where is the ladder?*↑
36. Few learners:[ Hie↓]  
Few learners: [*Here*↓]
37. Few learners: [Langs die (...)]  
Few learners: [*Next to the(...)*]
- 
- UNIVERSITY of the  
WESTERN CAPE  
(Simultaneous speech- Inaudible)
38. Teacher: Bo die lekkes onne die? (.)↑ Onne die?↑  
Teacher: *Above the sweets under the?* (.)↑ *Under the?*↑
39. Teacher and learners: [LEMOEN] ↓  
Teacher and learners: [*ORANGE*]↓
40. Teacher: Okay (.) Nou ons gan op hierdie blaaï (Bell rings) gou skryf ne (.) Ons gan die lemoen in kleur (.)Watte kleur is die lemoen?↑
41. Teacher: *Okay* (.) *Now we are going to write on the page (Bell rings) hey. We are going to colour in the orange* (.) *What colour is the orange?*↑
42. Some of the learners: [ORANJE ]↓  
Some of the learners: [*ORANGE*]↓
43. Teacher: Watte kleur is ‘n lemoen?↑  
Teacher: *Which colour is an orange?*↓

44. Teacher and learners: [ORANJE]↓

Teacher and learners: [*ORANGE*]↓

45. Teacher: Ons gaan dit oranje maak (.) en as jy kyk na die woord lemoen (.) het juffrou iets yt gelos?↑ (.) Kan jy my se watter letter van die alfabet het ek yt gelos da?↑

Teacher: *We are going to make it orange (.) and if you look at the word orange (.) did teacher leave something out?(.)*↑ *Can you tell me which letter of the alphabet I left out?*↑

(Learner coughs)

46. Teacher: Watter letter het ek nie geskryf? ↑

Teacher: *Which letter did I not write?*↑

47. Few learners: [LLLL]↓

48. Teacher: Wat het ek nie geskryf nie? ↑

Teacher: *What did I not write?*↑

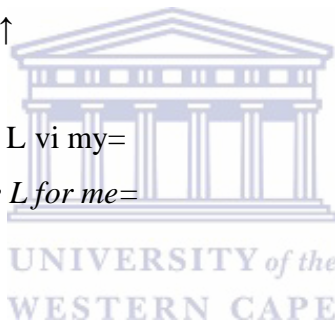
49. Few learners: [ LLL]↓

50. Teacher: Ek wil he jy moet die L vir my=

Teacher: *I want you to take the L for me=*

51. One of the learners: =Vorm=

One of the learners: =Form=



52. Teacher: =Skryf

Teacher: A= *Write*

(Inaudible talking)

53. Teacher: Jy gaan eerste- ons gaan eerste die lemoen in kleur (.) en dan gaan ons die (.) L skryf (.) Jy gaan vir my jou kryt hal (.) jy gaan vir my n (.) BORD hal (.) agter ↓

Teacher: *Firstly you are going to- firstly we are going to colour in the orange (.) and then we are going to write the letter L (.) You are going to go fetch your crayons (.) You are going to go fetch a (.) BOARD (.) at the back*↓

(Learners talking in the background.)

54. Teacher: Jy kan gaan↓

Teacher: *You can go*↓

(Learners get up from mat to go get stationery for to do written exercise.)

55. Teacher: As jy nie kryt gan hal nie dan gan hal jy n bord↓

Teacher: *If you are not fetching crayons then go fetch a board*↓

(Learners talking, as they follow the teacher's instruction.)

(Learners gradually return to the mat while chatting to each other)

(Inaudible due to simultaneous speech)

56. Teacher: Jy moet so sagies as moontlik 'n bord gan haal↓

Teacher: *You must go fetch a board as quiet as possible*↓

(Learners continue to talk to each other)

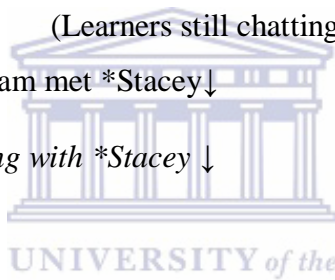
57. Teacher: Twee mense op n bord (.) Jy kan deel↓

Teacher: *Two people should use a board (.) You can share*↓

(Learners still chatting)

58. One of the learners: Ek deel saam met \*Stacey↓

One of the learners: *I am sharing with \*Stacey* ↓



(Some learners still getting their crayons and boards, while others are back on the mat

starting with the exercise)

(Learners talking while working- teacher says something- inaudible due to learners

talking)

59. Teacher A: (To one of the learners.) Gaan kry vi jou kryt ↓

Teacher A: (To one of the learners) *Go get yourself some crayons*↓

(Learners chatting in the background)

60. Teacher A: (To learners getting boards in the corner) ↑KOOOM↓(.) maak KLA in die corner ↓

Teacher A: (To learners getting boards in the corner) ↑COOOME↓ *get DONE in the corner*↓

(Chatting of learners continue in the background)

61. Teacher A: As jy jou bord en jou kryt het dan kan jy be-(.)dan kan jy begin↓

Teacher A: *If you have your board and your crayons then you can-(.) then you can start↓*

62. One of the learners: \*Stacey ek het oranje↓

One of the learners: \**Stacey I have orange↓*

(Learners chatting)

63. Teacher: Wie sinne is die?↑

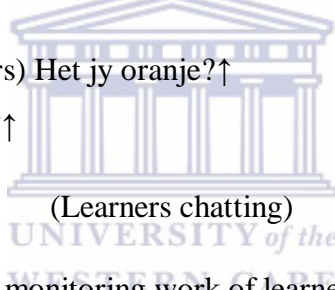
Teacher: *Who does this belong to?↑*

(Camera zooming in on the work of particular learners)

(Learners continue to chat while working)

64. Teacher: (To one of the learners) Het jy oranje?↑

Teacher: *Do you have orange?↑*



(Learners chatting)

65. Teacher: (Walking around and monitoring work of learners.) Moenie oor die lyne ganie↓

Teacher A: *Do not go over the lines↓*

(Learners chatting)

66. Teacher: Wie het nogie krytie?↑

Teacher: *Who does not have crayons yet?↑*

(Learners continue to chat while teacher walks around and monitors the work of learners)

67. Teacher: (To one of the learners) Is jy klaar?↑

Teacher: (To one of the learners) *Are you done?↑*

(Learners Chatting.)

68. One of the learners: (To a fellow learner) Nie↓

One of the learners: (To a fellow learner) *No*↓

69. One of the learners: (To a fellow learner) *GAAN*↓

One of the learners: (To a fellow learner) *GO*↓

70. One of the learners: (To a fellow learner) *NIE ISI JOUNE*↓

One of the learners: (To a fellow learner) *NO IT IS NOT YOURS*↓

(Learners chatting)

71. Teacher: (To one of the learners) *Ons wag go vir hulle om klaar te maak*↓

Teacher: (To one of the learners) *We are just waiting on them to get done*↓

(Learners chatting and doing work)

72. One of the learners: (To a fellow learner) *EK DEEL MET HA*↓

One of the learners: (To a fellow learner) *I'M SHARING WITH HER*↓

73. One of the learners: (To a fellow learner) *NIE (.) NIEEEE*↓

One of the learners: (To a fellow learner) *NO (.) NOOO*↓

(Learners continue to talk while working)

74. Teacher: *As jy klaar is (.) sit jou hand op jou kop*↓

Teacher: *If you are done (.) put your hand on your head* ↓

75. One of the learners: (To a fellow learner) *ORANJE*↓

One of the learners: (To a fellow learner) *ORANGE*.↓

(Couching in background)

76. Teacher: (Walks to one of the learners) *\*Meghan is jy klaar?* ↑

Teacher: (Walks to one of the learners) *\*Meghan are you done?*↑

77. One of the learners: *\*CARON PISOP*↓

One of the learners: *\*CARON OUT OF THE WAY*↓

78. Teacher : (To one of the learners) *Waa is jou /LLL/?*↑ (Rest of sentence inaudible)

Teacher: (To one of the learners) *Where is your /LLL/?*↑(Rest of sentence inaudible)

79. Few learners: *[JUFFROU]* ↓

Few learners *[TEACHER]*↓

(Few learners getting up to go to the teacher.)

(One of the learners puts her hands on her head to signal that she is done.)

80. One of the learners: (To a fellow learner) \*Mandy wil jy die ding he?↑

One of the learners: (To a fellow learner) \**Mandy do you want this thing?*↑

81. One of the learners: (To a fellow learner) \*MARKO GIE IT↓

One of the learners: (To a fellow learner) \**MARKO GIVE IT*↓

(Learners still talking and doing the exercise.)

82. One of the learners: (To a fellow learner) NIE DAA NIE↓

One of the learners: (To a fellow learner) *NOT THERE*↓

(Chatting continues)

83. One of the learners: (To the teacher) JUFFROU \*Becky vat my BORD↓

One of the learners: ( To the teacher) \**TEACHER Becky is taking my BOARD*↓

84. Teacher: En Sodra jy kla is sit jou hand (.) op jou?↑

Teacher: *And as soon as you done put your hand (.) on your?* ↑

85. Some of the learners: [KOP]↓

Some of the learners: [*HEAD*]↓

(Few learners put their hands on their heads)

(Learners chatting in background)

86. Teacher: Sit jou hand =

Teacher: *Put your hands =*

87. Few learners: = [Op jou kop]

Few of the learners:= [*On your head*]

(Only a few learners talking now. Most learners sitting with their hands on their heads.)

88. One of the learners: (To the teacher) Juffrou ek heti oranje nie↓

One of the learners: (To the teacher) *Teacher I do not have orange*↓

89. Teacher: (To a learner) Die wat?↑

Teacher: (To a learner) *The what?*↑

90. Teacher: (To one of the learners) Het jy oranje?↑

Teacher: (To one of the learners) *Do you have orange?*↑

(Soft Chatting)

91. One of the learners: (To the teacher) Ek isi kla nie↓

- One of the learners: (To the teacher) *I am not done yet*↓  
(Learners Talking in background- inaudible)
92. Teacher: (To learners) *Wie hetie oranje nie?* ↑  
Teacher: (To learners) *Who does not have orange?*↑  
(Learners still talking in background)
93. Teacher: (Pointing to one of the learner's pictures) *Oranje?*↑  
Teacher: (Pointing to one of the learner's pictures) *Orange?*↑  
(Learners giggling in background)
94. Teacher: Uhm (.) *\*Ronnie is jy klaar?*↑  
Teacher: Uhm (.) *\*Ronnie are you done?*↑
95. \*Ronnie: *Nie*↓  
\*Ronnie: *No*↓
96. One of the learners: (Holding up her worksheet) *KYK HIE JUFFROU*↓  
One of the learners: (Holding up her worksheet) *LOOK HERE TEACHER*↓  
(Learner's still talking)
97. Teacher: *Ons gaan nou die leer in kleur (.) Watte kleur gaan ons die leer maak?*↑  
Teacher: *We are now going to colour in the ladder (.) What colour are we going to make the ladder?*↑
98. One of the learners: *BRUIN*↓  
One of the learners: *BROWN*↓
99. Teacher: *BRUIN*↓  
Teacher: *BROWN*↓  
(Teacher walks to the board and learners start chatting and colouring)
100. One of the learners: *Daisi bruin nie*↓  
One of the learners: *That is not brown*↓  
(Learners chatting loudly again)
101. One of the learners: *GIE VI BRUIN*↓  
One of the learners: *GIVE THE BROWN*↓
102. One of the learners: (Laughing) *YASO*↓  
One of the learners: (Laughing) *(Learners expressing their disapproval)*  
(Learners chatting)

103. One of the learners: (To a fellow learner) EINA (.) JY↓  
 One of the learners: (To a fellow learner) *OUCH* (.) *YOU*↓  
 (Learners talking- Inaudible)
104. One of the learners: HA AH (.) DIS MY DINGE↓  
 One of the learners: HA AH (.) *IT'S MY STUFF*↓
105. Teacher: Jy↓  
 Teacher: *You*↓
106. Teacher: (Sitting on her chair) Daa is te veel mense wat gesels ↓  
 Teacher: (Sitting on her chair) *There is to many people still talking*↓  
 (Learners now a little more quiet but still whispering to each other)
107. One of the learners: \*Devon↓
108. Teacher: As jy klaar is(.) wat moet jy doen?↑  
 Teacher: *When you done* (.) *what are you supposed to do?*↑
109. Few learners: (While putting their hands on their heads) Hand op=  
 Few learners: (While putting their hands on their heads) *Hands on*=
110. Teacher: ( To a learner) = Jy het nie jou /L/ geteken nie↓  
 Teacher: ( To a learner) = *You didn't write your /L/*↓  
 (Learners talking softly)
111. Teacher: (To a different learner) Teken jou /L/ langs an↓  
 Teacher: Write your /L/ next to it↓  
 (Learners now talking louder)
112. One of the learners: (While holding up his worksheet) JUFFROU↓  
 One of the learners: (While holding up his worksheet) *TEACHER*↓
113. One of the learners: Hie?↑  
 One of the learners: *Here?*↑
114. One of the learners: Juffrou kyk wat doen=  
 One of the learners: *Teacher look what*=  
 (Learners utterance drowned by noise)
115. One of the learners: = Ja  
 One of the learners: = *Yes*



116. Teacher: (To one of the learners) Kan jy die leer in kleur? ↑  
Teacher: (To one of the learners) *Can you colour in the ladder?* ↑  
(Learners talking)
117. Teacher: (Looks at a learner's worksheet) Kleur die leer in ↓  
Teacher: (Looks at a learner's worksheet) *Colour in the ladder* ↓  
(Learners continue to talk)
118. Teacher: (Looks at another learner's work) Gaan haal nou daar n bruin ↓  
Teacher: (Looks at another learner's work) *Now go fetch a brown one* ↓  
(Teacher walks to one of the learners and point to her worksheet)
119. Teacher: Skryf jou/ LLL/ langs an ↓  
Teacher: *Write your / LLL/ next to it* ↓  
(Learners chatting)
120. Teacher: (Looking at the learner sitting next to the learner she's helping) \*Sophie ↓  
(Ongoing chatting in background)
121. Teacher: (Still helping the same learner) Daa sy (.) Nou kleur die leer in en maak hom bruin ↓  
Teacher: (Still helping the same learner) *There you go (.) Now colour in the ladder and make it brown* ↓
122. Teacher: (Looks at the learner next to the learner she's helping) Jy moet jou leer kla maak ↓  
Teacher: (Looks at the learner next to the learner she's helping) *You need finish off your ladder* ↓  
(Teacher goes back to her chair)  
(Boy comes to teacher and shows her a crayon)
123. Teacher: (To boy) Dis myne ↓  
Teacher : ( To boy) *It is mine* ↓  
(Learners still chatting in background)
124. Teacher: (To one of the learners) Sit al die kryt in jou bakkie (.) en wag tot hulle klaar is.  
↓

Teacher: *Put all the crayons in your bowl (.) and wait till are they done* ↓

(Learners chatting - inaudible)

125. Teacher: *Wie will nog he=*

Teacher: *Who wants more=*

(Learner's chatting once again overlaps teacher's utterance)

126. One of the learners: (Walking to her fellow learner) *VI my?*↑

One of the learners: (Walking to a fellow learner) *FOR me?*↑

127. One of the learners: (To fellow learners) *Jy kan dai vi jou vat (.) Ek het ene*↓

One of the learners: (To fellow learner) *You can have that (.) I have one.*↓

(Teacher and learners talking at the same time- Inaudible)

(One of the learners walks to a group of learners still doing the exercise)

128. Learner: (To one of the learners) *Jy moet die bruin maak* ↓

Learner: (To one of the learners) *You must make that brown.* ↓

(Learners talking in background- inaudible)

129. Teacher: *Wies ampe klaar?*↑

Teacher: *Who is almost finish?*↑

(Learners talking in the background- inaudible)

130. Teacher: (To one of the learners) *Kyk jy af?* ↑

Teacher: ( To one of the learners) *Are you copying?*↑

131. One of the learners: *Dit is gan kyk net da opie ding* ↓

One of the learners: *It is just go look on the thing.*↓

132. One of the learners: *TEACHER*↓

One of the learners: *TEACHER*↓

133. Teacher: *Ja(.) Ja jy moet dit bruin maak* ↓

Teacher: *Yes (.) yes you must make it brown*↓

(Learners still talking in background)

134. Few learners: [*JUFFROU*]

Few learners: [*TEACHER*]

135. Teacher A: *Watte kleur is n leer dan?* ↑

Teacher A: *What colour is a ladder then?*↑

136. Few learners: [*JUFFROU*] ↓

- Few learners: [*TEACHER*]↓
137. One of the learners: Is die jou bruin? ↑  
 One of the learners: *Is this your brown?*↑  
 (Learners talking)  
 (Teacher walking around and looking and monitoring exercises of learners.)
138. One of the learners: NEEE ↓  
 One of the learners: *NOOO*↓  
 (One of the learners goes to the teacher to show her work.)  
 (Learners talking)
139. Teacher: Mooi \*Zannie mooi.↓  
 Teacher: *Good \*Zannie good.*↓  
 (Learners continue talking)
140. Teacher: Nou gan ons die lekkes in kleur↓  
 Teacher: *Now we are going to colour in the sweets*↓  
 (Learners talking)
141. Teacher A: Die lekkes kan ons rooi maak↓  
 Teacher A: *We can make the sweets red*↓
142. One of the learners: ROOI↓  
 One of the learners: *RED*↓  
 (Camera zooms in on one of the learner's exercise)  
 (Teacher demonstrating on the board)
143. Teacher: A En onthou jy moet dit rooi maak↓  
 Teacher A: *And remember you must make it red.*↓  
 (Learners talking simultaneously- Inaudible)
144. One of the learners: ( Offering a learner a colouring pencil) \*BELLA HIE IS A ROOIE ↓  
 One of the learners: (Offering a learner a colouring pencil) \**BELLA HERE IS A RED ONE*↓
145. One of the learners: (To a fellow learner) KYK HIE ↓  
 One of the learners: (To a fellow learner) *LOOK HERE*↓  
 (Teacher sits back on her chair.)  
 (Learners talking simultaneously)

146. One of the learners: \*DORIANE (.) \*DORIANE↓  
 (Teacher sits on chair and talks to learners – Inaudible due to noise)
147. Teacher A: (To one of the learners) Gan sit neer (.) Gan sit neer↓  
 Teacher A: (To one of the learners) *Go put it down (.) Go put down↓*  
 (Camera zooming in on two learner's worksheets while the learners are busy colouring in the picture of an orange.)  
 (One of the learners banging on his board.)  
 (Teacher gets up from her chair and starts monitoring work sheets again.)  
 (Camera zooms in on two learners)
148. One of the learners: (Reaches into her pocket and takes out bubblegum. Speaks to the learner next to her) {Hie is bubblegum↓}  
 One of the learners: (Reaches into her pocket and takes out bubblegum. Speaks to the learner next to her.) {*Here's bubblegum↓*}
149. Teacher A:↓ Is jy klaar met jou werk?↑ (.) ↓\*Keano?↑  
 Teacher A: ↓*Are you done with your work?*↑ (.) ↓\*Keano? ↑
150. One of the learners: JUFFROU (.) JUFFROU KYK HIE↓  
 One of the learners: *TEACHER (.) TEACHER LOOK HERE ↓*  
 (Learners talking)
151. Teacher A: Wie het n rooi gesoek? ↑  
 Teacher A: *Who was looking for red?*↑  
 (One of the learners answers the teacher- Inaudible)  
 (Learners talking in background)
152. One of the learners: (To one of her fellow learners) Wil jy nou die rooi he (.) \*Vivian?↑  
 One of the learners: (To one of her fellow learners) *Do you want the red now (.) Vivian?*↑
153. One of the learners: (To a fellow learner) Waa is die LLL(.) Waa is die /LLL /?↑  
 One of the learners: (To a fellow learner) *Where the LLL. Where is is the /LLL/?*↑  
 (Learners talking in background)  
 (One of the learners whispers something in the teacher's ear while teacher is helping one of the learners)
154. Teacher A: Het sy? ↑  
 Teacher A: *Did she?*↑

155. Learner: (While holding up the crayon for the teacher to see): JA JUFFROU ↓  
Learner: (While holding up the crayon for the teacher to see: *YES TEACHER* ↓
156. Teacher A: Net- net- net rooi gekoop? ↑  
Teacher A: *Just- just- just bought red?* ↑  
(Learner nods)  
(Camera zooming in on learners work)
157. One of the learners: Jy moet jou /LLL/ maak (.) Jou /LLL/ ↓  
One of the learners: *You must make your /LLL/ (.) your /LLL/* ↓  
(Learners still talking simultaneous- Inaudible)
158. One of the learners: NEE MAN ↓  
One of the learners: *NOO MAN* ↓
159. Teacher A: (To a learner holding up his worksheet) Lat ek sien (.) Wa is jou /LLL/? ↑ (.)  
Jy het jou /LLL/ gemakie ↓  
Teacher: (To a learner holding up his worksheet) *Let me see (.) Where is your /LLL/?* ↑ (.)  
*You didn't make your /LLL/* ↓  
(One of the learners jumps up and goes to the teacher with her worksheet)
160. Teacher A: (Looks at the learner's work) Maak jou /LLL/ reg ↓  
Teacher A: (Looks at the learner's work) *Make you /LLL/ reg* ↓  
(Learner runs off again and sits back down)  
(Learners talking –inaudible)
161. Teacher A: Wat is (...) (Gets up and walks to the board) Wat is die laaste ene wat ons moet doen? ↑  
Teacher A: *What is (...)(Gets up and walks to the board) What is the last one that we must still do?* ↑
162. Few of the learners: LIEPEL ↓  
Few of the learners: *SPOON* ↓
163. Teacher A: Nou ons gaan die liepel in kleur ↓  
Teacher A: *Now can are going to colour in the spoon* ↓  
(One of the learners overlaps teacher by shouting something- Inaudible)
164. Teacher A: Ons gaan hom blou maak ↓  
Teacher A: *We are going to make it blue* ↓

165. One of the learners: BLOU?↑  
 One of the learners: *BLUE* ?↑
166. One of the learners: EK WILL BLOU HE↓  
 One of the learners: *I WANT BLUE* ↓
167. One of the learners: \*WHITEAN (.) \*WHITEAN↓  
 (Learners talking- Inaudible)
168. One of the learners: Hie's blou↓  
 One of the learners: *Here's blue*↓
169. One of the learners: {Juffrou}↓  
 One of the learners: {*Teacher*}↓  
 (Learners talking- inaudible)
170. Teacher A: JA (.) Uhm =  
 Teacher A: *Yes (.) Uhm*=  
 (=Learner shouting. Overlaps teacher's utterance)
171. One of the learners: HAAA(.) HAAA?↑ (Learner screams)
172. Teacher A: (Looking at one of the learner's work) Nee (.) Hierdie kleur ↓  
 Teacher A: (Looking at one of the learner's work) (No (.) *This colour* ↓  
 (Learners talking in background- inaudible)
173. Learner: (Shows teacher a crayon) JUFFROU KYK HIE IS BLOU ↓  
 Learner: (Shows teacher a crayon) *TEACHER LOOK HERE IS THE BLUE*↓
174. Teacher A: (To learner showing her a crayon) Het jy?↑  
 Teacher A: (To learner showing her a crayon) *Do you have?*↑
175. One of the learners: ( To a fellow learner) SE DIE KIND MOET= ( Rest of sentence inaudible)  
 One of the learners: (To a fellow learner) *TELL THIS CHILD TO*= (Rest of sentence inaudible)
176. One of the learners: (Turns around and shows learner behind her a crayon) Kyk hie↓  
 One of the learners: (Turns around and shows learner behind her a crayon) *Look here* ↓
177. One of the learners: (Holds up a blue crayon) WIE SOEK NOG BLOU?↑ (.) WIE SOEK NOG BLOU?↑

One of the learners: (Holds up a blue crayon) *WHO IS STILL LOOKING FOR BLUE?*  
↑(.) *WHO IS STILL LOOKING FOR BLUE?* ↑

(Learners still talking- Inaudible)

(Teacher says something to few learners before getting up- Inaudible)

178. One of the learners: *EKKE* ↓

One of the learners: *ME* ↓

(Learner gives him the blue crayon)

(One of the learners holds up her worksheet for the teacher to see)

179. Teacher A: *Wag tot sy -hie hie* ↓

Teacher A: *Wait till she – here here* ↓

(Learners continue to talk)

180. Teacher A: *\*KIRSTY* (.) *Ja* ↓

Teacher A: *\*KIRSTY* (.) *Yes* ↓

(Zooming in on work of two learners)

181. Few learners: [*JUFFROU*] ↓

Few learners: [*TEACHER*] ↓

182. Teacher A: (To a learner) *Nou maak vi my jou L* (.) *Jou groot L en ‘n klein l* ↓

Teacher A: (To a learner) *Now draw your L for me* (.) *A capital letter L and a small l* ↓

(Learners continue to talk in background)

183. Teacher A: (To a learner) *Maak n L vi my* (.) *n groot ene en die* (.) *klein ene* ↓

Teacher A: (To a learner) *Draw a L for me* (.) *a big one and the* (.) *small one* ↓

(Teacher says something to learners- Inaudible)

184. Teacher A: (To a learner) *Daasy* ↓

Teacher A: (To a learner) *There you go* ↓

(Teacher looks at another learner’s worksheet)

185. Teacher A: *A groot L en a klein L* ( Announces to the class) *A groot L en ‘n klein L* ↓

Teacher A: *A capital letter L and a small L* (Announces to the class) *A capital letter L and a small letter L* ↓

186. Teacher A: (Looks at another learner’s worksheet) *Jy moet dai kla maak* ↓

Teacher A: (Looks at another learner’s worksheet) *You must finish that* ↓

(One of the learners shows the teacher her worksheet)

187. Teacher A: (Nods her head) Ja↓  
Teacher A: (Nods her head) *Yes*↓

188. One of the learners: JUFFROU↓  
One of the learners: *TEACHER*↓

189. Another learner: JUFFROU↓  
Another learner: *TEACHER*↓

(Camera zooms on the work of a learner)

190. One of the learners: JUFFROU↓  
One of the learners: *TEACHER*↓

191. Teacher A: Kom hie(.) Kom hie (.) Gie jou blaaï ↓  
Teacher A: *Come here (.) come here (.) Give your page*↓

192. One of the learners: JUFFROU↓  
One of the learners: *TEACHER*↓

(Learners start talking simultaneously again- inaudible)

(Teacher says something but her utterance is drowned by learners talking)

193. Teacher A: (To a learner) Ja↓  
Teacher A: (To a learner) *Yes*↓

(One of the learners shows the teacher his worksheet)

(A learner says something inaudible to the teacher)

194. Teacher A: Jy moet die hele blaaï da onne kla maak ↓  
Teacher A: *You must finish everything at the bottom of the page*↓

195. Two learners: (Holding up their worksheets) ↓JUFFROU?↑  
Two learners: (Holding up their worksheets) ↓*TEACHER*?↑

196. Teacher A: (To the two learners holding up their pages) Dais fiïne↓  
Teacher A: (To the two learners holding up their pages) *That's fiïne*↓  
(Another learner shows the teacher his page)



199. Teacher A: Twee lyne da onne ↓

Teacher A: *Two lines at the bottom* ↓

200. Teacher A: (To another learner holding up her page) Jy moet twee lyne maak da onne ↓

Teacher A: ( To another learner holding up her page) *You must make two lines at the bottom* ↓

201. One of the learners: (Demonstrating by drawing in the air) JUFFROU (.) Soe af(.) dan soe af  
?↑

One of the learners: (Demonstrating by drawing in the air) *TEACHER (.) Down like this (.)  
then like this?* ↑

202. Teacher A: (To one of the learners) Hoe lyk it? ↑

Teacher A: (To one of the learners) *How does it look?* ↑

(Camera now on one of the learners and teacher interacting- talk inaudible)

(Camera zooming on the work of one of the learners)

(Teacher helping some of the learners)

203. One of the learners: JUFFROU ek is kla ↓

One of the learners: *TEACHER I am done* ↓

(Two learners fighting)

(Learners talking- inaudible)

204. One of the learners: DAA IS JOUNE ↓

One of the learners: *THERE IS YOURS* ↓

205. Teacher A: ( Pointing to the worksheet of a learner) Nou maak nog ↓

Teacher A: (Pointing to the worksheet of a learner) *Now make more* ↓

(Learners talking- Few screaming- Drowns utterance of teacher- Inaudible)

(Few learners go to the teacher)

206. One of the learners: JUFFROU ↓

One of the learners: *TEACHER* ↓

207. One of the learners: (Playing on the mat) \*ABBY KYK DAA ↓

One of the learners: (Playing on the mat) \**ABBY LOOK THERE* ↓

208. Teacher A: ( To a learner) Maak (.) maak ↓

Teacher A: (To a learner) *Make (.) make* ↓

(Learners laughing in the background)

209. Teacher A: (Takes the worksheet of a learner that interrupted her) Maak jou LLL (.) n groot L en n klein l↓  
 Teacher A: *Draw your L (.) a capital letter LLL and n small l*↓  
 (Learners talking- inaudible)
210. One of the learners: Juffrou as juffrou =  
 One of the learners: *Teacher if teacher =*
211. Another learner: = JUFFROU  
 Another learner: =*TEACHER*  
 (Learners talking- inaudible)  
 (Camera zooms in on the work of a learner)
212. Teacher A: (Overlaps noisy learners) een groot L en n klein l↓  
 Teacher A: (Overlaps noisy learners) *one capital letter L and a small l*↓  
 (Teacher continue to speak but utterance drowned by noise -Inaudible)  
 (Learners continue to talk in background)
213. One of the learners: DAAI ENE ISI ROOI NIE↓  
 One of the learners: *THAT ONE IS NOT RED*↓
214. Teacher A: (To one of the learners) Sit dai in jou boks↓  
 Teacher A: (To one of the learners) *Put that in your box*↓  
 (Camera falling on two learners arguing)
215. Learner: (involved in argument) DAI ENE ISI ROOI NIE ↓  
 Learner: (Involved in argument) *THAT ONE IS NOT RED*↓  
 (Teacher talking to learners- Inaudible)  
 (Learner gets up and goes to the teacher)
216. One of the learners: Juffrou ↓  
 One of the learners: *Teacher*↓  
 (Learners talking amongst themselves- inaudible)  
 (Teacher and learner try to figure out if the crayons are really red by drawing line on a page)  
 (Two learners join the teacher and the learner)  
 (Teacher talks to learner while more learners come to her- Teachers utterance inaudible)
215. Teacher A: (To a learner) Moenie dit soe makie ↓

Teacher A: (To a learner) *Do not make it like that* ↓

216. One of the learners: EN EKKE ↓

One of the learners: *AND ME* ↓

(Teacher talking in the background- inaudible)

217. One of the learners: WIE WIL DIE COLOUR HE? ↑

One of the learners: *WHO WANTS THIS COLOUR?* ↑

218. One of the learners: Eke ↓

One of the learners: *Me* ↓

219. Teacher A: (Pointing to the worksheet of a learner) Soes dai ene ↓

Teacher A: (Pointing to the worksheet of a learner) *Like that one* ↓

220. Learner: (Showing the teacher his worksheet) {↓Juffrou? ↑}

Learner: (showing the teacher his worksheet) {↓*Teacher?* ↑}

221. Learner: NEE EK HET VI HA DIE ENE GEHOU ↓

Learner: *NO I KEPT THIS ONE FOR HER* ↓

222. Teacher A: Dai isi hane nie ↓

Teacher A: *That is not hers* ↓

223. One of the learners: Nie ↓

One of the learners: *No* ↓

(Learners talking simultaneously- Inaudible)

(Camera zooming on girl colouring the pictures)

224. One of the learners: (To a fellow learner) \*MARK (.) N LEPEL ↓

One of the learners: (To a fellow learner) \**MARK (.) A SPOON* ↓

(Teacher points to something on learner's worksheet)

(Learner says something- Inaudible)

225. Teacher A: (In background) Jy kan jou bord gan weg sit(.) Jy kan jou bord gan weg sit↓

Teacher A: (In background) *You can go put your board away (.) You can go put your board away*↓

226. Learner: (Excited that he can go put his board away) JAA↓

Learner: (Excited that he can go put his board away) *YEES* ↓

(Teacher continue to talk in background Inaudible)

227. Teacher A: ENE (.) vat ene ↓

Teacher A: *One (.) take one*↓

(Camera falls on the rest of the class and the teacher sitting on her chair still helping learners)

(Learners packing up their boards and putting it away)

228. Teacher A: (To one of the learners) Is jy kla?↑

Teacher A: (To one of the learners) *Are you done?*↑

(Learner nods)

229. Teacher A: (To the same learner) Gan sit =

Teacher A: (To the same learner) *Go sit=*

230. One of the learners: =\*MUNEEBA↓

231. Teacher A: Tel gou vi my die bord op en sit hom weg ↓

Teacher A: *Pick the board up for me quickly and put it away*↓

(Two learners go to the teacher with their worksheets)

(Camera falls back on learners still working on the mat)

(Learners talking simultaneously- inaudible)

232. One of the learners: JUFFROU↓

One of the learners: *TEACHER*↓

(Learners talking- inaudible)

233. One of the learners: (States while pointing to worksheet) JUFFROU KAN EK SOE

MAAK?↑

One of the learners: (States while pointing to worksheet) *TEACHER CAN I DO IT LIKE THIS?*↑

234. Teacher A: Nie ↓

Teacher A: *No*↓

(One of the learners screams)

235. One of the learners: ( States while hitting a girl walking past) \*ESSIE↓

236. Learner: (That was hit) EINA↓

Learner: (That was hit) *OUCH*↓

(Camera zooms in on a “coloured” learner and African learner)

(One of the learners says something to the teacher - Inaudible)

(Learners continue to chat in the background)

235. Learner: (“Coloured” learner to African pupil next to her) – {I- lekese↓}(...)

Learner: (“Coloured” learner to African pupil next to her) {*Sweet*↓}(...)

(“Coloured” learner that continues with her own exercise)

236. Learner: (Turning to African pupil again) {*Irenji*↓}

Learner: (Turning to African pupil again) {*Orange*↓}

(“Coloured” learner goes back to completing her own exercise)

(Teacher asks a group of learners a question- inaudible due to learners chatting in the background)

237. Teacher: \*Peter (.) jy kan joune in die boks sit↓

Teacher: \**Peter (.) you can put yours in the box*↓

238. Teacher: (In the background) Eer \*Nadine nog een hie onne (.) dan an jy dit in jou boks sit.

(.) Nog een hie onne ↓

Teacher A: *Eer Nadine another one here at the bottom (.) then you can put it in your box*

(.) *One more at the bottom*↓

(Learners laughing in the background)

239. Teacher A: Jy kan joune weg sit↓

Teacher A: *You can put yours away*↓

(Learners still talking and walking around)

240. One of the learners: NEE ↓

One of the learners: *NO* ↓

(Learners that are done starts playing on mat)

(Learner sitting next to the teacher tells the teacher something- inaudible)

241. Teacher A: (To a learner) In jou boks ↓

Teacher A: (To a learner) *In your box* ↓

(Learners continue to talk in the background- Inaudible due to simultaneous speech)

242. Teacher A: (Addressing class) Sit in jou boks (.) Die mense wat klaar is kom sit hier op die mat ↓

Teacher A: (Addressing class) *Go put it in your box (.) The people that are done come sit op die mat* ↓

(Learners continue to talk and play)

243. One of the learners: Juffrou ↓

One of the learners: *Teacher* ↓

(Learner makes sounds)

244. Teacher A: ( Addressing one of the learners) Kom sit op die mat ↓

Teacher A: ( Addressing one of the learners) *Come sit on the mat* ↓

245. One of the learners: Juffrou ↓

One of the learners: *Teacher* ↓

246. One of the learners: (To a fellow learner) Ja my ma=

One of the learners: (To a fellow learner) *Yes my mother=*

247. Teacher A: =Dankie hoo

Teacher A: = *Thank you hey*

(Learners continue to talk)

248. One of the learners: NEEE ↓

One of the learners: *NOO* ↓

(Talking in background)

249. Another learner: Juffrou ↓

Another learner: *Teacher* ↓

250. Teacher A: (Addressing group of learners that are running around in the class) JULLE MOS  
ALMAL KLA (.) KOM SIT OP DIE MAT ↓

Teacher A: (Addressing group of learners that are running around in the class) *YOU GUYS ARE ALL DONE (.)KOM SIT ON THE MAT*↓

(Teacher gets up and walks towards learners playing in class)



## Appendix 6- Teacher A- Storytelling

Area: Manenberg

School: School A

Class: Grade R Class (Foundation Phase)

Medium of Instruction: Afrikaans

Participants: Teacher A and her grade r learners

Background: The transcription below involves a storytelling session in the classroom of teacher A. The storytelling session is quite interactive in nature as the teacher often encourages participation. The speakers here includes teacher A and most of the pupils in her class.

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS			
English Translation	Italics	Additional Information	( )
Short Pause	(.)	Question	?
Long Pause	(...)	Name Changed ( Pseudonym)	*
Overlapping	=	Intonation: High Pitch	↑
Simultaneous speech	[ ]	Intonation: Low Pitch	↓
High Volume	Capital Letters	False Start	-
Low Volume	{ }		

1. Teacher: Kruis jou bene ↓(.) Hand in die skoot↓(.) Maak hul oop↓(...)

Teacher: *Cross your legs*↓(.) *Hands in the lap*↓(.) *Open them*↓(...)

2. Learners: [Maak hul oop↓]

Learners: [*Open them*↓]



3. Teacher: Maak hul toe↓  
Teacher: *Close them* ↓

(Teacher and learners doing the actions)

4. Learners: [Maak hul toe↓]  
Learners: [*Close them*↓]

5. Teacher: Maak hul oop ↓  
Teacher: *Open them*↓

6. Learners: [Maak hul oop↓]  
Learners: [*Open them*↓]

7. Teacher: Maak hul toe ↓  
Teacher: *Close them*↓

8. Learners: [Maak hul toe↓ ]  
Learners: [*Close them*↓]



9. Teacher: Vou hom netjie soos ‘n boot ↓  
Teacher: *Fold him neatly like a boat*↓

10. Learners: [Vou dit netjies soos a boot↓ ]  
Learners: [*Fold it neatly like a boat*↓]

11. Teacher: Maak hul oop↓  
Teacher: *Open them*↓

12. Learners: [Maak hul oop↓ ]  
Learners: [*Open them*↓]

13. Teacher: Maak hul toe↓

Teacher: *Close them*↓

14. Learners: [Maak hul toe↓]

Learners: [*Close them*↓]

15. Teacher: Vou dit netjies in jou ↓(...)

Teacher: *Fold it neatly in your*↓(...)

16. Learners: [skoot↓]

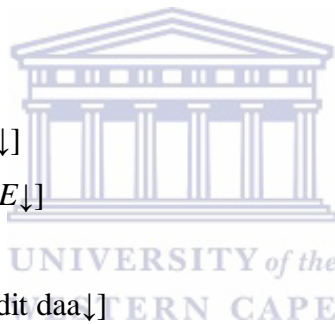
Learners: [*lap*↓]

17. Teacher: En hou DIT↓(...)

Teacher: *and keep it* ↓(...)

18. Teacher and Learners: [ DAA↓]

Teacher and Learners: [*THERE*↓]



19. Some of the earners: [En hou dit daa↓]

Some of the learners: [*And keep it there*↓]

20. Teacher: (Turns her focus towards a group of learners) Ons wag vi daai mense om klaar te maak↓

Teacher: (Turns her focus towards a group of learners) *We waiting on those people to get done*↓

(Camera focuses on the group of learners being addressed)

(Camera now back on teacher sitting on her chair and the learners on the mat)

21. Teacher: Juffrou gan nou vi jou a storie vitel van die (.) wurm (.) ne (.) Sit jou hand in jou skoot

Teacher: *Teacher is now going to tell you a story about the (.) worm (.) ok) (.) Put your hand in your lap*

(Learners follow the instruction and put their hands in their laps)

22. Teacher: ↑EENDAG was daar a wurm wat in die woud gebly het ↓

Teacher: ↑*ONE DAY there was a worm that lived in the woods* ↓

(More learners join on the mat)

23. Teacher: En hyt met sy vrinne gespeel (.) Eendag toe skrik hy wakker en hy is nou baie (.) honger (.) en hy staan op en hy begin blare afpik (Teacher and some of the learners do the actions) en hy eet en eet en eet (.) Toe hy klaar is met die blaar is hy nog altyd...

Teacher: *And he played with his friends (.) One day he woke up and he was very (.) hungry (.) and he then started to pick leaves (Teacher and some of the learners do the actions) and he ate and he ate and he ate. (.) When he had eaten the leaves (.) he was still...*

24. Learners: [Honger]=

Learners: [*Hungry*] =



25. Teacher: (Camera now back on the teacher) = En hy vat toe nog n blaar en hy eet en hy eet en hy eet en hys klaar (.) (Touches her stomach) >>Oe ek is nog honger man<< (.) En hy gan hal nog n blaar en hy eet en hy eet en hy eet maar hy is nog altydi vollie (.) (Learner come sits on mat) Kruip a bietjie nader na nog a blaar (.) plik die blaar en (Makes eating sounds) >>Nou is ek a bietjie<<- (pretends to be yawning) >>ek voel nou<< (.) >>ek wil gan slap<< (.) Die sprinkaan kom viby en se <<ou WURM kom ons gan nou dam toe ons gan speel>> (.)>> Nee loop julle ma (.) ek gan ma bietjie (.) slap<<

Teacher: *And he then then he takes another leaf and he eats and eats and eats and eats and he was done (.) (Touches her stomach) Oh I'm still hungry man (.) and he fetches another leave and he eats and eats and eats but he is still not full (.) (Learner come sits on mat) Crawls to another leaf (.) picks the leave and (makes eating noises) Now I'm a little- (pretends to be yawning) I feel like (.) I want to sleep (.) The grasshopper came past and said WORM come we going to the lake to go play (.) No you guys can go (.) I'm going to (.) sleep a little*

26. Some of the Learners: [Slaap]

Some of the learners: [*Sleep*]

27. Teacher: Hy slaap ma toe 'n bietjie (.) en hy slaap so en hy slaap en hy droom a lekker droom en hy skrik daa wakker en hy se (.) jong (.) ek is nog altyd =

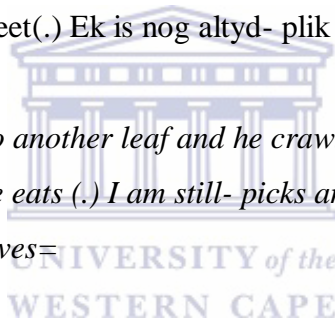
Teacher: *He then slept a little (.) and he slept and he slept and he dreamt a nice dream Camera and he then woke up and he said (.) I am still =*

28. Some of the Learners:= [HONGER]

Some of the Learners: = [*HUNGRY*]

29. Teacher: =en hy gan weer na 'n nog 'n blaar toe en hy kruip kruip kruip en hy plik hom (Making eating sounds) en hy eet(.) Ek is nog altyd- plik nog a blaar en hy (Making eating sounds again) -Hoeveel blare=

Teacher: = *and he then went to another leaf and he crawls crawls crawls and he picks it (Making eating sounds) and he eats (.) I am still- picks another leaf and he (Making eating sounds again) - How many leaves=*



30. One of the learners: =ses=

One of the learners: =*six*=

31. Teacher: = Hoeveel blare het hy nou geeet?

Teacher: = *How many leaves did he still eat?*

32. Learners: [Vyf ]

Learners: [*Five*]

(One of the learners holds up five fingers)

33. Teacher: SES (.) YOR (.) Ek is nog altyd (.) honger(.) Hy gan hal nog a blaar (Making eating sounds) Nou daai blare was dam baie lekker hy was SOET (.) Ek hoop daas nog ene.(.)

Ek sien of hierdie ene soet is (Making eating sounds) Oe dai ene was nie soe soetie ma ok ek het het hom ma geeet man (.) ai ek bly honger

Teacher: *Six (.) WOW (.) I am still (.) hungry (.) He then fetched another leaf (Making eating sounds) Now that leaf was very nice (.) It was SWEET (.) I hope there's another one (.) Let me see if this one is sweet. (Making eating sounds) Oh that one was not so sweet but okay I ate it nonetheless (.) I am always hungry*

34. Teacher: Die volgende dag kom sy vrinne weer vir hom soek. (Imitating worm's friends)

Wurm gaan jy kom speel? (Imitating worm) Nee gaan julle ma (.) ek sal later speel Teacher: *The following day worm's friends came looking for him again (Imitating worm's friends) Worm are u going to come play? (Imitating worm) No you guys can go ahead. (.) I will play later*

35. Teacher: Wurm klim weer in die boom in (.) pluk a nog a blaar en (.) (Teacher and learners making eating sounds) hy eet heeldag (.) en toe hy nou heeltemal vol is (.) toe se hy ek voel nou nie lekker nie

Teacher: *Worm climbed in the tree again (.) picked another leaf and (.) (Teacher and learners making eating sounds) he ate all day (.) and when he was totally stuffed (.) he said that he does not feel so good*

(Learners whispering)

36. Teacher: Ek dink ek moet maar gaan...

Teacher: *I think I should go...*

37. Some of the learners: [slaap]

Some of the learners: [*sleep*]

38. Teacher: Ma ek dink ek moet a lang slaap vat (.) Ek gaan vir my toe draai (.) Dink julle ek moet my toe draai?

Teacher: *But I think I should take a long sleep (.) I am going to wrap myself close (.) Do you guys think I should wrap myself close?*

39. Some of the learners: [Ja]

Some of the learners: [*Yes*]

40. Teacher: Dan kan niemand vir my sienie (.) Heeltemal toe

Teacher: *Then no one will be able to see me (.) Totally covered*

41. Some of the learners: [*Ja*]

Some of the learners: [*Yes*]

42. Teacher: En dan kan niemand vir my steur nie

Teacher: *And then no one can disturb me*

(Learner coughs)

43. Teacher: Hulle sal vir my net so los (.) en hy draai homself HEELTEMAL toe

Teacher: *They will leave me alone (.) and he TOTALLY covers himself*

(Teacher and learners pretending to wrap themselves in something.)

44. Teacher: Hy maak hom toe van die tone (.) (Teacher and learners still pretending to wrap themselves) en die kop maak hy toe (.) en daa hang hy in die boom (.) (Teacher whispering) en hy slaap en hy slaap (.) Sy vrinne kom en hulle vra waa is wurm (.) Wurm was dan hie in die boom ma ek sien dan nou nie vir wurm nie(.) en hulle los ma vir wurm want hulle weeti waar om te soekie

Teacher: *He closes himself from head to toe (.) and hangs in the tree (.) (Teacher and learners still pretending to wrap themselves) and there he hung in the tree. (Teacher whispering) and he slept and slept (.) His friends came and asked where worm (.) is He was then here in the tree but I do not see him. (.) And they decided to leave him as they did not know where to look*

(Learners giggle)

45. Teacher: Wurm SLAAAAAP (Pretending to be sleeping)

Teacher: *Worm is SLEEEEEPING* (Pretending to be sleeping)

(Learners giggle again)

46. Teacher: EN TOE SKRIK WURM WAKKER en se nou voel ek darem beter (.) HOE LYK DIT DAN SOE DONKER HIE BINNE (.) Ek is dam in a donke plek(.) Ek hou nie van hierdie plek nie (.) Wie hou van a donker plek?

Teacher: *AND THEN WORM WOKE UP and said that he now feels much better (.) Why does it look so dark in here (.) I am in a very dark place (.) I do not like dark places (.) Who likes a dark place?*

47. Few of the learners: [EKE]

Few of the learners: [ME]

(Some of the learners raise their hands)

48. Teacher: (Surprised) ↓Hou jy daa van as dit donker is? ↑

Teacher: ↓*Do you like it when it is dark?* ↑

49. Few of the Learners: [JAAAAA↓ ]

Few of the Learners: [YEEEEES↓]

(One of the learners trying to get the teacher's attention)

50. Teacher: Ek hou daa van as die lig an is en as die sonskyn want dan kan ek sien↓

Teacher: *I like it when the light is on and when the sun is shining because then I can see*↓

51. One of the learners: Juffrou toe die krag afgegan het by os en toe maak my pa my bang giste aand ↓

One of the Learners: *Teacher last night when our electricity went out my father scared me*↓

52. Teacher: ↓Was julle krag af? ↑

Teacher: ↓*Was your electricity off?* ↑

(Learner nods)

53. Teacher: ↓En- en toe? ↑Toe uhm wat maak julle? ↑

Teacher: ↓*And and then?* ↑ *Uhm what did you guys do?* ↑

54. Learner: Toe sit my ouma `n lig an ↓

Learner: *So my grandma switched on a light* ↓

55. Teacher: Op ha phone? ↑

Teacher: *On her phone?* ↑

(Learner nods)

56. Teacher: Het julle nie kersies nie? ↑

Teacher: *Don't you have candles?* ↑

(Learner shakes her head to indicate no)

57. Teacher: Toe sit julle almal in die donker? ↑

Teacher: *So you all sat in the dark?* ↑

(Learner nods)

58. Teacher: Was dit lekker? ↑

Teacher: *Was it nice?* ↑

(Learner shakes her head to indicate no)

(Simultaneous speech- inaudible)

59. Teacher: (To one of the learners) Wag gou ↓

Teacher: (To one of the learners) *Hold on* ↓

60. One of the learners: JUFFROU JUFFROU

One of the learners: *TEACHER TEACHER*

(Teacher looks at learners calling out)

61. Learner: Juffrou as(.) uhm as dit donker is dan (.) dan speel ons nog byte ↓

Learner: *Teacher when (.) uhm it is dark already then (.) then we still play outside* ↓

62. Teacher: (Surprised) Dan speel julle nog byte? ↑

Teacher: *Then you guys are still playing outside?* ↑

(Learner nods)

63. Teacher: Ma as dit donker is waa moet jy wees? ↑

Teacher: *But if it is dark where should you be?* ↑

64. Some of the learners: IN DIE HUIS ↓



Some of the learners: *IN THE HOUSE* ↓

65. Teacher: IN DIE HUIS JA ↓

Teacher: *IN THE HOUSE YES* ↓

(Simultaneous speech- inaudible)

66. Teacher: (To one of the learners) Wat wil jy vir my gese? ↑

Teacher: (To one of the learners) *What did you want to tell me?* ↑

(Simultaneous speech)

67. One of the learners: Mense steel jou ↓

One of the learners: *People kidnap you* ↓

(One of the learners making gunshot sounds)

68. One of the learners: As dit donker is dan gaan slaap jy ↓

One of the learners: *When it gets dark then you should go sleep* ↓

UNIVERSITY of the

69. Teacher: Ja is dit donker is (.) moet jy uhm gaan was en gaan (.) slaap ↓

Teacher: *Yes when it is dark (.) you uhm should wash and (.) sleep* ↓

(Learners chatting)

71. Teacher: Okay ↓ (.) nou wurm was in die- en hy skrik wakke ↓ (pretending to be waking up) en hy kan hom nie (.) roer nie ↓ en hy begin KAP KAP en breek dit oop ↓ (Pretending to crawl out of the cocoon) ↑ EK MOET YD KOM (.) ↓ ↑ EK HOU NIE-HOU NIE VAN WANEER DIT SO DONKER IS NIE ↓ (.) en toe hy yt kom sien hy die sonskyn ↓ (.) en hy kom yt ↓ (.) hy rek dit en maak dit oop ↓ (.) en toe hy yt kom toe kom sy? ↑

*Okay (.) now worm was is this- and then he woke ↓ (pretending to be waking up) and he could not (.) move and he started HITTING and HITTING until it broke ↓ (Pretending to crawl out of the cocoon) ↑ I MUST GET OUT OF HERE ↓ (.) ↑ I DO NOT- I DO NOT LIKE IT WHEN IT IS DARK ↓ (.) and when he was out he saw that the sun was shining ↓ (.) and he stretched the cocoon open even wider ↓ (.) ↓ and when he was finally out he was a? ↑*

81. One of the learners: ↑BUTTERFLY ↓

82. Teacher: ↓Toe kom sy vlerke yt en hy is nie meer `n? ↑

Teacher: ↓*Then his wings appeared and he was no longer a?*↑

83. Few of the learners: [↑WURM↓ ]

Few of the learners: ↑[WORM↓]

84. Teacher: ↓Wie kan my se wat was hy? ↑

Teacher: ↓*Who can tell me what he was?* ↑

85. Few of the learners: [↑N BUTTERFLY↓]

Few of the learners: ↑[A BUTTERFLY↓]

86. Teacher: Nie `n butterfly nie ↓ (.) a ↑SKOENLAPPER↓ (Correcting the learners for not using the proper Afrikaans word for “butterfly”)

Teacher: *Not a butterfly* ↓ (.) ↑SKOENLAPPER↓ (Correcting the learners for not using the proper Afrikaans word for “butterfly”)

87. Few of the learners: [SKOENLAPPER↓]

Few of the learners: [BUTTERFLY↓]

88. Teacher: Ja ↓ (.) a skoenlapper ↓ (.) ↓en wat kan hy nou doen?↑ (Pretending to be flying)

Teacher: *Yes* ↓ (.) *a butterfly* ↓ (.) ↓ *and what can he now do?*↑ (Pretending to be flying)

89. Few of the learners: [↑VLIEG↓]

Few of the learners: [↑FLY↓]

90. Teacher: Ja hy kan nou vlieg (.) Toe hy `n wurm was toe kon hy vlieg?↑

Teacher: *Yes he can now fly* (.) *When he was a worm could he fly?*↑

91. Some of the learners: [NEE]

Some of the learners: [NO]

92. Teacher: Hy kon net?↑

Teacher: *He could just?*↑

93. Some of the learners: [KRYP ]

Some of the learners: [CRAWL]

94. Teacher: Ja (.) Nou is hy `n skoenlapper en hy kan in die rondte vlieg ↓

Teacher: *Yes (.) Now he is a butterfly and he can fly around*↓

(Learners chatting amongst each other)

95. Teacher: Hy het verander van a wurm na n (.) ↑

Teacher: *He changed from a worm to a (.)*↑

96. Some of the learners: [SKOENLAPPER]

Some of the learners: [BUTTERFLY]

97. Teacher: So ons kan ook verander (.) as ons klein is word ons ( indicating with her hand)  
groter en groter (.) en dan verander ons↓

Teacher: *so we can also change (.) when we are small we can become (indicating with her hand) bigger and bigger (.) and then we change*↓

(Some learners putting up their hands)

98. Teacher: Maar wat moet jy doen om te groei?↑

Teacher: *But what must you do in order to grow?*↑

(Some learners give inaudible answers)

99. Teacher: Nee (.) jy moet eet en gaan (.) slaap↓

Teacher: *No (.) you should eat and go (.) sleep*↓

100. One of the learners: Juffrou↑

On of the learners: *Teacher*↑

101. Teacher: Hulle moetie byte speel as dit donker issi (.) agt uur moet jy in die bed is (.) en jou jou ma moet jou a storie vertel ↓

Teacher: *They should not not play outside when it is dark already (.) eight a clock your mom should be in bed (.) and your mom should tell you a story*↓

102. One of the learners: Juffrou ek sing myself aan die slaap↓

One of the learners: *Teacher I sing myself to sleep*↓

103. Teacher: Issit↑ (.) wat sing jy?↑

Teacher: *Is it*↑ (.) *what do you sing?*↑

(Learner becomes shy and hides her face. A few seconds later the learner starts singing)

104. Teacher: OH jy sing daai ene↓

Teacher: *OH u singing that one*↓

(Learners chatting amongst themselves)

105. One of the learners: Juffrou my pa roek entjies ne↓ (.) daa by ons huis↓ (.) en dagga↓

One of the learners: *Teacher my dad smokes cigarettes ↓(.) at our house↓ (.) and marijuana*↓

(Learners laugh)

106. Teacher: (Looking embarrassed) Hy kan mos nie dit doenie↓

Teacher: (*Looking embarrassed*) *He cannot do that* ↓

(Learners laugh harder)

98: One of the learners: *My boeta roek ook dagga* ↓

One of the learners: *My brother also smokes marijauna* ↓

99. Teacher: *Oh* ↓ (.) *kan kinders dagga rook?* ↑

Teacher: *Oh* ↓ (.) *can children smoke marijuana?* ↑

100: Some of the learners: [NEEEE ↓]

Some of the learners: [NOOO ↓]

101. One of the learners: ↑*DIE BOERE GAAN HULLE OPTEL* ↓

One of the learners: ↑*THE POLICE IS GOING TO PICK THEM UP* ↓

102. Teacher: ↓*DIE WIE?* ↑ (.) *Se vir my nog a worod vir boere* ↓

Teacher: ↓*THE WHO?* ↑ (.) *Give me another word for “boere”* ↓

103. One of the learners: ↑*POLISIE* ↓

One of the learners: ↑*POLICE* ↓

104. Teacher: *JAAA* ↓ (.) *polisie* ↓

Teacher: *YEEES* ↓ (.) *police* ↓

105: One of the learners: *Dan sit hulle jou in die tronk* ↓

One of the learners: *Then they put you in jail* ↓

106. Teacher: *Ja want jy het iets verkeerd gedoen* ↓

Teacher: *Yes because you did something wrong* ↓

107. Teacher: Vou nou jou hande en maak jou oe toe↓

Teacher: *Now fold your hands and close your eyes*↓

(Teacher starts praying and pupils join in)

108. Teacher: Goeie middag juffrou en goeie middag maats (.) en goeie middag aan ons gaste↓

Teacher: *Good afternoon teacher and good afternoon friends (.) and good to our guests*↓

(Class repeats after teacher)

109. Teacher: As ek jou naam roep (.) kom haal jou huiswerk boek en sak en maak n lyn↓

Teacher: *When I call out your name(.) come fetch your homework book and bag and form a line* ↓



## Appendix 7-Teacher B's class- Reading book together

Research Area: Manenberg

School: School B

Class: Grade R Class (Foundation Phase)

Medium of Instruction: English

Participants: Teacher B and her grade r learners

Background: The transcription below is a reading exercise which occurred in the classroom of teacher B. During this specific reading exercise the pupils are reading the book “Go Away Floppy” as a class, while the teacher sits in front holding up the book.

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS			
English Translation	Italics	Additional Information	( )
Short Pause	(.)	Question	?
Long Pause	(...)	Name Changed ( Pseudonym)	*
Overlapping	=	Intonation: High Pitch	↑
Simultaneous speech	[ ]	Intonation: Low Pitch	↓
High Volume	Capital Letters	False Start	-
Low Volume	{ }		
Low Volume	{ }		

(Learners gather on the mat. Teacher sits down in front of the class with a book titled “Go away Floppy”)

1. Teacher: (To one of the learners) ↑INFRONT↓ (.) Move in ↓
2. One of the learners: ↓Huh?↑
3. Teacher: Move in↓ (.) (To a learner that is not sitting down.) Sit↓ (.) ↑NOW ↓(.) sit↓ (.) (To one of the learners.) Give that block to me ↓(...)

(Some learners chatting in the background.)

4. Teacher: ↑SSSSHHHHHHH↓ (Silencing the learners.) (.) All of you sit down ne↓ (.) ( To one of the learners) ↓Are you done?↑ (.) Come ↓(Teacher points to the title of the book)
5. A few learners: [FLOPPY↓] - [GO AWAY↓] =
6. Teacher: =↑NO↓
7. Learners: [GO AWAY FLOPPY↓]
8. A few learners: (While the teacher is still opening the book.) [We are↓]=
9. Teacher: =↑HA AH↓ (.) ↑HA AH↓

(Teacher points to words on the first page)

10. Learners: [GO AWAY FLOPPY↓]

(Teacher pages book and points to words on the second page)

11. Learners: [GO AWAY FLOPPY↓]

(Teacher points to the words on the third page)

12. Learners: [WE ARE SKIPPING↓] UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE  
(Learner coughs)

(Teacher points to next page and to words)

13. Learners: [GO AWAY FLOPPY WE ARE↓] =
14. Teacher: (Points to comma) = ↓What did I say? ↑↓What must we do here?↑ (.)↓ What is it called?↑
15. Learners: [PAUSE↓]
16. Teacher: NO↓ (.) ↓What is it called?↑
17. Learners: [COMMA↓]
18. Teacher: ↓It is called a?↑ (.) COMMA↓ (.) ↓and if we see a comma we?↑ (.)
19. Learners: [STOP↓]
20. Teacher: Right↓ (.) We pause there hey↓

(Teacher points to words.)



21. Learners: [GO AWAY↓ (.) FLOPPY↓]

(Teacher points to words on next page.)

22. Learners: [WE ARE PAINTING↓]

23. Teacher: ↓We are?↑ (.)

24. Learners: [PAINTING↓]

(Teacher flips the page and points to words.)

25. Learners: [COME BACK↓]=

26. Teacher: = No you must rest here↓

27. Learners: [COME BACK↓ (.) FLOPPY↓]

28. Teacher: (Points to full stop)↓ What do we call this here?↑

29. A few learners: [FULL↓]

30. Teacher: ↓A?↑ (.)

31. A few learners: [FULL↓ - FULL STOP↓]

32. Teacher: Yes↓ (.) A full stop yes↓



(Teacher points to words again.)

WESTERN CAPE

33. Learners: [FLOPPY↓ (.) COME BACK↓]

34. One of learners: FLOPPY↓

(Teacher flips page and points words.)

35. Learners: [WE ARE SORRY↓]

36. Teacher: There we go↓

(Flips back to the first page.)

37. Teacher: (Points to the words “Floppy”) What is that word?↑

38. Very few learners: [FLOPPY↓]

39. Teacher: (Points to the word “Go”) ↓And that word?↑

40. Very few learners: [GO↓]

41. Teacher: (Points to the word “away”) ↓And that one?↑

42. Very few learners: [AWAY↓]

43. Teacher: (Goes to third page and points at the word “skipping”) ↓And what is that word?↑
44. Very few learners: [SKIPPING↓]
45. Teacher: (Points to the word “are”) ↓And that one?↑
46. A few learners: [ARE↓]
47. Teacher: (Points to the word “go”) ↓And that one?↑
48. A Few learners: [FLOPPY↓]
49. Teacher: (Looks at one of the learners.) I’m watching you ↓(.) and (Points to the word “go” again.) (.) ↓That word?↑
50. A few learners: [GO↓]
51. Teacher: (Points to the word “painting”) ↓That one?↑
52. Two learners: [PAINTING↓]
53. Teacher: (Points to the word “we”) ↓That word?↑
54. Few learners: [WE↓]
55. Teacher: (Points to the word “are again.) ↓That word?↑
56. A few learners: [ARE↓]
57. Teacher: (Points to the word “skipping” again)
58. A few learners: [PAINTING↓]
59. Teacher: ↑YOU LIE (.) PAINTING↓
60. All the learners: [PAINTING↓]

(Learners start a making noise)

61. Teacher: ↑HA AH↓
62. Teacher: (Points to the word “back”) ↓And (.) that word?↑

(No one answers)

63. Teacher:(Still pointing to the word “back”) ↓What is that word?↑
64. A few learners: {[Back↓]}
65. Teacher: (Still pointing to the word “back”)↓ So what is that word?↑
66. Most of the learners: [BACK↓]
67. Teacher: Ja↓ Yes↓ (.) (Points to the word “we”) ↓aaaaaand what is that word?↑
68. Majority of the learners: [WE↓]

69. Teacher: (Points to the word “sorry”) ↓Aaaaaand this one here?↑

70. Majority of the learners: [SORRY↓]

71. Teacher: ↓So who’s gonna read alone?↑

72. A few learners: [↑ME↓]

73. Teacher: Sit down↓ (.) sit↓ (.) ↓and\*Natasha?↑ (.) Go ↓(.) \*Tammy gan nie ent kry nie↓(.)

\*Tammy is op stage nou↓ (Teacher laughs) \*Tammy is op stage vidag↓

Teacher: *Sit down*↓ (.) *sit*↓ (.)↓ *and* \*Natasha?↑ (.) *Go*↓ (.) \*Tammy will not let this go↓ (.)

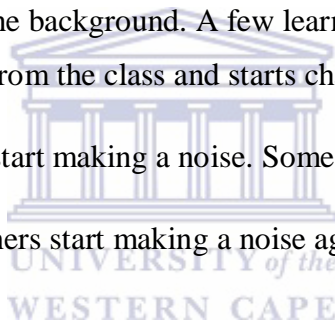
\*Tammy is on stage now↓ (Teacher laughs) \*Tammy is on stage today↓

(Learners start making a noise. Some learners get up.)

(A lot of learners chatting in the background. A few learners jumps up. Two learners get up, moves away from the class and starts chatting in IsiXhosa.)

(Learners start making a noise. Some learners get up.)

74. Teacher: ↑SIT \*Tammy (Learners start making a noise again.) ↓\*TAMMY?↑



## Appendix 8 - Teacher B-English mother tongue speaker reading alone

Research Area: Manenberg

School: School B

Class: Grade R Class (Foundation Phase)

Medium of Instruction: English

Participants: Teacher B and a grade r learner

Background: After the class had read the book “Go Away Floppy together, pupils in the class were asked to come to the front and read the book individually. The first learner to read the book alone was an English mother tongue speaker. This learner is referred to as learner 1

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS			
English Translation	Italics	Additional Information	( )
Short Pause	(.)	Question	?
Long Pause	(...)	Name Changed ( Pseudonym)	*
Overlapping	=	Intonation: High Pitch	↑
Simultaneous speech	[ ]	Intonation: Low Pitch	↓
High Volume	Capital Letters	False Start	-
Low Volume	{ }		

(Teacher points to words on the first page.)

(A few learners chat amongst themselves.)

1. Learner 1: Go (.) away (.) Floppy↓

(Teacher turns page and points to words.)

2. Learner 1: Go (.) away (.) Floppy↓

(Teacher points to words on the next page.)

3. Learner 1: We (.) are (.) skipping↓

(Teacher flips page and points to words)

4. Learner 1: Go (.) away (.) Floppy (.) We (.) are (.) painting↓

(Some learners chatting)

(Teacher flips page and points to the words.)

5. Learner 1: Come back Floppy (.) Floppy come (.) back↓

(Teacher flips page while learners continue to chat in the background. Points to the words.)

6. Learner 1: We are sorry↓

7. Teacher: (Looks at the class) Who now?↑

8. A few learners: [↑ME]



## Appendix 9- Teacher B-Afrikaans mother tongue speaker reading alone

Research Area: Manenberg

School: School B

Class: Grade R Class (Foundation Phase)

Medium of Instruction: English

Participants: Teacher B and her grade r learner

Background: The second learner to read the book “Go Away Floppy” alone was an Afrikaans mother tongue speaker with English as second language. This learner will be referred to as learner 2.

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS			
English Translation	Italics	Additional Information	( )
Short Pause	(.)	Question	?
Long Pause	(...)	Name Changed ( Pseudonym)	*
Overlapping	=	Intonation: High Pitch	↑
Simultaneous speech	[ ]	Intonation: Low Pitch	↓
High Volume	Capital Letters	False Start	-
Low Volume	{ }		

- 
1. Teacher: One boy now↓ (.) \*John come↓ (.) (Points to a few learners) then you↓ (.) then you↓ (.) (Addresses the boy standing next to her) Take your cap off (.) Take your cap off ↓(.) Now what’s the book- What’s the name of the book? ↑( Points to the title of the book)

(Learner 2 says something inaudible)

2. Teacher: ↑Ha ah

(Teacher points to the title of the book again)

3. Learner 2: (... ) Go (.) away (.) Floppy↓

(Teacher opens the book and points to words on the first page)

4. Learner 2: (... )Go (.) away (.) Floppy↓

(Teacher flips page and points to words)

5. Learner 2: Go (.) away (.) Floppy (.) We are skipping↓

(Teacher pages book and points to words)

6. Learner 2: Go away Floppy (.) We (.) are (.) painting↓

(Teacher goes to next page and points to the word “come”)

7. Learner 2: Go↓=

8. Teacher: =No↓ (.) Come↓

9. Learner 2: Come (.)back (.) Floppy↓ (.) Floppy come back↓

(Teacher flips page and points to words)

10. Learner 2 We (.) are sorry↓

11. Teacher: (Points to the word “come”) With what does that word start?↑

12. Learner 2: (... ) K↓

13. Teacher: (Points to the word “back”) and that?↑

14. Learner 2: B↓

15. Teacher: A “b” yes ↓(.) ↑NICE

16. A few learners: [↑ME (.)TEACHER]

(A learner comes forward and starts reading]

## Appendix 10- IsiXhosa first language speaker reading alone

Research Area: Manenberg

School: School B

Class: Grade R Class (Foundation Phase)

Medium of Instruction: English

Participants: Teacher B and her grade R learner

Background: This transcription is of another isiXhosa pupil reading the prescribed book alone. This pupil too has English as third language and will be referred to as learner 5

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS			
English Translation	Italics	Additional Information	( )
Short Pause	(.)	Question	?
Long Pause	(...)	Name Changed ( Pseudonym)	*
Overlapping	=	Intonation: High Pitch	↑
Simultaneous speech	[ ]	Intonation: Low Pitch	↓
High Volume	Capital Letters	False Start	-
Low Volume	{ }		

(Learners chatting in the background.)

1. Learner 5: (...) Go↓ (.) away↓=
2. Teacher: = You must read hard↓ (.) ↑YOU MUST READ HARD↓
3. One of the learners: FLOPPY↓
4. Teacher: ↑SSSHHHHH↓ (Silencing learners)
5. Learner 5: Floppy↓



(Teacher pages book and points at words on page)

6. One of the learners: ↑DELANDA↓
7. Teacher: ↑SSSSSHHHH↓ (Silencing learners)
8. Learner 5: (...) Go↓ (...) away↓ (.) ↓Floppy?↑ (.) Come back↓
9. Teacher: ↑NOOOO↓
10. Learner 5: ↑HAAAIBO↓ (.) ↑NO MAN↓  
Learner 5: (Indicating that he is dissatisfied) ↑NO MAN↓
11. Teacher: No don't come haibo me↓ (.)↓ We are?↑ (points to word) Here↓ (.) SSSSS↓
12. Learner 5: (...)SORRY↓
13. Teacher: No ↓(.) skipping.↓
14. Learner 5: SKIPPING↓
15. Teacher: (Still pointing to the word "skipping") We↓ (.) ↑AGAIN↓
16. Learner 5: (...) We↓ (...)
17. Teacher: Are↓
18. Learner 5: Are↓(...)
19. Teacher: ↓What are they doing?↑
20. Learner 5...Skipping↓
21. Teacher: Skipping (.) You must even watch the pictures to get it ↓(Teacher flips page and points at words.) Come↓
22. Learner 5: Go (.) away(...)(Learner looks at picture) PAINTING↓
23. Teacher: No↓

(Learners start mocking learner 5)

24. Teacher: Again↓
25. Learner 5: Go(...)away (looks at teacher) Floppy↓

(Teacher nods.)

26. Learner 5: We are (.) PAINTING↓
27. Teacher: Show with your finger↓
28. A few of the learners: [↑WE↓]

29. Learner 5: (Points to the words with his finger) We (.) are painting↓  
 30. Teacher: Again↓ (.) ↑WEEE  
 31. Learner 5: We are↓ ↑PAINTING↓

(Teacher goes to the next page and points to the word “come”)

32. Learner 5: We↓ (.)  
 33. Teacher Nooooo↓ (.) Come↓ (addresses the class.) ↓Who is talking here?↑  
 34. One of the learners ↑\*LAAAAAUREN  
 35. Learner 5: Come (.) back↓(...)  
 36. Teacher: (Takes learner’s index finger and points to the words.) Cooooome↓  
 37. Learner 5: Cooooome↓  
 38. Teacher: Back↓  
 39. Learner 5: Cooooome↓  
 40. Teacher: Back↓  
 41. Learner 5: Baaaack↓



(A few learners whispering the answer)

42. Teacher: ↑DON’T TELL HIM↓ ↑DON’T TELL HIM↓  
 43. One of the learners: ↑\*DANNY↓  
 44. Learner 5: Come↓(...) back↓ ↑FLIPPY↓  
 45. Teacher: Floppy↓

(Teacher goes to the next page and points to the word “Floppy”)

46. Learner 5: Cooooome↓=  
 47. Teacher:= Nooooo Floppy↓  
 48. Learner 5: Cooooome↓=  
 49. Teacher: =Noooo Floppy↓  
 50. Learner 5: Come↓ (.) Go↓  
 51. Teacher: FLOPPY↓  
 52. A few of the learners: [FLOPPY↓]  
 53. Learner 5: Floppy↓  
 54. A few of the learners: [COME↓]

55. Teacher and a few of the learners: [BACK↓]

56. Learner 5: Back↓

57. Teacher: ↑AGAIN↓

58. Learner 5: (...)

59. One of the learners: ↑YOH WOW↓

(Teacher takes learner 5's finger and points to words.)

60. Learner 5: Floppy(...)come (.) back↓

(Teacher flips page.)

(Learner 5 stares at the sentence.)

61. One of the learners: WE ↓(...)

62. Teacher: Don't tell him↓

63. Learner 5: We↓ ( ... )are↓(...)

64. One of the learners: { sorry↓}

65. Teacher: ↑DON'T TELL HIM↓

66. Learner 5: SORRY↓

67. Teacher: (Takes his finger and points to the sentence) No↓ (.) We ↓(...)

68. Learner 5: We ↓(...)

69. Teacher: Are↓(...)

70. Learner 5: Are (.) sorry↓



## Appendix 11-Second Interview with teacher A

### Second Interview with teacher A (After doing observations)

Research Area: Manenberg

School: School B

Class: Grade R Class (Foundation Phase)

Participants: Researcher and Teacher B

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS			
English Translation	Italics	Additional Information	( )
Short Pause	(.)	Question	?
Long Pause	(...)	Name Changed ( Pseudonym)	*
Overlapping	=	Intonation: High Pitch	↑
Simultaneous speech	[ ]	Intonation: Low Pitch	↓
High Volume	Capital Letters	False Start	-
Low Volume	{ }		

1. Researcher: Soooo some of the questions that I will be asking you today (.) we did uhm discuss in the first interview↓ (.) but it might come up again ↓
2. Teacher A: Nods ( To indicate it is fine)
3. Researcher: ↓ The first question is (.) are most of the kids at the school and in your class from Manenberg?↑
4. Teacher A: {Yip↓} (.) {Uhm} Yes↓
5. Researcher: ↓The majority of them?↑
6. Teacher A: Yep↓
7. Researcher: Before I started doing research at schools in Manenberg (.) I did some research on the area and found that the cultural and linguistic diversity in the area is growing↓=
8. Teacher A: =Yep↓ (.) Yes it is↓

9. Researcher: ↓Is this cultural and linguistic diversity present in your class?↑
10. Teacher A: You know (.) when you were here doing your research (.) the uhm (.)- I had learners that are IsiXhosa and so on in the class but there weren't a lot of them↓ (.) Now (.) I have a lot more learners from other cultures that speak different languages ↓
11. Researcher: ↓Hmm (.) Ok (.) So what is the language or languages used for teaching in your class and at the school?↑
12. Teacher A: Afrikaans (.) the school is registered as an Afrikaans only school↓ (.) It says so in the language policy of our school↓
13. Researcher: ↓Only Afrikaans?↑
14. Teacher A: Yes (.) But you know now and then I use English↓ (.) I started doing this recently since I now have so many coming in speaking other uhm languages now↓ (.) But still mostly Afrikaans↓(.) I always go back to Afrikaans↓
15. Researcher: When I did my research here you only made use of Afrikaans during lessons though↓
16. Teacher A: Yes (.) I only used Afrikaans ↓
17. By the way (.) when I was doing my observations in your class you said "boks" *box* a lot ↓ But your pronunciation of the word sounded Afrikaans↓ (.) Not like the English pronunciation "box"↓ So just to clarify (.) ↓when you said "boks" (.) "Gaan sit jou goed in jou boks↓" ↓Did you mean the Afrikaans direct translation "boks" or were you using English as in "box"?↓
18. Teacher A: No I meant the Afrikaans direct translation "boks"↓(.) Not English "box" with an x↓
19. Researcher: Okay↓(.) So you have recently started using other languages in your class↓ (.) ↓Has it changed in the policy of the school?↑ (.) ↓Or is it just something that you have started doing?↑
20. Teacher A: Now we are getting a lot of other languages like English and IsiXhosa↓ (.) So that is the only reason why I had to change but no it's not in the language policy of the school↓ (.) It still says Afrikaans in there↓ (.) I don't really have a choice but to use another language sometimes↓
21. Researcher: ↓So there are learners in your class that speaks languages other than the language used for teaching?↑

22. Teacher A: Yes (.) but they won't really use their language in the class↓ (.) They uhm speak other languages but use Afrikaans in the class ↓
23. Researcher: ↓These learners that speak first languages other than the language used for teaching (.) do they sometimes find it difficult to cope and comprehend the Afrikaans lessons?↑
24. Teacher A: Yes (.) they do↓ (.) It sometimes takes longer for them to (.) register what I am saying↓ (.) and to uhm try to figure out what I am saying and then they- or they look at what the friend is doing and just copy ↓
25. Researcher: ↓Okay (.) and that is all because they speak a different first language?↑
26. Teacher A: Ya (.) the medium of instruction and their home language is not the same↓
27. Researcher: ↓Which language varieties do the kids uhm (.) come to the classroom with?↑(.) ↓So I mean (.) do they come to the class speaking a standard variety or slang or a non-standard variety?↑
28. Teacher A: ↑SLANG↓ (.) because their parents speak like that at home↓ (.)They would say uhm (.) they would mix languages↓ (.) If I say 'inkleur potlood' *colouring pencil* they say colour↓(.) ↓ 'Juffrou kan ek hierdie colour gebruik?'↑ ↓*Teacher can I use this colour?* ↑ 'Juffrou ons het a colouring tv↓' *Teacher we have a colouring tv*↓ (.) Those words↓ (Teacher laughs) (.) It actually irritates me↓ (.) They bring it from the home and streets↓ (.) They refer to the police as 'die boere' *the whites*↓ (Lowers her head in her hands)
29. Researcher: There is actually an instance on one of the uhm video recordings I made when I was doing my observations in your class where one of the learners made use of that term↓
30. Teacher A: (Laughs) ↑YOU SEE↓
31. Researcher: The use of the term by the pupils actually speaks volumes↓=
32. Teacher A:= I try to tell them it's not 'boere' *white*↓s (.) A boer is someone that works on a farm↓ (.) It's actually a POLISIEMAN *POLICEMAN* and they STILL tell you↓=
33. Researcher: = But it just shows (.) how such terms were carried over to them↓ (.) because they were not part of the Apartheid era↓ (.) Yet they use terms that were used in the Apartheid era↓
34. Teacher A: It's been passed on yes from parents (.) definitely↓
35. Researcher: ↓Okay (.) so do the learners struggle with the lesson because they speak a variety different from the one used in class?↓ Like (.) at home and in the streets they speak uhm

non-standard variety and then in the classroom it is expected that they should speak a standard variety↓

36. Teacher A: ↑OH YES↓ and we try to make them speak a formal variety but it's difficult for them to not say stuff like uhm ↑BOERE↓ *WHITES* you know↓ (.) I really don't like slang in the classroom ↓(.) And sometimes they get it right to not do it in the classroom but when they ↑GO HOME↓ (.) they just switch↓ (.) You can sometimes see them thinking (.) wait here in class I can't say this word (.) *polisiesman policeman* not *boere whites* ↓
37. Researcher: ↓Uhm how do you as their teacher personally feel about the use of non-standard varieties in the classroom?↑ This includes the mixing of languages such as using the English word "colour" in their Afrikaans sentences and the use of slang such as "boere" *whites* to refer to the police↓
38. Teacher A: I try to correct them↓ (.) I don't like the mixing of different languages because they are not learning the proper language itself↓ (.) So I don't like the fact that they mix it (.) But it's difficult getting it out of them ↓
39. Researcher: There was an observation I made when I was analysing the video recordings I made in your class↓ (.) You were telling a story about how a caterpillar becomes a butterfly↓=
40. Teacher A: = (Laughs) You even remember the stories I told during story time↓
41. Researcher: (Laughs) It's all part of doing observations↓ (.) being observant↓ (.) There was an incident which occurs during story time that day↓ (.) You asked "↓En toe het wurm n?↑" ↓*And then worm turned into a?*↑ (.) and they all shouted ↑BUTTERFLY↓ and you said "Dis a ↑SKOENLAPPER↓" *It's a* ↑BUTTERFLY↓
42. Teacher A: Yes↓
43. Researcher: ↑Is that- is that how you try to correct them?↑ (.) ↓Is that what you uhm normally do?↑
44. Teacher A: Yes that what I will ↑TRY↓ (.) I try all the time and remind them↓ (.) Even when they see an aeroplane they say 'Daar is aeroplane juffrou↓' *There is an aeroplane teacher* and you tell them the English word is aeroplane but the Afrikaans word is *vliegtuig* (.) and they will just look at you↓ (.) and then one or two will pick it up and tell the others when they use the wrong word↓ (.) They will then try to rectify them ↓

45. Researcher: ↓So can we then say that you believe that if a certain language is the medium of instruction, it should be stuck to in class?↑ (.) ↓Only that language should be used?↑
46. Teacher A: Yes↓ (.) No other language↓ (.) But very recently difficult situations have forced me to use a different language though↓ (.) Coz a learner that speaks another language like English don't understand↓ (.) Then I bring in English↓ (.) But it's not by choice↓
47. Researcher: The butterfly example (.) where you corrected the learners for using an English word (.) happened within the context of a lesson↓ (.)However (.) I noticed when the kids were working on their own or just playing in the uhm class they would sometimes mix languages and use slang but you do not correct them↓ (.) ↓Why is that?↑
48. Teacher A: Look I will allow it outside the context of a lesson↓ (.)Sometimes you will hear them speaking their way↓ (.) They are free then↓ (.)You restrict them sometimes when they can only speak a certain way↓(.) They can express themselves when they speak their way↓ (.) They don't think its wrong↓ (.) It's what they were taught at home↓ (.) The parent speaks to the child like that↓ (.) When they do role play you also see the stuff that happens at home↓ (.) The shootings on the uhm streets here and that (.) It comes out in their play (.) They-They make a lot of guns also↓ (.) When they play with the legos and things (.) so much ne that I have to tell them↓ (.)I don't want to see a gun↓ (.) You make a car (.) boy or girl↓ (.) ↑I MUST TELL THEM WHAT TO MAKE↓ (.) because to them it's just a gun ↓
49. Researcher: {Gosh↓}
50. Teacher A: They tell you all sorts of stories about this one running into the house with a gun↓ (.) They have become so use to it that they treat it like the norm ↓(.) And they are always making these uhm signs with their hands(.) gangster signs ↓
51. Researcher: It's quite shocking to hear hey↓
52. Teacher A: Another thing that is normal is the father being in jail ne(.) and when the adult speak to each other they say no we went on holiday or to the-to the big house↓(.) Then we know okay they went there↓ (.) That's the slang they use now↓(.) Then we know it's poolsmoor prison ↓
53. Researcher :{ Okay↓} (.)↓So where are we now?↑(....)↓Do you as the teacher make use of non- standard varieties in the classroom?↑
54. Teacher A: ↑OH NO↓ (.) They must learn from me so no↓ (.) They imitate you↓



55. Researcher: ↓We spoke a bit about this earlier but do you allow the learners to use a non-standard variety in the class?↑
56. Teacher A: When we are doing formal work then no but when we are not doing work then it's okay↓ (.) When they are just playing in the uhm little kitchen we have in class(.) or just painting then its okay but not with work↓(...) But I still try you know to correct them↓=
57. Researcher: = ↓So just to be clear (.) during lessons (.) no mixing of languages and other non-standard varieties?↑
58. Teacher A: Not at all yes↓
59. Researcher: Okay↓ (.) ↓ Do teachers at the school get uhm some-some form of training to deal with cultural and linguistic diversity in the classroom context?↑
60. Teacher A: No we ↑NEVER↓
61. Researcher: ↓You mentioned earlier that diversity is increasing now (.) But-So(.) no training?↑ (.)↓No workshops?↑
62. Teacher A: No (.) there's no training or workshops↓ (.) You go with what you have↓ (.) Each situation is different so you just deal with it you know (.) and we must also try to stick to the guideline of the policy laid out by the department↓
63. Researcher: ↓Is there anything in this guideline of the policy about non-standard varieties such as mixing languages in the classroom?↑
64. Teacher A: Yep (.) we are not supposed to↓ (.) It says you must stick to the medium of instruction↓ (.) They tell you you need to ↓
65. Researcher: ↓Now if there is a learner with a first language other than the medium of instruction in you class↓ (.) right?↑(.) ↓and they have some sort of difficulty with the lesson coz it's in Afrikaans↓(.) ↓What do you then do?↑(...) You pointed out earlier that you only recently started incorporating the language of the that specific child↓=
66. Teacher A: = Yes↓ (.) Now in those circumstances I switch to the other language but quickly switch back ↑AGAIN↓ (.) to the medium of instruction↓ (.) Then I repeat what I said in English again in Afrikaans↓
67. Researcher: No instances of you using another language to assist an additional speaker of the medium of instruction were observed during my time in the field but I did observe an instance where this occurred during peer assistant↓ (.) It was an Afrikaans speaker assisting an IsiXhosa speaker with the Afrikaans lesson↓ =

68. Teacher A: ↑YES↓ (.) the isiXhosa learners often struggle coz their Afrikaans is not good (.) and we allow that↓ (.) If the peer knows then we let them help their friend↓ (.) If they see them struggling↓ (.) I put them in groups sometimes↓ (.) Not according to abilities↓ (.) It can be weak and weak learners but there is always a strong one that ends up helping↓
69. Researcher: I like the grouping idea but uhm (.) {maybe}(.) maybe you could group different first language speakers together↓(.) Maybe one speaking the language used as medium of instruction with additional speakers↓(.) I think that could be very beneficial and peer assistance can then play a bigger role during work related activities↓
70. Teacher A: Yes Yes↓ (.) Makes sense↓
71. Researcher: Again we spoke about this earlier (.) but just for the record↓ (.) ↓Does the language policy say anything about accommodating linguistic diversity in the classroom?↑
72. Teacher A: {No}(.) It's just Afrikaans↓ (.) The school is registered Afrikaans so (.) that is actually what we need to stick to↓(.) So it is law that we need to use the language of instruction↓=
73. Researcher: ↓Okay then just before we uhm wrap-wrap things up (.) remember the posters you sent me?↑ (.) The posters in your class (.) ↓Uhm I just ah (.) wana know why you chose to hang those two posters on your classroom wall?↑ (.) Specifically those two you sent me↓
74. Teacher A:↓ Oh those posters of the body and that?↓(.) Well(.) the body poster- I used the poster uhm-uhm because it's a nice way to teach the grade r's about their body and so↓(...) and it shows the rainbow nation in South Africa you know↓(.) coz it shows different races↓(.) I like that one↓(...) The Happy birthday poster I decided to put in- in uhm class coz learners must feel special uhm when its their birthdays and that –that way no one forgets your birthday↓ ( Teacher laughs)
75. Researcher: I see↓(.) The pics you sent me of the posters in your class↓(.) Its all in Afrikaans↓(...) ↓Why-why is that so?↑
76. Teacher: We have to make it English↓- ↑AG↓ Afrikaans coz the school is Afrikaans↓
77. Researcher: And I think we are done↓ (.) Thank you↓

## Appendix 12- Second Interview with teacher B

### Second Interview with teacher B (After data had been collected)

Research Area: Manenberg

School: School B

Class: Grade R Class (Foundation Phase)

Participant: Researcher and Teacher B

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS			
English Translation	Italics	Additional Information	( )
Short Pause	(.)	Question	?
Long Pause	(...)	Name Changed ( Pseudonym)	*
Overlapping	=	Intonation: High Pitch	↑
Simultaneous speech	[ ]	Intonation: Low Pitch	↓
High Volume	Capital Letters	False Start	-
Low Volume	{ }		

1. Researcher: ↓What is the (.) language or languages used for teaching at the school?↑
2. Teacher B: English and Afrikaans↓ (.) The school is dual medium ↓
3. Researcher: ↓Are those the official languages used as medium of instruction at the school?↑
4. Teacher: Yes the school is uhm registered dual medium↓(.) But that only comes into play in grade 1↓
5. Researcher: ↓And- and in this grade R class?↑
6. Teacher B: English↓
7. Researcher: ↓Only English?↑
8. Teacher B: Mmm↓ (Indicating yes)
9. Researcher: Okay↓ (.) ↓uhm (.) is the language/s that is used for teaching at the school and specifically in this classroom a standard or non-standard (.)- or non- standard variety?↑

10. Teacher B: uhm↓(...)
11. Researcher: ↓Formal↑ ↓or informal?↑ ↓Can the learners use slang in the=
12. Teacher B: =↑HA AH ↓↑HA AH↑ FORMAL↓ (.) NO SLANG↓ (.) They must- they must use formal English not come with the languages they mix↓
13. Researcher: ↓So its- its expected that they uhm use a formal or standard of the medium of instruction? ↑
14. Teacher B: Yes↓
15. Researcher: ↓Who has given this instruction?↑(.) ↓That a standard- standard variety of the medium of instruction should be used?↑
16. Teacher B: The school↓ (.) Its registered like that↓ So we must adhere to this↓
17. Researcher: Okay↓ (.) In the first interview that we did (.) before I even started with my observation in your classroom(.) you stated that most of the learners are from Manenberg↓=
18. Teacher B: =Manenberg yes (.) ↓And they come with- with their own slang you know?↑
19. Researcher: Okay↓
20. Teacher B: You know when they (.) when they speak to each other (.) they (.) they use those (...) the slang↓=
21. Researcher: = ↓That they bring from home?↑
22. Teacher B: Yes (.) from home↓ and I –Man I don't like this slang ↓(...) They must use it at home ↑NOT HERE↓
23. Researcher: Before I started with my classroom observations (.) I researched the area of Manenberg↓ (.) I found that the area is quite diverse↓ (.) There are various cultures and speakers of different languages↓=
24. Teacher B: =Yes it is↓=
25. Researcher: =↓ Is this diversity evident in the class?↑
26. Teacher B: It is- It is diverse↓ (.) It is diverse↓ (.) There are a lot of coloured and African uhm learners here in my class↓
27. Researcher: ↓And in terms of linguistic diversity?↑ ↓The different languages that learners speak?↑ ↓Do you find that in the class?↑
28. Teacher B: Yes (.) you do↓ (.) because you find that the children are not really uhm English speaking you know?↑ (.) They Afrikaans but the mommy –the child ↑MUST↓(.) speak English↓

29. Researcher: Oh I see↓=
30. Teacher B: =Now the mummies will put them in an English class (.) even though (.) they speak Afrikaans at home↓ and you ↑HEAR↓ the- the Afrikaans coming through↓=
31. Researcher: =Yes↓ yes↓=
32. Teacher B: =They speak their language↓ (.) The mother tongue at home and here ↓(...)But never with me↓(...) None of that with me↓
33. Researcher: ↓Oh okay (.) and in terms of other languages brought to the classroom?↓
34. Teacher B: ↑YES YES↓ (.) You find Xhosa learners (.) and they – they speak to each other in their language in class↓=
35. Researcher: =↓In isiXhosa?↑
36. Teacher B: = ↓Yes but they must know when they speak to ME ?↑(.) It is English↓
37. Researcher: When I did my observations in this class(.) I observed two learners moving away from the class while you were doing a reading exercise and uhm although –although I could not hear what the conversation was about (.)I heard that they were speaking isiXhosa and↓=
38. Teacher: =Now they do that amongst each other here↓ (.) ↓They must use it with me?↑(.) I scold them↓
39. Researcher: Uuumh okay↓ (.) So the learners that speak languages other than English (.) like teacher pointed out↓ (.) ↓do they sometimes uhm find it difficult to cope in class (.) with lessons?↑↓ Does that happen?↑
40. Teacher B: Yes (.) because then I must use them↓ (.) I use them to explain to each other↓ (.) ↓Like the IsiXhosa learners- I ask them to interpret you know?↑ (.) To guide that one with what I just said↓
41. Researcher: Oh okay ↓
42. Teacher: With me I want them to use the correct way↓ (.) They must express themselves in the best way↓(...) Even with the slang coz they mix languages- they uhm struggle really to express themselves in a good formal way because they are not use to-to uhm formal structuring and all that↓
43. Researcher: It is- It is uhm interesting that you have pointed out a few times that you –you want learners to make use of a standard variety of English with you uhm↓ (...) Yet-yet instances were observed where you used Afrikaans and also made use of informal language use with pupils↓(...) Like when you joked with a learner↓

44. Teacher: Look (.) I –I will use that language use so now and then when I crack a joke or something↓ (.) ↓You know?↑ (.) But when I speak about work stuff I use English and no slang↓(.) That is why also I use them to explain to each other in their way when they struggle↓
45. Researcher: Okay↓ (.) We mentioned before that there is a lot of diversity amongst learners↓ (.) Coloured pupils and IsiXhosa pupils and they speak different languages ↓(.) ↓Does the school offer training?↑
46. Teacher B: To?↑
47. Researcher: Teachers↓ (.) To guide you as teachers with regards to how to deal with the diversity in the class↓ To provide you with tools to uhm deal with the diversity↓
48. Teacher B: We had a programme uhm called Word Works at the school (.) but not-we only had that programme↓ (.) Sometimes we go to workshops↓=
49. Researcher: = ↓and was the training and workshops on diversity?↑
50. Teacher B: No it wasn't↓ (.) It's mostly literacy development in the class↓=
- (Another teacher walks in and joins the interview. This teacher will be referred to as teacher 2)
51. Teacher 2: =↓What was the question on diversity↑?APE
52. Researcher: I asked whether the school offers training to teachers with regards to uhm (.) how to deal with the diversity brought to school and the classroom↓ (.) Kids come to class and they are from different cultural backgrounds and speak different languages↓ (.) ↓So do teachers at the school get training to give them tools to handle the diversity found in their classes?↑(.) Especially the linguistic diversity amongst the learners↓
53. Teacher 2: ↑NO↓ (.) No we get no training on how to deal with diversity in our classrooms↓ (...) As an educator you will find out whatever information↓ (.) Like I went for uhm (.) a course called barriers to learning and there they ↑TOUCHED↓ on diversity but most of the teachers here don't have no clue (.) about how to handle it↓(...)That is a ↑BIG BIG BIG THING↓ (.) and the thing is this there is A LOT when it comes to barriers to learning↓ (.) there's LANGUAGE because that child comes into our classes and yes you maybe ask the child next to him explain to him in Xhosa (.) but now we got kids from Malawi and

Kenyans↓ (.) We got everybody now↓ (.) ↑IN OUR CLASSES↓ so it's quite difficult and I feel (.) ↑MOST↓ teachers aint equipped↓ (.) They not equipped (.) when it comes to multilingualism also↓ (.) They are not equipped ↓

54. Teacher B: And I think from the department side they can do something because if you must go then ↑YOU MUST PAY↓ (.) like she is studying now (Referring to teacher 2) ↑SHE MUST PAY FOR THAT↓ (.) ↑FOR HERSELF ↓(.) The department don't pay for us and it is alota money because we also- we also have kids that we must see to↓ (.) We also have families that we must see to↓=
55. Teacher 2: = And also when it comes to the teachers↓-Like this is a predominantly coloured and black school (.) ↓but look at our ratio of our teachers you know? ↑(.) Uhm yes we have black teachers but not enough↓ (.) ↓Is there enough teachers on the SMD that's black?↑ Because most of our children are black↓ (.) ↓You know?↑ (.) So you need to look at that↓(...)When the black child see (.) the black child mustn't just see the cleaner is black↓ (.) It must be on the SMD (.) teacher in the class (.) it must be ↑EVERYWHERE↓ (.) So yes we are ↑NOT↓ there yet↓
56. Researcher: ↓So since the school doesn't offer training which provides tools on how to deal with diversity in the class (.) do you {uhm} perhaps have your own tools that you maybe use?↑(.) Like you mentioned the peer assistance earlier (.) where you ask speakers of the same mother tongue to explain to each other↓ (.) ↓So do you have other methods?↑
57. Teacher B: (...) {Like in the uhm class maybe} (.) Say the child don't understand (.) we will use pictures (.) flash cards (.) posters(...)and things like that(.) body movement↓=
58. Researcher: =↓Non-verbal communication?↑
59. Teacher B: ↑YES YES↓ that's what we do↓
60. Researcher: ↓Can we just talk about the pictures you sent me?↑ ↓When I asked- asked you to take pictures?↑
61. Teacher: Yes Yes↓
62. Researcher: ↓Why- uhm Why did you ah choose to take pictures of those specific posters and stuff in your class?↑
63. Teacher: The kids like the donkey poster coz of the donkey on it↓ (laughs) But I like it coz we are-we cover opposites in class↓ (...) The sports placard we made as a class↓(. )It was a

- class activity↓ (.) ↓And what's the other pics I sent?↑(...) Oh ya the art corner and the microwave one↓(.) I just wanted to show that I label everything for the kids to see I guess↓
64. Researcher: Okay↓(.) Uhm(...) I noticed that all these posters were in English↓(.) Actually all the posters in the class is in English↓(.) why- why?↑=
65. Teacher: =Look the medium of instruction is English so the stuff on the wall must also be↓(.) Its an English class mos↓
66. Researcher: Thank you so much for your time↓

(Teacher B chuckles)





## Appendix 13-Interview with two isiXhosa pupils in the class of Teacher B

Research Area: Manenberg

School: School B

Class: Grade R Class (Foundation Phase)

Participants: Researcher and two isiXhosa pupils

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS			
English Translation	Italics	Additional Information	( )
Short Pause	(.)	Question	?
Long Pause	(...)	Name Changed ( Pseudonym)	*
Overlapping	=	Intonation: High Pitch	↑
Simultaneous speech	[ ]	Intonation: Low Pitch	↓
High Volume	Capital Letters	False Start	-
Low Volume	{ }		

27. Researcher: ↑HEY GUYS↓

(Learners chatting in the background)

28. A learner: (Sitting next to pupil X and Z) ↓They ↑TALKING↓ to you there↓

29. Pupil X: (To me) {↓Yes?↑} (Shyly smiles)

30. Researcher: (To learner X) ↓Don't look so ↑NERVOUS MAAAN↓ (Laughs) (.) The conversation between you two looked very interesting earlier↓=

31. Pupil Z: =↓When?↑

32. Researcher: When you guys were standing there in the- in the corner↓ (.) When the kids were reading↓
33. Pupil Z: {Oh↓} (Laughs)
34. Researcher: Now I also wana know what you(.) you were talking about↓  
(Few learners in close proximity laughs)
35. Pupil X: (Laughs) (To pupil Z)↑ NOW TELL HER YOU↓
36. Pupil Z: I was-I was telling him we are gonna play soccer at break and↓=
37. Pupil X: =↑THAT WASN'T ALL↓ (Laughs)
38. Pupil Z: ( To pupil X) ↑STOPPIT MAN↓
39. Researcher: ↓I heard you guys talking Xhosa?↑
40. Pupil X: {Yes↓}
41. Researcher:↓ Is that the language you speak at home?↑ ↓With your mom and so?↑
42. Pupil X: {Yes↓}
43. Researcher: (Referring to people Z) ↓Yours also?↑
44. Pupil Z: Yep↓
45. Researcher: ↓Cool man (.) ↓Can you guys speak other languages together with Xhosa?↑
46. Pupil Z: ↓Like how?↑
47. Researcher: Like use Xhosa and another language together↓ (.) In a sentence↓
48. Pupil X: Yes we do that↓ (Laughs)  
(Teacher talking to a learner in the background)
49. ↓Do you speak like that in class?↑

50. Pupil X: {Sometimes↓}

51. Researcher: Okay↓ (.)↓ with- with your friends?↑

(Bell rings for break. Learners get up and run to the door to make a line)

52. Teacher B: ↑PEOPLE PLEASE↓

