

***LANGUAGE, MIGRATION AND IDENTITY: EXPLORING THE MOTIVATIONS OF
SELECTED AFRICAN MIGRANTS IN LEARNING ISIXHOSA IN CAPE TOWN,
SOUTH AFRICA.***

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**A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirement for the Master's Degree in
Linguistics in the Faculty of Arts at the University of the Western Cape, South Africa**

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Date of submission: 9 May 2014

Declaration

I declare that *Language, Migration and Identity: Exploring the Motivations of Selected African Migrants in learning IsiXhosa in Cape Town South Africa* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university, and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

.....
DOREEN NCHANG



Dedication

All praise is due to God Almighty for granting me the strength to carry out this research. I dedicate this thesis to my late mother Maggie Bih Rose. You may not be physically present but your spirit was always there guiding and protecting me.

I also dedicate this thesis to my beloved son Dieulen Mbohne.



Acknowledgments

I would like to thank the following for making it possible for this thesis to be completed

Firstly, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Professor Charlyn Dyers for her patience and guidance throughout this research journey, as well as the financial support received from the National Research Foundation of South Africa through her. I don't think this would have been possible without you. Thank you Prof.

Special thanks to Prof Banda and Prof Antia for their support.

Secondly, I would like to thank my brothers Winston, Collins, Leonard, and Lawrence for your moral support.

My sincere thanks to you Careen, for your moral and financial support.

I also want to thank Jane-Francis Abongdia for making it possible that I am in South Africa today to further my education. You are more than a sister to me.

List of acronyms

ECAM111: Cameroon House whole survey no 3

UNDP: United Nation Development Program

(SADC: Southern African Development Community

CoRMSA: Consortium for refugees and migrants in South Africa

SFL: Systemic Functional Linguistics

CPE: Cameroon Pidgin English

L2: Second Language

PRB: Population Reference Bureau



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Abstract

This study is an exploration of the motivations of a particular group of Cameroonian and Nigerian migrants in Cape Town for learning isiXhosa. South Africa is a multilingual and multicultural country with eleven official languages and many migrant languages, resulting from the flow of people from other countries, especially African countries, to this major economic force on the continent. Among these migrants are West African migrants who have managed to acquire some of the local languages. Forced by new trends in globalization witnessed across the globe, and by the socio-political instabilities in their respective countries, some of these West Africans from Cameroon and Nigeria have moved to South Africa for greener pastures. South Africa to these migrants is economically, socially and politically better than their countries.

In the Western Cape Province, the major and official languages are isiXhosa, Afrikaans and English. These West African migrants in Cape Town find themselves in another multicultural and multilingual environment in which the use of particular languages are important for their survival in school, community and other domains. The research also seeks to find out to what extent these migrants have succeeded in acquiring isiXhosa and also to what extent has their acquisition of this language enabled them to survive in Cape Town. Is there any evidence that their identities have been changed and modified in this new space? The research paradigm followed for this study is qualitative in nature, drawing from short questionnaires followed by individual interviews and focus group interviews that were tape recorded. Data was analyzed by using thematic content analysis as well as discourse analysis. Discourse analysis since people have different identities and the creation and use of such identities can only be understood by trying to study the language that people use (Fulcher 2005). Appraisal theory (from the Systemic Functional Perspective) was used to categorize the data.

The findings suggest that both the Cameroonian and Nigerian migrants have almost the same motivation for learning isiXhosa. They were both instrumentally and integratively motivated to learn the language, and most believed that they had attained a satisfactory level of proficiency. The findings also suggest that the multicultural and multilingual environment of Cape Town had affected the identities of these migrants.

Key words

Language

Migration

Identity

Motivation

Cameroonian and Nigerian migrants

Cape Town

Language acquisition

IsiXhosa

Discourse analysis

Appraisal theory



CHAPTER ONE

Introduction and Background

1.0 Introduction

This thesis is an examination of language and identity practices among some selected African migrants in Cape Town, South Africa. Its specific focus is the motivation of these migrants - Cameroonians and Nigerians who have lived in Cape Town for some time - for learning the language isiXhosa, one of the three official languages of this city. My interest in carrying out this research was motivated by my desire to find out how Cameroonian and Nigerian migrants are adapting to the local languages and how they are transforming their normal language practices. In addition, I wanted to examine how Cameroonian and Nigerian migrants' identities are being transformed and performed through changes in language practices.

This study hopes to provide some insights into how immigrants specifically some African migrants from Cameroon and Nigeria are confronted with new spatial configurations, why they are motivated to learn a South African language and how they construct their identities in this new space. The study therefore hopes to contribute to the body of knowledge regarding the identities that these migrants appropriate when confronted with these new multilingual language spaces. More specifically, it presents an analysis of how they negotiate meaning through their various repertoires in the new spaces brought about by transnational flows (Appadurai 1996).

At some point in people's lives, they may find the environment in which they live in not conducive to attaining a better life and they may be attracted to other spaces which offer more

opportunities and better environments. Once the choice is made to move to these more desirable spaces, it usually means taking up a new status as either a translocal or transnational migrant. Lee (1966) describes migrants as people who are subject to either 'push' or 'pull' factors. Referring to push factors, Lee alludes to things that are unfavorable about an area that one lives in such as not enough jobs, lack of political and religious freedom, poor medical care; etc. Pull factors, on the other hand, refer to those things that attract one to another area (job opportunities, better living conditions education, better medical care; etc.). Migration is one of the most direct outcomes of poverty and social disturbances, and the continent of Africa is a major theatre of migration activity (Cross, Gelderblom, Roux, & Mafukidze 2006:1). When people migrate to other areas they expect their living conditions to be better as they have to care for themselves as well as providing for the families they left behind.

Moving across national or international borders can lead to many changes. These changes range from physical space, economic and social issues, to ideological and linguistic dimensions Burk (2005). Whether it is translocal or transnational migration, it is true to say that things will never be the same again for the migrant, his or her family and the society at large. Burk (2005) argues that migration is thus a process that involves change, a change of physical environment, behavior, thinking and any other thing that can aid one to function in the society. This change also implies a loss of, and longing for, things left behind. I can fully attest to all these changes and sense of loss having left my native Cameroon in 2010 to South Africa to further my education at the university of the Western Cape. The change of physical environment has left a void, a feeling of nostalgia and the absence of family and loved ones.

South Africa as the context of my research has experienced both translocal and transnational migration since it became a democracy in 1994. Apart from the translocal migration from rural to urban areas, Deumert, Inder and Maitra (2005:319) confirm that in many of the South African *townships* (areas of low-cost housing usually accommodating the black working class population) there are also international immigrants from different ethno-linguistic backgrounds. Nigerians and Cameroonians form part of these transnational migrants in the city of Cape Town, South Africa, where I conducted my research.

Vigouroux (2005:240), who has done research among Congolese migrants in Cape Town, writes that most of the African immigrants in Cape Town did not initially plan to come to South Africa. Instead, the majority of her interviewees came to South Africa only after several attempts to obtain visas to Europe or North America failed. Vigouroux (2005:239) further notes that these migrants embody heterogeneous groups from different parts of their countries, with different reasons for migrating, using different migration trajectories (direct, semi-direct or transnational). Thus they are socio-culturally different in terms of education, social class, reflecting different levels of cultural and economic capital.

As a social phenomenon, migration has far-reaching consequences for ‘the social fabric of the affected nations, the society of origin, the society of destination and the migrants themselves’ (Lewis, 1982:25). This argument is supported by Cross et al. (2006:1) who found migration to be a social and demographic process that has much potential to disrupt and destabilize this continent. The presence of Cameroonian and Nigerian migrants in Cape Town implies that the government of the three countries, the families of the migrants as well as the people they interact within the new space, will be affected. Abu-Lughod (2005:23) notes that migration within and without/outside any country can lead to many changes. Some of these changes include for example, the physical, economic, social, ideological and linguistic changes of both the migrants and the host community. Abu-Lughod uses the example of the Egyptian migrants who need to adjust to the city life physically, economically, socially and ideologically (2005:28). This is to suggest that migrants adjust to the cultures of their host country while at the same time shaping them. This is already visible in Cape Town, with some suburbs becoming known for their association with particular groups of migrants, e.g. Observatory (Congolese/Nigerian), Maitland (Cameroonian) and Woodstock (Angolan). Many of the shops, churches and clubs in these areas reflect the presence of distinct African countries through their signage and products.

Migration does not affect only the people, but also their language and other societal aspects (Kerswill, 2006:1), who adds that since migrants are generally younger people who are economically active, they are usually uprooted from familiar social and sociolinguistic set-ups. At times because these migrants are usually smaller in number than the host society they may regroup themselves into ethnic groups. As ethnic groups they also become minorities

and therefore are vulnerable people in the society. By regrouping themselves as ethnic groups, the migrants connect, not only with the mainstream society, but also with the other ethnic groups from different countries. Common languages are one of the major ways in which such different groupings can connect with one another. As relocation results in language contact (Kerswill, 2006:1), we often find a situation where many languages - some standard, others non-standard and others a mixture of all - co-exist in a particular context.

Kerswill (2006:1) further argues that the host society is also being affected positively and negatively by the presence of migrants. The positive impact can be reflected in the increase of the population concentration thereby facilitating service delivery, increasing the market for goods and creating an active citizenry. On the other hand, the negative impact can be reflected, as Cross *et al.* (2006:13) argue, in that food security; language and education, institutional development along with public health and public order are among the goals threatened by migration processes. This view of migration suggests that migration is little understood or studied, and thus inter-governmental interventions are largely unable to attain these goals (Cross *et al.* 2006:1). Cross *et al.* (2006:4) further claim that governments of various countries especially in Africa and the world at large are beginning to address the issue of migration as a priority in the twenty-first century.

1.1 Historical and Linguistic Backgrounds of Cameroon and Nigeria

1.1.1 Cameroon

Cameroon is the world's 57th largest country. It is comparable in size to Papua New Guinea, and somewhat larger than the U.S. state of California. The country is located in West and Central Africa bordering the Bight of Biafra between Equatorial Guinea and Nigeria. Cameroon shares its frontiers with various countries; Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Congo to the South, Central African Republic, Chad to the East, and Nigeria to the West (Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia).

Cameroon has 247 indigenous languages with two official languages (English and French) and a lingua franca Cameroon Pidgin English (CPE) Echu (2004:1). Amongst the above named languages there exist other languages of wider communication such as Fulfulde, Ewondo, Basaa, Duala, Hausa, Wandala, Kanuri and Arab Choa, (Echu 2004:21) citing Breton and Fohtung, (1991: 20). The two languages English and French became official in Cameroon when Britain and France shared Cameroon into two unequal parts after defeating the German forces in the country in 1916 (Echu 2004:22). Cameroon then became an independent state in 1960 and the decision was taken to use French and English as official languages. At Reunification in 1961, English and French became the two official languages of Cameroon as the country decided to go for the policy of official language bilingualism (Echu 2004:22).

This ‘newborn nation state’ called the Federal Republic of Cameroon, according to Bird (2001:8), was left with a complex linguistic situation. Linguistic borrowing, interferences, code switching, loan translation, and other manifestation of language contact are typical of the complex multilingual situation in Cameroon (Echu 2003:1). In fact all the languages have an influence on one another (Echu 2003:1). Echu (2004:1) further refers to Cameroon as ‘a linguistic paradise’ when he compares Cameroon’s 279 vernaculars (a number that has been challenged by scholars) to the fact that Africa possesses a little over 1000 indigenous languages. The number is quite impressive, especially when the official languages, which are English and French, as well as Cameroon Pidgin English (CPE), are added to the figure Echu (2004).

Like many countries in the world, especially the developing countries, the socio-political situation of Cameroon is the major factor leading to the migration of some of its citizens to countries considered to be of a better economic standard. Cameroon like most developing countries has been experiencing development difficulties since the 1980s due to poverty, economic crises, soaring population growth, an external debt burden, the poorly controlled urbanization of cities and adjustment policies that are often not suited to the national situation (Cameroon Migration Profile 2009:23). Furthermore, there have been political instability and internal conflicts, high unemployment and socio-political tension due to the high cost of living. The analysis of poverty indicators shows a 55 percent incidence of poverty among the

population in 2007, which is far from the objective of 25 percent that the state hopes to achieve by 2015 according to the 3rd Cameroon Household Survey (ECAM111 2007).

Cameroon has an average human development index ranging between 0.500 and 0.779 (Cameroon Development Program, UNDP, 2004 and 2006). These various reasons explain the new migration trends of the rural population towards the cities and from the cities to other countries - mainly Europe and the USA – but also to South Africa, which is considered as a giant economic force in the continent. They migrate with the key objective of improving their living conditions (Cameroon Migration Profile, 2009:23).

1.1.2 Nigeria

Nigeria is a country in West Africa, which shares borders with the republic of Benin in the West, Chad and Cameroon in the East, and Niger in the North. Its coast lies on the Gulf of Guinea in the South and it borders Lake Chad to the North East. Noted geographical features in Nigeria include the Adamawa Highlands, Mambilla Plateau, Jos Plateau, Obudu Plateau, and the Niger River, Benue River, and Niger Delta (Statistics published by Wikipedia the free encyclopedia). According to Abejide, Afolayan & Ikuyatum, (2008:3), Nigeria, currently rated the tenth most populous country in the world, has an area of 923,768 square kilometers and had a population of 140.03 million people in 2006 (Nigerian Population Census 2006). Abejide *et al.* (2008) add that due to the large population size of the country, population mobility within and outside the country is an ongoing phenomenon. The country has a youthful population with 43 percent of its total population being under 15 years old while those over 65 comprises only 3%. This, coupled with a low level of national development, has created a large reservoir of potential migrants who have a high propensity for internal and international migration (Population Reference Bureau, 2007). Nigeria's migration history supports this assertion as migration took place in the pre-independence, independence and the post-independence eras. Nigeria's porous borders and the high affinity of the Nigerian people with those in the neighboring countries also contribute to migration (Abejide *et al.* 2008:4).

The linguistic situation of Nigeria is often described as complex. For a country with an estimated population of over 100 million people and over 400 languages, Nigeria is not only the most populous country in Africa, but also reveals very high linguistic diversity (Awonusi

2009:1). Awonusi (2009) believes that the country is also marked by serious socio-educational and political inequalities, of which its linguistic hierarchy is a central feature. While English is the main official language, other major languages are Yoruba, Igbo, and Hausa which function as lingua franca. Speakers mix these codes and trade considerations have encouraged non-natives to use these languages except in the East where Nigerian Pidgin English serves as lingua franca (Awonusi 2009:2).

1.1.3 The country of destination: South Africa

‘South Africa occupies the southernmost tip of Africa with a coastline of some 3 000 km. The country stretches latitudinal from 22° to 35° S and longitudinally from 17° to 33° E. Its surface area is 1 219 090 km². The country has common boundaries with Namibia, Botswana and Zimbabwe, while Mozambique and Swaziland lie to the northeast. Completely enclosed by South African territory in the south-east is the mountain kingdom of Lesotho. To the west, south and east, South Africa borders on the Atlantic and Indian oceans’ (South African Yearbook 2011:2).

South Africa is a medium-sized country with a total land area of slightly more than 1.2 million sq km making it roughly the same size as Niger, Angola, Mali, and Colombia. It is one-eighth the size of the U.S, twice the size of France and over three times the size of Germany (South African Yearbook 2010/2011). South Africa has nine provinces, each with its own legislature, premier and executive councils (South African year book 2011/2012: 5). My focus is of course on the Western Cape Province, with Cape Town as its capital, as this is where I carried out my research.

‘The Western Cape’s natural beauty, complemented by its hospitality, cultural diversity, excellent wine and colorful cuisine, make the province one of the world’s greatest tourist attractions’ (South African Yearbook 2011/2012: 14-15). More than 5, 2 million people live in the Western Cape on 129 370 km² of land (mid-year population estimates, 2011). Afrikaans is spoken by the majority, with isiXhosa and English being the other main

languages (Statistics South Africa 2010). According to Statistics South Africa (2011), South Africa's eleven official languages have the following percentage distribution:

Zulu	22.7%
Xhosa	16%
Afrikaans	13.5%
Sepedi	9.1%
English	9.6%
Setswana	8%
Sesotho	7.6%
Tsonga	4.5%
Swati	2.5%
Venda	2.4%
Ndebele	2.1%
Other	2.1%
Sign Lang	0.5%

Table 1.1 Percentage distribution of South Africa's eleven official languages

Source: Statistics South Africa (2011).



IsiXhosa is one of the official languages of South Africa. This language is spoken by approximately 7.9 million people, or about 18% of the South African population (Statistics South Africa, 2011 Census). Like most Bantu languages, isiXhosa is a tonal language characterized by the prominence of click and stops consonants (Jessen & Roux 2002:1). Such click consonants can be noticed right from the pronunciation of the isiXhosa name itself. IsiXhosa belongs to the Nguni languages, and is therefore related to Zulu, Swati and Ndebele (Jessen & Roux 2002:1). According to Statistics South Africa 2011 Census, IsiXhosa is the most widely distributed African language in South Africa and is the second most common home language in South Africa as a whole, while the most widely spoken is isiZulu, spoken by 22.7% of the total population. The isiXhosa language is represented in all the provinces of South Africa but a greater percentage of the Xhosa people live in the Eastern Cape followed by the Western Cape. Just like any other language with varieties, the isiXhosa language has several dialects.

Cameroonian and Nigerian migrants in Cape Town are naturally in frequent contact with isiXhosa speakers, many of whom have migrated from the Eastern Cape to the Western Cape. The encounter between these multilingual and multicultural people adds to the pressure on the transnational migrants to communicate in the languages of the host communities. The linguistic and cultural outcomes of such contact are important in this research.

1.2 The Study: Motivation, Aims and Research Questions

Cameroonian and Nigerian migrants find themselves in a new space in which the use of particular languages are important for their survival in the work place, school, social gatherings and other domains. They migrate along with their different cultures and languages and form a heterogeneous migrant population within a new space that is also multicultural and multilingual. These migrants need to cope socially, economically and linguistically in this type of environment, and learning the local languages is important for their survival. Yet, learning a new language is not an easy task, especially for older people. Therefore motivation plays a very important role at this stage.

In May 2008, South Africa was rocked by wave upon wave of xenophobic attacks by black South Africans on foreign African migrants living in informal settlements and townships (Migration Issue Brief 3, accessed online 7 /7 2010). The fear engendered by these attacks, which still occur sporadically, has caused many African migrants to return to their countries while those that remain behind have tried to move out of areas considered to be hot spots of xenophobia. Therefore, some have sought closer integration and identification with host communities through learning to speak the local languages as one way of escaping these attacks.

The acquisition of isiXhosa by Cameroonians and Nigerians in Cape Town under these trying conditions has therefore provided me, as a Cameroonian national working and studying in Cape Town, with the rationale for this study. The two communities were selected because these two nationalities have very diverse and dynamic populations in Cape Town. One can find, for example, students, businessmen, ordinary workers, even men and women who are

married to South Africans. Therefore, they had more access to the South African languages and cultures since they meet and mix with South Africans on a daily basis in their workplace, social gatherings, and residential areas. Besides this, the Cameroonian and Nigerian migrants seem to be found almost everywhere in the Western Cape Province, in more rural areas like Stellenbosch, in townships such as Philippi, in suburbs like Kuilsriver as well as in the City Centre.

1.2.1 Aims and Objectives

1. To investigate how Cameroonian and Nigerian migrants have picked up the isiXhosa language against the background of the recent xenophobic attacks in South Africa.
2. To investigate their attempts at closer integration with the South African population.
3. To investigate if Nigerians and Cameroonians have the same motivation for learning the isiXhosa language.
4. To investigate how the multilingual environment of Cape Town has affected and modified the identities of my respondents
5. In all, the aim of this study is to gain more insight into language use and identity construction among African migrants in Cape Town.

1.2.2 Research Questions

1. What are the principal motivations behind the acquisition of isiXhosa by Cameroonian and Nigerian migrants in Cape Town?
2. How successful have they been in acquiring this language?
3. To what extent has their acquisition of this language enabled them to survive in Cape Town?
4. Is there any evidence that their identities have been changed and modified in this new space?

1.3 Research Assumptions

My research expectations are as follows:

1. The acquisition of isiXhosa will help them to some extent to integrate effectively into the Xhosa community of Cape Town.
2. The daily use of isiXhosa may minimize their exposure to xenophobic attacks.
3. The use of isiXhosa as a means of integration and socialization with the local communities may have a beneficial effect on their existing jobs and employment prospects.
4. Different reasons for acquiring isiXhosa may be identified in the two communities.

1.4 Methodology

The research paradigm followed for this study is qualitative in nature. According to Leedy (1993:142), qualitative research is concerned with human beings, interpersonal relationships, personal values, meanings, beliefs, thoughts, and feelings. I approached people with a short questionnaires, after which I arranged individual interviews with 10 Cameroonians and 10 Nigerians adults (age range 25-50), both male and female, from diverse educational and social backgrounds. The individual interviews were followed by a focus group interview consisting of 3 Cameroonians and 3 Nigerians. Thematic Content Analysis and Discourse Analysis were used to analyze the data, while Appraisal theory (from the Systemic Functional Perspective) was used to categorize the data.

1.5 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an introduction to the study as well as the background to the linguistic, geographical, and socio-political situations of Cameroon and Nigeria alongside that of South Africa. Particular focus has been on the linguistic consequences of patterns of

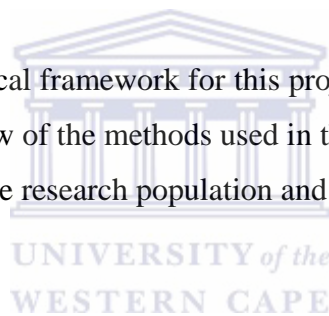
migration to South Africa by people from the rest of the continent. This chapter has also looked at the motivation for conducting this specific research concern, the research questions, research assumptions, aims and objectives of the study as well as the methodology used. The rest of the thesis is organized as follows:

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter provides the conceptual and theoretical framework for the study against the background of late modernity and its impact on communication patterns. It reviews existing studies on motivation and language acquisition, emotion and motivation in second language learners and the concept of space and identity. Literature on globalization theory language and migration is also included.

Chapter Three: Methodology

This chapter presents the theoretical framework for this project and the research methodology is described in detail. An overview of the methods used in this qualitative ethnographic-styled study is provided together with the research population and data analysis methodology.



Chapter Four: FINDINGS I: The Major Motivations for learning isiXhosa – Effects on Respondents. This chapter presents the findings on the major motivation for learning IsiXhosa and the effect of doing so on the respondents. These findings were arrived at through thematic content analysis and discourse analysis of the raw data collected.

Chapter Five: FINDINGS II: Attitudinal and Linguistic Analysis.

Drawing on Appraisal Theory, this chapter presents the findings on the attitudinal and linguistic analysis of the data collected from the participants from Cameroon and Nigeria. This chapter also presents the coded classification of the discursive trends in the data.

Chapter Six: Conclusions

This chapter presents an overview of the main findings and concludes the study.

CHAPTER TWO

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides the theoretical and conceptual framework for the thesis. It has already been noted in the previous chapter that the thesis deals with the acquisition of isiXhosa by Cameroonian and Nigerian migrants from other parts of Africa to South Africa, and the city of Cape Town in particular. The intense migration of the 21st century is an aspect of globalization which is the defining factor in an era called Late Modernity. I therefore commence with this outer historical frame and its attendant characteristics, globalization and migration. Within these theoretical frameworks I then situate the discussions on Space and Identity, Migration and Language Acquisition, Motivation and Language Acquisition and finally Emotion and Attitudes in the Language Acquisition Process. The chapter endeavors to show how these different concepts are interrelated.

2.1 Framing Late-modern Multilingualism: Late Modernity, Globalization and Migration

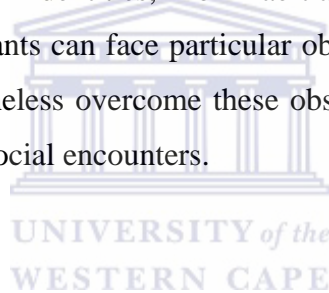
My theoretical framework is shaped by theories of Late Modernity, Globalization and Migration, which will now be discussed.

2.1.1 Late Modernity

In an attempt to define post modernism, Jencks (1995:29) proclaimed that Postmodernism is ‘an ongoing process’ and so it is difficult to define unless it stops moving. It is an era ‘where the world has not yet discovered how to define itself in terms of what it is, but only in terms

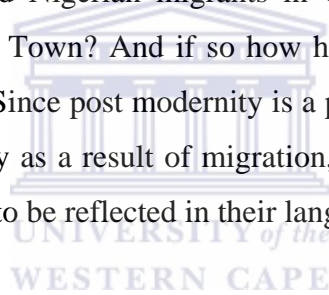
of what it has just ceased to be' (Toulmin 1985: 254). The world has just shifted from what was known as the modern era to a postmodern one. The period is characterized by 'fragmentation, disintegration, malaise, meaninglessness, vagueness, or even absence of moral parameters and society chaos' (Rosnau 1995:108). This is not an understatement as no one can doubt the fact that today's world is characterized by immorality, lack of respect, crime and insecurity just to name a few. To Blommaert (2010 : 61-62), it is also not an understatement if the late modern globalized world is seen as that in which order has been lost and replaced by 'disorder, fragmentation and chaos'.

In order to adapt to the dynamic nature of a postmodern society characterized by technological development and increased self-awareness, alongside societal vices, people need to change their ways of thinking and acting and this is not always without challenges. In line with people modifying their identities, Blommaert and Dong (2008) argue that people moving into new spaces as migrants can face particular obstacles, such as being stigmatized for their accent, but they nevertheless overcome these obstacles by making use of different codes and registers in their new social encounters.



According to Castles and Miller (1998: 2) the expansion of especially technological services goes along with the prediction that the end of 20th century and the beginning of the twenty-first century will be a time of migration. It is therefore a period where many believe the world can only be understood if people come in contact and interact with each other. In these contact situations, communication occurs not only through language, but also through the 'complex semiotic resources people bring with them to these various contexts' Blommaert (2010: 102). Solomon (2000:14), in a bid to explain the general assumptions about Post-Modernism, cites Anderson (1995a), who claims that we cannot talk about post modernity without talking about language as it is deeply involved in the social construction of reality. Through language and through the consideration of what others and society believe, one is able to understand what is happening around the world.

Postmodern identities are also hard to pin down. Unlike in the traditional era where people were seen in terms of fixed identities (e.g. I am a Cameroonian woman), the postmodern era acknowledges that people have multiple identities (I am a woman, student, mother, researcher etc.). Anderson, (1995b:128) argues that it is difficult to define a postmodern person as his/her life as a social being is constantly changing. A postmodern person is not always in a fixed position nor has fixed practices or behaviours. Thus ‘people are not only evolving age-wise but are also constantly changing their spaces, actions and thoughts’ (Anderson 1995b:128). Anderson (1995b:128) further posits that ‘individuals negotiate (and renegotiate) personal identity, struggling to come to terms with the multiple components of their selves and the claims of the different communities to which they are connected’. It is common in the modern world to see people attributing labels to others or being stereotyped by others. Faced with such circumstances, people are constantly defining and redefining who they are. This process becomes even more complex in situations where people migrate to other areas as in my study. Are Cameroonian and Nigerian migrants in Cape Town having challenges in redefining who they are in Cape Town? And if so how have they been able to define who they are in their present setting? Since post modernity is a period where people have multiple and complex identities, especially as a result of migration, it is expected that these multiple and complex identities are likely to be reflected in their language practices.



2.1.2 Globalization

Globalization is another theory that I have examined to help explain the reality of the local and the global impacts on Cameroonian and Nigerian migrants in Cape Town. As a theory, globalization is ‘the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa’ (Giddens, 1990: 64). While this definition is generally accepted, there is much disagreement about related issues. For instance, Block (2004:75) considers globalization as an expression of Western hegemony, and above all as an extension of American imperialism. Other scholars see the globalization as more egalitarian and they reject discussions in terms of Western dominance over ‘the Rest’. However, Mohammadi’s (1997: 1) definition of

globalization appears to be more relevant as it reflects the way in which relations of power and communication are stretched across the globe. These power relations generally involve compressions of time and space and a recomposition of social relationships.

However, despite the prevalence of the concept 'globalization', the various sources I have consulted indicate that there is still great confusion over exactly what it means. According to Holton (1998:10) even the terminology used to talk about globalization is not agreed upon, with terms like 'global', 'international', 'transnational', 'multinational' and 'worldwide' used interchangeably. Arnett (2002: 774) points out that in the broader perspective globalization has existed for many centuries as a process by which cultures influence one another and become more alike through trade, immigration and the exchange of information and ideas. Yet he notes (*ibid.*) that the reason why today's globalization is different from the former globalization is "because of the variety and complexity of the interactions between different cultures and world regions that have dramatically accelerated because of advances in communication and an increase in economic and financial interdependence worldwide". This is well reflected by the fact that, according to figures cited by Arnett, international travel has increased by 70% since 1960. Globalization has come to change the world in many ways and such change is not only noticed in the area of technology (as mentioned earlier) but also in other areas, such as greater human mobility. It should therefore come as no surprise that there should be multitude of definitions of globalization, each of which comes from a particular theoretical, political or ideological perspective (Scholte, 2000:41-2). From these definitions and assertions one may see globalization as increased interconnectedness between countries, people and events. This implies that events that are happening in remote areas will be perceived as that happening in urban or developed areas.

However, Blommaert (2010) is not of the view that relates globalization to what many people will call the 'global village' or what Pennycook (2007:593) calls the 'homogenization of world culture'. Instead, Blommaert (2010) acknowledges Appadurai's central argument that globalization is not the story of cultural homogenization (Appadurai 1996:11), since different societies interpret the new world differently (Appadurai 1996:17). Blommaert (2010:41) further argues that Sociolinguistics in the age of globalization needs to look beyond the

speech community to sociolinguistic systems and how these systems connect and relate to one another. He also maintains that when people move across space, they do not move across empty spaces because the spaces are always someone's space that are filled with norms, expectations, conceptions of what counts as proper and normal (indexical) language use. Therefore, from the sociolinguistics perspective, the concept of mobility is a trajectory through different stratified, controlled and monitored spaces in which language 'gives you away' (Blommaert 2010:22). This argument by Blommaert is reminiscent of how African migrants were identified by their languages or inability to use the local languages during the xenophobic attacks in South Africa in 2008. My study also addresses this issue - do the languages that Cameroonian and Nigerian migrants can use in Cape Town help them to survive and avoid xenophobic attacks?

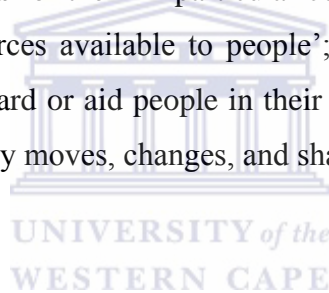
Although globalization is strongly linked to economic factors such as "the increasingly global reach of multinational corporations and the growing inter-relatedness of local economies", it also has "a significant linguistic dimension" (de Swaan, 2001:2). Blommaert (2007:4) points out that the mobility of people also involves the mobility of linguistic and sociolinguistic resources: "Unlike in the past where languages were conceptualized in terms of their internal structure, languages are seen in terms of what they can do to people in a particular context and situation". In this study I am not particularly interested in how well the migrants can speak isiXhosa, but my focus is on what they can do with the amount of isiXhosa they can speak within the contexts in which they find themselves.

2.1.3 Migration

Since the world today appears to be 'a global village', Castles and Miller's (1998:2) prediction that the end of 20th century and the beginning of the twenty-first century would be a time of migration was perfectly correct. People migrate for various reasons, some because of political instability in their countries, others because of socio-economic hardship and others because their countries offer fewer opportunities for improved lifestyles. Socio-

political and economic difficulties in Cameroon and Nigeria have led to the migration of some from these countries to South Africa, which they believed to be politically stable and economically more advanced than their respective countries.

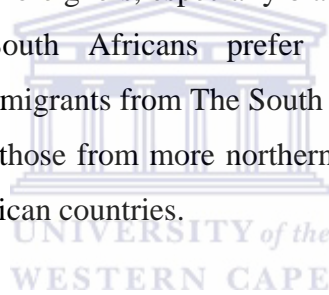
According to Vigouroux (2008:229) migration has become an important issue to linguists, who are interested in investigating how language(s) function in societies and how migration affects language. Mufwene (2001) argues that when people move to a different language area it makes them to choose the type of language to speak, the person to speak to and the topic of the conversation. Studying migrants' languages is therefore studying society, its languages and its people, and this can only be possible if we examine critically what people say and do in any particular context in which they find themselves. It is therefore difficult to talk about migrants without talking about their languages as these languages move together with them and continue to serve as resources for them in particular contexts. Heller (2007:15) therefore sees languages as 'sets of resources available to people'; and these resources can change, hinder people from moving forward or aid people in their endeavors. Therefore, language is not stable or static but it constantly moves, changes, and shapes people's lives.



Still on the issue of mobility, Vigouroux (2008:234) contends that the study of people's mobility unveils an important feature of the globalization process that is characterized by inequality among people, which often goes hand in hand with regional disparities (e.g. the wealthy northern versus the poorer southern hemisphere), geographical inequality (e.g. urban vs. rural spaces) and gender inequality. It is such inequalities wrapped up in globalization processes that have forced some Cameroonians and Nigerians to move to Cape Town in South Africa. According to Vigouroux, people see migrants in simple terms as foreigners because of the way they speak (e.g. their different accents), how they dress or behave, and because of this they are often either misunderstood or denied jobs or housing. To her, migrating is thus more than crossing transnational boundaries, as people crossing these boundaries enter into new spaces occupied by others. This new space as suggested by Blommaert (2005: 73) has its own language(s), institutions, rules and regulations that must be respected. With all these new things to adapt to, Vigouroux (2008:229) argues that migrants have the challenge of managing their language repertoires as they may have to reshuffle their

language resources, learn one or more of the host languages, and change language functions in the new space. This is the situation that is faced by many migrants in Cape Town as they deem it necessary to learn a new language or languages for their survival in this city. Vigouroux (2008:243) further contends that for one to understand the importance of language in the context of migration, one should not only focus on migrants' language practices but also every other thing that is in that space.

The space that these migrants are in now is also being affected by their presence. There is an expectation that the city of Cape Town could be transformed by these migrants in various ways, given all the resources and repertoires they have brought into this new environment. In addition, some of these migrants might have mixed feelings in relation to their stay in Cape Town. Crush (2001:11) refers to a 1998 Human Rights Watch report stating that a significant number of South Africans regard foreigners, especially black foreigners, as a threat. To him, it would seem that most South Africans prefer North America and European migrants/immigrants. In addition migrants from The South African Development Community (SADC) are more tolerated than those from more northern countries, such as migrants from West Africa and francophone African countries.



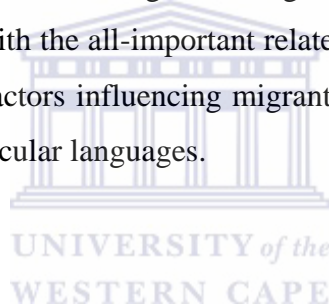
In this era of globalization, Heller (2007:137) writes that migration is no longer understood as a 'one-time displacement'. Instead, globalization implies an increased local diversity that is affected by cross cultural interactions (Kubota 2002:13). Migration and contact between people is therefore of interest to researchers who want to determine how people interact with others in contact situations where many languages coexist. In the context of this research, language issues become even more complicated as the context where these migrants reside is diverse in terms of culture, language etc. and people are expected to function in these diversities.

Pennycook (2007) contends that the different types of languages or repertoires migrants possess will allow them access to 'different scales of sociolinguistics phenomena'. This is to suggest that, language is only meaningful in interactions, taking into consideration time,

place and the fact that the society is organized and stratified. In addition, as Blommaert (2007:5) points out, access and control to resources, including linguistic ones, are ‘unevenly distributed’ in most societies. It is my expectation that the different languages that Cameroonian and Nigerian migrants have brought with them to Cape Town in addition to the ones they have picked up will enable them to gain access to the means that will guarantee their survival, e.g. jobs, businesses, homes, education, health care, safety and security, etc. However, the factors mentioned above may make such access problematic.

2.2 Conceptual Framework

This section discusses concepts related to migrants’ language practices and choices in the era of globalization. It commences with the all-important related field of language and identity in new spaces and then considers factors influencing migrant language choices like motivation and emotional investment in particular languages.



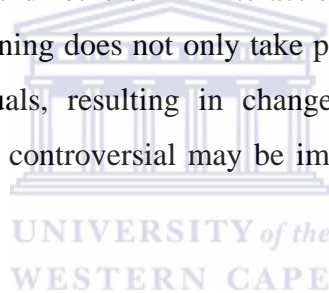
2.2.1 Language and Identity

The issue of language and identity has taken on a different turn in the postmodern era. According to Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004:13), “variationist and socio-psychological approaches view identities as relatively stable and independent of language”. However, they argue that people take up different identities in different contexts and “people may accept, contest, transform and re-transform an identity during an interaction”.

Multilingual speakers’ identities vary and change as contexts change. Authors such as Makoni and Pennycook (2006:3) have also argued that there is a need to move away from the traditional or structuralist notion that views identity as something that is fixed, to a more modern notion that sees identity as something that is changing and flexible. In addition, Butler (1990) and Pennycook (2007:58) contend that identity should be seen as performance -

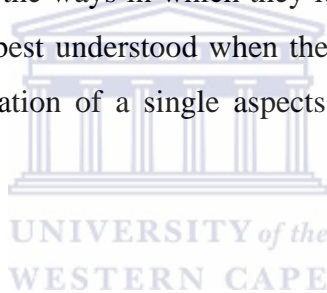
something that changes over time and space, noticed only when in interaction. As was noted above, people have multiple identities which change in accordance with different times and spaces, and people use language to constantly define who they are in a world that is not static (Pennycook 2007:110). The complications that come up with identity issues especially in migration contexts imply that people will take up many identities and will also need to constantly switch between these multiple identities. This means that people will need to bargain as far as their identities are concerned.

The fact that people have many identities implies that they will at one moment be identified incorrectly by others or be given identities they don't like. In such a situation, people will be expected to negotiate their identities and this can be through the way they position themselves. Positioning, as Davies and Harre (1990:48) state, is a phenomenon where speakers position themselves and others in interaction. According to Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004: 20-21) positioning does not only take place during interaction, but it may also take place within individuals, resulting in changes in self-representation. Such a positioning within interactions if controversial may be immediately challenged in the same interaction.



Post-structuralist literature on identity and language learning as a social practice focuses on the construction and negotiation of second language identities (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004; Norton 1995 and 2000; Piller & Takahashi 2006). Pavlenko & Blackledge (2004: 13) argue that language is “a means to legitimize, challenge and negotiate particular identities and to open up new identity options for some groups and individuals”. Furthermore, people use languages to question their identities in situations where they have been given false identities or identities they do not like. When such identities are disputed, it gives way to new identities to those that have been falsely identified and this usually happens to people who are in minority or are oppressed. This is of particular interest to me because I am dealing with a migrant population and my interest is in how a change of space has influenced their choice of language, and if this new language has created a new identity for them.

The poststructuralist approach also highlights that identities are multiple (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004:16) and therefore people's identities change as the context changes. A Cameroonian or Nigerian migrant for example may speak isiXhosa when s/he is with an isiXhosa speaker, but switch to Pidgin English, French or English when s/he meets a Cameroonian to signal a particular identity. And naturally this switching of identity is accompanied by shifts in emotion, which I discuss below. For Bucholtz (2009:146) the social meaning of linguistic forms is most fundamentally "a matter of fleeting interactional moves through which speakers take stances, create alignment and construct their identities and not of social categories such as gender ethnicity, etc." The style or way people position themselves sociolinguistically or are positioned by others does not depend on how society categorizes people but on how skilfully people interact with others. This is in line with the poststructuralist perspective that highlights the fact that "identities are constructed at the interstices of multiple axes" (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004:16). This is to suggest that since individuals often shift and adjust the ways in which they identify and position themselves in different contexts, identities are best understood when they are approached in their entirety rather than through the consideration of a single aspects or subject position (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004: 16).



According to Clement (1980) when people move to a new environment the new language and culture do not replace the original language and culture, and the individual now has two languages and ethnic group as cultural reference groups. Language is an important marker of identity and people are identified based on the language(s) they speak. Cameroonian and Nigerian migrants that were interviewed speak English and Pidgin English as well as other ethnic languages. The type of English and pidgin they speak makes them different from other speakers of English and pidgin. There is further identification between Cameroon and Nigeria in that the English and pidgin spoken by Cameroonians and Nigerians are different. These differences can be quite difficult to pick up or noticed by someone who is not from the two countries. However the English and pidgin they speak are strong markers of identity.

2.2.2 Migration, Space and Language Acquisition

Migration and Space are two other concepts that interact closely with language acquisition. This research study looked at how migrating to a completely new space affects people's patterns of language use. According to Gumperz (1982:154) every communicative event happens within a time frame and in a space and both time and space have an impact on what happens and/or can happen in that space or context. From a sociolinguistic perspective, context is very important and its contribution is not a passive but an active one. My interest is in how space affects language, particularly that of migrants moving into a new space. Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck (2005:198) argue that a change in spatial environment clearly affects our capacity to deploy linguistic resources and skills, and this imposes a set of requirements on us which we may fail to meet. It also implies that when people move from one place to another, their capacity to use language may also change. This change may either be a positive or negative one. Blommaert *et al.* (2005:2) further state that physical space and distance become cultural and social, and start having semiotic effects. This means that when people move, they do so with their culture to a new space where interaction is expected to take place between the two cultures in the new environment.



Vigouroux (2003) argues that the behaviour of migrants is determined by the number of places they have visited. A change of space also implies a change of language use and practice (Blommaert *et al.* 2005: 211). This is to suggest that when people change their environment, their language practices change as well. According to Vigouroux (2005:241), space is a notion borrowed from other domains namely, Sociology, Anthropology and Geography. The notion of space is relevant in linguistic issues because languages are embedded in space and that 'every' discourse says something about a space and that every discourse is emitted from a space. Like linguistics, space is complex and multilayered (Vigouroux 2005:241). Although, according to her, space is seen in the light of particular complexities, it cannot be separated from the events happening within it. In other words, space is both physically and socially constructed.

Does the new environment in which Cameroonian and Nigerian migrants find themselves influence their choice of language acquisition and use? Is their presence in Cape Town affecting the way they use language? Answers to such questions will be provided in the subsequent chapters.

2.2.3 Motivation, Attitudes and Language Acquisition

According to Eggins and Slade (1997), Second Language Acquisition (SLA) and motivation research has been at the center stage of sociolinguistics for nearly half a century. There is a debate about the extent to which learners' attitudes toward learning a second language affects their overall ability to learn that second language (Eggins & Slade 1997). Attitudes are therefore important in the process of language acquisition. These attitudes are sometimes realized explicitly from speaker's texts or they are realized through indirect expressions (Eggins & Slade 1997, Martin & White, 2005). Researchers such as Clément (1980), Dörnyei (1998), Tremblay and Gardner (1995) and Deci and Ryan (1985) have labeled motivation as a key factor for success in language acquisition. These researchers argue that learners with high levels of motivation will be more successful, and those who show more negative attitudes will be less motivated and less successful. In a similar vein Baker (2001) identifies four basic parameters that come into play in the process of language acquisition i.e. motivation, opportunities, capability and cost of learning. To Baker, people need to be motivated to learn a new language; opportunities to learn the language need to exist, learners need to have a functioning brain capacity to learn the language and they need to expect some reward from learning the language.

In the process of my understanding of how motivation works in relation to language learning, I came to realize that Gardner's (1982) socio-education model is important in understanding how integrative and instrumental motivation comes into play concerning second language acquisition. Gardner identifies four foundational features that predominantly affect language acquisition: social or cultural setting, individual learner differences, educational environment, and context. He further divides individual learner differences into four separate categories:

intelligence, language aptitude, motivation, and anxiety (Gardner 1982). Furthermore, Dörnyei (2001) has developed the ‘process model approach’ in which he contends that learners go through a three-part phase, that of choice motivation, executive motivation, and motivation retrospection.

Dörnyei (2005:1) refers to motivation as ‘an abstract hypothetical concept that we use to explain why people think and behave the way they do’. Dörnyei (2001:69) argues that the role of motivation in second language acquisition is closely influenced by research in motivational psychology. He however argues that the two types of motivation, viz. integrative and instrumental motivation, have failed to capture precisely the influence of strong *negative* emotional influences like fear that may accompany people’s need to learn particular languages. This aspect is explored more fully in this study.

According to Robert and Waugh (2004:4), the most important and well-researched component of internally driven motivation falls under the category of self-determination which includes the concepts of integrative, intrinsic and instrumental motivation. I shall first sum up what the literature provides on integrative motivation. Gardner and Lambert (1972:134) proposed that ‘an integrative and friendly outlook towards the other group whose language is being learnt can make the learner to become more aware of the audio-lingual features of the language, making him or her to be more observant as to the language forms of pronunciation and accent’. Gardner (1985:54) later defines *integrative motivation* as that which fosters a feeling of belonging to the target language group as the learner develops ‘some sort of a psychological and emotional identification’ to the native speaker community. In further research, Gardner (2001) reflected on whether someone can truly learn a language if s/he does not like the speakers of the language. This is an issue I also addressed in my research.

A better understanding of the role of integrative motivation can be seen in the example given in the work of Robert and Waugh (2004:5-6) in which they describe the role of integrative motivation in their analysis of Kay Danes, an English-speaking Australian imprisoned in Vientiane, Laos. The story below is a personal communication carried on October 10, 2003

on Kay Danes by Robert and Waugh (2004:6-7). This research respondent reported that most of her closest friends were Thai, Lao, or Hmong speakers with whom she developed feelings of community and belonging. Through interactions with members of these target languages, Danes became an integral part of the larger non-English speaking prison population, and she subsequently learned their languages. According to Robert and Waugh (2004:6) interacting with the target language speakers was probably the most important factor that helped Dane acquire the language. Danes felt she reached the point where she was no longer an English-speaking Australian and by the end of the year spent inside Ponthong prison, she had almost forgotten how to speak English because according to her, 'her mind was undergoing some changes'. Danes thought basically that she was losing her national identity. Danes' experiences fit the description of extreme integrativeness provided by Gardner (2001:12) which involves complete identification with the community and possibly even withdrawal from one's own group (Gardner 2001:12). Gardner adds that the learning context, the learners' willingness and availability to communicate with the target language culture must also be taken into consideration. In the scope of this study, I am curious to see if I will find such examples of integrativeness among my respondents.

Instrumental motivation is the next major type of self-determined motivation I have examined. For Gardner and Lambert (1972:15), instrumentally motivated individuals are those that are interested in using the cultural group and their language as an instrument of personal satisfaction, and this with limited interest in the other people. Gardner (2001:10) argues that people who have an instrumental motivation focus on a practical purpose that learning the language would serve for them. Some researchers argue that instrumental motivation enables people to learn a language for the purpose to get ahead in society.

Gardner and Lambert's (1972) two-way analysis of motivation is worth mentioning in this research. They argue that instrumental motivation is important especially for learners who have reasons for learning a second/foreign language for job opportunities, cultural immersion, and communicative necessity. They further argue that, integrative motivation, on the other hand, relates to learners who have a personal desire to learn about the language and its speakers and to be enriched by the culture (Gardner & Lambert 1972). Gardner (1985), in defining motivation argues that four elements must be present for learners to be considered motivated. Learners must have a goal, desire to achieve the goal, positive attitude as well as

effort for them to be considered motivated. It is therefore difficult to talk about language learning motivation without talking about attitudes. For Gardner and MacIntyre (1992) positive attitudes, supported by a favourable environment, play a major role in language acquisition.

Intrinsic motivation is the last significant variety of self-determined motivation. Walqui (2000:4) makes reference to a definition of intrinsic motivation by Deci and Ryan (1985:255) who argue that intrinsic motivation relates to basic human needs for competence, autonomy and relatedness. Therefore, intrinsic motivated activities enable the learner to engage in learning for his/her own sake because of the value, interest and challenge in learning a second/foreign language (Walqui, 2000:4). Similarly, Dörnyei (2003:38) argues that intrinsic motivations enables the learner to engage in activities that are enjoyable, while Noels (2001:45) believes that intrinsically motivated orientations refers to reasons for learning a second language derived from one's internal pleasure and interest in the activity and the spontaneous satisfaction that is associated with it. It is therefore important to understand how the social context surrounding language acquisition affects the learning processes. This type of motivation was also addressed in this study – were my respondents motivated to learn isiXhosa because it is enjoyable to do so or because they had other reasons for learning the language?

The research on motivation is characterized by a lot of criticism and counter criticism. Researchers such as Dörnyei (2003) and Mills, Pjares and Herron (2007) have criticized Gardner's model of integrative motivation on the ground that it is too broad and they have questioned its effectiveness in explaining real-life cases of motivation in language learning. Dörnyei's (1998) process model approach took center stage in the late 90's and early 2000's. Dörnyei (2005) identified a three-phase model in the recent history and evolution of the study of motivation, which contributed to an understanding of second language motivation research as a dynamic process. The three phase model includes a social psychological period, the cognitive situated period and the process-oriented period. These phases emphasized the importance of valuing a language community, or rather the context of the learning.

The notions of *language desire* and *investment* are two other important concepts related to motivation. According to Piller and Takahashi (2006:59-60) language desire is a concept that “is dialectically constituted in the relationship between the macro-domains of public discourse and the micro-domains of individual experiences”. They add that “if desire is discursively accomplished, it is obviously context-specific just like language and power”. They conclude that individual desires and expressions are structured by “the discourses of desire, values, beliefs, and practices circulating in a given context” (Piller & Takahashi 2006:61). Language desire was therefore another valuable concept that I could apply to my participants’ account of their language learning and emotional experience in their daily practices and encounters, and added to my understanding of to what extent my participants were motivated to learn the isiXhosa language in Cape Town.

Norton (1995:17) also looked at the notion of *investment* as an attempt to capture the relationship of the language learner to the changing social world. The notion of investment sees the language learner as having a complex social identity and multiple desires. Norton further explains that when learners speak, they are not only exchanging information with the target language speaker, but they are constantly shaping and reshaping a sense of who they are and how they relate themselves to the social world. Therefore, an investment in the target language is also an investment in learners’ own social identity (such as learning a new language) and such an identity is constantly changing across time and space. My Cameroonian and Nigerian respondents may therefore have expected some returns on their investment in acquiring the isiXhosa within the context of Cape Town.

Esser (2006:16) takes the concept of investment further, and sees it as a position adopted from the economic theories of language acquisition. He contends that it is possible for adults to actively and intentionally want to learn a new language. Adult language acquisition can be seen as an outcome of an active action and thus as an intentional investment. In other words, for adults to learn a language they must be actively involved in the learning process, and they must also expect some reward in the form of investment. This is unlike with children where learning may take place unintentionally. The fact that the migrants in my study are motivated to learn the language indicates their awareness of the function of the language as well as its benefits. In support of the arguments by Norton and Esser, Mehrpour & Vojdani (2012:44)

argue that learner attributes and activities are “profoundly influenced by the economic environment emerging through globalization and technology forces”.

The economic reason for learning a language, and seeing that language as a ‘marketable commodity’ (Block and Cameron 2002 cited in Mehrpour & Vojdani 2012:49) may be one of the motivating factors for Cameroonian and Nigerian migrants in Cape Town to learn isiXhosa.

2.2.4 Emotion, Motivation and Language Acquisition

Motivation in learning a new language entails a lot of energy and effort and so people’s emotions need to be aroused to get the desired result. Language learning especially with adults is a stressful process and learner’s emotions need to be considered as in the context of my research. Lutz (1988: 5-7) believes that emotions can be better understood when people are talking about themselves like in diaries or through interviews and transcriptions, as is used in this study. Similarly, Parrott, (2004:376) defines emotions as ‘a reaction to personally significant events, where “reaction” is taken to include biological, cognitive, and behavioural reactions, as well as subjective feelings of pleasure or displeasure. Feelings therefore are an important aspect of emotions especially with humans.

Robinson (2002:63) claims that researchers in the field of language learning have not paid sufficient attention to emotional phenomena. Robinson (2002:63) sees even Krashen’s well-known concept of the ‘affective filter’ (Krashen 1981; 1982) as too passive to fully capture the role of emotion, and therefore attitudes alone are not likely to be sufficient to support motivation. Authors like Gardner (1985), Crookes and Schmidt (1991), Oxford and Shearin (1994), proposed that the difference between someone who is engaged in learning a language from the one who is not engaged lies in the emotion experienced during language learning (Robinson (2002:63). For Robinson (2002:61), emotion functions as an amplifier, providing the intensity, urgency, and the energy to propel behaviour. Emotion has an impact on everything we do, and the stronger the emotion, the stronger the impact. The study of emotion

is thus important in the search for why Cameroonian and Nigerian migrants are motivated to learn isiXhosa.

Pavlenko's (2006:36) contribution to language learning motivation and emotion cannot be ignored. She claims that emotions are believed by many to motivate language learning and that the issue of emotional experiences entails reflecting on people's feelings. These feelings are always something personal, private, internally embedded, and thus difficult for someone to talk about. Pavlenko maintains that activities such as writing diaries, providing oral responses or reflections also reveal how feelings are shaped by concepts specific to a particular medium shared with other speakers (Pavlenko 2006:36). Pavlenko recognizes the importance of context as a framework that enables people to express their feelings or to have them recognized.

Many researchers believe that emotions are shaped by what people experience in life and the environment in which the events happen. An example of this is Kaplan's essay (1994:60) on language *memoire*, which is cited in Pavlenko (2006:38). Writing about emotions that motivate language learning in a variety of contexts, Kaplan contends that these emotions more often involve desire, fear, greed and the need to escape than a wish to communicate or to achieve empathy with others. Prieto (2010:284) is more concerned with whether second language acquisition researchers should focus on the relevance of isolated emotions, or if a broader construct capable of integrating all possible feelings can be more relevant. Happiness, embarrassment, anxiousness, nervousness, depression, euphoria, fear, humiliation, and anger are some examples of emotions students' learners exhibit in the language learning situations'. Emotion is thus an important aspect to consider in studying especially language acquisition by adults.

I am particularly interested in finding out how the emotion of *fear* forms part of the motivation of my respondents for learning isiXhosa. Cameroonian and Nigerian migrants in Cape Town live in constant fear of xenophobic attacks, especially those that live in predominantly black townships like Khayelitsha and Langa. Xenophobia is commonly known as a dislike of foreigners. In many dictionaries, xenophobia is most frequently defined as 'an

intense or irrational dislike or fear of people from other countries’ (South African Concise Oxford Dictionary, 2002). Dyers & Wankah (2012: 237) also note that, in the context of South Africa, ‘foreigners are often identified by their language, or inability to use the local languages/dialects. Even if they can use the local languages, they often speak these with a distinctive accent’. This study therefore also investigates the impact of xenophobia on my respondents and its role in their acquisition of isiXhosa.

2.3 Conclusion

The globalized late-modern world is one that is truly interconnected and people and commodities including languages are constantly on the move. The fact that people move along with their languages makes the issue of language a force to reckon with, especially in a digital world. When people move, they move into other spaces that are also filled with people and resources. These contact situations often lead to obstacles and challenges, whose consequences cannot be underestimated. In order to gain more insight into language use and identity construction among Cameroonian and Nigerian migrants in Cape Town, this chapter started by framing late modern multilingualism with a focus on globalization, migration and multilingualism. The chapter has also looked at how migrants acquire and use language in a multilingual context. In particular, it has looked at the issue of the motivation for acquiring new languages, and has also explored the link between emotion and language acquisition.

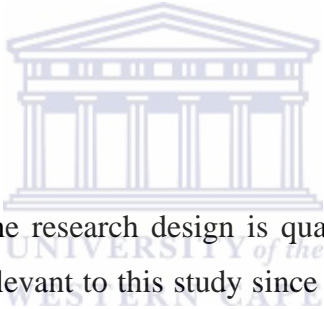
CHAPTER THREE

Research Methodology

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodological approaches in the study. The chapter begins with an introduction to the research design, followed by a description of sample collection technique. This is followed by a presentation of data collection procedures, data analysis procedures and the scope and limitation of the study.

3.1 Research Design



As was noted in Chapter One, the research design is qualitative in nature. The qualitative research method is particularly relevant to this study since it deals with human beings - their personal values, meanings, beliefs, thoughts, and feelings. The study was also informed by the socio-constructionist paradigm, which, according to Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Painter (2006:7) aims to show how versions of the social world are produced in discourse, and demonstrates how these constructions of reality make certain actions possible and others unthinkable.

This study is also informed by the interpretive paradigm. Geertz (1973), cited in Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter (2006:321) argues that the purpose of interpretive analysis is to provide ‘thick description’, which is a thorough description of the characteristics, processes, transactions, and context that constitutes the phenomenon being studied. While interpretive research is interested in the ‘subjective understandings and experiences of individuals or groups, social constructionist researchers want to show how such understandings and experiences are derived from (and feed into larger discourses)’ Terre Blanche et.al

(2006:279). This should be in the language that is common to the phenomenon, as well as an account of the researcher’s role in constructing this description.

3.2 Sampling and Sampling selection technique

The research participants included Cameroonians and Nigerians from all walks of life; male and females aged between 25 years and 50 years. The study included 20 participants of which 10 participants from each nationality and 6 participants of which 3 participants from each country were used in the interviews and focused groups respectively. I used both genders since this was expected to provide greater insights into what Nigerians and Cameroonians think about learning a new language in their new space. I also wanted to know how their sense of their own identities had been affected and how they used language in their new space. The selection of participants aged 25-50 aimed at interviewing those who had at least spent some years in South Africa and had picked up some South African languages. The participants were purposefully selected to get a variety of responses.

Table 3.1: The Research Population (real names not used)

Participants	Nationality	Age	gender	Job	Location
Paul	Cameroonian	35	Male	Hospitality	Maitland
Franck	Cameroonian	27	Male	Student	Goodwood
Grace	Cameroonian	29	Female	Hairdresser	Maitland
Collins	Cameroonian	37	Male	Business	Langa
Uncle	Cameroonian	41	Male	Trader	Phillipi
Peter	Cameroonian	30	Male	Business	Brooklyn
Darius	Cameroonian	38	Male	Student	Bellville
Mba	Cameroonian	29	Male	Student	Maitland
Joe	Cameroonian	32	Male	Business	Parow
Nene	Cameroonian	30	Female	Hospitality	Mowbray
Francis	Cameroonian	33	Male	Technician	Phillipi
Okafor	Nigerian	34	Male	receptionist	Maitland
Sam	Nigerian	28	Male	Business	Pineland
John	Nigerian	40	Male	photographer	Maitland
Lawrence	Nigerian	26	Male	Student	Pineland
Winston	Nigerian	27	Male	Business	Maitland
Joel	Nigerian	31	Male	Trader	Parow
Emma	Nigerian	29	Female	Trader	Maitland

Malla	Nigerian	25	female	Student	Kenilworth
Esaki	Nigerian	26	Female	Hospitality	Maitland
Ola	Nigerian	25	Male	Barber	Langa
Esther	Nigerian	28	Female	Student	Parow
Quinta	Cameroonian	31	Female	Hospitality	Parow
Tawani	Cameroonian	40	Male	Business	Parow
Lawson	Nigerian	32	Male	Student	Parow
Chris	Nigerian	45	Male	Trader	Parow
Standly	Cameroonian	32	Male	Trader	Parow

To find my participants, I visited different areas of Cape Town; including Parow, Phillipi, Maitland and Khayelitsha, and I looked for Cameroonians and Nigerians living in these areas. I went to *shebeens* (local drinking spots) where I could meet most of my respondents. At times, I simply approached any Cameroonian or Nigerian in any social gatherings and interviewed some on the spot while others gave me their contact numbers to call them for later appointments. I also collected data from either their business sites or their homes. The selection of Cameroonians and Nigerians was advantageous for me as they spoke common languages like English and Pidgin English that I also speak. The absence of a language barrier therefore made it easy for me to investigate what motivated them to acquire some Cape Town languages and to find out whether or not by acquiring these languages their identities had been altered. They also participated freely knowing that I was a foreigner myself.

To the best of my knowledge, no previous research has been done on this particular topic with this group of immigrants.

3.3 Ethical Statement

Strict research ethics were adhered to this study. Firstly, I explained to each participant what my research was all about and I stated clearly that their participation was voluntary. They then signed a letter of informed concern (see Appendix E), which also provided detailed information about the aims and objectives of the study. I also informed them that they could

withdraw from the study at any time they wished. In this manner I ensured the following conditions of ethical research:

Privacy and Confidentiality

Participants in this study were ensured right to privacy, confidentiality and anonymity. This means their real names were not mentioned while writing up the paper.

Recording

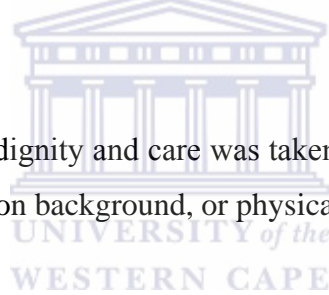
Tape recorder was used for recording the data and when the study was completed all tapes were destroyed. The collected data was stored and its security secured.

Reporting

Participants in this research were informed that copies of the final thesis would be made available to them upon request after it had been assessed

Integrity

I made sure I protected people's dignity and care was taken not to discriminate based on sex, age, race, religion, status, education background, or physical abilities.

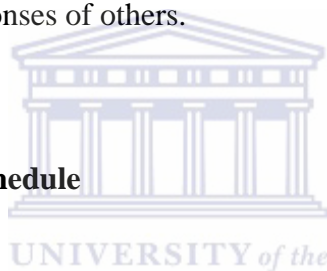


3.4 Data sources and Data collection procedures

I started with a short questionnaire for those who expressed an interest in the research project. I then set up an interview schedule for individual interviews. The interview questions used during the individual interviews can be found in Appendix B. Since I used a tape recorder the information from participants was stored in its most natural and safe form. Tape recording also facilitates transcription and guarantees accuracy.

I selected participants purposefully to suit my study. During the process, I noticed that the Cameroonian and Nigerian migrants in Cape Town usually prefer to settle in the same parts

of town. Some of the areas where I found these nationalities living together included Maitland, Woodstock, Mowbray, Parow, Philippi and Khayelitsha. I also found out that those who live in black townships of Cape Town such as Philippi and Khayelitsha mainly ran businesses in the areas like shops and hairdressing salons. Those who were ordinary employees lived in other more suburban areas such as Goodwood and Kenilworth. It was easier for me to meet the business people in one place, such as shebeens, their workplaces, or their homes. I arranged my interview schedule to fit in with the availability of the respondents. The attitudes of many respondents towards my request for an interview were positive except for some Nigerians who refused to be interviewed. Some accepted interviews but they insisted that tape recorders should not be used. In such a case I wrote down their responses as they spoke. This gave me an opportunity to familiarize myself with the data. I also reflected on why some people refuse to be audio recorded. Most of my interviewees were questioned and interviewed as individuals making it impossible for them to be influenced by the views and responses of others.



3.4.1 Setting up an interview schedule

Armed with a short list of questions (see below), I approached various respondents in different settings. Having introduced myself and explained the purpose of my research, I simply read out the questions and wrote down the respondents answer on the answer sheet. I strove to keep the atmosphere as relaxed and informal as possible. Using this data, I set up individual interviews with the willing respondents.

Figure 3.1. The Introductory Questionnaire

1. What is your name?
2. How old are you?
3. Where do you stay?
4. Are you interested in learning any South African language? If yes, which ones and why?

5. Do you think learning the language will help to improve your circumstances in South Africa in any way or not? If yes why? If no, why not?

6. How do you intend learning the language?

3.4.2 Individual interviews

The interview schedule led to individual interviews which were recorded. The interviews gave room for a common exchange of experience between the researcher and the respondents. The interview questions were generally designed in an open-ended manner that covered the thematic areas and backgrounds (reasons or motives for learning a new language). The questions were open-ended so that participants could express themselves in their own words. In this way, I was able to understand the participants' feelings and day-to-day activities and experiences in a natural way, and this helped to make the data more trustworthy and specific. I conducted twenty individual interviews -10 with Nigerian respondents and 10 with Cameroonian respondent, most of which lasted for about 30 to 45 minute.

The interview procedure was shaped and directed by the responses of the interviewees. I managed to stay within the themes of the study. I used the language that best suited each respondent; more specifically, I asked the interview questions in pidgin in case the respondent was not well educated, but in Standard English with the more educated respondents. I also made sure I used their words (participants) as much as possible to make the work more credible and trustworthy.

3.4.3 Focus group interviews

A focus group can be defined as a group interview centered on a specific topic (focus) and facilitated and coordinated by a moderator or a facilitator which seeks to generate primarily

qualitative data, by capitalizing on the interaction that occurs within the group setting (Sim & Snell 1996:189). Kitzinger (1995:299) sums up the essential role of the focus group as follows; ‘the idea behind the focus group method is that group processes can help people to explore and clarify their views in ways that would be less easily accessible in a one on one interview’. For Krueger (1994:10, 35), focus group interviews are economical ways of tapping the views of a number of people, simply because respondents are interviewed in groups rather than one by one. It also provided information on the varieties of attitudes and opinions in the context of the interaction that occurs between participants in contrast to the rather static way in which these phenomena are portrayed in questionnaires studies (Morgan, 1998:32, 53).

The focus group discussion participants were three Cameroonians and three Nigerians. I mixed the two nationalities to get similarities and differences based on the research questions. The focus group interviews lasted for over an hour, and I could intervene in the course of the discussion only when there was an argument among participants or when too many participants were speaking at the same time. In that case, my role as a researcher was limited to moderate what the respondents were discussing; and I could stop them and intervene whenever I felt they tended to deviate from the topic. The discussion at one time centered on how Cameroon and Nigeria men prefer dating South African ladies because according to them they are too proud and expensive to keep. The role of a researcher within the focus group is therefore pivotal to the nature and quality of the data collected. Sim (1998:347) with regards to moderating the focus group has this to say:

The personality, social identity and interpersonal skills of the focus group moderator will influence powerfully the process of interaction that takes place, and the way in which the moderator behaves, and the verbal and non-verbal cues that he or she gives to the group are crucial in this respect.

I also used voice recording in the process in order to allow for verbatim analysis. Notes were also taken down while the recording was in progress.

3.5 Data Analysis

The data were analyzed using three methods: thematic content analysis, discourse analysis and appraisal theory. According to Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006:322-326), thematic data analysis involves reading through your data repeatedly, and engaging in activities of breaking the data down (thematizing and categorizing) and building it up again in novel ways (elaborating and interpreting). After collecting the data, I first transcribed the interviews taking note of semiotic signs such as silence, sighs, laughter, posture, gestures etc., which influenced the underlying meanings. After familiarizing myself with the data collected by reading the transcript over and over again, I established my units of analysis which were lexis, clauses, sentences and grammar tied to the transcribed interviews. It was thus a text based analysis, which allows for an in-depth consideration of data (Leedy 1997:107). I coded and categorized emerging themes or ideas that were common in the data. I looked for commonalities in my respondents as well as the commonalities between the Cameroonian and the Nigerian data. Granheim and Lundman (2004: 106) look at codes as manifest (surface meaning) and themes as latent content (deeper meaning). Coding, categorization and thematization helped to determine the different reasons or motives behind the acquisition of isiXhosa by my respondents.

Discourse Analysis was another main analytical tool. Cameron (2001:12) suggests that we make sense of discourse partly by making guesses based on knowledge about the world. Of course, the message we have in any text depends on the context, and once again, its interpretation relies on real-world knowledge that is not contained in the text itself. Interpreting whatever these migrants said was based on the context in which the interaction took place and of course also being shaped by the world's events. No text is original and so information from other text must be considered to interpret the original. Researchers who favor discourse analysis over supposedly more 'objective' methods argue that paying

attention, not merely to *what* people say but to *how* they say it, gives additional insight into the way people understand things (Cameron 2001: 14). Discourse analysis therefore can be seen as a method for investigating the ‘social voices’ available to the people whose talk analysts collect Cameron (2001:15). Cameron (2001:15) is of the view that many social researchers believe that people’s understanding of the world is not merely expressed in their discourse; instead, it is actually shaped by the ways in which they use language that is available to them. This is to suggest that reality is “discursively constructed”, as it is made and remade as people talk about things using the “discourses” at their disposal (Cameron, 2001:15).

In order to identify discourses in the data, I looked for binary opposites as suggested by Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006:331). For example positive-negative, good-bad etc. and often such binary oppositions are implicit in text, as only one side of the opposition is explicitly mentioned. I identified recurrent terms, phrases and metaphors used in the data. These recurrent terms gave me an idea of themes that develop from the data. It also led to a critical analysis of the data. Human subjects spoken about in respondents’ responses also led to the identification of certain discourses in the context of the research. I used the framework of discourse to analyze the voices of my respondents taking into consideration what they said, how they said it, where they said it and with whom they were talking. In as much as I used grammatical and lexical forms, I was particularly concerned with speech acts. According to Moeschler (2001:2) there has been a common sense argument that suggests a possible extension of speech act theory to discourse analysis. More specifically, speech acts are not isolated moves in communication as they appear in discourse. Austin (1992), Grice (1975), and Searle (1965, 1969, 1975, have offered some basic insights into this new theory of linguistic communication. This theory is grounded on the assumption that speech acts which are the minimal unit of human communication are not linguistic expressions, but they are the performance of certain kinds of acts (Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper, 1989:2). It is this minimal unit of analysis as proposed by (Wodak, Barbara & Kerswill, 2011: 61) that has helped me to analyze the language of my respondents and what they do with the language.

The last analytical tool I used was Appraisal Theory. This was used to analyze the interpersonal relationships in my data through the participants' use of modality and evaluative vocabulary. The branch of appraisal theory that this study draws on is based on the work of Martin and White 2005; Bock 2007; White 2001 and 2005 and Eggins and Slade 1997. Appraisal as used in this study was approached from a Systemic Functional Linguistic perspective (SFL). Therefore, attention was paid to grammar and lexis plus discourse semantics as systems of meanings. These systems of meanings were analyzed and participants' voice and agency were established.

In doing the appraisal analysis the data collected were textually and contextually analyzed. The attitudinal elements that portray participants' emotions as well as elements that contain judgments such as affect, judgment and appreciation were identified and analyzed in terms of its significance in the context. I got most of the appraisal items from adjectival phrases, verbs of affect and appreciation, adverbs and phrases. In addition, the evaluative functions these element play in the migrants' specific context was also explained. I adopted Eggins and Slades's (1997:137) approach in analyzing appraisal elements in this research. These researchers outline four steps in analyzing appraisals; including identifying, classifying, summarizing, and interpreting appraisal items.

After identifying all the appraisal items in the transcript, I then classified and tabulated each of the appraisal items into the three categories that are appreciation, judgment and affect. I then summarized the lexical choice of the lexical item used by the Cameroonian and Nigerian data. Lastly I interpreted and tabulated the number of appraisals displayed within the Cameroonian and Nigerian data. This analysis of appraisal provided me with a deeper insight into the themes that arose from the data as well as the identities portrayed.

I commenced with an analysis of the emotions of my research participants with regards to their acquisition of isiXhosa. Emotions were not analyzed in isolation but they were tied to pieces of texts, so the primary analysis was a text-based linguistic analysis situated in the qualitative approach. The concept of text used here is not in the traditional sense but it follows Halliday's perspective of a unit of meaning materialised by a chunk of language that

is actually used for purposes of communication in a context of situation. My understanding of 'text' drew on Halliday's (1989:10) definition of a text:

We can define text, in the simplest way perhaps, by saying that it is language that is functional. By functional, we simply mean language that is doing some job in some context, as opposed to isolated words or sentences that I might put on the blackboard [...]. So any instance of living language that is playing some part in a context of situation, we shall call a text. It may be either spoken or written, or indeed in any other medium of expression that we like to think of.

Modality as an important strand in appraisal was also analyzed. Modality as another component of interpersonal meaning refers to 'the speaker's attitude or opinion' (Palmer 1986:2, 14). For Halliday (1970:335) modality "is a form of participation of the speaker in the speech event where he or she intrudes and takes up a position". Modality, being the attitudinal relationship between the language-user and what he says, can be expressed in a variety of ways. Besides the modal auxiliaries, modality may be expressed by adjectives such as possible, likely, necessary and the like, or by adverbs like possibly, perhaps and may be (Huddleston, 1988: 80) Grammatical and lexical features from respondents' responses were identified and analyzed to construct an interpersonal meaning of modality.

Informed by the work done by Halliday (1970:325-340) modalities of ability, necessity, possibility and usuality were identified and tabulated to get a better understanding of participant's position or stance in the acquisition of isiXhosa. It also led to a better understanding of themes and identities raised in the data. It was important to adopt this linguistic tool of modality to bring out participants points of view in the process of acquiring isiXhosa. I followed the argument by Eggins and Slade (1997:99) that modalization and modulation as the two types of modality will temper participants' interaction. With regards to modalization I used the degree of probability, possibilities they have in the learning context and what they can do with these possibilities. Modalities of usuality, necessity and conditionality were also identified to further show participant's points of view with regards to IsiXhosa acquisition. With modulation, the qualification of the message is with reference to degrees of obligation, inclination and capability (Eggins and Slade 1997). I made use of

obligation, inclination and capability to show how committed participants were in the acquisition process and what they could do in the learning process and with the language learned. Both attitudinal and modal analysis tables can be found in Appendix D.

3.6 Research Limitations

Data collection was limited to Cameroonians and Nigerians based in Cape Town. Due to time constraints, a lack of funds and therefore the need to do the extensive transcribing required myself, I interviewed only twenty people. I also encountered some problems collecting data from the Nigerian respondents. Some of them did not want to be audio-recorded, but in such situations I made notes while interviewing them.



3.7 Conclusions

This chapter presents the methodological framework used in this study. The chapter started with the research design and established that the design of the study was qualitative. Apart from the fact that the research was qualitatively inclined in nature, it was also informed by the socio-constructionist and the interpretive paradigm. The research setting, population and the sampling selection technique has also been looked at in this chapter. Tape recording as a data instrument, interview schedule, individual interviews, focus group interviews, as data collection procedure were also examined. Also mentioned in this chapter is the ethics of research such as privacy and confidentiality, recording, reporting and integrity. The chapter ended with the data analysis procedure namely discourse analysis, thematic content analysis, and appraisal theory as well as the research limitation.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS I: The Major Motivations for Learning isiXhosa and the Effects of learning it on the Respondents.

4.0 Introduction

By applying thematic content analysis and discourse analysis to my raw data, I was able to find the answers to the major research questions of this thesis:

- What are the principal motivations behind the acquisition of isiXhosa by Cameroonian and Nigerian migrants in Cape Town?
- How successful have they been in acquiring this language?
- To what extent has their acquisition of this language enabled them to survive in Cape Town?
- Is there any evidence that their identities have been changed and modified in this new space?

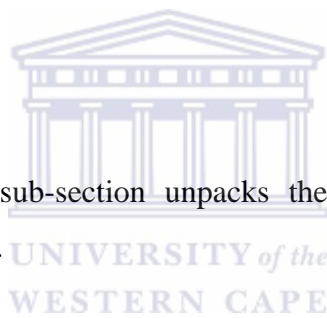
Each of these questions will now be responded to individually in the following sub-sections.

4.1 Respondents' motivations for learning isiXhosa

The first research question seeks to find out what the principal motivations are behind the acquisition of isiXhosa by Cameroon and Nigerian migrants in Cape Town. Learning a new language also entails taking on elements of another culture. It could be its vocabulary, pronunciation, language structure, cultural practices etc. In looking at the issue of

motivation, I took into consideration the cultural aspects of my respondents. In the individual, this cultural context is expressed in terms of one's attitudes, beliefs, personality, characteristics, ideas, expectations, feelings etc. That is why the attitudes of my research population towards the learning context and situation were taken into consideration. In order to understand participants' motivation for learning isiXhosa, integrative and instrumental motivation, were important factors to be considered. The desire for integration, the desire and willingness to communicate in isiXhosa, and the importance of communicating in isiXhosa were some of the themes that emerged from the thematic content analysis, and which appeared to be related to integrative motivation. More instrumental motivation arose from themes such as learning a language for personal gain, enhancing personal security and avoiding xenophobia. The issue of demotivation also came up in participants' data although on a minimal scale.

4.1.1 Integrative Motivations



As the heading suggests, this sub-section unpacks themes that arose from integrative motivations for learning isiXhosa.

The desire to be part of the Xhosa community

Some participants in this study were motivated to learn isiXhosa because they wanted to integrate and socialize with the isiXhosa speaking community. Data from some of the participants like Paul, Peter, Collins and others showed that these migrants were motivated to learn isiXhosa in order to interact and integrate with the Xhosa community. This desire to integrate was raised more by those who actually stayed in the black townships. Staying there acted as a motivating factor because they were more exposed to isiXhosa speakers than those who lived in other suburbs.

Textbox 4.1 below shows some responses to the question ‘**Why are you motivated to learn Xhosa?**’

Collins: *Learning Xhosa is helping me to interact with people especially in the location where I live. Xhosa will help me interact because the citizens don't speak English very well. My girlfriend is always angry when I do not speak Xhosa so am motivated to learn it.*

Peter: *I learn Xhosa because it helps me to integrate with Xhosa speakers.*

Grace: *it's very important to learn Xhosa especially working in the location where you have to integrate with the people.*

Esaki: *I am motivated to learn Xhosa because it helps me to interact and understand more when I am at the train station and in taxis. I need to interact with my girlfriend and also follow up what is happening in the program Ekasi (TV program).*

Textbox 4.1 The desire for integration

These migrants wanted to speak like isiXhosa speakers, they wanted to communicate with them, and they wanted to integrate, socialize and be part of their culture. Cape Town as the context of acquisition was also important for language learning. Cape Town as the context of this research is not only rich culturally but is also favorable for acquisition as reflected in the data. This is in line with (MacIntyre 2002:48) idea that integrativeness which begins with the cultural belief present in the socio-cultural milieu reflects the individual's level of interest in social interactions with the target language group and attitudes towards the learning situation. The linguistic and cultural diversity of the research population coupled with that of Cape Town as the context of the research is a motivating factor of wanting to belong. This feeling of wanting to belong fosters their integration into the isiXhosa community. They want to use the language to identify with the isiXhosa community and also for social interactions. Some have made friends with the isiXhosa speakers and so will want to speak with them using their local language especially as Collins one of the participants said '*citizens don't speak English very well*'.

The desire and Willingness to Communicate in isiXhosa

Apart from learning the language to integrate and socialize with the Xhosa community, the participants also need the language for communication purposes. In Second Language Communication studies (McCroskey & Richmond, 1991), MacIntyre, Clement, Dörnyei and Noels 1998: 547) have attempted to conceptualize willingness to communicate (WTC) in L2 thereby explaining the individuals readiness to enter into discourse at a particular time with a specific person using the second language. According to these authors it can only be possible

with the following variables: Linguistic self-confidence, desire to affiliate with a person, interpersonal motivation, intergroup attitudes, motivation and climate. Textbox 4.2 captures some responses which highlight the importance of communication in isiXhosa for my respondents:

Paul: *It's important in Cape Town because more than 50% speak Xhosa Every-where you go everybody speaks Xhosa.*

Peter: *As a businessman Xhosa has helped me communicate fluently with my customers and I as a business man is able to sell. I use Xhosa to communicate and sell.*

Nene: *It's best to learn Xhosa formally for those who intend to stay a bit longer, in the locations it **helps** me to communicate with people.*

Joe: *Am trying to learn Xhosa or Afrikaans because it can help me to communicate with my costumers.*

Lawrence: *Am motivated to learn Xhosa because I use the language to buy in the market or communicate with others.*

Winston: *Well I will put it this way **definitely** you ought to know what is going on around you –the condition around me need to be familiar to me ya so I need to know some of the South African languages I am not very good at languages but when somebody says hi then you need to respond back.*

Joel: *I am motivated to learn Xhosa because when I speak Xhosa, Some Xhosa speakers are happy that you can speak their language and communicate fluently with them rather than English language. This is motivating me to learn the language.*

Ola: *My business is situated in Langa (Town ships of the poorer community) so I think it's very important for me to learn Xhosa because I can easily communicate with others in my community.*

Textbox 4.2: Importance of Communication in isiXhosa

The need to communicate with the Xhosa community has come out clearly from the participant's data. Some of them need to use the language to communicate with their isiXhosa speaking friends, family and customers in their daily practices. The fact that some of the isiXhosa speakers are happy to hear foreigners speak their language is also acting as a motivating factor. IsiXhosa is also one of the official languages spoken in South Africa and a good number of speakers are found in Cape Town. The majority of the isiXhosa speakers live in the Black Townships and love speaking their language as one of the participants put it 'everywhere you go everyone speaks Xhosa'. From what the participants said the context of acquisition and communication is to a greater extent characterized by positive attitudes.

4.1.2 Instrumental Motivations

Instrumental motivation deals with people who acquire a language because they have a specific goal in mind to achieve (Gardner (2001). To Gardner people who acquire languages through instrumental motivation are seeking a goal that doesn't seem to involve any identification or feeling of closeness with the other language group. Instead, it focuses on a more practical purpose that learning the language would serve for the individual. In a multilingual society such as Cape Town, migrants' acquisition of one or more of the host languages has often depended on what they think they can do with these languages before they realize what they actually *cannot* do with them (Vigouroux , 2005). I tried to reflect on the statement above in the light of my research.

Learning a language for personal gain

The participants are conscious of the fact that they are foreigners and so are motivated to learn IsiXhosa because its functions are numerous to them. According to Vigouroux (2005) African migrants are reluctant to learn the languages as a result of their often negative experiences as foreigners and black Africans as well as the power dynamics in Cape Town's linguistic markets. According to her, the cost and benefits of learning a language are carefully weighted and migrant's choice is generally driven by the economic opportunities that a language may provide to them. The interviews I collected differed to an extent from Vigouroux's claim that migrants are reluctant to learn South African languages. Participants were not only driven by economic opportunities but were also interested in integrating with the Xhosa community and be part of this community as seen above. However, those in the informal economy who are into private businesses showed more motivation in learning isiXhosa than other sections like students and skilled workers. The following except shows participants' motivation to learn isiXhosa for personal gain when asked why they are motivated to learn IsiXhosa.

Clara: If I have the opportunity to learn a language in Cape Town I will go for Afrikaans. IsiXhosa is very insignificant in Cape Town because the greatest population in Cape Town speak Afrikaans. Mostly what one always gets to hear in Cape Town is Afrikaans so why should we be interested in learning IsiXhosa that can't help us in this context. I will benefit from Afrikaans and English more than IsiXhosa.

Stanley: isiXhosa is insignificant in Cape Town because in most of the institutions Afrikaans dominates and that can be seen right from the reception. It is needless for me to learn isiXhosa except am planning to go to Eastern Cape. If I have a child here I will prefer that child to learn Afrikaans and not Xhosa.

Chris: I don't want my children to learn IsiXhosa because I want their future to be bright. I made sure I put them in English medium schools because with English they have a better chance of succeeding.

Textbox 4.3 Learning a language for personal gain

Language as a commodity

Economic hardship or crisis is a reality in contemporary Africa, and indeed the entire world, and language is becoming more and more important if one needs to succeed economically.

Collins and **Joseph** whose businesses are in Bellville and Parow respectively desire to learn isiXhosa to improve communication with their customers. Joseph one of the respondents puts it: *'Xhosa will help me to communicate with my customers. Customers are happy when I speak in their first language and it's good for my businesses.'*

Textbox 4.4 show comments from other respondents from both Cameroon and Nigeria, who also appeared to have largely instrumental motivations for learning isiXhosa:

Collins: *I am motivated to learn Xhosa, I have picked up some Xhosa with customers and it has helped with my business.*

Peter: *It helps me in my business and going to a business site it has help me communicate fluently and I as a business man is able to sell. I use Xhosa to communicate and sell and when I speak Xhosa they are happy. This is therefore a motivating factor for me to learn Xhosa.*

Joe: *am trying to learn Xhosa or Afrikaans because it can help me to communicate with my costumers. My customers are happier when I speak in their first language and it's good for my business.*

Grace: *am motivated to learn Xhosa because it will help me too much because I have salon in the location. When I speak a bit of Xhosa to my customers it makes them more comfortable and they always come back'.*

Okafor: *I can use Xhosa to look for a job so it's important I learn it.*

John: *I am a business man, freelance photographer. It's important to learn this language and my motivation is because I live in a foreign country and if you want to be successful in your business I think it is good to learn one of the languages in order to be accepted in the community and to succeed.*

Emma: *I have picked up Xhosa and Afrikaans. I think with the nature of my job (sell at green Market Cape Town it is very important to learn especially Xhosa. eh...i can use Xhosa to look for a job*

Ola: I speak Xhosa fluently now, because I have lived in the location for 7 years and most of my customers are Xhosa speaking. I think it's been very important for me to learn Xhosa because I can easily communicate with others in my community and with my customers who are always happy to hear me speak their language. They always come back to my salon when they hear me speak Xhosa.

Textbox 4.4: Instrumental Motivations (Language as a commodity)

The desire for economic survival and success comes through clearly in participant's responses shown above. The more practical purpose for these migrants is for them to know the language, use it with their clients and be able to attract more isiXhosa speaking customers. Thus they are also motivated by the notion of *investment* (Norton 1995:17). They see isiXhosa language as an asset that they can use to penetrate the local labor market, and also as a means of gaining economic empowerment that most of them have come to seek in South Africa. Being able to speak and understand isiXhosa will have a positive impact in their businesses.



Learning a language for security purposes

Another issue that motivates these migrants to learn isiXhosa is their need for security and safety as a result of crime (particularly violent crime) and insecurity that is common in South Africa. The responses in textbox 4.5 capture this insecurity, and how knowing isiXhosa might avert dangerous situations from developing.

Frank: *I am motivated to learn the language for security purpose and I will advise any one to learn the language for security purposes, for example one can be planning to kill you like during the xenophobic attacks on foreigners.*

Collins: *Xenophobia is common in South Africa so I need to know the language of the black people so that I can understand certain things that they say. My advice for foreigners is that it always important to learn one of the languages because it can help during xenophobic attacks.*

Joe: *Xhosa helps you out in ugly situations so I see the need to learn it.*

Grace: *My motivation to learn Xhosa is because people can say things behind your back but if you understand the language then there will be no problem.*

Okafor: *Am motivated to learn Xhosa because I can use it to protect myself*

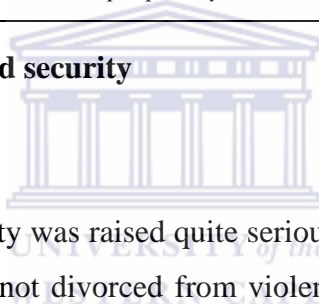
John: *The issue of xenophobia if you live with your people, you know you will be safe in case of any attack.*

Joel: *South Africa is a country whereby sometimes issues of xenophobia comes and if you do not understand their language and there is war you will find it difficult to escape.*

Esaki: *Xhosa can help me to know if an in danger.*

Ola: *with the knowledge of Xhosa I can hear what people say and it can keep you safe.*

Textbox 4.4.1 Issue of safety and security



The issue of security and insecurity was raised quite seriously by the participants. For Harris (2002), South African society is not divorced from violence. A solid body of research also highlights what has been termed South Africa's 'culture of violence' (Simpson, G., Mokwena, S. & Segal, L , .1992); Hamber, 1997; Hamber and Lewis, 1997), with it being a country where people see violence as a means of solving whatever problem they have or are encountering. To Harris (2002:179-80), violence is "an *apartheid* legacy" and is seen as "a norm or an integral part of the social fabric". The participants have as such resorted to learning one major language of the host community as a means of minimizing this violence. They believe that understanding and speaking this language will make people take them for South Africans and as a result they can reduce some of these crimes or violent attacks. Much depended of course on the areas where they reside, as will be seen in Chapter 5.

Darius: *IsiXhosa is important in Cape Town especially to the black community (Black Townships.*

Uncle: *I like Philippi except that they are crimes there. Girls hide phones in their breast because they feared it will be seized.*

Grace: *I live in Maitland but have a hair salon in Khayelitsha. It is ok living in Khayelitsha but with the many crimes reported there every day one get scared and that is why I chose not to live there except my business.*

Textbox 4.4.2: Safety and security

Language Learning and Xenophobia

Another issue related to insecurity that motivated the research participants to learn isiXhosa was to protect themselves from xenophobic attacks. This protection against xenophobia is important in the context of this research because xenophobia is a phenomenon that is common in South Africa. Migrants in their responses as to why there are motivated to learn isiXhosa declared that their motivation to learn isiXhosa is because they *want to protect themselves*. Though they did not say exactly what they are protecting themselves against it was very obvious that they were referring to the issue of xenophobia. Language is an important marker of identity and so if they can speak isiXhosa it means they can identify with the isiXhosa speakers and as such will not be easily marked as foreigners in the case of an eventual attack.

Most of these attacks are taking place in the black townships, and this prompted me to interview two migrants from Khayelitsha to get their views concerning Xenophobia. According to Xavier, a car mechanic, 90% of people in Khayelitsha speak isiXhosa. He reported that they were not always nice to foreigners. The following is an excerpt of my interview with him and Larry.

Researcher: Have you ever been attacked by South Africans?

Xavier: *No, not really but I have friends and people that I know that have been victims of Xenophobia.*

Researcher: Why do you think they attack these foreigners?

Xavier: *I think it is just jealousy because when they see you a foreigner doing something and succeeding they turn to be jealous of you. If you give them that same job they won't do it. I started working in a hospitality industry before I decided to open my mechanic workshop in Kahyelitsha. I was recruited there during winter and according to the manager of this restaurant most South Africans come to work only in summer and when it is winter they abandon their jobs. When they find you working there they say you have come to take away their jobs. They forget that it is the same job they have abandoned. So I think Xenophobia is just an act of jealousy.*

Larry: *Another reason is that the men are angry that we (foreigners) have come to take their girls and so these men are always victims of these attacks. We therefore want to learn this language because during such attacks you can be attacked for just no reason and if you are a black. We are forced to learn this language for protection and if you can speak and understand the language then you can pick up anything they say negative about you or planning evil against you.*

Textbox 4.5 Language learning and Xenophobia

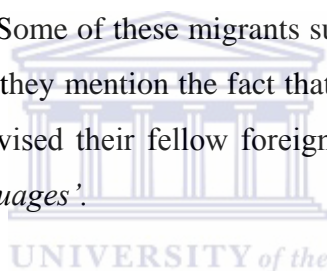
Some of the participants used negative words like *jealousy*, *anger*, and *hatred* to show how these xenophobic acts are perpetrated on black migrants. This act of *jealousy* is as a result of the fact that black South Africans believe their jobs are being taken by the migrants as Xavier one of the participants states above. Meanwhile the *anger* is as a result of that fact that these South Africans feel foreigners are taking away their wives as Larry declares above.

Aware of these *frustrations*, *hatred*, *jealousy* and *anger*, the atmosphere is thus characterized by fear. Living in constant fear is motivating them to learn isiXhosa, and they think that if they know this language the issue of fear will be overcome. The isiXhosa language if learned will act as protection for them, and they will be able to understand some of the negative things said about them.

4.2 The concept of ‘foreignness’ and motivation for language learning

According to Harris (2002), the *scapegoating hypothesis* locates xenophobia within the context of social transition and change. Hostility towards foreigners is explained in relation to limited resources, such as housing, education, health care and employment, coupled with high expectations during transition (Morris, 1998; Tshitereke, 1999). Tshitereke suggests that South Africa's political transition to democracy has exposed the unequal distribution of resources and wealth in the country (1999: 4). In this context, Tshitereke notes, 'people often create a ‘frustration-scapegoat’' (1999: 4), i.e. they create a target to blame for ongoing deprivation and poverty. Foreigners, this theory suggests, often become such scapegoats.

Migrants, who are considered the vulnerable in society, are the unfortunate victims of such angry manifestations. The idea of foreignness as mentioned earlier is a motivating factor for these migrant to learn isiXhosa. Some of these migrants such as Frank, John and Joel talked about the issue of foreigners and they mention the fact that they as foreigners are motivating them to learn isiXhosa. They advised their fellow foreign brothers that *‘as foreigners it is imperative to learn the local languages’*.



Frank: *As one of the national languages it is imperative for foreigners to learn Xhosa.*

John: *I am motivated to learn Xhosa and my advice to foreigners is to try and speak the language because it is very important. Even when I was in Nigeria I was able .to speak at least four different languages. If one learns the language he or she becomes free in the society. Learning the language as a foreigner in Cape Town is a must.*

It's important to learn this language and my motivation is because I live in a foreign country and if you want to be successful I think it is good to learn one of the languages in order to be accepted in the community. I live in a foreign country and so to know what is happening around me I need to learn their language.

Winston: *When you come to South Africa you must study their language.*

Joel: *It is important to learn Xhosa because I am living in a foreign country and this language is their major of official language.*

Textbox 4.6: Foreignness as a motivating factor

As foreigners, they see it as very important to learn isiXhosa. In addition, they come from countries where multilingualism and multiculturalism is common and almost seen as a norm. One of the participants even said that he could speak more than four languages. Coming from such multilingual and multicultural contexts is therefore adding to their motivation to learn isiXhosa.

4.3 Demotivation regarding language acquisition

Although most of the participants in my study showed that they were strongly motivated to learn isiXhosa, some showed no interest in learning the language at all, and these included post graduate students and those who at least had some good living standard or well-paid jobs. Textbox 4.7 captures the reasons for their lack of motivation for learning isiXhosa.

Clara: I have no interest in learning Xhosa and if I have an opportunity to learn a language in Cape Town I will go for Afrikaans and not Xhosa. Xhosa is insignificant in Cape Town because in no cooperate institution in Cape Town will you inter and be greeted in Xhosa. In most of the institutions in Cape Town only Afrikaans and English is spoken.

Stanley: It is needless learning Xhosa in Cape Town except am planning to go to Eastern Cape. If I have a child here I will prefer that child to learn Afrikaans and not Xhosa.

Chris: I don't want my children to learn IsiXhosa because I want their future to be bright. I made sure I put them in English medium schools because with English they have a better chance of succeeding academically and economically.

Francis: am not interested in learning IsiXhosa because it is a difficult language

Textbox 4.7: Demotivation for learning isiXhosa

Some of the participants believed that the isiXhosa language, apart from being quite difficult to learn, did not provide the opportunities and advancement that proficiency in English could give them. In Cape Town for example English and Afrikaans are clearly the dominant languages, particularly in the institutions and corporations. Some of the respondents have gone as far as preventing their children from interacting with Xhosa children for fear that

they will pick up the language. Thus some are demotivated because the language has no economic value as Chris a business man in Parow states. His preference for his children to go for English instead of isiXhosa is in line with Baker (2006) who believes that people always have the pressure on them to move to the majority language.

4.4 The extent of isiXhosa acquisition by Cameroonians and Nigerians in Cape Town

This section examines to what extent participants have acquired IsiXhosa in Cape Town and if they can actually survive with what they have learned. It also looks at other key themes that emerged from the data related to the acquisition of isiXhosa, in particular, how the identities of the migrants have been affected by their exposure to this language.

4.4.1 A satisfactory level of acquisition

Textbox 4.8 shows people's level of satisfaction with their proficiency attained thus far in isiXhosa.

Okafor: *I have actually learned Xhosa from friends, colleagues, and 'on the street you learn it'. I have learned Xhosa informally and 'have picked up quite a lot' and can use the language at work street buses and train, everywhere'. I am not satisfied with my knowledge of Xhosa 'but if I have the opportunity I will learn it'. ' it meets his needs '.*

For example I can use Xhosa to look for a job or protect myself. I can say things in Xhosa like how are you? Greetings or give commands like sit down come here. When I speak Xhosa, the Xhosa people 'often laugh at my accent' but are happy and will encourage me.

Paul: *I have learned Xhosa from friends and on the TV I am not satisfy with my knowledge of Xhosa Not satisfied I want to know more before I live this country It's important in Cape Town because more than 50% speak Xhosa Every-where you go everybody speaks Xhosa When I speak, they are happy, but one can tell am not from South Africa. They laugh at me but they encourage me.*

Esaki: *I have learned Xhosa from my girlfriend and on the TV especially in the program Ekasi (TV program) Even though I like Xhosa, I am not satisfied with my knowledge of the language. But 'I want to know more*

before I leave this country'. Everywhere you go everybody speaks Xhosa and it is best to learn it formally. They laugh at me when I speak but they encourage me.

Toby: *I have tried to pick up a few words in Xhosa like how are you, where are you going, and lets go , and that he can use it with his girlfriend and also on the street. I like to learn it formally but at the moment I am learning it informally. It can help me to interact and understand more when I am at the train stations and in the taxis. When I speak Xhosa my girlfriend and a lot of people encourage me but sometimes they laugh at me.*

Lawrence: *I have picked up Xhosa and Afrikaans.*

Researcher: A word in isiXhosa?

Toby: *Molo (Good morning), Unjani (How are you?), Uyaphi (Where are you going?). I learn Xhosa at my work place.*

Not satisfy with the knowledge and will still want to learn more. I use the language to buy in the market or communicate with others.

Textbox 4.8: Level of satisfaction with isiXhosa proficiency

According to Gardner (2007) the instrumentally motivated person may acquire just those aspects of the target language that are necessary at an elementary level, such as simple routines and patterns. In talking about these participants success at acquiring isiXhosa, one needs to look at their exposure to the language, attitudes about the language ,and the purpose for learning the language. By exposure I mean exposure to the people from whom these migrants have learned the language. I also looked at the context of acquisition taking into consideration the attitudes of the migrants and that of the isiXhosa speakers. Above all, I looked at how successfully they had been able to acquire isiXhosa in accordance with their goals and objectives.

Most of the participants as shown above showed that they had picked up the basics of the language like greetings, asking and giving prices to customers, reading the weather, giving commands etc. They were able to function with what they had acquired; for example they were able to sell and make profits, socialize with their isiXhosa speaking families and friends, look for jobs and use the language for educational purposes. Although most of the participants have mastered some aspects of isiXhosa, they however declared that they were not very satisfied with their knowledge of isiXhosa but since they could use it to function in society it was at least giving them some satisfaction, such as less fear of xenophobia and insecurity.

4.5 Identity, culture and language

Language and cultures converge (Dyers 2008) and so therefore in learning a new language, one needs to be part of the target language culture. Culture is implicated in language and vice versa. As far as culture is concerned, participants in this study have indicated that they have at least learned some South African cultures and especially the Xhosa culture since one cannot learn the language of a people without being implicated in their culture. Although they have been able to learn and act some of these cultural practices, they still have this strong identification with their own culture. This is in line with Appadurai (1996), Flusty (2004) and Hannerz (1998) who write that people may move around the world, but they still strongly identify with and remain attached to the place in which they grow up.

People are not only identified by the language they speak, but also by practices other than language. In as much as Cameroonians and Nigerians have modified the way they dress in order to identify more closely with the target community, they still at some times dress according to their cultures. However the way they dress is determined by the occasion or situation. They felt comfortable wearing particular clothing in some areas and uncomfortable in other areas and this impacted on their daily activities. They use words like *scared*, *dangerous* etc. to show how they felt when they were in areas that they considered insecure, where they would be scared to dress in their traditional attire as this could easily identify them as foreigners.

The movement of Cameroonians and Nigerians to Cape Town has altered the relationship they have in relation to 'place'. Place here could mean where they come from (their respective countries) and where they now live (the host country). The attachment to homeland and home as 'place' is important within the context of this research, particularly in relation to identity construction. The participants showed their sense of longing or belonging at an emotional level.

John: I choose to live in Maitland because *'there are more of foreigners there and 'I like to reside in a place*

where I have my people and home made things around me: There are different kinds of food in South Africa and although I have come to like some of the foods I still adore the home made food which are sold exclusively in places like Maitland and Parow. A Nigerian man cannot live without yam and garri (produce from cassava tuber).

Chris: It is very common to hear people speak pidgin English in places like Parow and Maitland and so you feel at home when you have to meet people whom you can interact in the Nigerian pidgin English.

Grace: *My salon is in Kahyelitsha but I live in Maitland because I feel more at home when I live where a lot of Cameroonians are. I can dress the way I want when am in Maitland and not be scared of anything.*

Joe: *I chose to stay in Parow because my business is there, and a lot people from Cameroon stay here (Parow). At time you do feel like you are at home (Cameroon) seeing many people from home or visiting restaurants that sells home-made food.*

Textbox 4.9 Identity and Culture

To some of the migrants, areas like Maitland and Parow with a high density of their compatriots can be considered ‘a home away from home’. Apart from the English language they use to communicate most of the time, Pidgin English is also a common language used by these migrants for interaction in these areas densely populated by migrants. Communicating in this language is not only an act of identification but also it brings back home memories. . Pidgin English is a common lingua franca that is widely used in Cameroon and Nigeria. It is also common in these areas to find shops where homemade food both cooked and uncooked is sold.

The picture shown below is a signboard for one of the African shops that sells African foods in Maitland. On this board is a mixture of different languages, capturing the superdiversity of the area. Some of the items are described in English, Pidgin English, French, one of languages spoken by the Congolese and even an African home language. For example you see the word *groundnut* commonly known in South African as *peanut*, and *pepper* commonly known as *chilli*. The word *garri* that is spelled wrongly is also visible on this board and the French equivalent *tapioca*. *Palm oil* is also translated in one of the African languages as *Mafuta*. The multilingualism displayed on this board reflects the way these migrants use

language. They use whatever language they have at their disposal to make meaning of the space they are in and for others to make meaning out of what they are communicating.

Figure 4.1An African Shop in Maitland



The presence of such signs in the linguistic landscape of a country to which people have migrated creates a sense of feeling at home in this foreign environment, as they now have access to the food normally eaten in their home countries. It is not common to feel such 'home memories' in areas with very low numbers of migrants from the two countries.

The respondents also see certain areas such as Parow and Maitland as ‘home’ in the sense that they don’t have to pay particular attention to how they dress. People dress in particular ways that at times reflects the country they come from. Parow and Maitland as hot spots for these migrants are seen as ‘home away from home’ in the sense that people dress in their traditional attire without the fear of being identified as foreigners.



Figure 4.2. Traditional attire from the North West province of Cameroon.

Seeing people dress in this distinctive manner as the example above, makes them ‘feel at home’ as Grace one of the participants said. It is therefore not an understatement to say that Maitland and Parow are considered by some of the respondents as a ‘home away from home’.

4.6 Conclusion

The chapter presented the major findings for the motivations for learning isiXhosa by Cameroonian and Nigerian migrants in Cape Town, and the effects on these respondents.

Generally most of the respondents showed both integrative and instrumental motivation in their bid to acquire isiXhosa. With regards to integrative motivation respondents showed their desire to be part of the Xhosa community. They also showed their interaction with the isiXhosa speaking community and how they were able to interact with the isiXhosa speakers because of this interaction. Apart from the fact that these respondents had the desire to integrate, interact and be part of the isiXhosa speaking community, they also had that zeal or willingness to communicate in isiXhosa. This integrative motive that fosters the spirit of wanting to belong to the target language group and be identified as part of the group is reflected in Gardner's (1985:54) definition of integrative orientation. The fact that these learners are willing to communicate in isiXhosa was an important aspect that motivated them in learning isiXhosa.

Respondents in the study were also instrumentally motivated to learn isiXhosa. These Cameroonian and Nigerian migrants were instrumentally motivated to learn IsiXhosa for personal gain. This personal satisfaction they hope to gain tallies with Gardner and Lambert (1972:15) definition of instrumental motivation. They were motivated to learn isiXhosa because they hoped the language will help them in their businesses, their job sites and even in their search for jobs. The data revealed that the isiXhosa had actually helped these migrants in their businesses as they were able to attract more isiXhosa speaking customers and hence make better profits. Block and Cameron (2002:5) have argued that language learning and communication skills demanded by globalization and new technologies affect learners' motivation toward more instrumental orientations and thus language is seen as a marketable commodity rather than cultural identity. The declaration made by Block and Cameron that languages are coming to be treated more and more as economic commodities, citing (Heller 1999a), seem to tally with one of the instrumental reason that learning isiXhosa will help Cameroon and Nigeria economically. IsiXhosa can therefore be considered as a marketable commodity wherein if you can understand and speak it then you have something to sell. Most of the respondents have even testified that their knowledge of isiXhosa has helped them to sell more and make profit.

The issue of insecurity in South Africa also came up strongly in the data. The South African context is not divorced from violence as Harrie (2002) has established. This South African culture of violence (Simpson et al, 1992; Hamber 1997; Hamber & Lewis 1997) has instilled

fear in these migrants. The insecurity concerns motivated these migrants to learn isiXhosa. They believed that if they could at least understand and speak some isiXhosa, then it could minimize some of these insecurities. They could for example take up a Xhosa identity by speaking the language especially in ugly situations. Related to the issue of insecurity is that of Xenophobia. Xenophobia as defined in the dictionary is a strong or irrational dislike or fear of people from other countries’.

As noted by Dyers and Wankah (2012: 237), foreigners in the context of South Africa are often identified by their language, or inability to use the local languages/dialects. Such language challenges and other factors like wearing their traditional clothing make them vulnerable to attacks. The ongoing xenophobic attacks on foreigners in South Africa have also motivated these migrants to learn isiXhosa. These migrants think that if they can be able to speak isiXhosa and such attacks occur then they can be mistaken for South Africans and as such will not be attacked. They also believe that if they can understand and speak isiXhosa then they may easily understand or pick up some clues in ugly situations. The unequal distribution of resources and wealth in South Africa is a consequence of the transition to a democratic government Tshitereke, 1999:4) suggest. When resources are unevenly distributed, it means many will be discontented. In this atmosphere of discontent, Tshitereke 1999:4) notes that 'people often create a ‘frustration-scapegoat’ and foreigners according to this theory often become such scapegoat. The fact that these migrants are fully aware that they are foreigners and thus ‘scapegoats’ also acted as a motivating factor for them to learn isiXhosa. Most of them stated that as foreigners they need to learn the language of their new shared space as well as the language of the people they associate with. Understanding and speaking isiXhosa to these foreigners means they will not be identified as foreigners and as such will not become victims of xenophobia.

Not all the migrants I interviewed showed motivation for learning isiXhosa. Baker (2001) has established that people need to be motivated to learn a new language. In the absence of motivation, the migrants were demotivated or didn’t fit into Gardner’s (1985) definition of motivation. They didn’t see any reason learning isiXhosa because to them English or even Afrikaans was the better option in Cape Town. One of the respondent for example said that everywhere in Cape Town be it in corporate, public or private establishment the dominant language(s) in such is English and Africans. Such respondents who showed no interest in

learning Xhosa explained that they would prefer learning Afrikaans in Cape Town and isiXhosa if they have to move to Eastern Cape.

The extent of isiXhosa acquisition by these migrants in Cape Town was also an important consideration. Generally, most of the migrants reported feeling satisfied with their level of acquisition. To them, if they could understand and speak some basic isiXhosa it would just allow them to carry on with their daily activities. From their responses, what they have learned is actually helping in their businesses, job sites, education and their daily activities. However, they also declared that they would love to know more if they had more opportunities for learning.

Finally the issue of identity construction and/or modification was also dealt with in this chapter. In as much as the migrants tried to maintain their linguistic, cultural and other practices, they also went through some modifications. For example, linguistically they tried to modify the way they speak, trying to pronounce words the South African way. They have also tried to copy and modify some cultural practices that pertain to the South African culture.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS II: Attitudinal and Linguistic Analysis

5.0 Introduction

This chapter provides the findings of the attitudinal and linguistic analysis of the data. Drawing on Appraisal Theory, the data were analyzed by looking at how the participants expressed their attitudes towards isiXhosa and its speakers either directly or indirectly. These feelings were analyzed based on the positive and negative values they expressed in their process of acquiring isiXhosa.

A key area of investigation was the emotions of the participants. Each kind of inscribed attitude identified in the data was coded for the kind of attitude expressed that is coded as affect (feelings of emotions), appreciation (expressing likes and evaluations of a process or objects) and judgment (judgment about ethics, morality, or social values of other people). Also, sub-categories of attitudes as affect were also identified and analyzed. Apart from picking out these attitudes from categories such as happiness/unhappiness, security/insecurity, satisfaction/dissatisfaction and desire, the attitudes and motivation of the participants were also expressed through a range of grammatical structures. Xenophobia or the attack on foreigners is still an ongoing phenomenon in South Africa. The emotions of security/ insecurity were determined mainly with regard to where participants actually lived in Cape Town. They also showed feelings of happiness/unhappiness, satisfaction/dissatisfaction in relation to the language acquisition process.

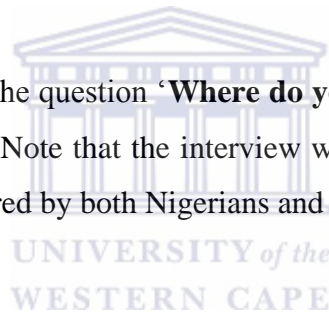
The final section of the chapter is an overview of the attitudes expressed by the participants. These attitudes were determined by content analysis, the analysis of the emotions expressed and the Appraisal analysis.

5.1 Analysis of the Emotions expressed

5.1.1 Security/ insecurity

The issue of security / insecurity was analyzed based on where participants were staying at the time of this study. Suburbs such as Maitland, Parow and Brooklyn appeared to be favored by many Cameroonians and Nigerians because, according to these participants, rents are affordable in these areas and they are easily accessible in terms of public transport; and this helps them to get to their places of work. People also often shared their accommodation with other foreigners in order to be able to afford it.

Textbox 5.1 shows responses to the question ‘**Where do you live? And why do you choose to live in that particular area?**’ Note that the interview was conducted in Pidgin English, a lingua franca understood and shared by both Nigerians and Cameroonians.



Okafor: *I Live in Maitland because it's affordable and accessible. I am not happy living there but it's close to where I work.*

Paul: *Maitland is good because it is accessible to the train but I am not happy living there. It is overcrowded or populated.*

Winston: *I had no choice. This is where facility of house is cheaper. There is no big deal about it. Just decide to live in Maitland because it is close to Cape Town and Bellville where my business is. Transport is quicker and very close to any place. Actually I can't say am very happy don't like the environment of Maitland it is very rough and full with gangsters.*

John: *If you live with your people then you are safe. Living together as a family minimizes the issue of insecurity.*

Lawrence: *I chose to live in Cape Town because it's one of the best places to live in, it's quiet and peaceful and you are free from xenophobia. I am very happy living here.*

Paul: *Maitland is good because a lot of people who live there are from my country, its accessible to the train station. I am not happy living there because it is overpopulated.*

Nene: *Parow is good because my business is situated there and it a lovely place. I am happy, is a lovely place.*

Bertrand: *I can afford to live in Philippi I am not happy living there, but I am comfortable living there.*

Frank: *I live in Goodwood I am happy living there; I live in a comfortable place.*

Uncle: *Yes I like Philippi except that there are crimes here most girls and women hide their phones in their breast because they fear it will be seized.*

Mba: *I like staying in Maitland because it is a nice place Secured and crime free. Here I have access to train station and even taxi that I can use for transportation.*

Lawrence: *Chose to live in CT because it's one of the best places to live in, it's quiet and peaceful and you are free from xenophobia.*

Malla: *Pineland is one of the best places to live. Yes I am happy living there because it is quiet and peaceful.*

Textbox 5.1: Preferred places of residence in Cape Town

Some of the migrants from Cameroon and Nigeria have identified themselves with a particular location of Cape Town. Maitland is a locality they can call home. Home is any place one has a sense of belonging to. Any place one feels comfortable staying in can be considered as one's home. Most of the participants' responses showed that because of this sense of belonging they are comfortable staying in particular areas. I followed the argument that the global can never be understood except in the way in which it is manifested locally (Beck, 2002). It is for this reason that I found it important to talk about the issue of home and place. Certainly, the increased flow of people around the world through migration, work and travel, combined with the increasing ease to maintain social bonds through information technology, has enabled people to stay connected with groups and places with whom they feel they belong (Appadurai, 1996).

The fact that most of these migrants prefer staying in some particular areas shows that they have some form of identification with the area and the people. John from Nigeria for example says he chose to live in Maitland because *'there are more of foreigners there and 'I like to reside in a place where I have my people and home made things around me.*

From what this participant said it is obvious that most of these migrants have positioned themselves as foreigners, and they chose to live in Maitland because they identify with the rest of the foreigners and also get home made foods and things not usually found in South Africa. Living in Maitland for example makes most of these migrants feel at home. Grace whose salon is in the black township of Khayelitsha lives in Maitland because in Maitland *I feel more at home and because a lot of Cameroonians are in Maitland she declares. She*

chooses not to stay where her business is located but would rather stay in Maitland. Emma, another participant said she chose to stay in Maitland because ' *I stay with other Cameroonians who can help me if I am in difficulties*. The African concept of caring for one another especially in times of needs is echoed by some of the participants. John, another participant from Nigeria for example says he chose to live in Maitland because '*there are more of foreigners there*' and '*I like to reside in a place where I have my people and home made things around me*'.

As stated above most of my interviews were carried out in areas where you get a good number of Cameroonians and Nigerians. These areas included Parow, Maitland, Phillipi, Brooklyn, and Khayelitsha. In answering the question why they chose to stay in these areas, most participants indicated that rent for houses is cheaper and affordable in these suburbs. Many participants indicated that they shared their accommodation with others, which made it more affordable. Participants also liked staying in these areas for their affordability as well as their accessibility to places of work and good transport links. Winston for example said that he liked to live in Maitland because '*it is close to Bellville and Cape Town*'. Most of these migrants depended on public transportations such as taxis and trains; therefore, they preferred staying in the areas where they could easily get a train or a taxi. Nevertheless, some of them indicated that it was not by choice that they chose to live in such areas as Winston stated: '*I had no choice living in Maitland and that this is where facility of the house is cheaper*'.

Cape Town is one of the best places to live in as Lawrence reported - very quiet and peaceful, with less xenophobia than in other parts of South Africa. The respondents used words like 'good', 'lovely', 'quiet' and 'comfortable' to describe their favourite areas, and pointed out that living among other foreigners kept them safe. All these adjectives show the extent to which these migrants liked the area in which they live and what made them happy. Participants like Okafor, Winston and others chose to live in some areas not because they liked them, but because these areas were close to their businesses and they were also populated by other foreigners. Issues of concern included that some areas like Maitland for example was '*overpopulated, crowded, rough and full of gangsters*'. Drug dealers in Parow also contributed to a sense of insecurity. In contrast, areas like Goodwood, Pinelands, and Parklands were painted as good and safe by some participants. They confessed that they

would have loved to stay in such areas. To further support why these migrants prefer living in particular areas, Frank one of the participants, stated: *'I always move with cash so I like living in Goodwood and it is a comfortable place to live'*.

The history of South Africa has had a profound impact on where people of different races could live. Cape Town, for example, still shows the stratification of the apartheid years, and people are described as living in suburbs, townships, locations and squatter camps. In the South African context, those who live in 'the locations' (black townships), are the underprivileged in the society. Some of the migrants from Cameroon and Nigeria happen to stay in some of these locations. Those who live in locations like Philippi, Langa and Kahyelitsha also have mixed feelings about these areas. To some of the migrants, crime and xenophobia characterize these areas and according to Ola, who stays in Langa, *'living in the location has not been easy for me especially when it comes to xenophobia. Sometimes they call me 'makwere-kwere' but I laugh over it'*. *Makwere-kwere* is the name given to foreigners in South Africa. It is used in a derogatory way and it implies an 'outsider' or the 'other'. A participant narrated a story that happened in a taxi that she boarded from Bellville to Cape Town. According to her, a South African woman entered the taxi first and then refused to shift over so that other persons could have a seat. The taxi driver then asked the lady to step down if she did not want to shift. The lady got angry and asked the driver not to talk to her that way and that she was not a *Makwere-kwere*. Statements like this goes to support the fact that the term is used in a derogatory manner. This derogatory name means that these foreigners will need to negotiate this label with which they are identified. Like Ola, most of them said calling them that name doesn't really matter. This is an indication that they accept that identity, but others feel bad and uncomfortable when they are being called by that name.

Although many believe that crime or violence perpetrated on foreign nationals is xenophobic, government officials continue to argue that xenophobic violence is simply the result of crime (Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (CoRMSA) 2001:20). Whether xenophobic or not, violence, crime, and insecurity is a serious concern in South Africa. Yoon and Rugunan (2010:16) state that many South Africans are aware that migrants often do not use the formal banking system and as a result they are vulnerable to attack. They carry and keep significant quantities of cash, often have insufficient security systems, and hardly ever report crimes. They are thus vulnerable to robberies, break-ins and lootings, which make

them soft targets. This assertion was confirmed by participant Frank above as a reason why he lived in Goodwood.

5.1.2 Happiness/ unhappiness

Another emotion that elicited my research participants' attitudes to their acquisition of isiXhosa and the context of the acquisition was that of happiness/unhappiness and satisfaction/dissatisfaction. Most of the participants' data showed generally that they were happy to learn isiXhosa. This happiness resulted largely from the positive attitudes of most South Africans towards these migrants' acquisition of their language, as well as their desire to do so.

5.1.3 Satisfaction/ dissatisfaction

Satisfaction /dissatisfaction were two other emotive components expressed by the participants regarding their acquisition of isiXhosa. Although these migrants were happy to learn the language, they were not satisfied with their knowledge of the language or with certain negative issues that impacted on the process of acquisition. The participants manifested their attitudes both negatively and positively in relation to whether they had either integrative or instrumental motivations, their relationships with, and attitudes towards isiXhosa speakers, and the learning situation. This can be seen in textbox 5.2 in response to the question: '**Are you satisfied with your level of isiXhosa?**'

Francis: *It is promising but I think with time I will pick up more Xhosa. They always approach you with the language so **I have to make an effort to learn it.** Kids will correct you over and over and some kids believe you know the language.*

Paul: *I am not satisfied with my knowledge of Xhosa. Not satisfied I want to know more before I live this country.*

Peter: *I am satisfied with my language of Xhosa. Xhosa meet my needs.*

Collins: *I am not satisfied with my knowledge but no time to learn.*

Darius: *I am not satisfied but I have stopped trading and am now studying.*

Grace: *At the moment I am ok with my knowledge of Xhosa but I am still learning it.*

Okafor: Not satisfy with knowledge, but if I have the opportunity, I will learn. It meets my needs.

Lawrence: Not satisfy with the knowledge I will still want to learn more.

Emma: I am not really satisfied but if I have the opportunity I will take it. It does meet my needs.

Malla: Not really satisfied with the knowledge of Xhosa and i want to learn more.

Textbox 5.2: Satisfaction/dissatisfaction with level of isiXhosa

Generally, most of the respondents declared that they still wanted to acquire more of the isiXhosa language. They were not satisfied with their knowledge of isiXhosa although they were still in the learning process. Their satisfaction thus far was as a result of the fact that they could at least use the language to function in their daily activities. Those who participated in the informal economy of Cape Town by running small business like hairdressing salons or cell phone outlets, or even those working in privately owned corporations used the language with their isiXhosa speaking clients. While some were learning the language for largely instrumental purposes, others had more integrative motivations, given their desire to integrate and socialize with their isiXhosa speaking friends, families and relatives. Some believed that in time they would be able to speak fluently. Although most of the migrants preferred learning isiXhosa informally, others expressed the desire for more formal learning, but could not find places where they could do this, and this was a cause for dissatisfaction. Dissatisfaction was also caused by negative comments and feedback from Xhosa people on their level of proficiency in isiXhosa, which discouraged them despite all their efforts to acquire the language.

Lawrence: A lot of times they will correct my pronunciation .They will laugh at my accent even when I speak English but I just have to laugh back.

Esaki: I have a Xhosa girlfriend who sometimes gets irritated when I cannot speak the language well.

Emma: when I speak Xhosa at times they laugh at me, at times they make joke of me.

Francis: Kids will correct you over and over and some kids believe you know the language. Some do complain about my accent. Others give you the impression that speaking Xhosa will be difficult.

Textbox 5.3 Dissatisfaction with level of isiXhosa

Such comments as the ones above keep participants in a dissatisfied state of mind which of course discourages them from learning the language.

5.2 Appreciation as an Appraisal Tool

5.2.1 Appreciation of migrants Residences

The next attitudinal strand that I have used in my research is that of appreciation. Most of the appraisal categories here have to do with reactions as a result of learning isiXhosa. The question what did you think of it was mostly answered. Appreciation of migrant residences was quite visible as in the following examples.

Paul: I am not happy living in Maitland because it is overpopulated.

Nene: Parow is good and my business is situated there. it is a lovely place.

Lawrence: Chose to live in CT because it's one of the best places to live in, it's quiet and peaceful and you are free from xenophobia.

Winston: Actually I can't say am very happy don't like the environment of Maitland it is very rough and full with gangsters. I would have preferred to live in Parkland because it is a nice place.

Malla: Pineland is one of the best places to live it is quiet and peaceful.

Textbox 5.4 Appreciation of migrants' residences

In this attitudinal strand of appreciation evaluations of where migrants reside could be seen. Areas like Goodwood, Parklands, and Pinelands were some of the areas they positively appraised. These areas were described as *nice, lovely quiet, peaceful and free*. On the other hand areas like Maitland (where most of these migrants are concentrated) and Parow were negatively appraised by some participants and positively appraised by other participants. Some people seem to love the areas while others used negative words like *overpopulated, rough and full of gangsters*. Migrants who live in the black townships like Langa, Kahyelitsha, Philippi and other areas showed little or no appreciation of these areas as most of them indicated that it is for the sake of their businesses that they stay in these townships. They may not be happy living there but they have to because their businesses are situated there. The attitude of these migrants with regards to their place of stay is an indication that South Africa and Cape Town in particular is stratified when it comes to where people live. The moment one mentioned where they live the social status of that person can already be determined.

5.2.2 Appreciation of isiXhosa speakers towards participants' acquisition of the language

Another area of evaluation as far as appreciation is concern is with regards to isiXhosa speakers reaction as far as isiXhosa acquisition by the migrants are concern. How do the isiXhosa speakers react when they hear migrants speak their language? Generally most of the migrants testify to the fact that the isiXhosa speakers react positively when they hear them speak the Xhosa language. The following excerpt shows the appreciation of the isiXhosa speakers when these migrants from Cameroon and Nigeria speak isiXhosa.

Peter: The Xhosa people appreciate my accent and encourage me.

Nene: Their response are awesome

Frank: My accents is funny but they encourage me Their response is positive they are willing to teach me.

Malla: Yes sometimes they know you are not a South African. Some are positive and are happy for you.

Okafor: Xhosa people are happy; they encourage me although some people often laugh at my accent when I speak. Their response is Positive.

John: Their reactions are generally positive.

Colins: Some jealous that you can speak their language and they can't speak yours some laugh when you can pronounce correctly.

Textbox 5.5: Appreciation of Xhosa speakers towards migrants speaking isiXhosa

The positive responses these migrants get from the isiXhosa speakers motivate them to learn the language. Although some of the migrants do get negative feedback from the isiXhosa speakers when they speak, this however does not affect or discourage them from learning the language as Lawrence put it' *they will laugh at my accent even when I speak English but I just have to laugh back.* These negative feedbacks do not only come when they speak isiXhosa but also English as most of the time they laugh at the way they pronounce some English words. As a migrant myself I can testify to the above statement from my own experience that it is common to hear people from Cameroon, Nigeria and South Africa pronounce certain words in English differently. Although this does not apply to everyone, it is common to hear certain words being pronounced differently by these different communities. These differences are noticed at the level of pronunciation and that is why

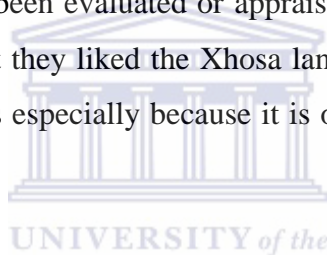
some words such as family, back, money just to name some is pronounced differently as below.

Word	Cam/Nigeria pronunciation	Xhosa pronunciation
Family	[F <u>am</u> ily]	[F <u>em</u> ily]
Back	[B <u>ag</u>]	[B <u>ek</u>]
Money	[M [^] <u>ni</u>]	[M <u>ani</u>]

Table 5.1 Different pronunciation of some English words by Cameroonian /Nigerian and South Africans

5.2.3 Appreciation of isiXhosa by the research participants

IsiXhosa as a language has also been evaluated or appraised by these migrants. Most of the migrants appreciated the fact that they liked the Xhosa language and it is important in Cape Town. The importance to them is especially because it is one of the 11 official languages in the country and in the province



Emma: Xhosa is important because it is spoken in Cape Town and if you deal with people who speak Xhosa then I think you have to learn it. It is important because it is one of the local languages here in Cape Town.

Bismarck: Xhosa is one of the official languages in South Africa. But I think it is relegated to the background. English and Africans dominate.

Paul: I choose to learn Xhosa because it's one of the languages spoken by black south Africans. I like the Xhosa language.

Peter: Xhosa is one of the most popular languages in Cape Town.

Darius: It is important in Cape Town especially to the black community and in South Africa all languages are equal.

Francis: The language has got a lot of clicks sound that makes it's difficult for people to learn.

Bismarck: Xhosa is one of the official languages in South Africa. But I think it is relegated to the background.

Textbox 5.6: Appreciation isiXhosa as a language

Isi Xhosa is important as far as these migrants are concerned and it is the fact that they see it as important that they are motivated to learn it. They believe that learning the language will help them in different ways. Although most of these migrants see isiXhosa as important some

believe that the language is relegated to the background. According to Bismarck, one of the respondents, Xhosa is one of the official languages of the province but English and Afrikaans are far more dominant.

5.3 Judgement of the ‘other’ and Auto Judgement

The appraisal category of judgment for this research is discussed based on how participants pass judgment upon themselves and others in the acquisition process. The discussion takes two dimensions, judgment of social esteem where participants judge their capability, capacity or ability of what they can do with the isiXhosa they have picked up and other things they are capacitated to do. The second dimension of judgment is social sanction, where people’s behavior are evaluated or appraised. Unlike affect and appreciation where one could find both expressions of direct and indirect evaluations, appraisals of judgment were mostly indirectly expressed. In the following discussion I propose to look at the appraisal category of judgment specifically that of social esteem answering the question **how were you able to use or do with the isiXhosa you have acquired?**

Darius: I can greet, ask information, direction, location, quantity, how much, how many etc.

Mba: I can speak just a little but if I was still in Phillip I would have known more than this.

Okafor: I can say things in Xhosa like sit here, how are you.

Bismarck: I can use it with my daughter and mother in law.

Peter: Best to learn formally because going to a business site it has helped me communicate fluently and as a business man i am able to sell.

Textbox 5.7: Judgment of capability: what they can say and do with isiXhosa

Judgment here is passed by the participants themselves on their capacity to use isiXhosa. The use of the modal verb *can* reflects participant’s judgments of what they can do with the isiXhosa they have picked up and how competent they are in using isiXhosa. From what these migrants say, although they cannot talk about competency or fluency in the use of

isiXhosa they can at least speak the basics like greetings, asking for information or direction, reading the weather, and quantities. Peter for example says *I am able to sell because of this knowledge of isiXhosa*.

The appraisal category dealing with social sanction as I mentioned above is mostly indirectly expressed.

Frank: *For example one can be planning to kill you like during the xenophobic attacks on foreigners.*

It can rescue them from different kinds of problems.

Esaki: *it can help me to know if I am in danger.*

John: *if you live with your people, you know you will be safe in case of any attack.*

Textbox 5.8: Indirect expressions of Judgment of social sanction

Frank makes mention of xenophobia and the fact that one can be killed during this process. In a similar note Esaki recounts the importance of learning isiXhosa and one of such is that if you can understand and speak isiXhosa it can help you to know if you are in danger. Another participant says isiXhosa can rescue you from different kinds of problems. The fact that these migrants use words like *kill*, *rescue*, *danger*, and *problem* shows that they are passing judgment on the people or the society in which they live. It is also an indication that the context in which they live in not secure in terms of xenophobic attacks or in terms of crime in general.

5.4 Appraisal Analysis: Modality

Modality is a category of linguistic meaning that allows us to express possibility and necessity. From the data, numerous expressions of modal meanings could be extracted which showed possibility, necessity, inclination and usuality. Participants made use of modal verbs such as *can*, *will*, *have to*, *need to*, *need*, and *ought to*. They also made use of some adverbs such as *definitely*, *always*, *usually*, *easily* etc. to further show how possible and necessary learning isiXhosa is to them.

5.4.1 Possibility: introduced by the modal auxiliary verb ‘Can’

In response to the question ‘**Why are you motivated to learn Xhosa?**’ participants used the possibility of ‘can’ and ‘will’ as can be seen from the data in Textbox 4.3. The use of ‘will’ shows the certainty they have as to what the language will do for them.

Frank: *one **can** be planning to kill you like during xenophobia. It **will** help me in my research and will facilitate my business.*

Collins: *it is always important to learn one of the languages because it **can** help during xenophobia.*

Joe: *I am trying to learn IsiXhosa or Afrikaans because it **can** help me to communicate with my costumers.*

Ola: *I think it’s been very important for me to learn Xhosa because I **can** easily communicate with others in my community and I **can** hear everything people say and it keeps you safe.*

Okafor: *I **can** use IsiXhosa to look for a job or protect myself.*

Mba: *They always speak Xhosa and when they do I **will** always ask what it means.*

Winston: *Xhosa **can** rescue them from different kinds of problems.*

Esaki: *Xhosa **can** help me to know if am in danger.*

Frank: *It **will** help me in my research.*

Grace: *It **will** help me too much because I have salon in the location.*

Okafor: *It is very important in Cape Town because you will need to communicate with others.*

Textbox 5.9: Expressing possibility

In order for language learning to take place the possibility that the language learned will help the learners must exist. As far as Cameroonian and Nigerian migrants learning Xhosa are concerned, the possibility that Xhosa will help them to function in Cape Town was very much embedded in their minds. Their motivation to learn isiXhosa in Cape Town was therefore realized through the ways they expressed the possibilities they had as far as learning isiXhosa was concerned, and to the extent to which they needed this language. Their use of the modal verb *will* in their statements showed certainty that the acquisition of this language would help them economically, socially and otherwise. They believed that the language could help them for protection against crime, violence and xenophobia that is common in the context of Cape Town, and this further motivated them to learn the language. Apart from learning the language for instrumental purposes, *knowing* isiXhosa would also facilitate their integration and socialization with the Xhosa community in Cape Town.

5.4.2 Modality of Usuality

There are certain things that normally or usually happen in the context of language acquisition and that make some of these migrants learn or want to learn isiXhosa. IsiXhosa speakers ‘always’ or ‘usually’ speak their language to anybody they meet especially if the people they encounter are also black. Textbox 5.10 shows how three of my respondents expressed this usuality:

*Francis: They **always** speak their language so if you are with them and don't speak their language you are isolated. They **always** approach you with their language so I have to make an effort to learn it.*

*Mba: I have a brother who is married to a Xhosa lady and so they **always** speak Xhosa and when they do I will **always** ask what it means.*

*Darius: There is **always** a need to learn Xhosa in Cape Town because you cannot spend a day without Xhosa people.*

Textbox 5.10: Expressing Usuality

To these migrants they are normally left embarrassed or disappointed when they cannot speak the language or answer a simple question asked. The modality of ‘Usuality’ is used to show that it is normal for Xhosa people to speak their language rather than to switch to English when in conversation with fellow black people. Owing to this, these participants felt compelled to learn the language.

5.5 Language acquisition as an obligation or a necessity

In explaining why they are motivated to acquire isiXhosa, the participants also used the modality of necessity as can be seen in Textbox 5.11.

John: *Want to know more of Xhosa. I think I **need** Xhosa especially in my work place.*

Frank: *As one of the national languages it is imperative for foreigners to learn Xhosa.*

Collins: *Xenophobia is common in South Africa so I **need to know** the language of the black people so that I can understand certain things.*

Darius: *There is always a **need to learn** Xhosa in Cape Town because you cannot spend a day without Xhosa people.*

Okafor: *with the nature of my job, it is very important to learn Xhosa. It is very important because you will **need to** communicate with others.*

John: *Because I live in a foreign country and if you want to be successful I think it is good to learn one of the languages in order to be accepted in the community. If one learns a language he/she becomes very free in the society. Learning one of these languages is **a must**.*

Winston: *Definitely you **ought to know** what is going on around you –the conditions around me **need to be** familiar to me. I need to know some of the South African languages. When somebody says hi then you need to response. Once you are staying in someone’s country you **have to** be familiar with their language. When you come to South Africa you must study their language so that you will not be a nuisance.*

Joel: *In order to be successful here or to be accepted by the people or to know what is happening around me I **need to** speak one or two of their languages. I **need to** learn the language in order to acquaint myself in happening in South African society. In order to be successful here or to be accepted by the people or to know what is happening around me **I need to** speak one or two of their languages. I **need to** learn the language in order to acquaint myself in happening in South African society. It **can** rescue one from different kinds of problems.*

Textbox 5.11: The necessity for learning isiXhosa

In as much as these migrants were motivated and had the desire to learn isiXhosa, they also indicated that it was an obligation for them to learn this language. As some of them mentioned it, being foreigners was a motivating factor in learning isiXhosa. They needed this language to function in the community; hence they used modal verbs like *need*, *ought to*, *must*, and *have to*, to show how important the isiXhosa was to them. The high probability that they would need this language to function and succeed in the community made it an obligation for them to learn the language.

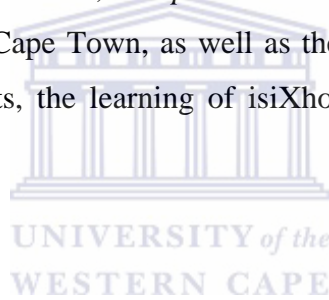
5.5.1 The conditional if as an obligation

These migrants were not only certain of what learning the language would do to improve their circumstances in Cape Town, but they also emphasized the importance of the language with the *if* conditional, as in these two extracts:

Joel: If you do not understand their language and there is war you will find it difficult to escape. If you live outside your people and there is war no one will come to your rescue.

John: If you live with your people you know you will be safe in case of any attack. I live in a foreign country and if you want to succeed in your business I think it is good to learn one of the languages in order to be accepted in the community and to succeed.

These two respondents were motivated by the belief that if you live with people then you must learn their language. They emphasized the issue of personal security in a foreign country, and their use of words like *war*, *escape* and *attack* showed that they were only too aware of the high crime rate in Cape Town, as well as the danger of xenophobic attacks at times. Thus, to these respondents, the learning of isiXhosa was a condition for increased personal safety.



5.6 Inclination: Willingness to acquire language

Participants were in general not satisfied with their knowledge of isiXhosa and they aspired to know more. They used verbs like ‘*want to*’, ‘*like to*’, ‘*would have loved to*’, .to show their desire to know more. The use of ‘*would have*’ and ‘*should have*’ indicated that there existed a possibility and certainty in the acquisition context which at moment was not fully exploited. Although they made use of the third conditional that relates to past things not realized, there was still a possibility of realising their objectives in the future, especially as language learning is an on-going process requiring motivation. Textbox 4.6 shows their responses to the question ‘**Are you satisfied with your knowledge of isiXhosa and does it meet your needs?**’

Frank: *At the moment I would have wish to learn Xhosa as a language. They are willing to teach me.*

Mba: *I would have known more than this if I didn't leave Philippi.*

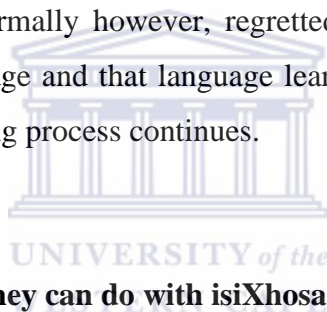
Grace: *I will like to learn Xhosa formally but I don't have the time and money to do that.*

John: *Would have loved to pick up Xhosa and Afrikaans.*

Joel: *I will have loved to pick up Afrikaans and Xhosa but for now I can say I have picked up a little Xhosa language and am aspiring to speak more.*

Textbox 5.12: Degree of satisfaction with knowledge of isiXhosa

To a greater extent, most of these migrants indicated that they were satisfied with their knowledge of isiXhosa at the moment. They could at least use the language to do some basics like greetings, selling in the market etc. and this gave them some satisfaction. Those who wished to learn the language formally however, regretted the fact that they do not know where to go and learn the language and that language learning is an ongoing process. They hoped to learn more as the learning process continues.



5.7 Modality of Ability: What they can do with isiXhosa.

Language learning does not only end at having the motivation to acquire a language and the process of acquiring it but most importantly what you can do with the language acquired. The modal of ability 'can' brought out what these migrants could do with the isiXhosa they have acquired. From the participants' responses (see Textbox 5.13), they could use the language for various functions. They could use the language to look for jobs, communicate with their friends, and for protection.

Darius: *I can greet, ask information, direction, location, quantity like how much, how many Francis: Some give the impression that you can easily speak while others give the impression that it will be difficult.*

Okafor: *I can use Xhosa to look for work or to protect myself. I can say things like giving common like sit, come here or for greetings like how are you?*

John: I can say things in Xhosa like come here, sit down how are you, good morning sister, brother, friend.

Emma: I can use Xhosa to look for job or protect myself. I can say things like come here; sit down, how are you?

Textbox 5.13: Ability

From the data, it was evident that most of the participants have acquired the basics like greetings, asking for information, reading the weather, and asking for quantities like how much/how many. Some of them, however, indicated that they had actually gone beyond these basic elements of isiXhosa. These were the respondents who live in the black townships like Philippi and Khayelitsha. When these migrants made an attempt to speak, Xhosa people were often quite encouraging. Emma reported: *'When I speak Xhosa they are very happy and want to hear me speak more. Some even encourage me. Sissy, you can learn this if you want to know it. Their response is very positive'*.



5.8 Attitudinal analysis

As far as attitudes are concerned, they reflect the day to day activities of Cameroonian and Nigerian migrants that can be viewed positively or negatively. As participants were engaged in the acquisition of isiXhosa, the concept of xenophobia and the fact that they were foreigners were deeply rooted in their minds as the data indicated. This section deals with attitudes of the participants towards the acquisition, the process of acquisition and the acquisition context. A good number of research studies have shown that people need to be motivated to learn a new language and even more so in the context of this research because the participants are adults.

5.8.1 Integrative orientations

Individuals who expressed an interest in learning a language in order to interact, make friends and socialize with members of the other community would be more open than individuals who do not express such reasons (Gardner, 1985, 2000). The participants showed

an interest in the acquisition of isiXhosa as a result of the fact that they believed that learning the language will be beneficial to them. The conviction they had about the language acted as a motivating factor for them to learn the language. The data in Textbox 4.8 shows what orientation they had in relation to learning isiXhosa.

Paul: *I think I need it because its integrate culturally.*

Peter: *I learn Xhosa because it helps me to interact with Xhosa speaking people.*

Collins: *Learning Xhosa is helping me to interact with people especially in the location where I live and especially with my girlfriend who is Xhosa. Xhosa is helping me interact because the citizens don't speak English very well.*

Francis: *To be with people if I don't learn their language i am isolated because they always speak in Xhosa.*

Grace: *It's very important to learn Xhosa especially working in the location, where you have to integrate with the people.*

Esaki: *It helps me to interact and understand more when I am at the train stations and in taxis.*

Bismarck: *Because I need to communicate with my daughter and her mother I am married to a South African. I also need to communicate with her sisters' brothers and my mother in law.*

Textbox 5.14: Integrative Orientations

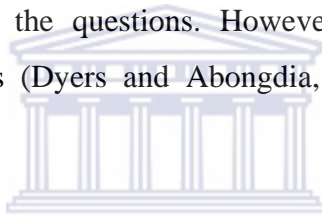
The attitudes that came out from the above data were positive. These migrants had a positive attitude towards learning isiXhosa not only for the sake of learning it, but also to integrate with, socialize and make friends with the Xhosa community. Some had married Xhosa women while others had girlfriends and they needed to communicate with these ladies and their families. Others had children with Xhosa ladies and they needed this language to communicate with these children. The facts that these migrants also showed an interest in learning a foreign language is also something that is positive. They tended to be open to the Xhosa community as a result of this interest. Openness towards a group of people or community leads to a positive attitudes towards such people. The concept of integrativeness was intended to capture the notion that learning another language involved taking on characteristics of the other language group and that, therefore, a willingness to identify with

that group was necessary and Xenophobia is an important variable thought to influence this (Gardner 2000:15).

Some of the participant's data indicated that xenophobia is also a motivating factor for them to learn isiXhosa. They believed that understanding isiXhosa could minimize any xenophobic attack on them and could keep them safe. Having an interest in learning isiXhosa kept them positive and hence aided in the language acquisition process.

5.8.2 Attitudes towards the speakers of the target language

I would have loved to separate the positive attitudes of my respondents from the negative ones but this cannot be done because most of the participants' exhibited mixed feelings in the same sentence when answering the questions. However, such contradictions are fairly common in researching attitudes (Dyers and Abongdia, 2010:121). This can be seen in Textbox 5.15 below:



Paul: *I choose to learn Xhosa because it's one of the languages spoken by black South Africans I like it. When I speak, they are happy, but one can tell am not from South Africa (positive) they laugh at me (affect) but they encourage me. Their response is positive.*

Nene: *Their response are awesome, they say wow when I speak Xhosa*

Peter: *I am satisfied with my language of Xhosa. Xhosa meet my needs. When I speak Xhosa they are happy (affect). They appreciate my accent and encourage me (affect) 95% of people are generally positive.*

Bertrand: *They are happy to see a foreigner learning their language. My accent is funny but they encourage me. Their response is positive; they are willing to teach me.*

Collins: *When I speak Xhosa some people are happy and some jealous. Some people correct me when am wrong and some laugh .The responses are generally positive.*

Darius: *They know am not familiar but some encourage me to speak. My accent is not a big issue they know I am an outsider.*

Francis: *The language has got a lot of clicks sound that makes it difficult for people to learn. Some do complain about my accent. I cannot generalize some give you the impression that you can easily speak, while others give you the impression that Xhosa will be difficult.*

Joe. *I am ok with learning Xhosa informally; I think it's easier than learning it formally*

Lawrence: *Their response is positive and a lot of times they will correct my pronunciation.*

Textbox 5.15: Attitudes towards speakers of isiXhosa

However, the largely positive responses of the Xhosa community were mixed with more negative responses:

Collins: *When I speak Xhosa some people are happy and some are jealous. Some correct me and some laugh at me.*

Joel: *I can say their reaction is positive 60% and negative 40%.*

The positive attitudes these respondents portrayed towards isiXhosa and its speakers according to Gardner (1985) can contribute to the success of foreign language learning. These positive attitudes also lead to greater effort in learning the language and this more often than not lead to greater success.

People who are motivated to learn a foreign language(s) do not only exhibit positive attitudes towards the language(s) but also negative attitudes. These negative attitudes manifested in the participants' data are not only shown through the negative attitudes they show but also through the perceptions they held about isiXhosa. Nevertheless they use words like '*generally*' to show their interest and motivation to learn the language.

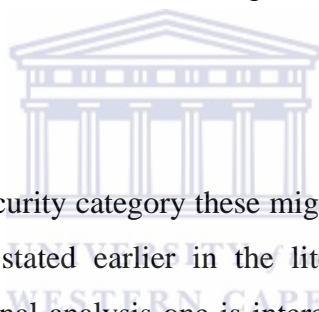
Other more negative attitudes towards isiXhosa that came out clearly from the participants' data were statements like

*I do not like Xhosa. The language has got a lot of clicks sounds that makes it **difficult for** people to learn. Some people are jealous when I speak their language and they cannot speak mine. Learning Xhosa formally **is boring**. I think Xhosa **is relegated** to the background.*

If established that positive attitudes encourage interaction, bring about effort in language learning, and eventual success, then negative attitudes can do the exact opposite. It is possible that those who make negative statements like the ones above hardly attain greater success if at all they are learning the language.

5.9 Conclusion

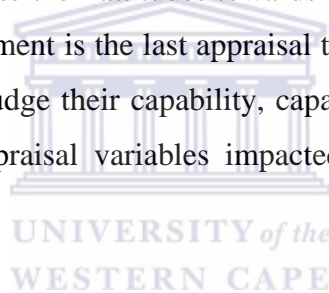
The chapter has examined the interpersonal component of attitudes, emotions and modality as linguistic tools in bringing out participants' voice. The chapter started by looking at the emotions that participants portray in the language learning process. These emotions came from participants attitudes which include affect, appreciation and judgment. Security/insecurity, happiness/unhappiness and satisfaction/dissatisfaction as sub-categories of affect have been analyzed. Categories such as happiness/unhappiness were analyzed based on the acquisition process. Security/insecurity as well as Satisfaction /dis-satisfaction as categories were analyzed based on where these migrants reside as well as the immediate learning situation.



With regards to the security /insecurity category these migrants were very much aware of the insecurity in South Africa. As stated earlier in the literature review, White (2001:2), proclaim that in doing an attitudinal analysis one is interested in the language speakers and writers use 'to assess things, state of affairs, people, places and happenings in a positive or negative manner'. The migrants to this effect showed preference to areas they think are secured and at the same time were some sort of condemned to stay in some of the areas they didn't like or that were considered unsafe. They were some sort of forced to live in these areas because the rental there were affordable and the fact that these areas were accessible. Others simply just wanted to live with their brothers and sisters as they put it. Similarly, they had mixed feelings concerning the extent to which the isiXhosa was successfully acquired. Most of these migrants showed a satisfactory success rate. They considered it a success as they could use the language in their daily activities. Some used what they have acquired in their businesses, their day to day encounters and socialization. This made them satisfied. Besides their satisfaction, they also indicated their happiness and desire to learn isiXhosa. This happiness stems from the fact that isiXhosa speakers showed positive attitudes towards the migrants learning their language. Nevertheless, there were some negative issues that impacted on the acquisition process. Others were not satisfied and not happy with their

knowledge of isiXhosa and the acquisition process respectively. They wanted, or wished to know more.

Affect, appreciation and judgement as appraisal tools were also looked at in this chapter. These attitudinal vocabulary in text helps to appraise and evaluate others' behaviours (Eggs and Slade (1997:126). With regards to affective involvement positive and negative attitudes that prevailed during the acquisition process were picked up and analysed. For example attitudes of the migrants with regards to the acquisition process, and towards Xhosa speakers, as well as attitudes of isiXhosa speakers towards migrants learning their language were some of the affective variables analysed in the chapter. Appreciation as another appraisal tool was also examined in the chapter. Appreciation of migrant's residences looked at how these migrants positively or negatively appraised areas in which they lived. IsiXhosa speakers were also appraised with regards to their attitudes towards migrants learning isiXhosa as well as isiXhosa as a language. Judgement is the last appraisal tool that has also been looked at in this chapter. Here, participants judge their capability, capacity, and ability of what they can do with isiXhosa. All these appraisal variables impacted positively or negatively in the learning situation and context.



Modality as an important strand in Appraisal was also dealt with in this chapter. Some grammatical and lexical features from respondents' data to construct an interpersonal meaning of modality were identified and dealt with. The linguistic tool of modality was also examined since modality plays a significant role in language learning. Variables of modality such as probability, Usuality, possibility, necessity, ability obligation and inclination were some of the variables considered in bringing out participants contribution in the learning process. The last section of the chapter examined participant's attitudes towards the learning process as well as the learning context. Variable such as integrative orientation defined by Gardner (1985:54) as that which fosters a feeling of belongingness to the target language group, and attitudes towards the speakers of the target language were also examined in this chapter.


CHAPTER SIX

Overview of Findings and Conclusion

6.0 Introduction

In this final chapter of the thesis, I provide an overview of my findings and the conclusion to this thesis. I revisit the research questions and establish whether they have been answered. I also consider how the data analysis procedure, objectives and assumptions of the research have impacted on the findings.

6.1 Overview of Findings



One of the objectives of the research was to find out if my Cameroonian and Nigerian respondents had the same motivation for learning IsiXhosa. As far as the two nationalities were concerned they had almost the same motivation for learning isiXhosa, thereby dispelling my earlier assumption that their motivations would be different. I therefore immediately treated the two communities as a single unit within the chapters .By doing this I avoided repeating findings that were largely similar. I therefore analyzed the data jointly within the chapter but indicating where necessary the minor differences that may have arisen between the two communities. One marginal difference I found was that the Cameroonians were generally more positive about isiXhosa and its value to them in the space of Cape Town than the Nigerians.

The second aim was to show how these migrants acquired isiXhosa against the background of the recent xenophobic attacks in South Africa. The findings showed that my respondents resorted to learning isiXhosa as a means of minimizing or avoiding these attacks that are mostly perpetuated on black foreigners. The kind of learning that took place was largely

informal, and picked up in their work places, business sites, from friends, spouses (as well as the family members of these spouses), at school, the train station and even in the taxis.

Another objective of the study was to investigate Cameroonian and Nigerian migrants attempted to achieve closer integration with South Africans. Most of the research participants showed an interest in integrating with the Xhosa community. Their *'desire'*, *'willingness'* to be part of the Xhosa community, the feeling of *'wanting to belong'* fostered their attempted integration into the isiXhosa speaking community. Many had close friends within the isiXhosa speaking community, and some even had Xhosa spouses. Therefore, integrative motivation played a large part in their acquisition of isiXhosa.

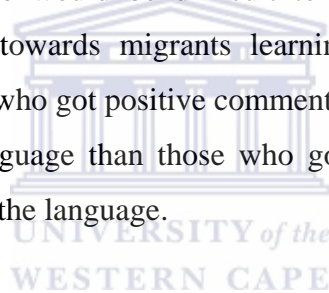
At the same time, they also showed instrumental motivation – wanting to learn the language for personal gain (the notion of *'investment'*) and for security reasons. With this type of motivation, they considered the isiXhosa as an important commodity through which they had the chance of economic prosperity. Apart from learning the language for the betterment of their lives, these migrants were also motivated to learn isiXhosa because they saw it as a security tool. If they could understand and speak isiXhosa, this would go a long way to minimize some of the insecurity concerns such as crime and xenophobia.

The research also aimed at investigating how the multilingual environment of Cape Town had affected and modified the identities of my respondents in order to gain more insight into language use and identity construction among these migrants. The findings showed that the multilingual environment of Cape Town had facilitated the acquisition of isiXhosa by Cameroonian and Nigerian migrants in Cape Town. Their identities had clearly been modified as a result of their new environment and their acquisition of isiXhosa, especially the identities of those who sought closer integration with the Xhosa community.

The concept of motivation prompted me to use the theory of appraisal to analyze and evaluate what these participants had to say about their journey of acquiring isiXhosa. The theory of

appraisal I adopted were the structural theories of Martin & White (2005); Bock (2007); White (2001 & 2005) and Eggins & Slade (1997). In doing an appraisal analysis, I had to look at the attitudes of these research participants. In looking at their perceptions and attitudes towards language learning, I came to realize that the negative attitudes or perception that some of these participants had about IsiXhosa might have contributed to their not being motivated to learn the language or only being able to learn just a few expressions.

The attitudes of the people who speak the language one is learning can also have an effect on one's language learning outcomes. The findings showed that most isiXhosa speakers responded favorably to these migrants learning their language. However, some people reported getting negative comments from isiXhosa speakers in the process of their acquisition of the language. Some laughed at them when they spoke, some were jealous, and some gave the impression that the language would be difficult to learn. The implications of these attitudes of isiXhosa speakers towards migrants learning their language was felt both positively and negatively. Those who got positive comments from the isiXhosa speakers were more motivated to learn the language than those who got negative comments, leading to different levels of competence in the language.



What follows now are the answers I found to my research questions.

1. What are the principal motivations behind the acquisition of isiXhosa by Cameroonian and Nigerian migrants in Cape Town?

In contrast to the study conducted by Vigouroux (2008:239) that shows that her Congolese respondents were reluctant to learn isiXhosa or Afrikaans, my respondents clearly indicated their desire to learn isiXhosa. Their regular exposure to the language in Cape Town together with the favorable learning context motivated them to learn the language. They regarded isiXhosa as an essential condition for succeeding in their day to day activities. The data analyzed showed similar patterns of motivation for learning isiXhosa - to socialize, integrate with the host community, to do business, for education, for communication and above all for self-protection. Thus they showed both integrative and instrumental motivation for learning isiXhosa. It was difficult to say whether it was integrative or instrumental motivation that

dominated for them, given that most of them showed a mixture of instrumental and integrative motivation. In this respect the results of this study is different to the work by Gardner and Lambert (1972) which placed integrative motivation at the forefront. The fact that these migrants were both integratively and instrumentally motivated to learn isiXhosa is a reflection of the multiplicity of choices they had to make in order to survive and succeed in the space of Cape Town.

As I mentioned in Chapters 4 and 5, not all the migrants from Cameroon and Nigerian were motivated to learn isiXhosa. Within the context of Cape Town, they considered English far more valuable to them, and a few were even learning Afrikaans instead of isiXhosa.

2. How successful have they been in acquiring this language?

Generally, a satisfactory level of acquisition was declared by most of the participants. They could understand and conduct basic conversations such as greetings, speaking about the weather, asking for directions etc. which to them was satisfactory. What they had acquired could be used to communicate with friends, family and loved ones. However some indicated they were not satisfied with their knowledge isiXhosa and wished to know more. This desire to know more of IsiXhosa could not be realized because they didn't know where to go to learn it formally or intensively.

3. To what extent has their acquisition of IsiXhosa enabled them to survive in Cape Town?

Participants from the two communities stated that the isiXhosa was helping them in their daily activities, and was useful to them in many ways. They used the language for communication, integration and to socialize with the isiXhosa speaking community. They also used the language for protection, in their businesses, in their jobs, and for academic purposes. As far as the data showed, most of these Cameroonian and Nigerian migrants were happy learning isiXhosa language. This happiness was as a result of a favourable learning context and the encouragement of speakers of the language, giving them positive

reinforcement. However, some reported negative responses from some isiXhosa speakers, which had a demotivating effect on them.

4. Is there any evidence that the identities of Cameroonians and Nigerians have changed?

Cameroon and Nigerian migrants to Cape Town found themselves in an environment where there is ‘othering’, inclusion and exclusion. They are ‘othered’ owing to their physical appearance, accents, the food they eat, the way they dress and the way they behave in the society which is clearly different to the South African communities in this city. As much as these migrants tried to maintain their identity there was also evidence of a modification of their identities. During the interviews, they either responded using English and or Pidgin English, and because they had picked up some isiXhosa and were able to communicate in the language, they also used it. For example it was common to hear them mix some IsiXhosa words like *sisi* (sister), *bhuti* (brother), *wena* (you) and *gogo* (grandmother) in the course of their interaction. This especially was noticed in the focus group discussion. They commonly used these IsiXhosa words even with their fellow Cameroonians or Nigerians. Linguists such as García (2009, 2010) and Creese and Blackledge (2010) have termed such language practices (where languages travel from place to place as people also travel) as translanguaging. The fact that these migrants used all these isiXhosa expressions alongside English and Pidgin or any other language they speak also echoes the concept of language hybridity.

Language modification could also be noticed even when these migrants speak English. As was shown in Chapter Four, the way they pronounced certain words varied. They had also taken up some Xhosa or South African cultural practices. However, although they sometimes performed a South African or Xhosa identity, they also reverted to their national identities in spaces where they encountered significant numbers of their own nationality, like Maitland and Parow. It is therefore clear that they were able to perform or stylize more than one identity as a result of their new lives in Cape Town, and their acquisition of isiXhosa was an important part of their new identity.

6.2 Conclusion

There are a number of aspects in this thesis with which I could have dealt more satisfactorily, but which could perhaps be more adequately addressed in future studies. While I certainly have found answers to my research questions, I may have missed out on many of the aspects that make my data much richer than it appears in this thesis. Perhaps the analysis of some detailed individual interviews would have shown many more layers of complexity in the ways in which my respondents spoke about their journeys into isiXhosa. I could also have expounded more on the kinds of capital that mastery of a language like isiXhosa offers to newcomers to South Africa, by including Bourdieu's notions of social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991). Nevertheless, I think the thesis provides sufficient evidence of the main motivations my respondents had for wanting to acquire this language, with the economic factor being uppermost.

I conclude that in as much as one can never totally depart from one's ancestral links be it in terms of language, culture or identity, one is expected at times to take up identities of others especially in migration contexts. Cameroonian and Nigerian migrants in Cape Town have proven that learning the language of the dominant or the host country is essential. Through this they can be easily identified, included, and transformed which will in a way help them in the new context. Learning isiXhosa has for instance improved and stabilized several of the migrants' economic status as well as increased their chances of integration and socialization with the isiXhosa speaking community. It has also given them some level of security in a country known for xenophobic attacks on black foreigners.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

1. What is your name?
2. How old are you?
3. Where do you stay?
4. Are you interested in learning any South African language? If yes, which ones and why?
5. Do you think learning the language will help to improve your circumstances in South Africa in any way or not? If yes, why? If no why not?
6. How do you intend learning the language?

Introductory Questionnaire: The focus here was to get those who have at least learned some South African languages and Xhosa in particular and also to get the interested ones.

Appendix B: One on one interview and focus group discussion questions

Summary of the interview question guide

The interview questions are aimed at facilitating the answering of the main research questions. The questions were asked to the twenty participants ten from each of the two communities. The same questions were also asked to the six participants of the focus group discussion. Some other additional questions were apart from the ones above guided by the participant's responses.

Area of residence

The first four questions were asked to find out what respondents were doing in Cape Town, where they reside, why they chose to live in that particular area and if they are happy living there.

Language Question five to nine intended to find out what other language they have learned in Cape Town apart from English, why they choose the language they have learned and their motivation was how and from whom they have learned the language, if they are satisfied with their knowledge of isiXhosa and if it meets their needs. Still under language questions such as if they think it is best to learn the language formally or informally, what they think about the language and how it is important in Cape Town, where they use the language and with whom, what aspects of the language they have picked up, and what they can say or do with the language were also asked to the respondents.

Attitudes

The last segment of questions such as the response of Xhosa people when they hear you speak their language, what they say about their accent and grammar, what their reaction is when being referred to as *makweri-kweri* and if the Xhosa people's reaction is generally positive or negative were asked to pick out respondents' attitudes towards the language learning process.

Appendix C: Attitudinal Analysis

Cameroonian Attitudinal analysis

speaker	Clause	Lexical item	Appraised	Category	Subcategory	Positive	negat
Paul	- Maitland is good because a lot of people who live there are from my country, its accessible to the train station	Good	Maitland (place)	Appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
	Not happy living there	Not happy	there	Affect	unhappiness		Neg_
	because it is overpopulated	Overpopulated	It(place)	appreciation	reaction		Neg_
	- I like the Xhosa language	like	Xhosa language	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
	I have learned Xhosa with friend and on the TV						
	I am not satisfy with my knowledge of Xhosa	Not satisfied	Knowledge of Xhosa	Affect	dissatisfaction		-

	It's important in Cape Town because more than 50% speak Xhosa	It's important	Its	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
	When I speak, they are happy , but one can tell am not from South Africa.	They are happy	They	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
	Although they laugh at me they encourage me	they encourage me	They	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
	Their response is positive	response is positive	Their	Appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
	Advice, personally am going to work on learning Xhosa because I think I need it because its integrate culturally	I think I need it	It	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
Peter	- Xhosa is one of the most popular languages in CT	most popular language	Xhosa	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
	I learn Xhosa because it helps me to interact with Xhosa speaking people. It helps me in my business	it helps me to interact with Xhosa speaking people.	It	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
	I learn it from customers						
	I am satisfy with my knowledge of Xhosa	satisfy with my knowledge	Knowledge of Xhosa	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
	Xhosa meet my needs	meet my needs	Xhosa	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
	Best to learn formally because going to a business site it has helped me communicate fluently and	helped me communicate fluently	It	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	

	As a business man am able to sell.	able to sell	Business man	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
	I use Xhosa to communicate and sell	to communicate and sell	Use Xhosa				
	When I speak Xhosa they are happy	they are happy	Xhosa	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
	The Xhosa people appreciate my accent and encourage me	appreciate my accent and encourage me	Xhosa people	appreciation	reaction		
	95% of people are generally positive	are generally positive	people	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
Nene	Parow is good because my business is situated there	is good	Parow (Place)	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
	it a lovely place	a lovely place	(Place)	Appreciate	reaction		
	I am happy , is a lovely place	am happy	happy	Affect	happiness	Pos+	
	It helps me to communicate with people	helps me to communicate	It	appreciation	reaction		
	they say wow when I speak Xhosa	say wow	they	Appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
	Their response are awesome,	response are awesome	Their	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
	My accent is rare, not even South Africans speak it	accent is rare	My accent	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
Bertrand	I live in Philippi						
	This is where I can afford to live						
	I am not happy living there, but I am comfortable living there	am not happy	happy	Affect	unhappiness		Neg_
Frank	Live in Good wood	is secure for my activities	Goodwood (place)	Affect	security	Pos+	
	I am happy living	am happy	There				

	there , I live in a comfortable place	living there	(place)				
	It will help me in my research .I intend to go to school next year, so with Xhosa	will facilitate	It	appreciation	reaction		
	Xhosa meets my need	meets my need	Xhosa	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
	Xhosa is important because you use it to communicate	is important	Xhosa	appreciation	valuation	Pos+	
	As one of the national language it is imperative for foreigners to learn Xhosa	it is imperative	Xhosa	Appreciation	valuation		
	They are happy to see a foreigner learning their language	are happy	they	appreciation	reaction	Pos-	
	My accents is funny but they encourage me	but they encourage	They	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
	Their response is positive	response is positive	their	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	

	<i>I am motivated to learn the language for security purpose and I will advice any one to learn the language for security purposes, for example one can be planning to kill you like during the xenophobic attacks on foreigners</i>	for security purposes	The language	Affect	security	Pos+	
Collins	Happy living there	Happy living	there	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
	Learning Xhosa is helping me to interact with people especially in the location where I live	Xhosa is helping me to interact with people	Xhosa	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
	I am not satisfy with my knowledge	am not satisfy with	Knowledge	Affect	dissatisfaction		Neg-
	Xhosa is helping me interact because the citizens don't speak English very well	is helping me interact	Xhosa	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
	I am motivated to learn Xhosa, I have picked up some Xhosa with customers and it has helped with my business	it has helped with my business	It	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
	When I speak Xhosa some people are happy	some people are happy	people	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
	and some jealous	some jealous	some	appreciation	reaction		Neg-
	Some people correct me when am wrong	Some people correct me	some	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	

	The responses are positive	The responses are positive	responses	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
	although some laugh at you	some laugh	some	appreciation	reaction		Neg-
	Xenophobia is common in South Africa so I need to know the language of the black people so that I can understand certain things that they say My advice for foreigners is that it always important to learn one of the languages because it can help during xenophobic attacks	it can help during xenophobic attacks	It	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
Darius	I am happy and	am happy	happy	Affect	happiness	Pos+	
	there is no problem living there	no problem living	there	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
	I am not satisfied with the Xhosa I know but I have stopped trading and am now studying	am not satisfied	Xhosa	Affect	dissatisfaction		Neg-
	I think formally is best but i do not know where to go to learn it formally	but i do not know where to go to learn it formally	It	affect	dissatisfaction		Neg-
	It is important in Cape Town especially to the	is important in Cape Town	It	appreciation	reaction	Pos_	
	They know am not familiar with the language but some encourage me to speak Xhosa	some encourage me	Xhosa	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
	That is not a big issue they know am an outsider	know am an outsider	They	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
	I couldn't believe	couldn't	They,	Affect	dissatisfaction		Neg-

	because you are use to people every day and one day they just get up and do something like that (xenophobia	believe	people				
Francis	To be with people if I don't learn their language i am isolated because they always speak in Xhosa	they always speak in Xhosa I am isolated	They	Affect	dissatisfaction		Neg-
	It is promising but I think with time I will pick up more Xhosa	is promising	Xhosa	Affect	satisfaction	Pos-	
	The language has got a lot of clicks sound that makes it's difficult for people to learn	it's difficult for people to learn	It	appreciation	reaction		Neg-
	Kids will correct you over and over and some kids believe you know the language	some kids believe you know	The language	Affect	dissatisfaction		Neg-
	I cannot generalize some give you the impression that you can easily speak	give you the impression that you can easily speak	some	appreciation	reaction		
	others give you the impression that speaking Xhosa will be difficult	speaking Xhosa will be difficult	others	appreciation	reaction		Neg-
Uncle	Yes I like Philippi.	I like Philippi	Philippi	appreciation	reaction	Pos-	
Mba	I like staying in Maitland because it is a nice place	like staying	It	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
	Maitland is secured and crime free	is secured	Maitland	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
	I learned Xhosa in Philippi when I was there for some time last year. They like to speak their language	like to speak their language	Language	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
	It is one of the	they always speak Xhosa	they	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	

	official languages and i have a brother who is married to a Xhosa lady and so they always speak Xhosa and when they do i will always ask what it means.						
Joe	My customers are happier when I speak in their first language	My customers are happier	Customers	appreciation	valuation	Pos+	
	When my customers are happy and its good for my business	it's good for my business	happy	Affect	happiness	Pos+	
	They are generally positive and sometimes will correct me when I am wrong	are generally positive	they	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
	From my experience I think it's very important to learn one of the south African languages because it blends you into the community	it's very important to learn	Its	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
	Xhosa helps you out in ugly situations	helps you out in ugly situations	Xhosa	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	
Grace	Also I feel more at home because a lot of Cameroonians are in Maitland	I feel more at home	Maitland	Affect	happiness	Pos+	
	At the moment I am ok with my knowledge of Xhosa and I am still learning it	I am ok	knowledge of Xhosa	Affect	satisfaction	Pos+	
	When I speak a bit of Xhosa to my	it make them more	them	appreciation	reaction	Pos+	


	customers its make them more comfortable and they always come back	comfortable					
	They are happy to hear me speak their language; they encourage me	are happy they encourage me. They will most times laugh over my accent	They	appreciation	reaction	Post+	



Nigerian Attitudinal analysis

Okafor	I am not happy living there	not happy	there	Affect	unhappiness		-
	Not satisfy with knowledge, of Xhosa but if I have the	Not satisfy	knowledge, of Xhosa	Affect	dissatisfaction		-
	It is very important in cape town because you will need to communicate with others	It is very important in cape	It	Appreciation	reaction		+
	I can say things in Xhosa like sit	can say things in	I	Judgment	Social esteem		+

	here, how are you						
	When I speak, the Xhosa people are happy	Xhosa people are happy	Xhosa people	Appreciation	reaction		
	some encourage me	encourage me	some	Appreciation	reaction	+	
	Some people often laugh at my accent whenever I speak	Although they often laugh at my accent	Some people	Appreciation	reaction		-
	Their response is Positive	response is Positive	Their	Appreciation	reaction		
Sam	Lives in Pinelands Business man						
John	if you live with your people, you know you will be safe in case of any attack	you will be safe in case of any attack	In case of any attack	Judgment	Social sanction		
	I can say things in Xhosa like come here, sit down how are you, good morning sister, brother, my friend	can say things in Xhosa like come	I	Judgment	Social esteem		
	Their reaction are generally positive , my wife is very angry because I don't speak 60% positive and 40%negative	reaction are generally positive,	Their	Appreciation	reaction	+	
	My advice to foreigners is to try and speak the language because it's very important. Even	very important	Its	appreciation	reaction	+	

	when I was in Nigeria I was able to speak about 4 languages						
Lawrence	Chose to live in CT because it's one of the best place to live in, it's quiet and peaceful and you are free from xenophobia	it's quiet and peaceful and you are free from xenophobia	Its	Appreciation	reaction	+	
	I am very happy living here	very happy living here	Here	Affect	Happiness	+	
	It's important because it's one of the local languages/dialect	It's important because	its	Appreciation	reaction	+	
	Not satisfy with the knowledge Will still want to learn more	Not satisfy 	the knowledge	Affect	dissatisfaction	-	
	Their response is positive a lot of times they will correct my pronunciation	response is positive	Their	Appreciation		+	

Winston	Actually I can't say am very happy don't like the environment of Maitland	can't say am very happy don't like the environment	Maitland	Affect	unhappi	-
	It is very rough and full with gangsters.	very rough and full with gangsters	it	Appreciation	reaction	-
	I would have preferred to live in Parkland because it is a nice place	it is a nice place	It	Appreciation	reaction	+
	Not exactly satisfied with my knowledge of Xhosa but understand a bit of Xhosa and Afrikaans	Not exactly satisfied with my knowledge of Xhosa	knowledge of Xhosa	Affect	dissatisfaction	-
	Actually Xhosa is important because once you are staying in someone's country you have to be familiar with their language so it is very important	Xhosa is important	Xhosa	Appreciation	reaction	
	Some reply to you in a friendly way and other reactions are negative but ya it cool	it cool	It	Appreciation	reaction	+
Joel	I am happy living in Maitland I will have loved to pick up Afrikaans and Xhosa but for now I can say I have picked up a little Xhosa	am happy living in maitland	Maitland	affect	happiness	+

	language and am aspiring to speak more.						
	Xhosa is important because am living in a foreign country and this language is their major or official language	is important	Xhosa	Appreciation	reaction		
	Some are Ok with you learning their language	are Ok with you learning their language	some	Appreciation	reaction	+	
	Some are jealous when they discover that you can speak their language and they cannot speak yours	some are jealous	some	Appreciation	reaction	+	
	Some are happy that you can speak their language and communicate fluently with them rather than English language	are happy	some	Appreciation	reaction	+	
	Ya, I can say their reaction is positive 60% and negative 40%.	is positive	their	Appreciation	reaction	+	
	It can rescue them from different kinds of problems	can rescue	it , kinds of problems	Judgment	Social esteem		
	It is very important it is inevitable	is very important	It	Appreciation	reaction		
Emma	I am not really satisfied but if I	not really satisfied	Xhosa	affect	dissatisfaction		-

	have the opportunity to learn Xhosa I will go for it.						
	It is important because it is spoken in Cape Town and if you deal with people who speak Xhosa then i think you have to learn it	is important	It	Appreciation	reaction	+	
	I can say things like Sit down, how are you	can say things like Sit down	I	Judgment	Social esteem		
	When I speak Xhosa they are very happy and want to hear me speak more	they are very happy	they	Appreciation	reaction	+	
	Some even encourage me.	Some even encourage me	some	Appreciation	reaction	+	
	they always encourage me they say sissy you can learn this if you want to know it	they always encourage me	they	Appreciation	reaction	+	
	Their response is very positive	is very positive	Their response	Appreciation	reaction		
Malla	Pineland is one of the best places to live. Yes am happy living there	One of the best places to live.	Pineland	Appreciation	reaction	+	
	it is quiet and peaceful	is quiet and peaceful	It	Appreciation	reaction	+	
	Not really	Not really	knowledge	appreciation	reaction		-

	satisfied with the knowledge of Xhosa and i want to learn more	satisfied	of Xhosa				
	It is important to learn Xhosa	is important	It	Appreciation	reaction	+	
	Yes sometimes they know you are not a South African. Some are positive and are happy for you	Some are positive and are happy for you	some	Appreciation	reaction		
Esaki	It helps me to interact and understand more when I am at the train stations and in taxis	helps me to interact and understand more	It	Appreciation	reaction	+	
	People responses are generally positive	are generally positive	People responses	Appreciation	reaction	+	
	I can use Xhosa with my girlfriend and also on the street, for example it can help me to know if I am in danger	it can help me to know if I am in danger	It	Judgment	Social esteem		
Ola	When I speak Xhosa, the people are happy and I am part of the community and they come more to my salon.	are happy	the people	Appreciation	reaction		

	living in the location has not been easy especially when it comes to xenophobia,	living in the location has not been easy	living	Affect	insecurity	-
Bismarck	It is a quite environment	It is a quite	It	Appreciation	reaction	+
	For now I am happy but if an opportunity arises I would love it	am happy	I	Affect	happiness	+
	At least it meets my needs to an extent. I can use it with my daughter and mother in law	I can use it with my daughter and mother in law	I	Judgment	Social esteem	+
	Language acquisition is problematic especially learning it formally is boring. It also depends on what aspect you are learning-is it grammar or is it for communication?	is problematic boring	Language acquisition	Appreciation	reaction	+
	Xhosa is one of the official languages in South Africa. But I think it is relegated to the background.	think it is relegated to the background	It	Judgment	Social esteem	-

Focus Group Attitudinal analysis data

speaker	Clause	Lexical item	Appraised	category	subcategory	+	-
Esther	It can be very scary living in Parow. We constantly live in fear and we have no choice	Very scary constantly live in fear	Parow	affect	Insecurity		-
. Chris	Xhosa is a very difficult language I am not interested in learning it	very difficult language	IsiXhosa	affect	Dissatisfaction		-
	But if you know Xhosa it can prevent people from attacking. they will think you are a South African.	it can prevent people from attacking	IsiXhosa	affect	Security	+	
Quinta	They always approach you with their language and you feel embarrass when you can't help them when they need help	Feel embarrass	You	affect	Dissatisfaction		-
Esther	I feel very bad and my heart bits whenever I hear that word.(xenophobia	Feel very bad	I	affect	Dissatisfaction		-
	They don't want foreigners in their country	Don't want foreigners	They	judgement	Social sanction		-
	They are wicket	Are wicket	They	Judgement	Social sanction		-

Appendix D: Modality Analysis

Cameroon Modality analysis data

Participant	Clauses	Congruent Realization		Type of modality	Metaphorical realization
		Finite	Adjunct		

			(mood)		Mental clause	Attributive clause
Paul	Not satisfied <u>I want to</u> know more before I live this country	Want to	Willing, eager, desire	Inclination	I want to...	It is necessary
Betran	<u>I can afford to</u> live in Philippi	Can	Certain, possible	Probability	I know	It is possible...
Frank	<u>I always</u> move around with cash, am a business person	always	usual	Usuality		It is usual
	<u>IsiXhosa will help</u> me in my research	Will	possible	Probability	I think	It is certain It is probable It is possible
	at the moment <u>I would have</u> wished to learn IsiXhosa formally as a language	Would have	Conditional past	Probability	I want to	It is certain
	<u>they are always willing to teach me</u>	Always+ willing	Willing, usual	Inclination/usuality	I know	It is usual
	one <u>can be</u> planning to kill you like during xenophobia	Can	possibility	Probability	I think	It is possible
Collins	it <u>always</u> important to learn one of the languages because <u>it can help</u> during xenophobic	Always + can	Possibility / Usuality	Usuality Probability	I think	It is probable It is possible

Darius	<u>there is always a need to learn Xhosa in Cape Town because you can't spend a day without Xhosa people</u>	always	Usuality	Usuality	I think	It is unusual
	<u>I can</u> greet, ask information, direction, location, quantity, how much, how many	Can	Certain, possible	Probability	I know	It is certain It is possible
	Something must happen before they call you Kwiri –Kwiri You must have a problem or misunderstanding with that person before they can call you that	Can	possible	probability	I think	It is probable
Francis	<u>It is promising but I think with time I will pick up more Xhosa</u>	Promising, Will	certain	Probability, inclination	I think	It is certain
	<u>They always approach you with the language so I have to make an effort to learn it</u>	Always+ have to	Usuality, necessity	Obligation usuality	I know	It is usual It is necessary
	while others give you the impression that Xhosa will be difficult	Will	Certain ,possible	probability	I guess	It is probable
Mba	They always speak Xhosa and when they do i will always ask what it	Always	usuality	Usuality		It is usual

	means.					
	If I was still in Philippi I would have known more than this	Would+have	Conditional past	Certainty	I know	It is possible
Joe	am trying to learn Xhosa or Afrikaans because <u>it can help me to communicate with my costumers</u>	Can	Possible	probability	I think	It is probable
	They are generally positive and <u>sometimes will correct me when I am wrong</u>	sometimes	Possible	Usuality		
grace	<u>It will help me too much</u> because I have salon in the location	Will	Certain, possible	probability	I know	It is possible
	<u>I will like to</u> learn Xhosa formally but I don't have the time and money to do that	Will +like	certain	probability	I wish	It is necessary

Nigerian modality Analysis

Participant	clauses	Congruent Realization		Type of modality	Metaphorical Realization
		Finite	Adjunct		

			(mood)		Mental Clause	Attributive Clause
Okafor	Not satisfy with knowledge of IsiXhosa, <u>but if I have the opportunity, I will learn more</u>	If+ will	Probably / willingly desire	Inclination and probability	I think	It is probable It is possible
	It is very important in Cape Town because you <u>will need to communicate</u> with others	Will + need to	Probably/necessarily	Probability / obligation	I think	It is necessary
	<u>I can use Xhosa</u> to look for a job or protect myself	can	possibility	Probability	I know	It is possible
	<u>I can say things</u> in Xhosa like sit here, how are you	can	possibility	Probability	I know	It is possible
John	<u>if you live</u> with your people, you know <u>you will be safe</u> <u>in case of any attack</u>	If+will	Probable , possible	Probability / possibility	I think	It is probable It is possible
	<u>I would have loved</u> to pick up Xhosa and Afrikaans	Would +have	Certainly	probability	I know	It is possible
	because I live in a foreign country and	If+ want to +I think	Certainly, possibly	Probability	I think	It is necessary

	if you want to be successful I think it is good to learn one of the languages in order to be accepted in the community					
	I can say things in Xhosa like come here, sit down how are you, good morning sister, brother, my	can	Possibility, certainty	Probability	I know	It is possible
	If one learns a language he/she becomes very free in the society	If	Possibility, Certainty	Probability	I think	It is probable
	Learning one of these languages is a must	must	Conditional, necessity	Obligation	I know	It is obliged
Lawrence	Am not satisfied with my knowledge of IsiXhosa Will still want to learn more	Will + want	Eagerly, desire	Inclination	know	It is certain
Winston	I would have preferred to live in Parkland	Would+have	Conditional past	probability	I know	It is possible
	Definitely you ought to know what is going on	Ought to+ need to	Necessary, obligation	Obligation	I think	It is necessary

	around you –the conditions around me need <u>to be familiar to me</u> . I need <u>to know some of the South African languages</u>					
	when somebody says hi then you <u>need to response</u>	Need to	necessity	obligation	I know	It is necessary
	once you are staying in someone’s <u>country you have to be familiar with their language</u>	Have to	Obligation necessarily	Obligation ,Usuality	I think	It is necessary
	When you come to a new environment like Cape Town you <u>must study their language</u> so that you will not be a nuisance	must	obligation	Obligation, Usuality		

Joel	<u>I would have loved to pick up Afrikaans and Xhosa but for now i can say i have picked up a little Xhosa language and</u>	Would have + love,	Willingly , conditional past	Inclination	I know	It is certain
	<u>I am not ok with my IsiXhosa knowledge but am aspiring to speak more.</u>	aspiring	willingly	inclination	I know	It is certain
	In order to be successful here or to be accepted by the people or to know what is happening around me <u>i need to speak one or two of I need to learn the language in order to acquaint</u>	Need to	Necessary, obligation	Obligation	I think	It is necessary

	their languages					
	<u>I should have loved to understand and speak the language well</u>	Should have + loved to	Conditional past possible	Probability	I know	It is possible
	<u>it can rescue them from different kinds of problems</u>	can	Probable, possible	Probability	I think	It is probable
Emma	<u>you can learn it on the street</u>	can	Probable, possible	Probability	I know	It is possible
	<u>If you deal with people who speak Xhosa then i think you have to learn it.</u>	Have to	Necessary,	Obligation	I think	It is necessary
	<u>i can use Xhosa to look for a job, to protect myself</u>	can	Certain, possible	Probability	I know	It is certain

	<u>I can say things like Sit down, how are you</u>	can	Possible certain	Probability	I know	It is certain It is possible
	<u>They laugh when I can't speak properly but they always encourage</u>	Can't + always	certain	Usuality	I know	It is certain
	<u>Not really satisfied because i want to learn more.</u>	Want to	Willing, eager	Inclination	I know	It is certain
Esaki	<u>I can use Xhosa with my girlfriend and also on the street, for example it</u>	can	Possible certain	Probability	I know	It is possible It is certain
	Knowledge of Xhosa <u>can help me to know if I am in danger</u>	can	Possible	Probability	I think	It is probable It is possible
	<u>They are happy to hear me speak their language but sometimes they laugh at me</u>	sometimes		Usuality	I know	It is usual
Ola	<u>I think it's been very important for me to learn Xhosa because I can it is easily communicat</u>	can	Possible	probability	I think	It is possible

	e with others in my community and <u>I can</u> hear everything people say and it keeps you safe					
	<u>Sometimes</u> they call me a kweri-kweri	Sometimes	Certain	Usuality	I know	It is possible
	but I laugh over it because <u>I need to communicate</u> with my daughter and her mother	Need to	Necessary, obligation	obligation	I think	It is necessary

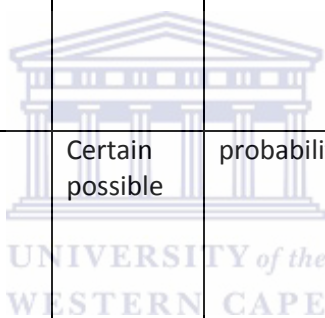


Focus group Modality Analysis

Participant	Clauses	Congruent realization		Type of modality	Metaphorical Realization	
		Finite	Mood Adjunct		Mental clause	Attributive clause
Esther	It <u>can</u> be very scary living in Parow. We constantly live in fear and we have no choice	can	Possible	probability	I guess	It is probable
Chris	But if you know Xhosa <u>it can</u>	Can	Possible	probability	I think	It is possible It is probable

	prevent people from attacking					
	<u>they will think</u> you are a South African	will	Certain possible	probability	I guess	It is possible
Quinta	<u>They always</u> approach you with their language and you feel embarrass when you can't help them when they need help	always		Usuality	I know	It is usual
	<u>I need to say</u> something even if it means just greetings	Need to	Necessary	obligation	I know	It is certain
	If you <u>can</u> sell in the market in IsiXhosa for example <u>it will</u> make the customer happy	will	Possible	probability	I think	It is possible
	When you are looking for a job <u>they always</u> give as condition that you must speak at least one of the local languages besides English	always		usuality		It is usual
	<u>We must</u> make an effort to learn the language	must	Obligation necessity	obligation	I think	It is necessary

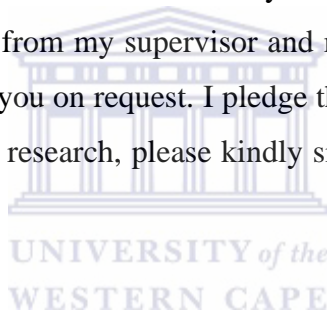
Ester	<u>we must</u> always try to learn the language of the people we live with	must	Obligation	obligation	I think	It is necessary
Lawson	<u>I always</u> speak IsiXhosa with my Xhosa friends <u>They</u> <u>always</u> like to hear you speak the language	Always	Usuality	usuality	I know	It is certain
	<u>Some will</u> go away the moment they notice you are not Xhosa speaker	will	Certain	probability	I know	It is probable
	<u>I can</u> only learn the language from my business sides or on the streets	Can	Certain possible	probability	I guess	It is certain



Appendix E: Informed Consent form

CONSENT FORM

I am conducting research for my Master's Thesis, pertaining to the study of Language acquisition by Cameroonian and Nigerian migrants in Cape Town. I am a student at the University of the Western Cape, South Africa and would like to request your permission to conduct and record an interview with you and or use your information as part of my data. Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary. Should you grant me this permission; you still have the right to withdraw from this exercise at any time and to ask that any information already recorded be deleted. Your identity will not be revealed in the course of the research to anyone else apart from my supervisor and me. A copy of the transcription of the interview will be available to you on request. I pledge that your privacy will be respected. Should you agree to assist in this research, please kindly sign below the following statement of consent.



Statement of Consent

The researcher Ms NCHANG DOREEN has explained what she needs from me clearly. I understand that my name will not be used in this thesis and that I can withdraw from the interview and have the recording deleted at any time. I hereby give my permission to be **interviewed and recorded.**

(Signed).....

Date.....Place.....

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