FROM MONOLINGUAL TO TRANSLANGUAGING CLASSROOM PRACTICE AT TWO DELFT PRIMARY SCHOOLS

TASNEEM SOLOMONS

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

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ABSTRACT

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Terminology such as mother tongue, first language and second language remain prevalent in South African schools' language policies. These monolingual terms seem out of place within our multilingual landscape (Banda, 2018). With the emergence of the concept of translanguaging (Garcia, 2009, 2014; Banda, 2018), the linguistic practices that people of the Western Cape (and elsewhere in South Africa) have now been legitimised as a useful communicative tool within multilingual spaces. Despite research showing the advantages of using translanguaging in classrooms to enhance comprehension (Banda, 2018), language policies remain monolingual in nature. By conducting research at two schools in Delft, Western Cape, I am able to show how learners and teachers defy the monolingual structure of the language policy, by translanguaging, to make learning and teaching more comprehensible. Using Heller's (2007) concept of language as social practice, it becomes apparent how learners become social actors within the classroom, by languaging to make meaning. In addition to looking at classroom practices, I use supplementary data, an analysis of the school's language policy, observations of and commentary on linguistic practices outside of the classroom, to further support the idea that school's confinement of language is incongruous with the language practices in the area. Finally, I propose that translanguaging be legitimised as classroom practice and teaching materials also be adapted likewise, by producing trilingual posters, showing Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa terms, for the Western Cape.

December 2018

DECLARATION

I declare that *From Monolingual to Translanguaging Classroom Practice at two Delft Primary Schools* is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

TASNEEM SOLOMONS DECEMBER 2018

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 A brief overview

While boasting a Rainbow Nation (where culturally, linguistically and socially diverse people can live in harmony) with eleven official languages namely: Afrikaans, English, isiXhosa, isiZulu, Ndebele, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, Siswati, TshiVenda and Xitsonga; South Africa remains grappled with the issue of language in education. Struggling to find a solution in accordance with the 1996 Constitution (Article 6: 2) where it is stated that the state must take practical measures to elevate the status of the above mentioned languages, achieving language equality remains elusive. Subsequently, it is not surprising that a language in education policy geared towards producing competent multilingual speakers is equally elusive and problematic in its application.

Article 29 of the Constitution states:

> Everyone has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice in public education institutions where that education is reasonably practicable.

As all the official languages are not prominent in every province, due to the Group Areas act, the Constitution of the Western Cape further recognises Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa as the official languages of that province, stipulating that the social status of these three languages be elevated in the Western Cape. Hence, Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa are now being offered as viable options of media of instruction at certain schools within the Western Cape.

De Wet (2002:123) states that theoretically, the constitution provided status to, and created an official domain for languages previously disadvantaged during the Apartheid regime. In practice, however, language policies thought to be promoting multilingualism is instead based on monolingual policies (Heller, 2007; Banda, 2018). To reach the goal of "unity in

diversity" (South African coat of arms: *!ke e: /xarra //ke*, meaning: *diverse people unite*), and keeping to the image of a Rainbow Nation, a language plan which takes into account socio-cultural factors should be considered. It is not merely enough to say that all languages should be used within teaching. A plan conducive to effective implementation of using these languages in different spheres of communication must accompany these statements.

South Africa is struggling to find a good education policy. Having failed to successfully implement an effective education system thus far, low matric pass rates and subsequent high levels of unemployment is inevitable. South Africa's Apartheid past can be held accountable for many of the social ills still prevalent in the post-Apartheid South Africa. Schooling is one of the sectors where the Apartheid legacy is perpetuated at former non-white schools (Banda, 2004, 2018). Favouring Afrikaans and English above indigenous African languages, language segregation consequentially also meant racial segregation, where indigenous African languages were used almost exclusively amongst black South Africans and coloureds were predominantly Afrikaans speaking. The effects of this segregation still linger amid the rich linguistic climate, despite attempts to create integrated societies. This racial-linguistic divide is perpetuated and manifests itself in education policies across the Western Cape through the schools' language in education policies. With English still been associated with success and prestige, often a lack of English skills has been blamed for unemployment (Hill & Van Zyl, 2002).

It is common practice for schools to stream pupils into classrooms based on their 'mother tongue'. Pupils are thought of as monolinguals, defined by having a single mother tongue as ascribed to them following the racial classification system. This is in spite of being able to understand and/or speak at least two languages in addition to learning more than one language simultaneously, thereby not having a 'first language'(Banda, 2018). Heugh (2002) and Banda (2009, 2018) all agree that bilingualism in Africa is the norm rather than the exception. Hornberger (2007:178) claims that following the abolishment of the Apartheid education system, there has been an increase in multilingual and multicultural classrooms. However, teaching strategies should also be adapted in such a way that cultural and language differences in classrooms are understood, acknowledged and utilised as more effectively by means of translanguaging.

Translanguaging does not distinguish language as autonomous structures (Garcia, 2014; Banda, 2018) in the way code-switching does. Instead, translanguaging is said to be a new languaging reality (Garcia, 2014) in which "multilingual learners can achieve voice, power and agency in classroom practice..." (Banda, 2014:202). The potential of multilingual classrooms at times remain unexploited, because of its monolingual orientation, despite the pupils' multilingual capability. With monolingual language in education policies, the classroom becomes linguistically restricted, which is not congruent with the learners' home and community language practices.

One of the major problems with research in the field of bilingualism and language in education is the irregularity with regard to the use of terminology. There is no clear explanation for bilingual education or even dual or parallel medium of instruction. For some, it is sufficient to label a language policy which exposes pupils to two languages, one taught as first language and the other as a second language, as dual medium practice, simply because two languages are used for instruction (Torres-Guzman, 2007:50). This classification being made despite two languages used in isolation of each other, as autonomous structures. It is also common practice to refer to a school as a multilingual institution because it offers more than one language, irrespective of how these languages are used within the schools' language policy. For example, terminology such as second and third language is often seen in language policies, yet this is premised on the idea that languages are countable (Banda, 2018). Often learners have acquired two or more languages simultaneously while growing up, therefore, they cannot categorise one language as first and the other as second (Banda, 2018).

Bilingualism in education is said to have a central role in nation building, shaping citizen identities and defining a national culture (Martin-Jones, 2007:163). This means that for South Africa, a good education policy, which recognises the importance of multilingualism, is a key component in promoting unity among cultures and races. Translanguaging can transcend cultural difference and racial boundaries. Therefore, the school should be a primary site to promote the use of translanguaging.

1.2 South Africa's Language in Education Policy

Although claiming to promote the official languages of the Western Cape by making each available as a medium of instruction, South Africa's Language in Education Policy is however, not designed to promote multilingualism. Pupils are treated as monolingual, language as autonomous codes which cannot co-exist in the classroom, and communities as homogenous. Therefore, this curriculum is not conducive to achieving multilingualism and subsequently multiculturalism.

In 1997 the Language in Education plan was released with the agenda of promoting bilingualism/multilingualism through monolingualism. This policy suggests that additive bilingualism is the newer term for mother tongue based bilingual education, which remains monolingual in orientation. The policy also suggests incentives such as "more generous staff allocation for schools which adopt progressive language policies" be presented to schools in the hope of them adopting a positive attitude towards promoting the third language. English is highlighted as gaining importance over Afrikaans and isiXhosa, and is recognised as the dominant language in education in the Western Cape. The policy strives to increase the status of these languages through promoting multilingualism.

Research findings said to support the current policy is based on successful programmes implemented in America, Europe and Asia. The linguistic climate in Africa, however, is far from that in predominantly monolingual America and Europe, where national identity is closely tied to language (Heller, 2007). Monolingual policies are not only linguistically detrimental to the South African landscape, but could also have other social implications for learners. They are not likely to promote multilingualism or communication across cultures as learners are restricted to a single mother tongue. This is also counterproductive to constitutional expectations aimed at promoting multilingualism.

Hornberger (2007) suggests that what is needed to elevate the status of languages perceived to have lower status is to open up ideological spaces for multiple languages and literacies in classrooms, communities and societies. Barry (2002) claims that to achieve multilingualism,

languages should be taught as subjects as well as for teaching and learning, which is where the inequality occurs. The proficiency level of second language teaching is said to be lower compared to when that language is used as a medium of instruction. Barry (2002) argues that second language methods provide conversational language skills, which are inadequate for academic success, yet these second language techniques are still used.

According to the Western Cape Education Department's Language Transformation plan (Released August 22, 2007), pupils are advised to undergo six years of mother tongue based bilingual education wherever practicable. Several researchers including Balfour (2007) agree that mother tongue instruction is beneficial to gain access to the child's academic proficiency. Heugh (2002); De Klerk (2002a & b) and Balfour (2007) suggest a bilingual policy be implemented, as the benefits of bilingual education supersede that of monolingual education.

While there is no argument that bilingual education is superior to monolingual education, there is however a dispute over how bilingual education must be implemented. While Heugh (2002), De Klerk (2002a & b) and Balfour (2007) favour the mother tongue based bilingual approach which uses the pupils' mother tongue as the medium of instruction, while limiting the second language to certain functions only (Language Policy in the Primary Schools of the Western Cape); Banda (2000; 2003, 2009, 2018) and Martin-Jones (2007) suggest a bilingual approach where the pupils' dominant first language and their second language be used equally in the classroom; as a 50-50 approach.

Banda (2018) argues that restrictive models such as those mother tongue based programmes as suggested by Heugh (2002), De Klerk (2002a & b) and Balfour (2007) are unworkable in multilingual education contexts, while Heller (2007) views such policies as reproducing multiple monolingualisms. Instead, translanguaging classroom practice as proposed by Banda (2018) and Garcia (2014) is thought to be beneficial to the multilingual learner in a multilingual society.

1.3 Statement of the problem

Dyers (2008) describes Wesbank in the Western Cape as an area that houses blacks and coloureds, and says the children living there are able to speak both Afrikaans and isiXhosa with varying degrees of proficiency. Also in the Western Cape and situated near Wesbank, Delft's social demographic is similar, as this is also a intergrated area, meaning children living there are multilingual, using English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa, at varying degrees, for day to day communication. Yet surprisingly, at school these children are streamed into monolingual Afrikaans or isiXhosa classes, which translate into coloured and black classrooms respectively. This segregation is in spite of the fact that in their community they speak the same languages and are able to communicate with each other during play time.

Banda (2008, 2018) argues that the problem with the models which are readily transplanted in the South African education system is, they are infested with monolingual terminology and ideologies that confine communities as homogenous and people in these communities as monolinguals. Schools seem to overlook the fact that learners in their homes and communities are multilingual. Instead of enhancing learners' language development by promoting multilingualism that does not segregate languages, learners are being taught in unnatural monolingual ways.

Currently, the mother tongue based policies are laden with controversy. Encouraging a policy that calls for at least three years of mother tongue instruction, followed by a sudden change to English medium of instruction is destined for disaster. With little comprehensively engaging exposure to English in the foundation phase because of the predominantly monolingual (no-English) classroom structure, the child's writing ability in English is expected to be of a high standard, in accordance with the Cummins' (1981) theory that language skills are easily transferred from one language to the other. In practise however, this is not feasible and pupils tend to suffer for what is sometimes erroneously deemed a learning deficiency, instead of a language problem.

Another point of concern is the authority given to the schools' governing body, which is predominantly made up of parents, in deciding on the schools' language policy. This could also prove detrimental in areas such as Delft, where parents who were reared and schooled during the Apartheid era, might still hold on to the belief that English is superior to isiXhosa. Personal experiences of the past would therefore impede linguistic advancement within our current multilingual landscape. Also, in poorer socio-economic areas, there is a large number of parents who have not completed schooling and would have little knowledge of the impact of language with regard to their child's learning and social life, so they may not always be apt candidates to make such an important decision.

In essence, learners are restricted from utilising their linguistic repertoire within the classroom, as they are confined by the schools language in education policy. They are, therefore, taught to forget, or marginalise, the knowledge gained from their social environment if it is not in the language that they are being taught in. Instead of capitalising on the linguistic skills they bring to the classroom, their linguistic capabilities are demoted to monolingual status.

1.4 Research questions

The following questions are be the focus of the research:

1. Is the current language in education policy at two Delft schools conducive to promoting multilingualism?
2. Do classroom practices perpetuate or defy the monolingual label learners have been classified with?
3. Will translanguaging be effective as a classroom practice by which learners can make meaning of the content and concepts being taught?
4. Is there an even distribution of resources in all three languages which are used at these schools?

The research questions are based on the following assumptions:

1. Delft pupils have at least two languages in their linguistic repertoire, which they use to make meaning of their surroundings.
2. The current monolingual - strictly mother tongue - policy is not only creating segregation amongst language speakers, and races, but also limits the learning potential of learners who use translangauging to make sense of their surroundings.
3. A language in education policy which promotes multilingualism through translanguaging is achievable.

1.5 Research Aims

i) To investigate classroom practices at two Delft schools, which have piloted the mother tongue medium of instruction project, to ascertain whether the current language of education policy is beneficial to the learners' educational and social development.

ii) To investigate the viability of, and propose the promotion of translanguaging as classroom practice as a means to improve learners' educational experience and understanding.

iii) To explore the linguistic and other semiotic resources available to teachers.

1.6 Significance of study

The research sets out to prove that as children are not monolingual, they should not be limited to single medium of instruction classes where their linguistic skills are not exploited. Highlighting the current flaws, with regard to how languages are used at schools, may assist curriculum planners in creating a language model more compatible with South Africa's unique linguistic landscape, thereby ensuring better education for the future. This study may also show that it was important to understand that language policies could not simply be transplanted from monolingual countries into a linguistically rich environment like South Africa.

The study is not aimed at attacking policy planners, but rather to draw attention to the need for a more effective method, such as translanguaging, which is conducive for integration and promoting multilingualism. The findings are intended to help quell the unacceptably low literacy levels in South Africa, by introducing a plan that allows learners to utilise their linguistic repertoire to engage within the classroom and enhance their learning experience. By doing this, the Delft community, and other areas with similar socio-demographics, may be uplifted through education.

1.7 Research design and methodology

These two schools in Delft were chosen because they were pilot schools for the mother tongue project where the mother tongue was used as a medium of instruction in the foundation phase (Grade 1-3) after which pupils switch to English from the intermediate phase (Grade 4). The research approach was ethnographic and interpretive. Qualitative data collection methodology were used and data was primarily collected by means of longitudinal classroom and play time observations. Informal conversations with parents and pupils, semi-structured interviews with teachers and, and an analysis of the Schools language is education policy were supplementary data collection methods used.

1.8 Scope and limitation

The fact that only two schools were observed for the purpose of this study, could be viewed as a limitation, as it gives the opinion that the data gathered does not portray a holistic view of the language in education policy in the Western Cape. In addition to this, Afrikaans classes were mainly visited for observations, therefore limiting potential insightful data from the isiXhosa class.

1.9 Summary

Having implemented numerous education policies, it seems South Africa has yet been successful in achieving their goal of raising its level of education. Pupils' multilingual capabilities are being overlooked, while still being classified according to their racially

related language past. A language policy that acknowledges learners' multilingual abilities should be promoted to achieve better quality of education, as well as to produce learners who are able to socialise across cultural and racial classifications.

This chapter provided a brief overview of the linguistic landscape of South Africa, discussed South Africa's language in education policy, elaborated on the statement of the problem, listed the research questions and aims, argued the significance of the study, gave insight into the research design and methods used and lastly acknowledged the scope and limitations of the research.

1.10 Organisation of following chapters

Chapter 2 is a literature review in which bilingual practices and translanguaging is discussed, as well as Heller's (2007) theoretical framework which shapes this study.

Chapter 3 elaborates on the qualitative methods used for data collection.

Chapter 4 reveals the presentation of results specifically pertaining to classroom observations.

Chapter 5 presents an analysis of School A's language in education policy, commentary on teaching materials and other instances outside of the classroom.

Chapter 6 summarises and gives concluding remarks of the thesis

In the following chapter, I discuss the concept of bilingual models of education.

Chapter 2

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.0 Introduction

This chapter explores various perspectives on the subject of bilingualism and translanguaging. It highlights the controversies within language planning, caused by monolingual terminology being used, that does fit South Africa's multilingual linguistic landscape. Providing alternate terminology suited to multilingual speakers, translanguaging as linguistic practice is discussed and contrasted to popular bilingual programmes. An outline of the theoretical framework, focusing on language as social practice, is also given.

2.1 Language policy quandary

The field of education is riddled with ambiguity and inconsistency with regard to the use of linguistic terms in research focused on language in education policies and models. Such controversial terms include: mother tongue, second language, native speaker and additional language. Banda (2009, 2018) argues that in bilingual communities, it is difficult to distinguish which of the two languages spoken was acquired first. Therefore, terms like *first* or *second* language is said to be out of place in South Africa's multilingual linguistic landscape.

Banda (2018), Heugh (2002) and Blackledge and Pavlenko (2004) claim that in multilingual settings, pupils know more than one language. Given that in most studies, mother tongue refers to a child's home language, it is understandable that this concept would be met with controversy, as multilingualism is the norm (Wolff, 2000). According to Makoni (cited in Heugh, 2002), South African children speak an amalgam of local languages, with regional and community variations. If this is the case, which language will be considered the home language, as the concept of 'home language' requires speakers to identify with only one language? Instead of considering children to have a mother tongue, which places them as monolingual individuals, the concept of mother tongues (Banda, 2009) is potentially an alternative.

Wolff (2000) suggests that language planners keep the potential of multilingualism in mind when constructing language policies. Essentially, if the aim is to build an inclusive, diverse country, bilingual education becomes a precondition for engagement into multiculturalism (Balfour, 2007). Therefore, multilingualism should be seen as a resource and speakers should be encouraged to enhance their multilingual skills.

2.1.1 Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP)

Although these authors unite in their quest for creating biliterate (and even triliterate) pupils, their recommended strategies for achieving biliteracy are in opposition. De Klerk (2002a and b), Heugh (2002) and De Wet (2002) base their bilingual arguments on the notion of Cummins' (1981) theory of Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP). The common belief is that a child needs to function up to CALP in their mother tongue, and then (s)he will be able to transfer these skills to a new language. The theory of language transfer skills states that it takes a child five to seven years to acquire sufficient CALP. This fact justifies mother tongue education in early school years, and hence mother tongue based education.

Chimbganda (2005) claims that this 'hard-to-prove' hypothesis is premised on the idea that the structure of the earlier acquired language and the structure of the second language, which is similar to that of the primary language, is understood with ease, due to the process of positive transfer. Kembo-Sure's (2009) research disputes the idea of CALP, showing that in Kenya, children were not literate in English despite being exposed to the language as a subject for six years.

If language skills are transferred after five to seven years, why are South African children instructed in their 'second language' from Grade 4 onwards (Brock-Utne, 2009), when they would have only been instructed in their mother tongue for three years? Another question arises testing Cummins' (1981) CALP theory, because if children are exposed to the target language, at a similar ratio to that of the minority speakers being exposed to the majority speakers target language, then should it not be easier for South African learners to transfer

their primary language skills to the language they have been exposed to in the community? Using this reasoning, children in multilingual settings should be able to transfer language skills easier than those in monolingual countries.

Despite the efficacy of the CALP theory being disputed (Kembo-Sure, 2009; Chimbganda, 2005), language policies at schools remain trenched in the idea that mother tongue medium of instruction in the foundation phase will be sufficient for learners to switch to English medium of instruction from Grade 4 onwards. In practice however, learners struggle with this switch as teaching contact with English in the foundation phase was somewhat limited. This is largely due to the monolingual nature of teaching, whereby languages are kept separate and set times are allocated on the timetable in which another language can be used.

2.2 Defining Bilingual Education

The term 'bilingual education' has become synonymous with most programmes offering two languages. Practical implementation of how these two languages will be used throughout the school day, however, may differ from programme to programme. While some schools favour a 50-50 approach, whereby languages will be used at equal measure throughout the day, other curriculums may only implement the other language as a subject that will be allocated a slot on the timetable, during which only that language will be used. Due to its varying means of application at schools, the notion of a bilingual curriculum has a variety of practical uses.

2.2.1 Brief look at bilingual language in education practices

The Canadian model of additive bilingual education, and the Luxembourg model appear to be popular methods in achieving a multilingual outcome. Immersion bilingual education originates from Canada and is aimed at achieving literacy in the national languages of Canada, English and French, while the aim in Luxembourg is to create multilingual citizens. The Luxembourg model uses French, German and Luxemburger in its educational system, with the aim of achieving trilingual proficiency in all three languages through education (Lebrun & Baetens Beardsmore, 1993).

Although both the Canadian and the Luxembourg model are successful in achieving the intended outcome of bilingualism and trilingualism respectively, their implementation strategies differ. The Canadian model uses the second language as medium of instruction from as early as Grade 1, while the Luxembourg model uses the child's first language, Luxemburger, as medium of instruction in Grade 1, while introducing the second language, German, as a subject in Grade 1, and the third language French as a subject in Grade 2.

The dual language medium is another example of a strong additive bilingual model as presented by Williams (2008). This model was dominant in the United States of America, and entails using two languages alternatively in a school. A strict alternation programme is adhered to, whereby all subjects are taught in a particular language one day, and in another language the next. The aim of such a model is to achieve biliteracy and full bilingualism. The methods that are used to achieve this includes using two languages as a medium of instruction at a 50%-50% ratio, ensuring that languages are used alternatively (either on the same day, or on alternative days), distributing minority and majority language speakers equally in the same class (this also allows cross cultural contact).

2.2.2 Bilingualism at South African schools

Within the South African context, the target population refers to multilingual pupils, and the objective should be to achieve multiliteracy. However, current language policies are structured for monolingual learners who have to have an additional language added to their repertoire. The mother tongue based education plan teaches bilingualism through monolingualism. Martin-Jones (2007) argues that different models of bilingual education are thought of as fixed models that are readily transportable from one sociolinguistic context to another. Banda (2000) is sceptical of transplanting Western models of education, which is largely geared towards proficiency in English, to South Africa where the objective is to achieve multilingualism. He further states that if the objective of the Western Cape Education Department is to achieve trilingualism in Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa, then these languages must be used as the language of learning and teaching from Grade R.

Research conducted by Banda (2008), revealed that the majority of coloured primary school learners were proficient in both Afrikaans and English. Wolff (2000) says that research conducted on this topic reveals that children should be exposed to multilingualism as early as possible. Wolff (2000) and Dyers (2008) claim that multilingual children are able to switch from one language to another depending on the situation, using their multilingual skills as a resource, and when they do this, their level of multiple proficiency is astounding. Pupils use their linguistic repertoire within their multilingual communities to enable effective communication. Therefore, if two languages already exist within the child's linguistic repertoire at the time they enter formal schooling, it is inaccurate to use terminology alluding to adding another language (additive bilingualism), when another language is already there.

2.3 Promoting intercultural communication

Bloch (2002: 77) shows how exposure to English and isiXhosa provides pupils with confidence to converse in either language, and by having them exposed to both languages, "the languages have equal status in their eyes...". Additionally, by using Afrikaans as well, pupils will see how the three languages can co-exist in an egalitarian manner. Wildsmith-Cromarty and Gounden (2006: 9) demonstrate how

> collaborative learning experiences allow learners to interact in functional ways, simultaneously allowing pupils to share cultural knowledge within a multilingual classroom.

These practices seem to be effective in using pupil's linguistic repertoire to bridge the cultural divide, by allowing children from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds to socialise, and desist monolingual labelling of isiXhosa for blacks only and Afrikaans for coloureds and whites.

2.4 Legitimising language

Martin-Jones (2007) states that educational institutions are key sites for the creation of monolingual spaces, and also the 'legitimised language'. Kembo-Sure (2009) argues that the concept of 'standard language' is an ideological concept, and that a particular variety of that language is made to appear as the accepted language of power and prestige.

Consequently, Martin-Jones (2007) notes how through creating these monolingual spaces, and legitimising standard varieties, the non-legitimised languages will become devalued and stigmatised. This is true with Kaapse Afrikaans which is viewed as having no status. Although authorities are trying to elevate the status of the three dominant languages of the Western Cape by providing educational spaces for, and implementing Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa as languages for learning and teaching, each language is being implemented as monolingual streams, and could lead to each of these languages being legitimised in their own right. Such monolingual implementation could cause speakers to view other languages as either superior or inferior to their own, resulting in linguistic hostility amongst speakers, and consequently, amongst races.

2.5 Languaging

With the ever changing linguistic landscape around Europe through globalisation and migration, there is renewed threat to the Nation-state ideology. Garcia (2009) states that with the movement of people, information, goods and services; globalisation has brought about linguistic complexity. Jorgensen (2012) refers to these growing, diverse linguistic spheres as superdiversity. According to Garcia (2009) monolingual, and monolingual-based bilingual, practices are not sufficient in the 21st century. Creese and Blackledge (2010) state that the idea of language as autonomous, bounded systems is being questioned by researchers. How social actors creatively use language within these linguistically diverse spheres might have been the stimulus for such research.

Superdiversity is not a new phenomenon to the South African linguistic landscape, which prides itself on its diverse cultures and language, hence the sobriquet, the Rainbow Nation. With democracy in 1994, people, and languages, are more mobile, thereby creating diverse spaces across the country. With this superdiverse landscape, it is inevitable that languages, some that were previously kept separate due to the group areas act, will now come into contact. Blackledge and Creese (2010) claim that during authentic conversations, two or more languages are used connectively.

Heller's (2007) idea of language as social construct is shared by Jorgensen, Karrabaek, Madsen and Moller (2011) who further distinguish between *a* language and language. The term *a* language is called an ideological construct in which language is believed to be bounded systems which exclude the use of other features (Jorgensen, 2008, 2012). Language according to Jorgensen (2008) refers to the observable everyday behaviour of speakers, with a special focus on the linguistic features a speaker uses in the communicative process. It is during such authentic situations where social actors (Heller, 2007) can be observed as either acting upon, or against the ideological standards (Jorgensen, 2008). The idea of language as creative and dynamic, as opposed to bounded, is what Jorgensen (2008) call languaging. Those social actors engaged in a languaging situation are called languagers (Jorgensen, 2008).

Languaging is said to be the use of language and not of *a* language, with a focus on the action, or behaviour, of the speaker, not the linguistic system (Jorgensen) 2008). According to Jorgensen (2011) the central questions in the languaging perspective are:

i) Who languages how

ii) What is being languaged (content)

iii) Under what circumstances in a particular place and time (context)

The features that are important to the languaging perspective refers to units such as words, morphemes, sounds and the regularities in the use of grammar rules, within communicative events (Jorgensen, 2011). These features are chosen and structured in a way in which a speaker can best convey their intended message by using their linguistic repertoire to its full capability. This does not mean that the languagers need to have full command of all the linguistic systems that they use in a communicative event. Speakers deploy what they know, with the aim of effectively getting their message decoded by the receiver. This phenomenon is called polylanguaging (Jorgensen, Karrabaek, Madsen and Moller, 2011:27, Jorgensen, 2009, Jorgensen and Varga, 2011).

2.5.1 *Polylanguaging*

Polylanguaging captures authentic talk of multilinguals. According to Jorgensen, Karrabaek, Madesen and Moller (2011), speakers who know more than one language are labelled as multilingual, but they are expected to behave like monolinguals using language as hermetic systems. This idea links with Heller's (2007) multiple monolingualism theory. However, Canagarajah (2011:4) states that we all adopt multilingual practices, as even the "monolinguals" switch between codes and registers. Moller and Jorgensen (2009) have shown in their research on Turkish-Danish speaking youth in Koge, Denmark, students use different features of Danish and Turkish when they converse with each other, defying the expectations of using either one, or the other as a pure language.

2.5.2 Counting languages

Jorgensen (2008) argues that labels such as monolingual, bilingual or multilingual are as a result of counting languages. These labels characterise speakers in terms of their relationship to 'languages' and is based on the idea that language has clear boundaries that can be counted as one, two, three (Jorgensen, Karrabaek, Madesen and Moller, 2011). Canagarajah (2011) argues that these hierarchical orientations do not fully reflect the complex nature of multilingual competence and communication. Canagarajah (2011) further states that research has focused on the production of differences, but not the negotiation of differences. Such monolingual orientations are apparent in the South African education system.

South Africans are usually required to have *a* mother tongue and second and/or third language in their repertoire. In schools, language policies are drafted using these labels. Learners are generally divided based on their mother tongue and get supplement lessons in their first additional language (which is simply another way of saying second language) with the aim of adding a second additional language (the third language) later in their school career. Within the two schools under study and South African context generally, this kind of labelling, based on the idea of counting languages, does not only linguistically segregate learners, but also racially. This segregation happens despite learners being able to converse multilingually across languages racial boundaries.

2.5.3 *Language norms*

According to Jorgensen, Karrabaek, Madesen and Moller (2011: 33), there are certain language norms that are apparent within society. These norms are described as follows:

i) The monolingual norm

Those who have access to more than one language should first master that language before getting involved with the other. This norm is the nucleus of the Nation-state ideology, which means that it follows the one nation, one language ideology of the European countries. It is clear this norm in incongruous for multilingual Africa.

ii) The double or multiple monolingualism norm

Speakers who command two or more languages are expected to use each language as a monolingual would, aiming for native-like competency and command. The question here, becomes whether native competency is really necessary, or is it merely enough to be able to successfully converse in that language.

iii) The integrated bi- or multilingualism norm

This norm acknowledges code-switching as acceptable, but speakers are required to have proficiency in the languages being switched between. Speakers are able to use their linguistic repertoire within a conversation, depending on the needs within the communicative event and the receiver's needs.

iv) The polylingualism norm

As mentioned earlier, polylingualism allows speakers to use any linguistic feature available to ensure effective communication. Speakers are not required to have full command of a particular language to use it in a communicative event to use certain features of that language. This is what makes the polylingualism norm different to the integrated norm. Polylingualism refers to the combination of features, not languages (Jorgenssen, 2008:169). Despite this fusion of features that polylanguaging describes, Jorgensen (2008: 170) claims that

polylingual behaviour is not random. According to Jorgensen (2008: 162), when speakers choose one word instead of another, they do so for a reason.

2.6 Translanguaging

Translanguaging is another term used for polylingualism and is used by Creese and Blackledge (2010), Garcia (2009) and Canagarajah (2011). Garcia (2009) describes translanguaging as a way for bilinguals to maximise communicative potential by accessing linguistic features. Garcia states that the ability to language bilingually is seldom recognised by education systems, and that monolingual ideologies, policies and practices are imposed by schools. These monolingual policies are at times deployed under the guise of multilingual teaching, but are essentially what Heller (2007) calls multiple monolingualisms. Creese and Blackledge (2010) describes this phenomenon as "two monolionguals in one body".

This was initially done by labelling languages and grouping learners as first or second language speakers. Recently, the terms first language, first additional and second additional language are being used. These terms essentially are mere substitutes for first, second and third language, which is, as Jorgensen (2008) argues, counting languages for the purpose of labelling speakers as monolingual, bilingual or trilingual. Garcia (2009) further claims that additive education models are of a diglossic nature in which languages are expected to be kept apart to protect monolingual spaces. Garcia (2009: 157) argues that the challenge for education in the 21st century will be to acknowledge that monolingual based bilingual programmes are not sufficient for the multilingual world.

These monolingual-based labels are common practice for South Africa as mentioned above. The risk for South Africa, and other multilingual nations, lies in transplanting international language policies, where the social initiative is aimed at creating native speakers of English and suppress the use of 'minority' languages. This is counter-productive to the country's aim of creating a cohesive multilingual, multiracial society with social spaces conducive to intercultural communication. When these international policies that claim to be bilingual in nature are enforced within South African schools, two languages are taught as autonomous

systems, despite this being contrary to authentic language practices outside of the school grounds. Policies such as these are said to lack understanding of the complexity of multilingualism (Garcia, 2009). It appears the aim of schools is to turn multilinguals into monolinguals.

Garcia (2009) introduces the idea of dynamic bilingualism, defining this concept as language practices which are multiple and adjusting to the multilingual, multimodal environment of communication. By implementing a policy that is cognisant of the way multilinguals communicate, the act of translanguaging will be seen as the norm. Garcia (2009) argues that with such a norm, speakers will be recognised as being on different points on the bilingual continua, and not as starting from a monolingual norm as is the current view. A change in perspective is significant to achieve necessary change within South Africa's linguistic landscape, as no citizen can claim to be monolingual. Monolingualism in Africa is not the norm (Banda, 2018).

Public spaces are made multilingual, as it is obligatory to use the dominant language(s) of each province on official, government sign, posters and other official public announcements. Therefore, Western Cape residents are at least exposed to Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa as used by the Western Cape government. This does not mean, however, that people living in this province are highly proficient in all three languages, nor that their linguistic knowledge is limited to only these three languages. It simply shows the linguistic initiative of the Western Cape provincial government to be inclusive.

2.6.1 Multiple multilingual education

To appropriately and effectually accommodate linguistic diversity within educational institutions, Garcia (2009) recommends multiple multilingual education. According to Garcia, the multiple multilingual policy must be one in which translanguaging is the norm, allowing learners to use, and build on, their heteroglossic language practices that they acquired through their lived multilingualism and bring that to the classroom. Canagarajah

(2011) states that translanguaging is already the norm for multilingual students as they engage in this practice in their homes and the community.

Gajo (2007) and Serra (2007) (cited in Garcia 2009) observed that teaching using translanguaging has shown to improve cognitive skills for non-language subjects like Mathematics and History. This technique has also been used in Kenya to attain learners' attention and ensure understanding of the learning material (Garcia, 2009). Having done research in a Grade 10 class at a black township school in Cape Town, Banda's (2018) findings can also attest to the effectiveness of translanguaging as classroom practice.

Within his research, Banda (2018) aimed to show how learners achieve power, agency and voice by using their linguistic repertoire in the classroom. He highlights how translanguaging can be used to "bridge home and school based literacy practices." (Banda, 2018: 202) As a classroom practice, translanguaging is said to encourage learners to be creative in their production of knowledge, by using their linguistic repertoire to participate in discussions. In this way, they gain 'voice' in the classroom (Banda, 2018). As translangauging is normal practice for the area the school is based in, there is a comfort in expressing oneself by translangauging. This is why translanguaging is effective in engaging learners with content, as they are able to draw on their experiences outside of the classroom, to make meaning within the classroom.

Providing more support in favour of translanguaging as classroom practice, Garcia (2009) further explains how a Spanish learner was able to improve her English writing by giving her the option to use the language she is comfortable with to write in. The learner chose to use Spanish, but incorporated the newly learnt English words alongside the Spanish text. Although this shows that learners are able to transfer language skills from one language to another, the process this learner underwent to achieve proficiency in English differs somewhat from the previously popular notion of CALP as presented by Cummins (1981). In this instance, translanguaging was the main tool used to achieve proficiency, as initially the learner experienced some difficulty in English, but overcame this by using her knowledge of

Spanish and building from there. CALP on the other hand, suggests that learners will automatically make a swift switch from the dominant language to the target language.

Creese and Blackledge (2010) states that teachers use flexible bilingualism as an instructional tool to link learners with their social, cultural, community and linguistic domains. Creese and Blackledge (2010) and Banda (2018) suggest that learners' learning outcomes are optimised when they are allowed to draw from their full linguistic repertoire.

The following is said to be skills displayed by learners who engaged in flexible bilingualism (Creese & Blackledge, 2010):

i) Acknowledging that languages are not autonomous

ii) Encouraging the use of multiple languages to keep enhance learning

iii) Using translanguaging to explain tasks allows for better understanding and access to the curriculum

Boundaries between languages is said to become permeable when people engage in flexible bilingualism (Creese & Blackledge, 2010). This is not surprising, as for South Africans translanguaging has been a natural occurrence for decades, given the country's multilingual landscape. When a word in Afrikaans, for example, better explains a situation than its English counterpart, it will be more effective for the speaker to use the Afrikaans word instead. Also, there are certain words that have roots in Afrikaans, for example *'braai'*, but this is largely used by non-Afrikaans speakers. Another example is *'vetkoek'* which is an Afrikaans word for a deep-fried batter filled with a filling of choice. This is Afrikaans, but is readily used by isiXhosa speakers. This process is done without much thought that two languages have been used. In a country where there are eleven official languages, it seems unrealistic to expect these languages to remain autonomous. Multilinguals have been, and will continue to engage in translanguaging.

2.6.2 *Translanguaging limitations*

Although the idea of teaching using translanguaging strategies seems appealing and appropriate for multilinguals, there is, however, concern regarding using translanguaging strategies in learners' writing (Canagarajah, 2011). This means that standard language is required when writing lessons. Canagarajah (2011) notes that writing lacks gesture, tone and the context of the communication, all of which is necessary to effectively decode the translanguaged communicative event. Canagarajah argues that translanguaging can be successfully practiced in writing, stating that multilingual, multimodal texts are common on the internet.

This is prevalent on personal blogs, which are largely informal in nature. The reader is, however, required to have an understanding of the languages being used in the text. With readers who have varying degrees of proficiency in the languages used on the internet, or blog, there is the risk of misunderstanding the text. Also taking into account certain localism, the writer might use what is specific to their area or linguistic landscape. But is this really an issue? Even English graduates come across words that they are unfamiliar with occasionally, but usually use the strategy of reading the context of the word to determine its meaning. This same strategy can be used to determine the meaning of the non-standard word, and at the same time the reader would have gained another word to add to their linguistic repertoire enriching their multilingual ability. It is because of such findings that this study wanted to establish whether translanguaging could be effective as a classroom practice by which learners could make meaning of the content and concepts being taught.

2.6.3 *Flexible identities*

Practicing translanguaging enables speakers of more than one language to create an identity that is not one-language specific, or monolingual in nature, because translanguaging allows their multilingual capabilities to be acknowledged. Garcia (2009) states that in the midst of globalism causing an increasingly multilingual world, translanguaging is an important tool in communication. This means that education should play a central role in producing multilingual speakers who can navigate their way through these multilingual spaces. Therefore, Garcia (2009) argues that effective education suitable for the 21st century will include more languages to their syllabus. Multiple language practices which learners in diverse populations bring to school must also be recognised, by acknowledging translanguaging as a resource. This resource is said to engage learners' cognitively and

socially, and has the effect to develop their skills in the dominant language, as the example about the Spanish speaking girl given above, suggests.

2.7 Contrast: Translanguaging vs Popular bilingual programmes

While bilingual programmes keep languages separate by allocating certain times to use the 'second' language, translanguaging eliminates the need to classify languages as first, second, etc. It does not distinguish between languages, viewing them as autonomous systems, as other concepts would. In addition to this, translanguaging does not quantify a speaker's knowledge of the languages in their linguistic repertoire. Speakers are not expected to have high proficiency in a language before they are thought of as bilingual. Translanguaging acknowledges a bilingual (or multilingual) speaker despite where they are on the bilingual continuum.

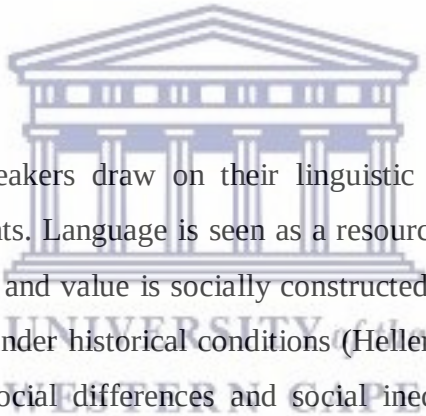
Therefore, translanguaging is more suitable to South Africa's linguistic landscape, as speakers will then be acknowledged as bi/multilingual, as they already have more than one language in their linguistic repertoire that they acquired simultaneously. In this way, monolingual terminology such as first or second language, mother tongue, additive bilingualism, etc, is completely out of place within the South African context, as they are applicable to monolingual countries.

2.8 Theoretical Framework

Heller's (2007) focus is on steering away from the view of bilingualism as the co-existence of two distinct linguistic systems. Instead, she strives to provide an approach which shows how language practices are socially and politically embedded (Heller, 2007). She endeavours to create an approach which views language as social practice, speakers as social actors and boundaries as social action. Martin Jones (2007) notes how researchers pioneering the study of bilingualism were policy driven and preoccupied with the design and implementation of bilingual programmes, while ignoring the sociolinguistic context of individual communities and the ways bilingual education works in different contexts. Early studies focused mainly on comparing and classifying language policies and forms of bilingual programmes,

documenting educational outcomes of different forms of programmes, as well as assessing learners' linguistic competence in both their first and second languages (Martin Jones, 2007).

One of the central aspects to Heller's (2007) approach is that languages are not whole, bounded systems, which according to Hobsworth (cf. Heller, 2007) are viewed that way as a result of the way that language has been represented in ideologies of nation and state. According to Martin Jones (2007), the study of bilingualism is centered around questions of 'models' that are perceived to be fixed, transportable entities. This, however, is not always viable, as each country has its own historical background that determines the nature of educational programmes that must be implemented. Moreover, the boundaries that bind communities and nations are not really impermeable, but a means for social control, organisation and exercising of authority (Heller, 2007). They are social constructs (Heller, 2007).



Heller (2007) argues that speakers draw on their linguistic resources to make sense in particular communicative events. Language is seen as a resource that is unequally circulated in society and whose meaning and value is socially constructed within the confines of social organisational processes and under historical conditions (Heller, 2007). As language is seen as one way through which social differences and social inequalities can be constructed, language and the act of speaking is thought to be a form of social practice. Bilingualism is, therefore, said to be studied in terms of ideology, social practice and social organisation (Heller, 2007). Bilingualism was first thought of as adversary to the idea of nation-state, as it threatened the ideology of nations as culturally and linguistically homogenous, and when it was included in models of education, it was applied as multiple monolingualism (Heller, 2007).

2.8.1 Bilingualism in culture and society: structural-functionalism

According to Heller (2007) the structural-functional approach is grounded in the work of Weinreich (1953), Mackay (1968), Ferguson (1964) and Fishman (1968), who analysed bilingualism by looking at the various ways different languages and language varieties, corresponded to certain social functions (Heller, 2007).

While Weinreich examined the links between linguistic forms and social functions, and Mackay focused on the relationship between linguistic systems, Ferguson studied the different ways language varieties, more specifically varieties of one language, can be used for different functions. Ferguson's notion is termed diglossia and makes a distinction between 'high' language and 'low' language. While 'high' language is said to be used for institutionalised functions, 'low' language is connected to everyday life (cited in Heller, 2007). Fishman is said to extend Ferguson's idea of diglossia, by presenting functional differentiation in language use across domains (such as religion, education, work and family). Such thinking brought rise to research based on the functions associated with specific language varieties, which are believed to show whether those varieties have a social basis for reproduction.

Although the structural-functional paradigm is said to have been valuable in allowing the advantages and disadvantages of different forms of bilingualism to be documented, it is, however, criticised for being a paradigm in which language is understood as whole, bounded, systems which are associated with whole, bounded communities (Heller, 2007). Heller also suggests that this paradigm has failed to provide solid taxonomies and classifications, and that speakers' bilingual output does not always correspond to the particular domains as predicted by the domain-related theory.

2.8.2 Bilingualism in social interaction

Functionalism inspired in its attempt to create typologies of functions of bilingual spaces. The difficulty to develop such typologies led researchers away from structuralist approaches, to interpretive work. Martin Jones (2007) claims the move towards interpretive work was also influenced by the turn taken by the social sciences with regard to social constructionism. This interpretive approach is premised on Blom and Gumperz's (1972) distinction between situations and metaphoric code-switching, which attempts to explain the way that domain analysis accounts for language distribution as well as the ways bilingual speakers utilise linguistic resources across domains. The main idea was that linguistic varieties was given

meaning depending on the domain in which it was used, domain-based, and that bilinguals could use domain distribution as a meaning-making resource.

Despite the fact that situational, metaphorical distinction of code-switching was said to be an inadequate explanation for the bilingual phenomena, this approach however, is fundamental as it enriched the field of bilingualism with the idea of "bilingual speakers as social actors within social networks, engaged in the practice of meaning making, and those concerned with conversation, or discourse, itself, as a site for meaning making" (Heller, 2007: 12). More importantly, Heller (2007) notes this approach failed to explain forms of code switching whose meaning is not explicably linked to the domain with which that firm of code switching is presumably linked to.

Interactionist approaches then turned its focus to the ways bilingual resources were involved in the construction of social meaning, particularly looking at the construction of social categories (ethnolinguistic identity) social roles (speaker, receiver) and contextualisation of talk. Gumperz (1983, cf. Martin Jones, 2007) is said to use the notion of 'contextualization cue' in his research, which was a concept used in the analysis of talk, particularly talk that involved switching between languages. Gumperz noted that contextualisation cues referred to the choices the speaker make of verbal and non-verbal resources that are marked, and deviate from expected forms of communication. This phenomenon wass thought of as essential to the interactional sociolinguistic approach to analysing classroom discourse, as it is seen as the main way in which participants in bilingual education contexts negotiate their way in interaction (Martin Jones, 2007). Heller (2007: 13) notes the bilingual resources in interaction gives and insight into the way speakers signal stance and perspectives on their own utterances as well as on others, and that such observations show permeable boundaries are between languages and also between sociolinguistic domains. Such research is also said to reveal how impossible it is to directly associate language and identity.

2.8.3 C*ritical approaches to the study of bilingualism and society: community identity and language*

The foundational terminology used in the study of bilingualism, such as community, identity and language, has been questioned. Heller (2007: 13) states that these concepts should be seen as devices which capture elements of how we organise ourselves, and understood as social constructs, rather than as natural, bounded phenomena. This is the perspective to the relationship between community, identity and language(s) that I adopted in this study.

Heller (2007) suggests that such a social constructionist perspective requires questions such as who is doing what, with what resources, which means the language must be looked at as a socially distributed resource which is not always evenly distributed within communities. Therefore, speakers act within structural constraints. These questions are taken a step further by exploring how speakers utilise the resources they have access to, and why they act in certain ways with them. These concerns can be recapitulated by the question: How do speakers draw on their linguistic resources in situations they find themselves in, to accomplish what, or with what perverse or unintended consequences?

Finally, this approach is also concerned with the way speakers view their involvement in the enactment of these social processes, which is also known as language ideology (Heller, 2007). The main focus here becomes the discourse used to ascribe value to linguistic forms and practices, as well as the construction of social differences and social inequality which those forms and practices are associated with. Heller (2007) argues that these concepts could reorient the study of bilingualism away from autonomous structure, towards process and practice. Bilingualism is then seen as an act of speakers who draw on their linguistic resources as social actors, under social and historical conditions, which makes possible the social reproduction of conventions and relations, as well as the opportunity to produce new ones.

2.9 Summary

This chapter provided a brief overview of language planning and some of the controversies with language in education policies in South Africa. It highlighted bilingual education programmes, showing how these programmes, rooted in monolingual ideologies, are unsuitable for South Africa's linguistic landscape. Instead, an alternative concept of translanguaging was introduced. The chapter concluded with an outline of the theoretical framework, language as social practice, which will be used in data analysis throughout this research.

The following chapter discusses data gathering techniques used.

Chapter 3

Research Design and Methodology

3.0 Introduction

The following chapter focuses on research methodologies utilised for this longitudinal study. A detailed description will be given with regard to qualitative techniques used for data gathering, including sampling procedures and instruments used during data capturing. Chapter 3 will be concluded with an explanation of how data was analysed.

3.1 Research design

Aluko (2006: 199) claims qualitative research is an inductive approach which views the researcher as the data gathering instrument who is subjectively immersed in the actions of those being observed. Blommaert (2006: 14) further defines this as an ethnographic approach, which works from empirical evidence towards theory. Based on this, participation observation was chosen as the main research gathering technique, as it allowed direct access for classroom language practices to be observed, as well as for direct engagement with learners.

With permission from the Western Cape Education Department, I was granted permission to visit two Primary schools in Delft. These schools will not be identified, therefore will be referred to as school A and school B from here on. Schools A and B were selected because it acted as pilot schools for the mother tongue instruction project operational since January 2007. This means that Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa were made available as language of teaching and learning. Therefore, schools A and B had the ideal linguistic landscape for observations focusing on how these languagers use translanguaging to make meaning within their environments.

While the study is focused on translanguaging as a classroom tool for effective learning, it was of special interest that I engage in a linguistically diverse area as Delft. As mother tongue

instruction was introduced in the Foundation Phase, Grades R, 1, 2 and 3 were the main focus of the study. For the success of the research, pupils' communication patterns were observed within the classroom environment. These classroom observations included sessions on Literacy, Numeracy, Life Orientation and reading sessions within the various grades. Classroom observations provided the opportunity to explore how the school applied the language policy and what are its practical implications on the learners' educational progress, as well as on their social development. Observations were also made during break times, to observe pupils' socialisation patterns when they are not confined to a monolingual and monocultural classroom structure.

Other methods used include, semi-structured interviews with teachers and parents, informal conversation with pupils and an analysis of School A's Language policy. In addition to this, an analysis of photographs and posters or documents found in and around schools will also be discussed. Also, a brief overview of a visit to the local library is given, to ascertain the literary and literature milieu within Delft. Data gathered through the interviews and library visit provided minor support to overall study, as the classroom practice and its visual elements were the focus throughout the study.

3.2 Research techniques

3.2.1 Participant Observations

The Western Cape Education Department stipulated that classroom observations should only take place between March and September, giving pupils a chance to settle into their new environment in the first term, and causing no disruption in the last term when pupils write examinations. These observations commenced in 2007 until 2010; during March and September of each year. The focus was Foundation Phase learners who were instructed in their 'mother tongue' under the guise of mother tongue based bilingualism.

Most of the observations took place in the Afrikaans classes, with supplementary observations done in the isiXhosa and English (at School B) classes. Arrangements were made with relevant class teachers, where the agreement was to continue with teaching as normal, not having to prepare special lessons for the visit. I spent a full day video recording

each class, also taking notes on relevant occurrences. Knowing that the pupils would be easily distracted by a moving camera, the tripod was setup at an angle from which the majority of the learners and teacher could be seen. Pupils' linguistic repertoire, their comprehension and responses during classroom discussion, were the primary interest of the research. Therefore, most of the recordings showcase the pupils' and their linguistic choices during teaching, also looking at the teachers' linguistic practices.

A lesson in Grade 7 (Natural Science), Grade 5 (English) and Grade 4 (Economic Management Science - EMS) was also observed. Being allowed observations in these grades provided an opportunity to observe how these learners negotiate their linguistic repertoires and develop their social circle, once the language of instruction switches to English and classrooms are no longer mono-cultural. In addition to these classroom activities, social interactions among learners during break times on special occasions such as Valentine's Day, Spring Day, etc. was also recorded. How learners interacted with each other, if they interacted with each other, outside of the linguistically bound (thereby also racially homogenous) classroom was of interest to the research, as it would give insight into whether the language in education policy at School A was socially acceptable to produce multilingual learners who can socialise across linguistic and racial classifications.

3.2.2 Interviews

According to Blommaert (2006, 39), interviews should be viewed as ordered conversations, which are structured by questions. Working with this principle in mind, the interviews were intended to be informal, creating a space where the interviewee was comfortable in, thereby ensuring authentic answers.

As teachers are the main role players in executing the language in education policy of the school, it was crucial to hear their thoughts on the viability of a trilingual medium of instruction policy in which Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa is used not only within the same classroom, but within the same lesson as translanguaging. Preferably, the teachers from the classes observed were interviewed and asked to comment on their own teaching techniques and how their language choices influence their lesson outcomes. A comparison could therefore be made between the language of instruction policy of the school and the efficacy

of the actual language practice within the classroom. They were further required to share their opinion on the issue of language in education (the current monolingual paradigms which perpetuates the monolingual labels learners have been assigned) and reflect on perceived challenges a trilingual curriculum can incur.

A list of questions was drawn up, and refined to ensure that all the relevant points of concern were addressed in the questionnaire. To create that relaxed, conversational atmosphere, semi-structured interviews were the preferred choice. Semi-structured interviews also allowed more variation in the interview, because there is no stringent structure. Questions can be adapted easier during the interview.

3.2.3 Informal conversations with pupils and parents

While observing lessons, opportunities arose in which I was able to have conversations with learners. These discussions were on various topics, such as school work, living in Delft, their hobbies, etc. Such informal conversations provided insight into the varying linguistic practices of the learners at the schools. Informal conversations allowed the learners to feel relaxed and therefore their authentic translanguaging speech patterns to be analysed.

With regard to parents, it was important to enquire if there is a desire for trilingual education, and whether parents would favour such an option above the current monolingual policies in place at schools in the area. It was also interesting to hear parents' responses regarding the issue of racial segregation sustained through monolingual segregating policies and if they would prefer more racial integration to take place at school as is the norm in the area. Parents were chosen at random, and their opinions about a trilingual curriculum would give an indication of the extent of interest (or lack thereof) towards using translanguaging to engage their children in an integrated classroom. If parents are interested in their children refining their knowledge of the official languages of the Western Cape, it shows that linguistically based segregation is slowly disintegrating, and a new cohesive identity is being formed in the Western Cape, through translanguaging.

3.2.4 Document Analysis

The 1997 Language in Education plan for the Western Cape provides insight into the ideologies followed by the South African government. Guided by the national policy, School A's draft language policy contains similar terminology. School A's language policy was analysed extensively and thereafter be compared to the actual classroom practices. Such critical analysis is important to create a more appropriate, linguistically applicable, language policy that suits the proposed educational outcomes the school hopes to achieve.

Posters and class activities were also analysed and where applicable added to the Analysis chapter. These posters are important as they highlight the linguistic nature (either monolingual or multilingual) of the classroom and whether the learners' linguistic repertoire transcends the language used on these posters.

3.3 Research Limitations

Only two schools were visited for data gathering, where School A was the main site for data collection, with School B providing supporting data. Therefore, findings should not reflect the holistic educational landscape in the Western Cape. The reasons for choosing these specific schools were given above, hence recommendations made based on information gained through the study is more applicable to these schools and schools with a similar linguistic environment. Data gathered reflects the need to move away from the monolingual methods of teaching, as this area and presumably quite a few similar linguistically rich areas in the Western Cape, contradict the mono-cultural, mono-lingual ideology that exists within language policies documents.

3.4 Ethics

The necessary procedures were followed in gaining permission from the Western Cape Education Department to conduct research. I then proceeded to meet with the principals of both Schools A and B, where we discussed the stipulations I had to follow while on the schools' premises. These included the particular days I was allowed at the respective schools,

as well as the times during those days I was to be on the premises. Having identified the grades I wished to work with, I requested that teachers of those grades participate in the study and was granted permission from these teachers to be present (as an observer) during lessons. These teachers graciously allowed me to video record the observations. However, the Schools' names as well as the names of learners may not be mentioned in the final research report. These conditions have been strictly adhered to.

As it is standard practice when conducting interviews, each participant was enlightened to their right to remain anonymous if they so wished, and were requested to sign consent forms where applicable. The interviewee was also asked if the interview could be tape-recorded, and after agreeing to the terms of the interview, the process commenced. With regard to informal conversations with parents, parents were informed about the research topic and asked if their responses could be included if necessary.

3.5 Summary

This section focused on the methods used for data collection relevant to this study. Methods discussed included participant observations, interviews, informal conversations with parents and learners and document analysis. An explanation was given regarding how these methods are suitable to the research aims. The limitations and ethics of conducting research at schools were also mentioned above.

The next section provides a presentation of the results gained from these research methods.

Chapter 4

Presentation of results

4.0 Introduction

This chapter reflects observations that took place at two schools in Delft, with a focus on the language practices learners were engaged in, within classroom boundaries, unsupervised play during interval, as well as prevalent language practices in the community.

4.1 Social setting

According to Stats SA (2011) the majority of the Delft population are Black (46.2%) and Coloured (51.5%), with the third largest population being 'Other' at 1.8%. The sub-areas are not racially equal in terms of the population census. It is noted that Leiden, the area where school A is situated, is populated by both Afrikaans and Xhosa speakers, whereas school B (which had English as a medium of instruction in foundation phase) is situated in Delft South - populated predominantly by isiXhosa speakers. With regard the prevalence of languages in Delft, the last updated statistics received from Stats SA reveal the following:

LANGUAGE	2001	2011
Afrikaans	66.92%	47%
English	9.92%	9.4%
isiXhosa	22.33%	37.81%
Sesotho	Not available	0.76%
Other African	0.69%	Not available

Based on these statistics,it is clear the overwhelmingly prominent languages spoken in the area are Afrikaans and isiXhosa (which are close in number), with English only a distant third. The prevalence of these languages within this area and the proximity of the houses,

makes it likely that residents here know (and speak) more than one language. Therefore, the Delft populace can be classified as multilingual. This fact is further supported by the 2011 census which shows that all eleven official languages are present in the area to some extent [refer to Appendix A for full statistical information].

The area's language and cultural diversity is evident when traversing the streets. It is this rich diversity which made Delft an ideal site to investigate and contrast the complex dichotomy of multilingual discourses that take place informally on the streets, with the linguistically controlled environment provided by the classroom. Such observations sheds light on the education system and subsequently the school as a site for fostering intercultural interaction, as bilingual interaction is imperative to achieving multiculturalism (Balfour, 2007). Therefore, the school's language in education policy is a key component to this study to ascertain whether it promotes multilingualism, or fosters monolingual spaces (Martin-Jones, 2007). I am of the view that the school should be a site which provides learners with skills to socially navigate beyond the school itself by equipping them with effective language and intercultural communicative skills. By doing this, learners will be competent social actors, by being languagers, in multilingual environments. These skills are essential to ensure effective function within a multicultural landscape as South Africa andbeyond these borders, especially considering emerging globalisation. It is through fostering such relationships that a sense of nationhood can develop as we legitimise all languages, even if in varying degrees, in all spaces.

4.1.1 School social dynamic

As noted above, the linguistic landscape of the area is a mixture of Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English. Therefore, these are the languages one expects would be prevalent at the school and within the classrooms. The following social and linguistic dynamics were found within the foundation phase:

Language class	Social Dynamic
Afrikaans	Coloured learners (with one black girl)
English School B only	Mixed (coloured and black learners)
isiXhosa	Black learners only

A notable observation regarding the table above, is that along with linguistic isolation, cultural segregation (the English class being the exception) is also a consequence of creating such monolingual spaces. Hence, pupils are deprived of cross cultural and cross linguistic socialisation opportunities. This kind of racial isolation could lead to learners making socially constructed and distancing distinctions of "us" and "them". Based on these group dynamics, it will become easy for pupils to start stereotyping others based on skin colour. Their observations will render that there are only black pupils in the isiXhosa classes, and (predominantly) coloured pupils in the Afrikaans classes, therefore, these races should socialise within their respective linguistic groups. These observations give the impression that isiXhosa is only used by black people, Afrikaans is reserved for coloureds and English is the language that brings people and cultures together (the lingua franca). In reality, however, any of these languages are available to all languagers and are in fact being used in Delft on a daily basis in varying degrees of proficiency, by means of translanguaging.

The current curriculum appears set to continue separate education for blacks and coloureds. In order for learners to see the languages as equal and academically accessible to all, learners should be exposed to the languages of the area (Bloch, 2002). Through this, pupils will become proficient multilingual speakers, and linguistic classifications based on race will diminish, as Afrikaans and isiXhosa will no longer exclusively be languages set aside for coloureds and blacks respectively, but rather seen as languages of communication for all.

4.2 Translanguaging and classroom practice

Language policies within South Africa can be seen as monolingual in nature when analysing the terminology used within these documents. As Banda (2018) has mentioned, the 1997 language policy of South Africa refers to additive bilingualism, thereby implying that a second language be added to the child's 'home language/ mother tongue'. In addition to this, Banda (2018) also highlights the fact that the WCED policy of 2007 calls for the mother tongue to be used as language of instruction during the first few years of learning, while an additional language is added to the mother tongue. Banda (2018) critiques such terminology, as adding languages implies a learner is monolingual and new languages must be added to their repertoire, despite these languages already being present in their repertoire. This implies that when children enters formal schooling, they have one language in their linguistic repertoire, their 'mother tongue' or 'first language, which is the only language that should be used for teaching.

Canagarajah (2011:3) criticises such hierarchical classification of language as first, second or third, as it does not "reflect the complex nature of multilingual competence and communication." Yet, such classifications still persist within language policies despite a deluge of research disputing the effectiveness of monolingual teaching techniques. The monolingual norm as defined by Jorgensen, Karrabaek, Madsen and Moller (2011: 33) seems to be the basis for language policy implementation at these schools, with the aim of achieving the double or multiple monolingual norm. Despite trying to realise the above 'norms', the actual language practices in Delft, apparent from the extracts to follow, defy these norms by instead engaging as translanguagers. Such translanguaging practices follow the polylingualism norm (Jorgensen, Karrabaek, Madsen and Moller, 2011: 33), as speakers in the area use translanguaging to maximise communicative potential.

While monolingualism in Africa has vehemently been disputed (Banda, 2018), the Delft 2011 census information provided shows how socially and linguistically diverse the area is. Living within such a superdiverse space (both culturally and linguistically), it is to be expected that the plethora of languages found to be used here, will come into contact with each other through socialising and using the same space for various reasons as they share communal

spaces (libraries, shops, taxi ranks, schools, religious spaces, etc.). It is at these spaces where translanguaging is prevalent, as languagers are able to use any language within their linguistic repertoire to engage in effective communication, thereby showing how permeable, perceived boundaries between different languages are (Creese and Blackledge, 2010).

Based on translanguaging practices within public spaces in Delft, it can be assumed that children in the area also engage in similar linguistic practices as their parents' do, by also being languagers. Inevitably, because translanguaging is their authentic way of making meaning, understanding the world and engaging socially, these practices will be present within the social setting of the school and therefore the classroom. Translanguaging thus being the norm in the area, learners at these schools cannot be classified as monolingual or thought of as having knowledge limited to only one language. Their social experience contradicts such ideas. Therefore, as discussed below, learners defy monolingual classifications by being active languagers within the classroom and thereby effectively engaging in the learning process.

4.3 Classroom observation: School A

The extracts below outline the authentic communicative practices that took place within the classrooms at two Delft schools. From this, it is proven that language is not used as bounded systems, but rather creatively within the classroom by both the learners and the teachers. Jorgensen's (2011) languaging perspective is also discussed in reference to these extracts.

4.3.1 Grade R

Afrikaans

Teacher Mrs O

As it was a Grade R class, these learners have had no previous formal schooling, which meant this was an ideal site to observe the language practices these learners have acquired from the community. Therefore, these utterances directly reflect the authentic language patterns of the area.

This Grade R teacher claims to use a dual medium of instruction for teaching. Afrikaans and English is used when explaining work and during reading sessions. In addition, her classroom has posters in both of these languages. She explained that when she read an English story and asks questions about it afterwards, learners will often respond in English without hesitation. She felt that it stimulates learners, and helps broaden their vocabulary if they are able to communicate effectively in both languages. They have reportedly enquired about the English posters on the wall, as one learner asked why the word next to a picture of an umbrella begins with a 'u' which does not comply with his knowledge of 's' for '*sambreel*' (the Afrikaans word for umbrella). She explained the difference in spelling due to the difference in language to him, and thus he gained this word in his vocabulary which he, and subsequently the rest of the class, can use if/when the opportunity arises.

It is apparent that English and Afrikaans are prevalent in the learners' repertoire based on how often they switch between the two languages and how they seem to understand instructions in either. Despite this class being classified as Afrikaans medium of instruction, the teacher here also utilised English when giving instructions. It was clear that both languages could co-exist in this classroom. Administratively labelled an Afrikaans class, this classification had constantly been challenged by the learners who answered questions by using their previous knowledge. Mrs O said that the learners' language use in the first term was very informal. She notes that after teaching takes place, pupils adapt to using more Afrikaans and structure their sentences more grammatically.

An example of class activity is shown below:

Discussing the body and specifically food that will keep the body healthy, the class is shown a chart of various fruit and are asked to identify the fruit and the colours of these individual fruits.

Extract 4.1

1 T : wie kan vir my sê wat is die?

Who can tell me what is this?

2 L : [shouts out in chorus] 'n lemoen

An orange

3 T : [teacher confirms] 'n lemoen. En watter kleur is die lemoen?

An orange. And what colour is the orange?

4 L : [class together] geel

yellow

5 T : dit lyk geel amper so oranje. Lyk hy nie oranje nie? Kyk hoe lyk geel [points to the picture of the lemon] en kyk hoe lyk oranje.

It looks yellow almost orange. Doesn't it look orange? Looks what yellow looks like and look what orange looks like

6 L : [one learner shouts out in English] orange

7 T : [teacher confirms the answer is right] orange, oranje, yes ne.

orange

The learner who shouted out 'orange' is using his prior knowledge (gained from his social/home environment) to make meaning in the classroom. This shows that learning in the area does not take place in one language alone, as learners utilise knowledge acquired outside the boundary of their school. Why then should the classroom be a site for only one language/monolingualism?

It is common for people in this community to use informal language such as slang or 'Kaaps'. When listening to learners engaged in conversation, the use of 'uncle' instead of '*oom'*,

'*antie*' (said with a Kaaps coloured accent) phonologising 'aunty', rather than the formal Afrikaans '*tannie*', which is looked at as a white variety of Afrikaans, is often heard when learners discuss their families. These English terms are understood by the community and are used in the correct syntactic structure. The Afrikaans words were considered more formal varieties that are not used in everyday (non-formal) conversations.

Observing the Grade R class during a reading session, it is evident that lessons can be conducted in both Afrikaans and English. These pupils can easily distinguish between Afrikaans and English, and as easily switch between the two languages when answering questions. The story that was read to them was *My friend*. It was astonishing to see that even if they were asked in Afrikaans, they are able to express themselves in English. The extract below shows evidence of their bilingual ability:

Extract 4.2

1 T : *Ek gaan nou 'n storie lees.* I'm going to read a story of my friend. What is the name of the story?

[I'm going to read you a story now]

2 L : My friend.

3 T : Is it an Afrikaans story, or is it an English story?

4 L : English

5 T : Hey?

6 L : English.

7 T : English story. My Friend. A tiger is not my friend. A spider is not my friend. A snake is not my friend. A crocodile is not my friend. A monster is not my friend. Where is the other page? [Looks for the missing page of the book.] But my friend is my friend. What is the picture saying?

[Shows the first picture to the class]

8 L : A tiger is not my friend.

9 T : I can't hear.

10 L : A tiger is not my friend.

11 T : And that one?

12 L : The spider is not my friend.

13 T : And that one?

14 L : The snake is not my friend. A crocodile is not my friend. A monster is not my friend.

15 T : Who is my friend?

16 T & L : My friend is my friend.

17 T : That was very good. Now tell me. *Sê vir juffrou wie is die eerster dier wat hulle gesê het is nie hulle vriend?*

[Tell teacher who was the first animal that they said is not their friend?]

18 L : A tiger.

19 T : A tiger. And the second one?

20 L : Snake.

21 T : A spider. Very good ****. And the third one?

22 L : Snake

23 T : It was a snake, yes. And the fourth one?

24 L : Krokodil/Crocodile [some learners use English, and others Afrikaans]

25 T : A crocodile. And the fifth one?

26 L : A monster.

27 T : A monster. Give them a hand. All the children that…that was very, very good.

These extracts show how, within multilingual regions, two or more languages are used connectively within conversations (Banda, 2018) and can be considered a resource for learners to make meaning of and comprehend their surroundings - in this case, the classroom activity. The teacher's use of both Afrikaans and English when introducing the lesson as in extract 4.2 line 1, shows that she acknowledges the value of using both languages within this classroom, to maximise learners' understanding. In line 17 again the teacher uses Afrikaans to reiterate the English question she posed to the class. Despite her asking the question in Afrikaans as well, the answers she received were given in English as the animals were named in English in the story, showing the learner's linguistic dexterity. Her use of both languages in line 17 may also have been a means to prompt learners to use either language during this discussion session, allowing them access to partake in the learning experience.

Line 24 of extract 4.2 shows how some learners reply using the Afrikaans '*krokodil*' when shown the picture of a crocodile. The teacher does not say that it is a wrong answer (as essentially it is correct), but does reaffirm the answer using the English word. Using the Afrikaans term in this instance, without the word being mentioned during the story, shows that learners bring acquired knowledge from their community or households to the classroom and use this to make meaning during lessons. Similarly, line 7 in extract 4.1 a learner shouts out 'orange' (instead of *oranje*) while discussing colours in Afrikaans. This strengthens the argument that these learners are multilingual when they enter schooling, as they come from a diverse/multilingual community. Instead of them seeing Afrikaans and English as separate languages, they tend to use '*krokodil*' and 'orange' as synonyms for 'crocodile' and '*oranje*' respectively. They use what they have in their linguistic repertoire to engage in and comprehend lessons.

Mrs O thinks her learners will benefit from having a trilingual curriculum, in particular, where all three languages will be used as in translanguaging. Citing a practical example, she mentioned that when isiXhosa pupils are sent to give her a message, certain pupils are able to give the message in Afrikaans. As for her class, when she sends a pupil with a message to an isiXhosa teacher, certain pupils are able to speak isiXhosa. Learners are able to translate these messages independently, as the teacher is unable to speak isiXhosa. This shows that pupils are able to effortlessly make meaning of the Afrikaans code and translate it to isiXhosa and vice versa. Banda (2018) argues that when learners are able to translate material across languages, it means they understand the content. Therefore, they must already have a good understanding of the respective languages.

Considering the academic level of the learners - having had no formal language lessons in the language they are translating to - the social environment must have had an impact on their linguistic ability, showing these languages co-exist within this area. Does the translation of the message show that the language has to change depending on the race of the receiver/decoder? An influential factor could be the racial-linguistic divide that is apparent, consequentially due to the segregation of races based on the language of instruction - Afrikaans=coloured; isiXhosa=black.

She claims that pupils struggle with the sudden switch from Afrikaans or isiXhosa in the Foundation Phase, to English in Grade 4. She believes that a multilingual system will benefit learners and teachers alike. The benefits for teachers are twofold. Firstly, because learners are better equipped with language skills, it would make teaching language easier. Secondly, due to the multilingual nature of the school, teachers will be more motivated to learn all three languages and be better developed and able to communicate with a diverse group of learners. This will inextricably create less tension between racial and consequently, language groups.

With regards to Jorgensen's (2011) languaging perspective, it can be noted that:

i) who languages how

the teacher and the learners used translanguaging

ii) what is being languaged

the teacher translanguages to ensure learners understand the lesson about to take place and learners translanguage to effectively engage in class discussions

iii) under what circumstances in a particular place and time

translanguaging within the classroom ensures learners access to understand what is being taught and also allowing them to utilise their linguistic repertoire to make meaning of the content being taught

4.3.2 Grade 1

Afrikaans

Mrs H

This class is labelled Afrikaans and consists of pupils who attended Grade R at this school, a crèche in the community, as well as children coming from home with no form of structured educare. The language used for instruction was very informal, which the teacher said is on the child's level.

As part of the morning routine, pupils are required to pray, sing songs and discuss personal news they have to share. These learners seem to have no problem with singing in English despite being in an Afrikaans class. They are also able to switch to Afrikaans, as apparent with their effortless transition from "Fishing for Jesus" to the Afrikaans version of the same song *"Visvang vir Jesus"*. During the morning session, the routine discussions about the weather, days of the week and months of the year, there were numerous occurrences of translanguaging that took place. The extract to support this follows:

Discussing today's weather...

Extract 4.3

1 T : sommige keer is dit so warm dat ons...dat mummy vir ons see toe moet neem. Of

Sometimes it's so hot that we...that mommy takes us to the sea/beach. Or

2 mummy moet vir ons....

mommy must...

3 L : bad toe

bath

4 T : bads toe neem

Take to the baths

5 L : [some learners shout out] of 'n pool toe

Or to a pool

6 T : reg, wat sê 'n mens vir bads in Afrikaans?

Right, what do you call the baths in Afrikaans

7 L : swembad

Swimming pool

8 T : huh

9 L : [more learners shout out] swembad

Swimming pool

10 T : na die swembad. Na die swembad

To the swimming pool. To the swimming pool

Mrs H's use of the word the learners bring to the classroom '*bads*' line 4, shows she acknowledges this as an acceptable answer within the context of this discussion. Following this, some learners shouted out 'pool' which is a English word, yet the class understood what was meant by this, as it is the preferred variety of the more formal word '*swembad*'. Significantly, some learners already had both these words in their linguistic repertoire, as evident by the response to Mrs H's question in line 6 and the correct Afrikaans response by the learner in line 7. Once again this shows that learners access information in any language. They do not compartmentalise information in a way that keeps the English words and Afrikaans words separate. Instead they use what is already in their linguistic repertoire, Afrikaans or English, to engage in this discussion (Garcia and Wei, 2014). In this way, translanguaging allows them to be effective languagers, who act against the ideology that languages are bounded systems (Jorgensen, 2008).

Figure 4.1 *Multilingual birthday chart*

Months of the year lesson

Mrs H uses an English chart with the months of the year (Figure 4.1), but the learners say the month in Afrikaans. An Afrikaans chart is not available to this teacher, therefore, she has to use what learning material is available to her and she chooses to use the English one anyway. In support of translanguaging, Banda (2018) argues that using English teaching materials in 'non-English' classes does not hinder learning and discussion within the classroom. Evidently, Mrs H using this English poster in this Afrikaans class had not restricted the flow of the lesson, as learners were able to give the names of the months.

There were some discrepancies with regard to the pronunciation with regard to 'March' which they said in an informal Kaaps accent as '*Maartch*'. This is the way it is pronounced in this informal Afrikaans environment. Also, the month 'October' was pronounced the English way instead of '*Oktober*' with more emphasis on the '-to' section. Although Mrs H emphasised the correct form of October and March during the lesson, she did not discredit their pronunciation. Notably, the poster is multilingual in that is has "Happy Birthday" printed in various foreign languages. While there was no indication whether the teacher and learners use these alternate ways of wishing each other or not, it was interesting to see the presence of foreign languages (even those with completely different alphabets) on a birthday poster in an Afrikaans class.

The conversation about the months of the year led to a discussion on birthdays, parties and presents. The extract below shows the language practices during this discussion.

Extract 4.4

1 T : *wat kan daar nog by die partyjie wees?*

What can there still be at the party?

2 L : *'n* present [English pronunciation despite the word having the same spelling in Afrikaans]

3 T : *Ja, pappa kan miskien vir jou 'n present van die werk af bring. Ne*

Yes, daddy can maybe bring you a present from work.

4 L : [inaudible]

5 T : *en jy sê vir pappa: "Pappa as ek eendag verjaar". Verlede jaar het jy miskien gesê*:

And you tell daddy: "Daddy, when it's my birthday". Maybe last year you said

6 *"Pappa as ek verjaar dan moet pappa darem vir my 'n ... 'n* teddy beer *koop of 'n paar*

"Daddy when it's my birthday then daddy must buy me a... a teddy bear or a some

7 puzzles *of inkleurpotlode of 'n* comp...'n computer...*of uhm ...of pappa moet vir my*

puzzles or colourin pencils or a comp...a computer...or uhm...or daddy must

8 *sirkus toe neem" enige geskenk kan jy kry ne.*

Take me to the circus" you can get any present.

9 L : *of 'n* bike *juffrou*

Or a bicycle teacher

10 T : *of 'n fiets* [reaffirming the previous mention of a bike]

Or a bicycle

11 L : *of 'n present*

Or a present

12 T : *of daai* roller skates *wat jy soe lekker kan* roller skate, *of 'n* bike *of enige iets ne.*

Or those roller skates then you can roller skate, or a bike or anything.

13 L : *of 'n* pool *juffrou*

Or a swimming pool teacher

14 T : *'n* pool? *Om te swem*?

A pool? To swim?

15 L : *of 'n* scooter

Or a scooter

16 T : 'n scooter? *Ja jy noem dit mos 'n klein fietsie... 'n driewiel*.

A scooter? Yes, you call that a small bicycle... a tricycle.

The responses to the question in line 1: *"Wat kan daar nog by die partytjie wees?"*, pupils shouted out: *"'n present"* [a present], 'pool', 'computer' and 'bike'. The Afrikaans variety of these items is as follows: *present, swembad, rekenaar* and *fiets*, respectively. It is common for these pupils to use the English word for these items, as it is mentioned this way in the area which are most likely to be used by parents/adults through translanguaging. The Afrikaans terms are seen as a more formal variety not commonly used by adults here. Even the teacher

used the word ‘puzzle’ line 7 instead of ‘*legkaart*’ and she did not expand on this by giving the learners the Afrikaans word/equivalent. If this is the way learners learn in their environment, then it should be an effective way of learning in the classroom.

Often during class discussion, polylanguaging is part of their authentic discourse. Mrs H also becomes a polylanguager as she engages in using English words brought into this linguistic discourse by the learner (for example pool, bike) and gives it authenticity within the discussion as being a acceptable answer to the questions posed. While the English variety is accepted, the complementary Afrikaans word(s) is also given, thereby extending learners’ vocabulary. Mrs H’s use of polylanguaging, especially that which she initiated, for example ‘puzzle’ and ‘computer’, gives this practice legitimacy within her class as a means to create meaning and ensure comprehension. This legitimacy is in turn acknowledged by her learners, as in Extract 4.4, once again the learners use the word ‘pool’ line 13 as in Extract 4.3.

The use of the English variety here again despite being taught the Afrikaans equivalent ‘*swembad*’ in an earlier lesson, shows how they use these words interchangeably, as synonyms, thereby engaging in translanguaging. The teacher responds to this learner by also using the English word, showing how her language practice, translanguaging, defies the monolingual orientation as prescribed by the language policy of this school.

These learners' English skills were once again apparent when the teacher tried a rhyme:

One potato, two potato, three potato, four

Five potato, six potato, seven potato, more

This is what it should have been said. Instead, she forgot to mention the number five and four (jumping to six and seven) and the pupils earnestly shouted out “five”. They are familiar with the English number system as this is used more often in the community.

While these Grade 1 pupils displayed their verbal acuity by effortlessly switching between Afrikaans and English, phonetical problems surfaced during the literacy session. Two learners were asked to identify the first letter of their names, which was T and J respectively, but could not identify it amongst the alphabetically displayed letters across the window. Mrs H claims that literacy is a big problem in Grade 1, and this is one of the reasons she believes a trilingual stream would not work from this grade, as pupils are already struggling with their 'home language'.

A Grade 1 teacher's view on translanguaging is important, as she has the experience to assess literary competence in this grade and also for this social economic area. Her belief is that Grade 4's are struggling with the switch to English because they have had literacy difficulties in the Foundation Phase that manifests itself with more intensity in the intermediate phase. Mrs H does agree, however, with promoting Xhosa in the Afrikaans classroom, as these children live in an environment where Xhosa is prevalent, but says it should be incorporated orally only, as children would not cope with writing in isiXhosa, as they already face literacy difficulties in the language of instruction.

4.3.2.1 Unplanned situation in Grade 1 with Mrs H

During the observation session, an isiXhosa Grade 1 teacher was absent which meant that her learners were split up amongst the phase. Mrs H was having trouble with getting these learners to settle down during the morning session while she continues with her pupils on the mat. She gave them instruction in English, but they settled down momentarily, then started talking again. Ideally, translanguaging means that in such circumstances with teachers being absent, learners from all language streams should be able to participate, orally at least, in lessons that are not conducted in their language of instruction (Banda, 2018).

This interruption occurred during the ‘Days of the week’ lesson

Extract 4.5

1 T : [breaks from her lesson to instruct the researcher] Juffrou hulle kan ma puzzle

Teacher they can puzzle

2 op die grond.

on the floor/ground.

[pause the lesson with her as the researcher gives the instruction to the isiXhosa learners who have been placed in this class because their teacher is absent.]

3 Juffrou...teacher they can puzzle ne there on the floor. [Addresses her class on the mat] Right, everybody li...look here.

4 Teacher... [Mrs H addresses the researcher] Ek praat soema Engels oek

. I am speaking English also

6 R : Maak nie saak nie. Dis reg juffrou

Doesn’t matter. It’s alright Miss

7 T : [to the researcher] hulle mix mos die taal so

They mix the languages

8 [continues the lesson] kom ons kyk gou hoe die weer was

Let us quickly look at what the weather was like

Mrs H's translanguaging practices are quite apparent during this exchange with the researcher, as it can be seen that she not only uses English and Afrikaans in her utterances, but also makes use of slang/informal language. '*ma*' line 1 and '*ne*' line 3 shows her use of such informal words. Significantly, when she uses this slang, she addresses the researcher, alluding to her actual language practices. Also notable, is her creative use of the word 'puzzle'. Usually a noun, Mrs H uses it here as a verb by giving the learners instructions to use the puzzles on the floor.

Once she gave the other learners and researcher instructions in English line 3, she goes on and addresses her class in English as well, as she acknowledges in line 4. Her acknowledgement, however, only comes after giving her class an instruction in English using a full sentence. Strangely though, she has been using English interchangeably, or by means of translanguaging, throughout her lesson thus far and has not previously mentioned her language choice. Notably, when given the instruction in English, learners complied with her request to look at the weather chart, showing they understood her instruction. In line 7 she recognises the fact that the learners' speech is mixed with different languages. This translanguaging practices is noticed by Mrs H, which may be the reason for her also engaging in, and thereby perpetuating, translanguaging in her classroom, as she sees it as an effective means to make these sessions amore enriching teaching-learning experience.

4.3.3 Grade 3

Afrikaans medium of instruction

Mrs M

Grade 3 is a significant grade, as this is the year that precedes the switch to English medium of instruction in Grade 4. It would be expected that learners be English-ready so that the transition from Afrikaans medium of instruction to English is not too arduous. It is at this

stage that pupils should be tested to see whether they are ready to switch to English as the school's language policy stipulates.

A significant observation was the progress of an isiXhosa pupil who was placed in this Afrikaans class. She was a transfer pupil, who was said to have come from an English class, but because this school did not have an English stream in the Foundation Phase, her parents opted for her to be placed in the Afrikaans class instead. Her speech was well developed and it did not seem as if she had difficulty speaking or understanding basic Afrikaans. This situation was a focal point of the research, as it would reveal the capabilities of a multilingual learner (in this case, someone who knows Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa).

During the numeracy session she was having trouble with saying the number '48' in Afrikaans. Instead of "*agt-en-veertig*", she said "*vier-en-tagtig*" (forty eight).The reason for this could be that coming from an English class, she was not entirely familiar with the Afrikaans numbering system that should be said by stating the last digit first. These Afrikaans numbers are not often used in the community, where the English numbering system is the more common choice in informal communication. Once the teacher explained the correct way to read these numbers, she was able to apply it to the next two numbers the teacher asked her and correctly said: *vyf en veertig* [forty five] and *sewe en sestig* [sixty seven]. This was early in the school year, therefore, she had not been exposed to this system for long, and may have needed more time to become accustomed to it.

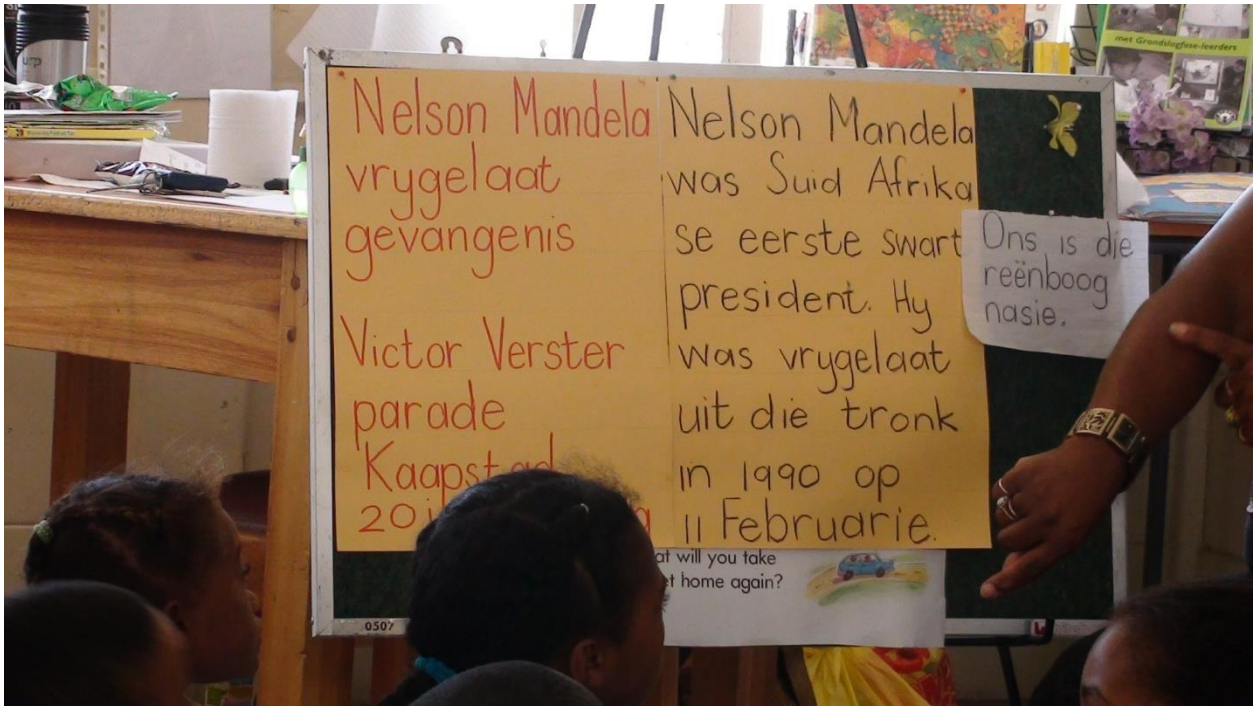


Figure 4.2 *Nelson Mandela lesson*

Later, the same isiXhosa girl was asked to write down the numerical value of the year "*neentien honderd en negentig*" [1990], but instead wrote 1909. After the second try she got it right. During the same lesson, which focused on Nelson Mandela being freed from prison (Figure 4.2), she was unfamiliar with the Afrikaans word '*vrygelaat*' which means 'freed' or 'set free'. Leading up to this discussion on the anniversary of the release of Nelson Mandela from prison, Mrs M talks about the laws of the country. She brings them to the class rules and relates this to the laws of the country to spark a discussion on what rules/laws the learners can remember. The following discussion ensues:

Extract 4.6

1 T : *Nou julle weet ons praat van wette in die land en wette in die skool. Ek het nou*

Now you know we talk about laws in the country and laws in the school. I said

2 *die dag gesê in die land is daar wetter, seker wette vat ons nie mag oortree*

nie.

the other day that in this country there are laws, certain laws that we cannot break.

3 *Wat het ons gesê? Wat is die wetter wat ons nie mag oortree nie?*

What did I say? What are the laws we cannot break?

3 [distracted by a learner who is not concerntrating] *Sit en speel jy? Staan op en gaan sit daar agter. Ek sal met jou gesels as onshier klaar is.*

Are you sitting and playing? Stand up and siy at the back. I will talk to you when we finish here.

[back to the previous question] *Een van die wette wat ons nou die dag van gepraat het?*

One of the laws we spoke about the other day?

1 L : [inaudible response from learner]

2 T : *Reg. Jy mag nie soeme op enige plek loop uhm*pee*nie. Ne. Jy mag nie enige*

Right, You are not allowed to urinate anywhere. You cannot

3 *plek...suens mag nie enige plek hulle*penis*uithaal en staaa en staan en*pees*oos*

boys cannot take out their penis anywhere and stand and urinate like

4 *somige seuntjies doen nie. Of soos somige groot manne doen nie. Vroumense*

some boys do. Or like some adult men do. Women cannot do it.

5 *mag dit nie doen nie. Dit is nie reg nie. Dit is nie reg nie en dit is een van die*

It is acceptable. It is not acceptable and it is one of the things

6 *goed wat ons moet gehoorsaam in die land.*

we must abide by in our country.

[conversation continues as to the other laws that the learners can remember]

In the above extract (4.6) it is evident that the teacher switches to English when using certain words such as 'pee' - the informal English word for 'urinate'. Learners are familiar with this term, therefore, Mrs M ensures that there is understanding in the discussion, rather than using the formal Afrikaans variety '*urineer*'. Therefore, translanguaging is important to ensure understanding.

When it was time for the literacy session, the teacher chose to let the class recite English poems: 'How did you come to school today?' (Figure 4.3) , 'Moo cow' and 'I like this one'. 'Moo cow, moo cow' and 'I like this one' was said orally with actions that made it easy for the children to understand the concepts, fat and thin. This procedure was similar to that of Total Physical Interaction (TPI). Collectively, the class read 'How did you come to school today?' quite fluidly and were able to say the poem with the actions shown by the teacher. When asked to read aloud, alone, the Xhosa girl was able to do so with the same fluidity as if it were her native tongue. She was asked to identify the words: 'school', 'come' and 'today' on the chart, which she did correctly, showing her multilingual adroitness.

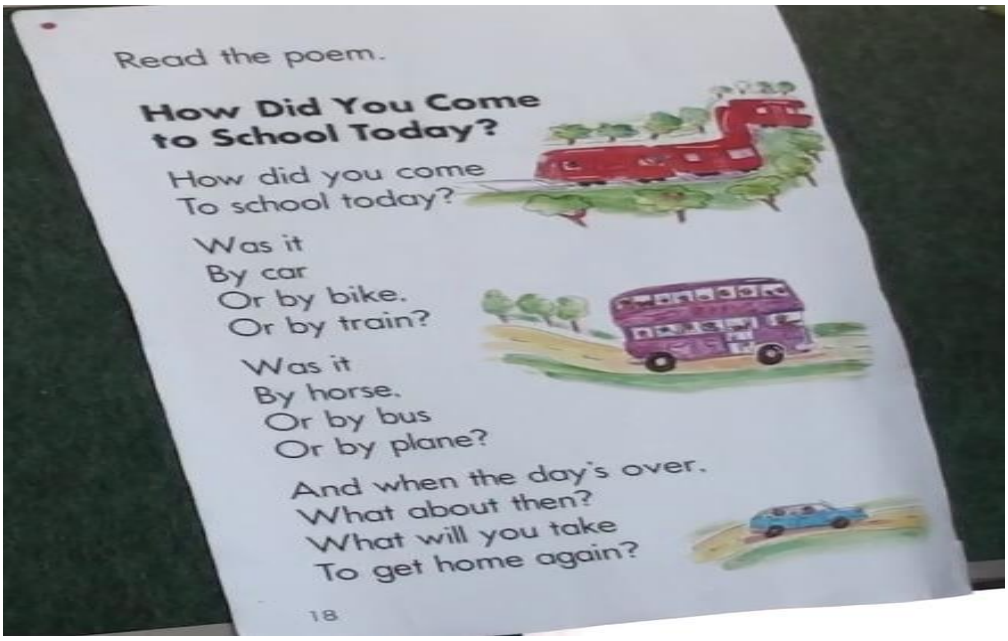


Figure 4.3 *How did you come to school today? poster*

Other pupils were also able to read the English passage without struggle. These pupils had already been identified as being academically stronger compared to their peers. The pupils who are known to struggle during both numeracy and literacy had not been asked to participate in loud reading. Those who were struggling had already failed in the foundation phase, which meant that they had to progress to the next phase even if they were not academically capable of coping with the new academic challenges in Grade 4 such as the increased work load and double the subjects. The danger of this rule is that compulsory promotion, along with the switch to English medium of instruction can only present the learning with an insurmountable challenge.

The Xhosa girl in this class is an example that young children can effectively communicate in more than one language. However, as the Grade 1 Afrikaans teacher had stated, learning through these languages from Grade 1 will not be effective as it will confuse the learner. While this learner showed some confusion with regard to the numeracy lesson, continued exercise might help her grasp the Afrikaans numbering system. However, she is able to make use of the other languages in her repertoire if necessary, by means of translanguaging, as each

language does not need to be mastered equally to be a multilingual (Ouane, 2009, Banda, 2016).

Below is a reading session during which translanguaging took place:

Extract 4.7

1 T : *Mev de Bruin sit die kos vroeg in die oond want sy will huis skoon maak. Gou*
Mrs de Bruin put the food in the oven early because she wants to clean the.
2 *is die kombuis vol emmers en dwyler en stoffers. Wat het juffrou vir julle gesê*
house Soon the kitchen is full of buckets and mops and dusters. What did I say
3 *wat is 'n dwyl?*
what is a mop?
4 L :[in chorus] *'n mop* [using the informal Afrikaans variety] *juffrou*
A mop teacher.
5 T : [confirming the answer] 'n mop. *'n mooi...'n mooi Afrikaans se word. En nou*
A mop. A nice...a nice Afrikaans word. And now from
6 *van* more af sê jy vir mamma: "Mamma kan ek gou die dwyl gebruik?" Dan
tomorrow you tell mommy : "Mommy, can I quickly use the mop?" Then you
7 kyk jy *wat mamma dink wat is 'n dwyl. Jy kan vir mamma leer. Ek is seker daar is*
see what mommy thinks...what is a mop (dwyl the formal Afrikaans word for mop) You can teach mommy. I am sure there are mommies
8 *mamma's wat* nie weet nie. Kom se vir my wie se mamma het geweet wat is 'n
dwyl ne.

Who do not know. Come tell me whose mommy knew what a 'dwyl'.

9 [continues the story] *Daar moet vinnige maniere wees om kamer skoon te maak*

There must be quicker ways to clean, said Boffie. And he

10 *sê Boffie. En hy spring na sy werkwinkeljtie agter in die tuin. Verbassing gou*

raced to his workshop at the back of the garden. Surprising quick he put

11 *het hy 'n groot vreemde masjien aan mekaar gesit. Aan die een end is 'n groot*

together a big strange machine. At one end is a big funnel and at the

12 *tregter en aan die ander end is 'n plastieksak en rubber pype wat die masjien*

other end is a plastic and rubber pipe that holds the machine together.

13 *aan mekaar hou. Err...'tregter' ek dink nie julle weetwat is 'n tregter nie. Is*

Err.. 'funnel' I don't think you know what a funnel is. Is there someone

14 *daar iemand wat vir my kan se wat is 'n tregter*?

What is a 'tregter' (funnel)

15 L : D*is 'n trok*

It's a truck

16 T : huh?

17 L : [learner repeats] *Dis 'n trok*

It's a truck

18 T : *Nee, dis nie 'n trekker nie. 'n tregter lyk soos die*. [draws on the board] *hy lyk*

No, its not a tractor. A funnel looks like this. It looks like this

19 *so,soos 'n cylinder. Hy lyk so, en dan lyk hy so* [continues to illustrate on the

board].

20 Like a cylinder. It looks like this and like this.

21 *In Engels sal ons se 'n* funnel. *As pappa miskien wil olie wil ingooi, dan sit hy*

In English we would say a funnel. If daddy wants to throw oil in, then he puts

22 *dit in die petrol tank in en dan gooi hy die olie daarin en dan loop die olie in*

it in the petrol tank and he'll throw the oil in it and the oil will run through the

23 *deur die tregter.*

funnel

24 L : *'n bottel*

A bottle

25 T : huh?

26 L : *'n bottel*

A bottle

27 T : *'n mens kan 'n bottel gebruik as 'n tregter ja. jy's reg*

One can use a bottle as a funnel, yes. You're right.

Discussion of a funnel and the story continued:

Mrs M is reinforcing the new formal Afrikaans word 'tregter' with the mention of the English equivalent thinking that the learners may have heard the word 'funnel' instead of 'tregter' which is not used often. It appears that Mrs M is aware of their linguistic multiplicities and she tries to relate new information – the word 'tregter' – with what she thinks they know from the community 'funnel'. Those who have not heard either word, would now be able to add both these terms to their multilingual vocabulary. Within their multilingual community, learners' linguistic capability must be taken into consideration and expanded on. This means that their linguistic repertoire can be utilised more effectively within the classroom to allow better understanding of the lesson, but also expanded by teaching formal words they may not often hear/utilise in the community.

4.3.4 Grade 5

Life Science

English medium of instruction

Mr B

This is an important site for observations, as the switch from mother tongue to English medium of instruction has already taken place and here learners are in mixed classes. It was apparent that despite seating being a mixed race class, there was still grouping taking place, whereby Afrikaans learners and Xhosa learners formed distinct groups. This grouping system could be due to friendships already being established in the foundation phase, as Torres-Guzman (2007) argues that early bilingual teaching leads to positive cross cultural attitudes. Therefore, the lack of cross cultural mixing in these learners' early school years means that they continue to socialise within their linguistic groupings within the boundary of the school.

While the teaching method was a question and answer session, isiXhosa learners were most avid to answer questions. However, when the class was asked to read aloud from the board as a unit, there was some disparity until the teacher started assisting. This could show a insecurity, or lack of understanding, from the learners when reading English. During time when learner's where writing notes from the board, the teacher would invigilate and switch to Afrikaans "*doen jou werk*" when trying to get certain learners to focus. He has mentioned that his Afrikaans is restricted, therefore, he explains work in English only as if he were to switch to isiXhosa, he would be depriving the Afrikaans learners who do not understand isiXhosa from accessing the information.

4.3.5 Grade 7

Lesson: English (mixed race class)

English medium of instruction

Mr B

More inter racial mixing was observed in this class in comparison to the Grade 5 class. This could be due to age and confidence in speaking English having been instructed in English since Grade 4. The class was also more enthusiastic when answering questions. Mr B did not use translanguaging during this lesson; however, as it was an English lesson, the focus was on grammatical aspects of the language, therefore, he may have opted to speak only English during the lesson.

4.3.6 Personal experience

On many occasions when I was given access to observe the linguistic practices of the learners outside and inside the classroom, I would follow the leaners' lead and use translanguaging to engage with them. This was a more natural and less forced language practice among learners, than the formal and monolingual orientation officially legislated.

4.3.7 Grade 3 English reading session

When given the opportunity to read an English story to a different Grade 3 Afrikaans class, pupils were able to understand English quite well. This was proven when they rewrote the story in Afrikaans. There was some basic assistance with writing difficult words on the board. This included *spinnekop* (spider) and *skoenlapper* (butterfly). Surprisingly, they were not familiar with the word "*skoenlapper*", and when questioned what that was they identified it as a "butterfly". Butterfly and *skoenlapper* are just different terms for the same object, therefore, this answer was not noted as wrong. What learners display her is their translanguaging tendencies in which they utilise their repertoire (Garcia, 2009; Canagarajah, 2001) to substitute the unknown word *'skoenlapper'* with a known variety 'butterfly' and as previously also see with 'krokodil' and 'crocodile' in the Grade R observations, 'butterfly' and '*skoenlapper*' are used as synonyms rather than seen as words from separate,

autonomous systems. These translanguaging opportunities should be used to expand the child's knowledge, thereby enhancing their linguistics repertoire.

It was evident that in the Grade R class, there is more of a willingness to answer questions using English than in Grade 3. A video recorded reading session with the Grade R class shows that pupils are enthusiastic to participation in discussions whereas the discussion with this Grade 3 Afrikaans class was not met with the same vigour, as only a selection of pupils who are notably higher achievers, would answer questions, but even when they do so, they are concerned with the pronunciation of words. Therefore, how is it possible for them to be placed in an English class in Grade 4, if at this late stage in Grade 3 they are lacking pivotal English skills, and already are so speech sensitive in that they embarrassed to make language mistakes, will they cope with the demand of English at Grade 4 level?

4.3.8 Grade 2 Afrikaans class mathematics session

On the occasion when an isiXhosa teacher was absent and about six of her learners were sent to the class I was substituting for. I used this as an opportunity to test their understanding of Afrikaans and their ability to assimilate with the rest of rest of the class. One learner in particular, Siya, was able to express himself articulately as he was able to take part in the numeracy lesson, despite it being conducted in Afrikaans. He was able to use the Afrikaans numbering system and often gave the correct answers to mathematical problems. When I used English, some Afrikaans learners had difficulty understanding the English numbering system. Therefore, they felt left out of the lesson and became despondent by not answering questions.

4.3.9 Informal observations as teacher

There was also a separate incident where a black senior learner came to my class and addressed me with the greeting "Asalamualaikum". I asked him if he was Muslim, but he replied no, and that he saw my scarf and knew that I was muslim. He claimed to have heard

Muslim people in the area greeting this way. This shows how children can acquire other languages and knowledge of other cultures in the area, because of Delft's diversity. When an opportunity arose in which this learner could use his acquired knowledge, by identifying a Muslim person, he portrayed his linguistic dexterity. He may have also chosen this greeting instead of saying "Good morning Miss", as I was not officially a teacher at the school, therefore, not seen as an authority figure.

This exchange shows how translanguaging transcends the three main languages spoken in Delft, namely, Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa, but indicates how certain cultural aspects also influences these learners' utterances. While Arabic is not specifically listed in the census data, certain Arabic words are prevalent within the area, due to the prevalence of Muslims in Delft. Therefore, basic Arabic words, greetings, etc., are very likely to be part of translanguaging practices that take place here. By noticing my scarf as a cultural marker of Islam, this learner was able to use his linguistic repertoire and knowledge as gained in the area to deliver a greeting appropriately acknowledging I am Muslim.

Another example of cross cultural translanguaging, was when an isiXhosa girl said to me: "Sisi, you look nice," during my time observing playground interaction. Again, I assume she chose this way to address me as she acknowledged that I was not a teacher at the school, therefore not calling me 'Miss'. Instead, this learner drew on her cultural norms by opting for an endearing Xhosa title 'Sisi' which means sister in Xhosa. Despite me not ascribing to her culture, this term of respect shows that learners use what is in their linguistic repertoire, and the cultural knowledge that 'Sisi' is more respectful than addressing an older person as 'You', to engage within their social environment. In this way, translanguaging allows speakers to transcend cultural boundaries previously imposed under segregatory Acts. The two examples above show not only how boundaries between languages are permeable (Creese and Blackldege, 2010: 112), but also how cultural norms and practices can be transferred by mean of translanguaging.

4.4 Classroom Observation: School B

4.4.1 Grade 1

English class (mixed race class)

Mrs A

Learners in this class were linguistically dexterous, evident when they were talking to each other informally. Despite being classified as an English medium class, some coloured learners spoke Afrikaans and at times even isiXhosa when addressing their isiXhosa speaking classmates. When these coloured learners, who are stereotypically assumed to speak Afrikaans, were asked where they picked up their isiXhosa skills, the most common reply was that their neighbours speak isiXhosa. By socialising with these neighbours and their children, they acquired a few isiXhosa words and phrases. Although at times their pronunciation of certain isiXhosa words were not completely correct, the isiXhosa speaking classmates were able to help out and rectify them. Although isiXhosa was evident informally in the English classroom, the most common language spoken informally amongst classmates was Afrikaans, and also a mixture of Afrikaans and English.

When these children address their teacher or me, they speak English, and at times when they cannot think of the equivalent English term for something, they make use of their repertoire and use the corresponding Afrikaans word for what they intended to say. An example was when one of the pupils complimented a necklace I was wearing:

"Teacher is wearing a nice *kettang*" [neck chain]

This colloquial manner of speaking is common in Delft and most of the Cape Flats. This was not an isolated incident. There were several occasions when translanguaging took place in the Afrikaans class as well.

During a Literacy lesson on '*verkeer*' (traffic), pupils used English terms instead of Afrikaans as illustrated below:

'pavement'	*'sypaaitjie'*
'speed bump'	*'spoed bult'*
'orange'	*'oranje'*

Another notable translanguaging occurrence that was observed, involves the naming of fruit, in which Afrikaans pupils could not grasp the concept of *'piesang'*, as they continually referred to this as 'banana'. One possible reason for this, is that fruit vendors in the area refer to this fruit as a banana and not as a *piesang*, even when they are speaking in Afrikaans.

During a Literacy lesson focused on animals, the teacher asked he pupils to name the wild animals the following was said:

'tiger'	instead of	*'tjier'*
'lion'	instead of	*'leeu'*

During the Numeracy lessons, it was apparent that the pupils did not use Afrikaans exclusively, as they use Afrikaans numbers, but English mathematical terminology. An example of this is provided below:

"*drie* minus *twee* equals *een*"

instead of

"*drie minus twee is gelyk aan een*"

(3 – 2 = 1)

The isiXhosa pupils at both schools seemed to display similar patterns to that of the Afrikaans pupils during Numeracy sessions, as they also translanguage. In contrast to the Afrikaans pupils who use English mathematical terminology along with Afrikaans numbers, the isiXhosa pupils seem to use isiXhosa mathematical terminology, while using English numbers. Such examples are demonstrated below:

"two **dibanisa** two **zenza** four"

[plus] [equals to]

"zimbini dibanisa zimbini zenza zine"

"six **dibanisa** six **zenza** twelve"

[plus] [equals to]

"zintandathu dibanisa zintandathu zenza ishumi elinesibini"

It was also evident that in certain instances, a non-standard variety of isiXhosa was used when pupils were asked to identify the objects they were shown.

Object shown	standard isiXhosa	terms used by isiXhosa pupils
jug	***'ijokhwe'***	***'yi-jug'***
plate	**'iipleyiti'**	**'zii-plate'**
chips	**'iitshipsi'**	**'ii-chips'**

The standard isiXhosa terminology is not used outside of the classroom, instead the English terms are phonologised by the Xhosa learners to the isiXhosa sound system (Banda, 2018).

4.5 Summary

It is evident that the observations at School B show similar translanguaging practices as at School A. At both these schools, learners simply use the English or Afrikaans word/s as synonyms for the other language. Their translanguaging abilities, which allow them to engage in the classroom discussion, shows that they are knowledgeable about what the teacher is talking about – they are able to provide correct answers to questions posed – but they do so in a way that defines the monolingual requirements of the language policies by engaging as multilingual speakers from multilingual environment.

The following chapter presents an analysis of the School's language policy and comments regarding other occurrences outside of the classroom.

Chapter 5

Language Policy and Teaching Materials

5.0 Introduction

While classroom observations were the main focus of the research, other factors were also thought of as relevant to investigate. These include an analysis of School A's language in education policy, playground observations to see how learners interact outside of the classroom, reading sessions, a Grace 3 cinema outing and commentary on posters used within the classroom. This chapter discusses significant instances with regard to linguistic practices outside of the confines of the classroom and lessons, such as the learners' social environment of learners. In addition to this, teachers' linguistic practices in staff meeting will briefly be discussed.

5.1 School Language policy document [attached as appendix B]

The following section will be an analysis and discussion of School A's language policy document. I have used the same structure as in the original document attached, as to make it easier to follow the analysis and the discussion below. Therefore, this section is structured under the following headings: *Vision, Mission, Language of learning and teaching, Language offered as subject, Revision of the policy, Communication with parents, All official languages, Implementation plan, Feeder schools, Learning and teaching support material, Language requests, Management, monitoring and quality assurance* and *End.*

Prah and Brock-Utne (2009) stated that African language policies are often indecisive and contradictory. This is an ideal way to describe this school's language policy which I was handed a draft of in 2011. This document was riddled with spelling errors, and seems to replicate the common monolingual terminology with its apparent view of Delft residents as monolingual speakers, in its explanation of the school's outlook on language use. Analysing this document for content rather than spelling errors, I think it would be easier to simulate the format used in the original document, to show how inconsistent the statements are in relation to what the intention of the school actually is. The school's language policy reads as follows:

5.1.1 Vision

The language policy states that one of the school's visions is for learners to acquire "at least one additional official language". This is monolingual statement, as these learners have already acquired another language in addition to their 'mother tongue' or language of instruction. They have more than the 'mother tongue' in their linguistic repertoire. Therefore, the school should be a site to develop the languages learners already know. Banda (2009) and Wolff (2000: 3) agree that multilingualism is the norm in Africa. Banda (2010) further argues that it is difficult to distinguish between first and second language as they are frequently acquired at the same time. Wolff (2000: 9) coins this as simultaneous language acquisition and argues that this would make both languages the mother tongue or first language. Using the word 'acquisition' shows that the school's perception is that the learners are monolingual, despite them residing in a multilingual environment. This confined view of the learners' linguistic capabilities, sets the tone for the rest of the policy.

5.1.2 Mission

These points are applicable to a school serving the needs of a homogenous Xhosa populace. Xhosa is prized as the main language; with English the first additional language and Afrikaans only featuring as second additional language. Using the first or second additional language system, it is possible to determine the importance placed upon a language. Therefore, it is clear that Afrikaans is not as prioritised as Xhosa at this school, despite there being a large number of Afrikaans speakers in close proximity who needs to be accommodated. Despite the dominant languages being mentioned in this document, with the allusion to develop learners' knowledge of all three, the trajectory in reaching this goal is somewhat misguided and discriminative. The idea of additional language is said to be concepts applicable to immigrants and minorities from third world countries, which does not fit the African linguistic milieu (Prah and Brock-Utne, 2009). Banda (2009, 2010) further states how such models are unlikely to promote multilingual integration and that it constitutes monolingual education.

5.1.3 Language of learning and teaching

The proposed LOLT implementation is slightly different to what is actually taking place, as there are currently no English LOLT foundation phase classes. At the time of the school's inception, and subsequently the time at which this policy was drafted, there were English foundation phase classes which accommodated the Afrikaans learners, but due to large failure rates, the practice was changed to Afrikaans and Xhosa foundation phase streams with the intention of switching to English from Grade 4 onwards. In 2007 the mother tongue instruction programmes was piloted at this school. No mention was made in this section about Afrikaans as home language, despite the high percentile of Afrikaans speakers in the vicinity. Currently, the parallel monolingual Afrikaans and Xhosa streams for the foundation phase remains in practice, and by Grade 4, will be replaced by what Banda (2009, 2010) calls English-based monolingual education.

5.1.4 Language offered as subject

Again, only Xhosa is acknowledged here as a home language, with the intention of using English and Afrikaans as additional subjects. It is unclear whether the "4.5 hours a week", as mentioned in this section, is to be used for the home language or the additional languages as there is no clear explanation given. However, the idea of setting aside stipulated time to teach a particular language (unless focussing on grammar rules of that particular language) seems more of a monolingual method of teaching, whereby languages have to be separated within the classroom. This implies that special sessions will be assigned during which the focus will be on using a single language only. This is incongruent with the sociolinguistic environment of Delft, where in a particular utterance; two or more languages in varying dialects will be used by means of translanguaging. In ever day communication, learners do not segment the languages they know, reserving Afrikaans and/or English and/or isiXhosa for a certain time of the day. Instead, they use the languages they know interchangeably, by translanguaging. Therefore, keeping language segregated by stipulating a time for it, is disparate to the language practices of the learners when they are socialising within their community.

5.1.5 Revision of the policy

The fact that this draft policy remains undeveloped shows that this matter has not been reviewed annually as stated. The term parallel medium of teaching as mentioned here is significant, because some of the teachers who were interviewed had no knowledge of what parallel medium of instruction was. Evidently, parallel medium of instruction in this context meant two monolingual streams. Such a stream is contrary to idea of developing bilingually competent learners, as a parallel medium of instruction usually equates to multiple monolingualism.

Notably, there is no mention of Afrikaans in this section. Rather, the focus is on developing English and isiXhosa at the school. In this way, Afrikaans speakers are being marginalised by the language policy.

5.1.6 Communication with parents [see Appendix C]

Provision is made to accommodate the language needs of parents. The letters that are distributed are written in Afrikaans and isiXhosa, but there are also vestiges of English in these letters. This shows the linguistic hybridity of the area. While it is likely that parents would be able to read and make sense of at least two of the three languages present on these letters, it is understandable that the school wants to ensure that the message being conveyed is understood by all. Considering the census information of 2011 (Stats SA) regarding education, the majority of the Delft populace have had some secondary (or below) education. Therefore, while verbally translanguaging is an acceptable practice, some parents' reading ability may be limited. In this way, using all the three languages for written communication will appeal to everyone.

5.1.7 All official languages

Ironically, the school urges teachers to be cognisant of and sensitive to various cultures and languages, yet the policy itself marginalises certain language communities. The apparent emphasis on the progression of isiXhosa at this school (as noted in the sections above), shows

a bias to that language and consequentially discriminating against the other official languages of the area.

Noting the intention to "make positive progress towards multilingualism", this policy in its current state promotes multiple monolingualism (Heller, 2007). This becomes apparent in way it stipulates how languages will be segregated, by means of teaching as additional languages. With regard to nation building, the practice of having learners be racially segregated as determined by their home language is counter-intuitive to this idea. While there are no racial or cultural boundaries in the area, different races and cultures live next to each other, or in close proximity to each other, and socialise this way on a daily basis. It is at school, however, where they are being segregated which does not encourage nation building, instead it invokes an awareness of our differences, causing learners to socialise within their linguistic circles. Therefore, more should be done to encourage cross cultural interaction in the foundation phase.

5.1.8 Implementation plan

By the statement: "candidates who have command of more than one language should enjoy preference..." essentially means any South African teacher would be eligible for a position at this school, as monolingualism in South Africa is not the norm (Banda, 2018).

5.1.9 Feeder schools

Feeder schools are high schools where children from this primary school are most likely to apply for tuition post Grade 7. They are usually situated near the primary school and closely affiliated. Not surprisingly then, the feeder school has a certain level of influence on the language policy of the primary school they are affiliated with, as the primary school needs to have a policy implemented that is congruous with that of the high school's language needs. The senior phase is when children will be prepared for high school, and having a similar language policy means a fluid transition to the feeder school.

5.1.10 Learning and teaching support material

Many teachers remark that there is a shortage of teaching resources. Therefore, procuring appropriate and adequate classroom resources is a concern. As it will be shown later, teachers create their own posters in the target language or adapt English posters by pasting labels, written in the language of teaching, over English phrases (figure 5.5). Notably, there are also bilingual posters (shown in figures 4.1, 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4) being used in the Afrikaans class. With the intention to promote multilingualism, posters such as these bilingual ones (and if possible multilingual in the three dominant languages of Delft) should be sought. By doing this, it will not only alleviate the concern regarding the lack of material, but it will also allow for equal resources among classes in addition to allowing learners to be exposed to more than the language of teaching, thereby promoting multilingualism as is the intention of the school.

5.1.11 Language requests

An allowance is made to consider the language requests of parents, teachers and community members. While commendable in principle, language practices can become complex to implement. At times, parents are concerned that their children will lose their cultural identity and ability to speak their indigenous language if they are schooled in a language not directly linked to their culture (De Klerk, 2002)

Making ill informed decisions could consequentially have a negative impact on the learners progress later in schooling. For example, mother tongue instruction in the foundation phase may sound laudable so that the learner will have a solid academic foundation on which to build upon. However, the switch to English in Grade 4 often hinders academic progress. There are various possibilities for this, including the fact that the switch may be too soon and that the limited way in which English was used in the foundation phase does not fully equip them will the academic standards required at the Grade 4 level.

5.1.12 Management, monitoring and quality assurance

The School governing Body (SGB) along with the principal and Senior Management Team (SMT) is said to be responsible for the implementation of the schools language policy. While the support of parents in the running of the school cannot be disparaged, the reality however is that parents often do not have the necessary knowledge about language planning to enforce policies that has such significance in the outcome of the efficiency of the school and the proficiency of learners. This claim is justified by the current linguistic conflicts that exist within the school grounds and the lack of effectual problem solving to remedy the situation. A study on the effectiveness of SGB's in underperforming schools found that schools in dire need of financial and institutional assistance often have incompetent SGB's (360 Perspectives, 2013). The report further exclaimed that teachers and principals at the 85 schools visited in the Western Cape claimed SGBs did not make a significant contribution, largely due to the fact that "parents typically lack organisational, managerial and technical capacity which prevents them from supporting school management and their (teachers) in critical areas" (360 Perspective, 2013:29). Intervention from the Department of Education should be more rigorously enforced to ensure schools have a viable language plan.

5.1.13 End

The obvious question to ask here is whether the department has, ever, been called in to assist in developing a comprehensive language policy that is geared towards cultivating the children's multilingual skills. Language practitioners should be required to guide the language planning process to ensure that the best policy for this specific school, within this specific community can be implemented.

This school's policy shows a bias towards Xhosa teaching, despite the large Afrikaans community also vying to use the facility and in addition to those already enrolled at the school. The language policy seems to be an insignificant tenet of the successful running of the school, judging by the lack of effort to update to 2006 draft policy by 2011, and what is mentioned in the draft is lacking perspicuity and flawed with terms the staff are not familiar with. The department of education should take steps in ensuring schools have support when drafting such policies, and that it is effectually aimed at promoting multilingualism.

According to Mtenje (2009) this school conforms to the delayed immersion model. This is because Xhosa and Afrikaans are used as medium of instruction in the foundation phase and English taught as a subject which would eventually replace Xhosa and Afrikaans from Grade 4 onwards. In turn, these languages which were used for instruction in the foundation phase will be taught as a subject. During the respective Afrikaans and Xhosa lessons, pupils will again be divided based on race as in the foundation phase. Due to the monolingual tenets are still present in the curriculum, language is being kept apart (Ouane, 2009), and as a result of this, education risks being based on racial segregation in which cross cultural socialising opportunities at school are limited to the playground.

If one were to endeavour to compare this language policy with the five fundamental questions posed by Freeman (2007:3) for language planning, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. the target population's needs are not completely met, as only one language group is catered for or favoured above the other
2. goals are haphazardly and contradictorily been portrayed as fostering multilingualism, yet uses monolingual terminology to convey this desire
3. this programme has a monolingual structure
4. the amount spent on certain languages are not clearly outlined
5. the policy is not structured to achieve the goal due to its monolingual inclination

This makes it clear that the school's policy acts against the social practice of Delft by creating monolingual spaces (Martin-Jones, 2007), thereby perpetuating multiple monolingualisms (Heller, 2007; Banda, 2009). This model's monolingual orientation can be said to go against the multilingual nature of Africa (Banda 2009), South Africa, Cape Town and Delft, as what is apparent from the school observations is that learners are not monolingual. They make use of their linguistic repertoire to engage in classroom discussions as well as to communicate with each other during interval and after school.

5.2 Playground observation

It was clear that the segregative practices that the language policy imposed upon learners during teaching sessions were perpetuated during interval as well. Children remained in their language, hence racial, groups during play time, which meant that Afrikaans and isiXhosa learners were not socialising. Despite the intermediate and senior phases being linguistically mixed classes, based on mother tongue classification, these learners socialised in racially separate cliques. This could be due to their experiences of classroom segregation in the Foundation Phase. Translanguaging was noted and the formal varieties of Afrikaans and English were not heard within the play area.

This observation was disappointing, as most of the boys played soccer, showing they have a common interest, they could have participated as a collective group instead of creating separate teams. Such mixing by playing together would have also ensured better playing surroundings as prime spots of play would have been available to more learners if they had opted to play together. Maybe the younger learners would find it more difficult to break into a linguistically different group. However, for the senior learners, this should have been an easy transition, taking into account they are fellow classmates, therefore, they are better acquainted with each other.

Although segregation was overwhelmingly apparent, there was one particular crowd that stood out. Here, an Afrikaans learner played soccer with a group of isiXhosa speakers. He knows isiXhosa and credits this knowledge to learning the language through socialising in the area. He was also known by teachers for his impressive isiXhosa communicative abilities. During this play session, it was noted that he spoke only in isiXhosa with his friends. His closest friend is an isiXhosa speaker, who is also able to speak Afrikaans. Due to their multilingualism, they were able to access various linguistic and cross-cultural spaces.

Contrary to this situation, the Xhosa girl in the Afrikaans grade 3 class struggled to befriend her fellow classmates. She often played with her younger sister and stated that no one wanted to play with her. Why did she find it more difficult to break into this circle of Afrikaans

speakers? She was a new learner at the school, which could have been a factor, whereas the boy mentioned earlier had attended the school for a longer period, and also had an isiXhosa friend which made it easier for him to adapt cross culturally.

Despite different language groups not sharing spaces of play, there is, however, a shared interest in delicacies. It is common for learners from the Afrikaans classes to share in the more Xhosa ascribed delicacy of chicken feet. This is readily available during interval where several ladies, mostly isiXhosa speakers, from the area take up a space outside the fence of the school and display a plethora of luxuries and food.

One of the learners gracefully explained the manner in which you would engage in the task of eating chicken feet. I was told to first crack the nails off before proceeding with the 'lekker feet'. A friend next to her cringed at the thought of eating these, so it is clear that the love for this is not yet wholly shared by all Afrikaans learners.

Another favourite is '*vetkoek*' or '*amagwinya*' (Xhosa name), which is a deep fried dough filled with mince (but can also be filled with other filling). The direct English translation from the Afrikaans variety is 'fat cake', but this is not used, at least not in this space. I have often heard Afrikaans learners use the isiXhosa variety. This could possibly be due to the fact that the ladies who sell them are isiXhosa, therefore, the learners use that variety as they address her. It also gives them an opportunity to delve into their multilingual resources and translanguaging abilities and use their isiXhosa skills to display their communicative competence (Wolff, 2000) and their hybrid identities (Banda, 2009). Translanguaging opportunities such as these interactions prove that multilingualism gives learners access to a broader social populace due to their heightened social competence.

5.3 Reading sessions

Having a reading session after first interval, and across all phases, is a compulsory session at school. This is to create a love for reading, as well as to increase learners reading ability. With literacy being an area that urgently needs improvement, the value of such a session cannot be denigrated. However, this session can be used for so much more than just reading random books from the library. If not every day, at least weekly, the reading session can be used to promote different languages and cultures. This can be done by asking a pupil from the isiXhosa class to read a story to the Afrikaans class and vice versa.

This would have many advantages which include expanding knowledge and dispelling erroneous information believed about other cultures. In addition, it will instil confidence in the learner who was chosen to read the story which the school could benefit from, once learners participate in the reading local competition. Instead of learners being distraught when reading in front of a large audience at the reading competition, they would have become accustomed to reading aloud to a large/unfamiliar audience.

5.4 Weekly assembly and parents meeting

Parent meetings and assemblies are conducted using Afrikaans and isiXhosa interchangeably, whereby the announcements are repeated in both languages to ensure understanding by all present. This is a lengthy procedure, and certain parents seem to understand the message without it having to be translated in the other language. Likewise, learners get restless during assemblies, as the repetition is time consuming. However, translating cannot completely be disputed as unnecessary, as there might be those who do not understand the other language. While there is a possibility of translanguaging to appeal to the audience, this might be seen as too informal for an official parent meaning.

With the language of instruction issue being a contentious one at the school, parents were asked to indicate what their home language is, and which language they would prefer their children to be instructed in. These statistics were not revealed by the conclusion of the research, however, may be considered for future research.

5.5 Staff meetings

English has been identified as the lingua franca for staff meetings. This was also requested by a certain teacher, as he said that it will ensure understanding amongst staff and will not make anyone feel left out because they do not understand. It is routine for a prayer to be said by a volunteer before commencing with the daily agenda. This is done in English and isiXhosa. Surprisingly, when prayers are said in isiXhosa, it is not explained to those who do not understand or have limited understanding of the language, but no request is made for a translation. It seems that if the person praying does not offer an explanation, it is not questioned either. Afrikaans teachers, however, seem to pray in English. Racially the staffroom is also somewhat divided.

As on the playground, cliques within the staff room exists, based on language circles. These cliques are occasionally broken if a teacher can communicate in the other dominant language as well. Is the staff segregation possibly a reason for the separation in the classroom as well, because the learners are not readily exposed to cross cultural communication amongst their teachers? Is it setting a precedent that the learners also act upon? And to what extent does this segregation affect the example teachers display with regards to their tolerance and attitude towards other cultures?

5.6 Grade 3 cinema outing

While accompanying the Grade 3 Afrikaans and isiXhosa classes on an outing to the Tygervalley Centre cinema, interesting observations were noted throughout the trip. When pupils were instructed to sit quietly on the bus and reminded not to litter, it was done in both Afrikaans and isiXhosa. While it seemed some pupils were able to understand even when the first set of instructions were given, others needed the isiXhosa version before complying. The trip was largely segregated with Afrikaans and isiXhosa learners remaining in their class group. This however, was done mainly to ensure the safety of the learners, making it easier to recognise each teachers' children and also when taking role call to ensure all pupils were present.

Ironically, in contrast to the languages used by the teachers on the bus, the movie screened, **Shrek the third**, was in English. Despite being in what is forcibly labelled the learners' second language, the movie seemed to be well received and understood by learners. Whether learners understood all the English terms was not fully gauged, as it is possible that they made use of the non-verbal cues (actions of the characters) that animation affords the viewer to understand what is going on in the movie. While learners are labelled as either Afrikaans or isiXhosa, English is also part of their repertoire as they have exposure to the language, not only as spoken within their community, but also as it is a common language for tv shows (Banda, 2018) – especially children's shows.

Although being exposed to a language by means of television does not guarantee proficiency in that language (Banda, 2018), this outing was, however, an opportunity to foster cross cultural communication between learners who ordinarily are segregated during teaching. Given the relaxed, jovial ambiance of the return trip to school, and the shared experience of having seen the movie, engaging these learners in conversation about the movie on the bus ride back to school would have encouraged such cross cultural communication. Instead the language, and consequentially the racial, divide as enforced at the school bu means of the language policy was perpetuated on throughout the trip.

5.7 After-school play

If it is argued that there needs to be an authentic, natural environment in which to use the second language (Brock-Utne, 2009), then Delft should be highlighted as being an environment conducive to multilingual development. This diverse cultural landscape provides an equally diverse linguistic landscape, therefore, children can use their linguistic repertoire when they communicate within any multilingual setting. During my time here as a substitute teacher, I heard stories of children from my Grade 3 class playing together after school. One game they mentioned playing was '*schooltjie, schooltjie'* with fellow classmates. Those living in close proximity would gather together and take turns to be a teacher and the rest would be the pupils. It was revealed that those who took part in this were only pupils from my particular class. This shows that the shared classroom experience among learners creates

a bond that is strengthened outside of school parameters. If classes were culturally mixed, would that have resulted in more mixed afterschool play as well?

Certainly, there must be cross cultural play taking place in the area. From school observations, however, with the exception of the Afrikaans pupil whose best friend is Xhosa, cross cultural play at school (during school hours on school grounds) was not a frequent occurrence. Despite children of the area are exposed to the different languages, cross cultural play outside of school was not mentioned by this class. Could the school language situation perpetuate this phenomenon? It is possible that the separation based on language of instruction/mother tongue instruction makes it seem that black and coloured children should co-exist in separate streams?

Despite being mixed from the fourth grade, certain bias, or prejudice, ideas of the other culture would have already developed based on the limited time directly spent in the others' company in a legitimised setting. Children would have already developed the concept of us and them. This differentiation would largely be based on language differences. They would not have been exposed to a situation where the languages and cultures could co-exist in a way that comprehension is not compromised and consideration for the other culture or language is a natural occurrence, not a means for making cultural distinctions.

It is clear that children make the language distinction based on race, as when learners address isiXhosa teachers, they would use isiXhosa (black learners) or English (coloured learners), but when addressing Afrikaans teachers, black learners would use English and coloured learners use Afrikaans. This shows that race can be seen as a linguistic marker in this area. Children build on what they have observed in the school black equals isiXhosa and coloured equals Afrikaans, with clear boundaries between the languages as seen in assemblies, and Foundation Phase classes.

5.8 Labelling of foreigners

One rather worrying occurrence is the allusion to foreigners, specifically Nigerians, as "*Naggies*". This is an Arabic adjective used to refer to something that is impure. This is derogatory and racist and seems to be a common practice not only in Delft, but I have heard this term being used in Mitchell's Plain as well. The origin of such labels is not known, nor exactly why they are being referred to in this way. The only deduction I can draw is the assimilation and shortening of the word Nigerians. Another possibility is that it is an impertinent reference to the fact that there are so many Nigerian nationals in the area, and because of this, they seem to be 'littering' the streets. This shows the inveterate nature to ostracise based on race and culture. The irony is that this behaviour is being perpetuated by the same people who were derided for similar reasons during Apartheid. Society has an immature sense of empathy for other cultures, including those that are prevalent in the country.

5.9 Delft Library visit

The library visit revealed that there is an interest in isiXhosa books and that these books are readily available. While the selection of isiXhosa books are limited in comparison to that of English, their inclusion at this library in addition to English and Afrikaans literature shows it is catering for a multilingual populace.

5.10 Teachers' concerns

Teachers face daily challenges that have to be acknowledged. Large classes can definitely affect the quality of teaching, as there are many of these learners who need special attention and intervention. Most public schools amid impoverished environments such as Delft have similar complaints as noted in Banda (2004 and 2018). Some of the common problems that affect schools in the area are as follows:

1) *Lack of nutrition* – many learners do not bring lunch to school and rely on the feeding scheme. Food from the feeding scheme is sent to classes and usually learners eat before first interval (which is around 10h00). For some, this is the first meal they have for the day. The implication this has for teaching, is that learners cannot concentrate

while hungry, therefore, despite the efforts of the teacher to provide a engaging lesson, some learners remain distracted due to hunger.

2) *Smaller classrooms to manage* – with classroom numbers sometimes soaring close to the fifties, it can become difficult to manage activities with restricted resources and considering the physical classroom size that has to accommodate many benches/table and chairs that it limits space for free movement. Also considering the social problems of the area, learners at these schools act out or show violent behaviour that causes the teacher to intervene, taking away from teaching time. The more learners in a class, the more social issues that will present itself in that class too. With such a large population in Delft who has to be schooled in the area, building more schools would alleviate the burgeoning numbers of learners that some teachers have to manage. In addition to the social problems and learning materials and simply the physical size of the classroom, more learners add to an already cumbersome amount of admin (marking, writing reports or assessments and referral documents for learners with learning difficulties) that teachers have.
3) *Fewer special needs learners in mainstream classes* – learners with foetal alcohol syndrome (and other learning problems) are part of the mainstream classes. Teachers have complained that the procedure to get a learner referred to a LSEN (Learners with Special Education Needs) school is an arduous process with regards to the amount of paper work (forms) that need to be filled in. Waiting to be placed in such a school can take years, as evident from a learner who suffered from alcohol foetal syndrome, but had been at the school from Grade R – Grade 4 (Grade 4 was the last time contact was made with this learner, therefore, he may have progressed further at the school or had been placed at LSEN school before completing Primary school). This learner, had failed in the foundation phase, repeated that grade, but due to the policy of a learner not being able to fail twice within the same phase, he had to be put over to the next grade, noted as a learner who needed support from the new teacher. As there are a large number of learners in a class, it is not always possible to give such learners individual support they need to progress, therefore, his academic progress and understanding of lessons will continually be compromised as he will not receive the teaching interventions that he require due to being in a mainstream class.
4) *Lack of discipline* – a socio-economic environment such as Delft, lack of discipline at schools is prevalent. With many learners causing disruptions in class, the teachers'

attention is diverted from teaching to resolve conflict. Having many learners in a class with limited classroom space exacerbates such conflict.

5) *Minimal interest shown by certain parents* – while parent involvement in the childs' progress and behaviour is pivotal in learners' academic and personal development, such supportis often limited to only a few parents. Ironically, it has been said that it is the parents of the learners that are most problematic that are not present during parents' meetings. It was also apparent though, that parents themselves are also unable to effectively cope with their child's behaviour and feel helpless in disciplining their child are home. This is what was referred to as the child controlling the parent. In addition to this, some parents were said to overcompensate for the fact that the child only has one parent in the household, either due to the other parent abandoning the child or due to the death of the other parent, therefore, they tend to assent to all the child's requests at the expense of teaching the child moderation and restricting their need for immediate gratification. However, it must also be stated that due to their financial circumstances, many parents have to work which could prevent them from attending meetings.
6) *Lack of teaching material* – as the discussion on this topic is quite extensive, it will be discussed under its own heading below...

5.10.1 Lack of teaching material

One of the most infamous complaints from teachers using isiXhosa as language of learning and teaching is the dearth of isiXhosa learning material. Banda (2009) provides a solution to this problem by suggesting that through cross linguistic referencing and careful language planning, isiXhosa, isiZulu, Ndebele and Seswati, could share teaching and reading material. Like Banda (2009), Gough (1994, cited in de Wet, 2002) that the development of learning material in indigenous African languages should not be seen as a problem. Gough (de Wet, 2002: 119) further exclaims that learning material in African languages are available, but is "gathering dust in Department of Education storerooms". Producing multilingual material could also ensure the availability of resources across the three official languages of the Western Cape. Figure 5.1 that follows is an example of a multilingual poster that was an educational supplement received with the Sunday Times, July 1, 2007.

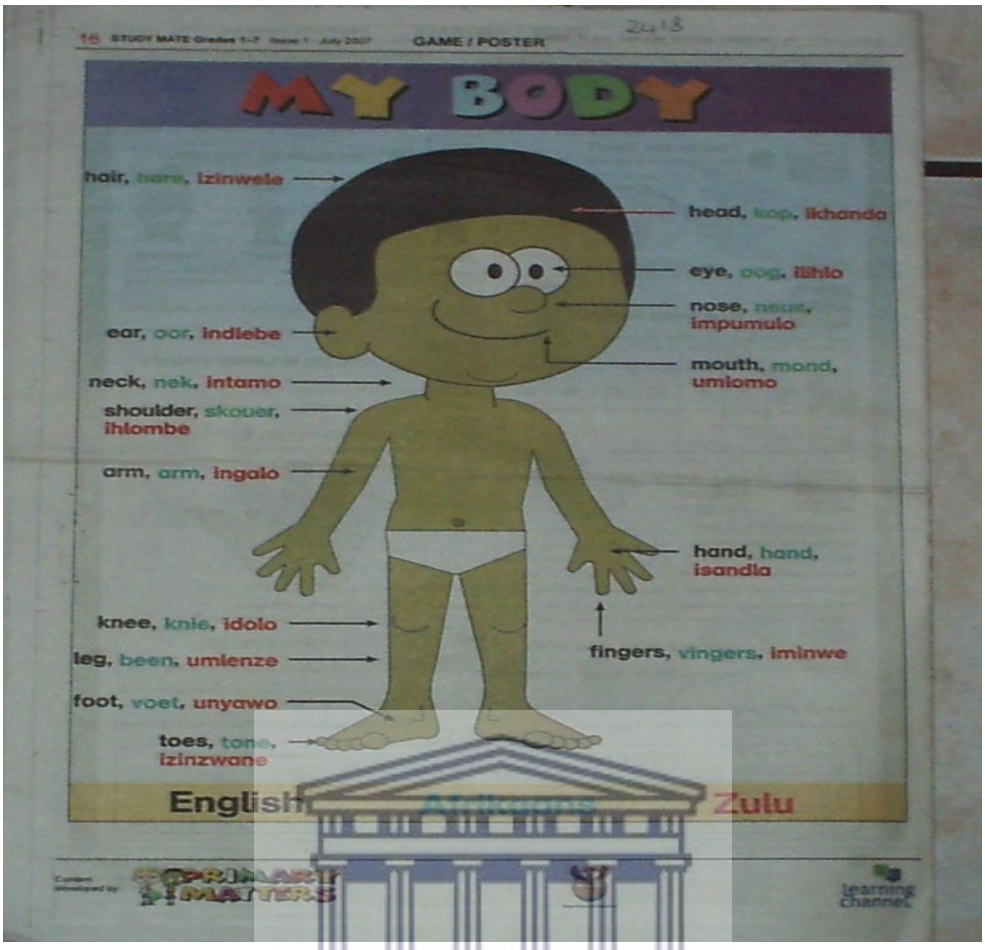


Figure 5.1 *Multilingual poster of 'My Body'*

As this was a nationally distributed supplement, isiZulu was the language chosen over isiXhosa as it is spoken by a larger populace within the country. For the Western Cape, isiXhosa would replace isiZulu. It cannot be an insurmountable task to include the isiXhosa words for their corresponding body parts and making this a multilingual poster. Creating such posters makes it easier to distribute, as every class will receive the same poster and be open to the potential of learning, the other words as well, thereby adding to their linguistic repertoire. In the case of a teacher being absent and a different language variety being present in the class, it gives those speakers an opportunity to partake in the lessons as their linguistic needs are also met.

The bilingual posters below, figures 5.2, 5.3, and 5.4, that were present in the Grade 1 Afrikaans class of Mrs H at school A further supports the idea that multilingual posters can be effective within the classroom:

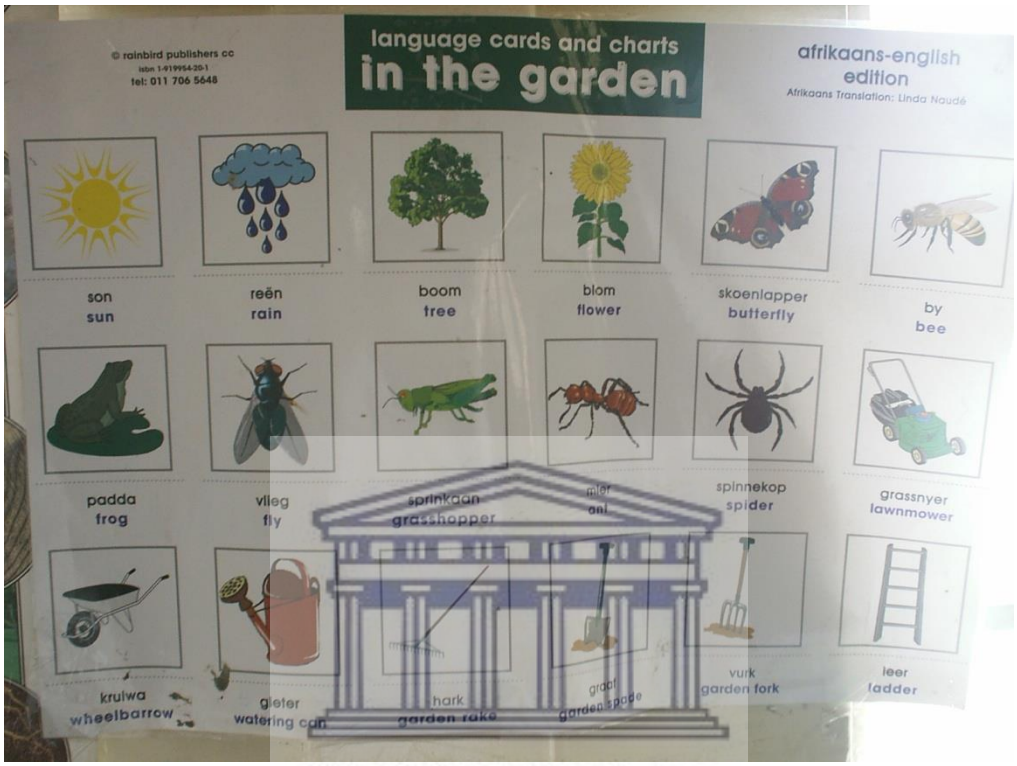


Figure 5.2 *Bilingual poster 'in the garden'*

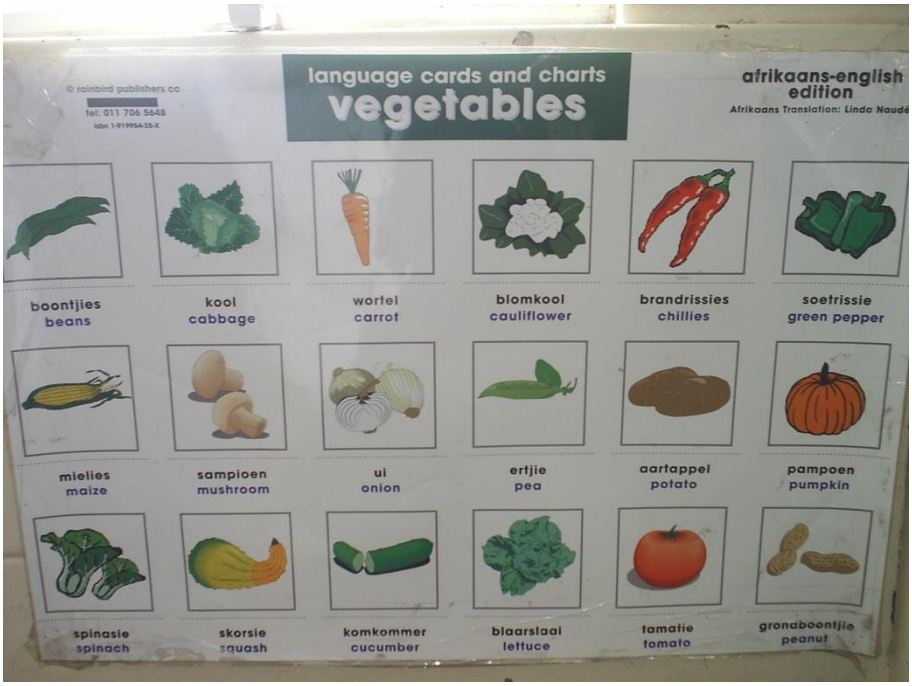


Figure 5.3 *Bilingual poster 'vegetables'*

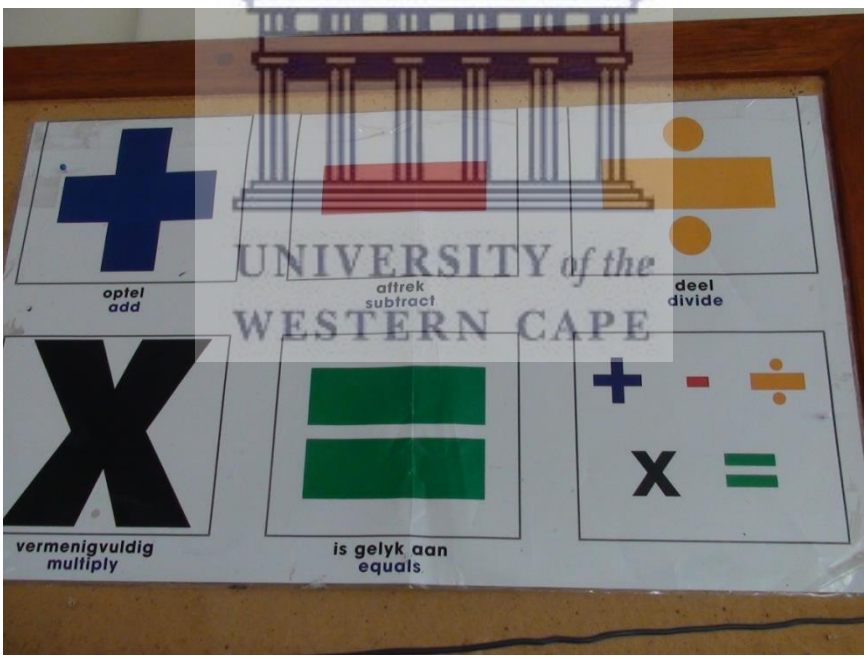


Figure 5.4 *Bilingual poster showing mathematical operations*

While it is a commendable effort to use at least two languages on this poster, it could also be criticised for not including isiXhosa, as it is the third official language of the Western Cape.

The use of different colour fonts in figures 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, and 5.4 is a useful technique to draw learners' attention to the different language varieties.

Next are some of the posters that teachers had to make themselves or alter to suit the needs of their class:

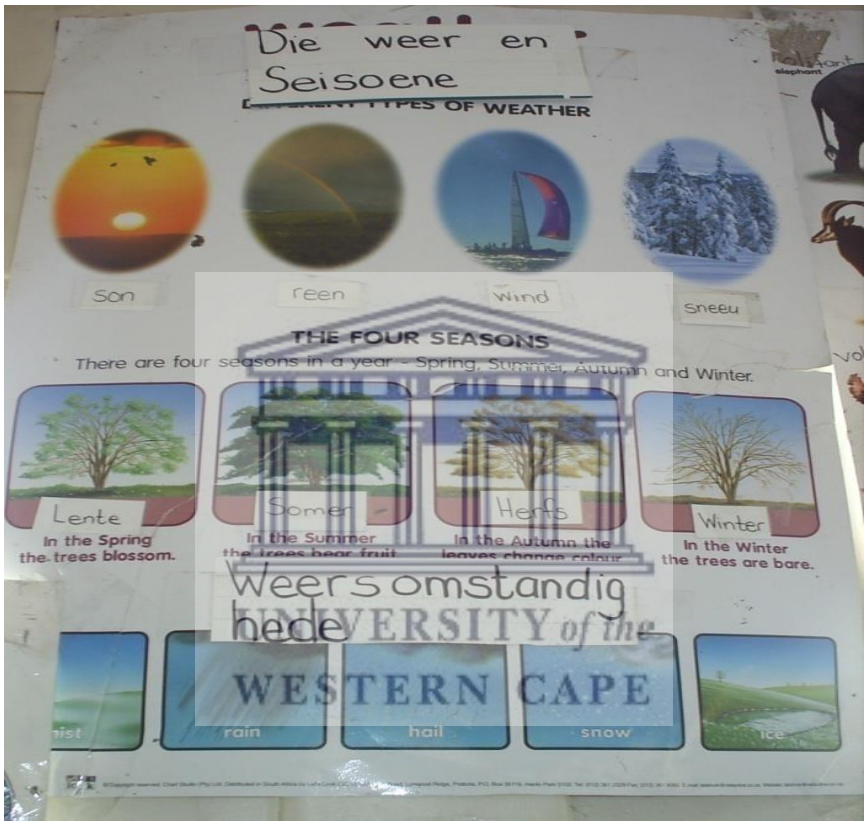
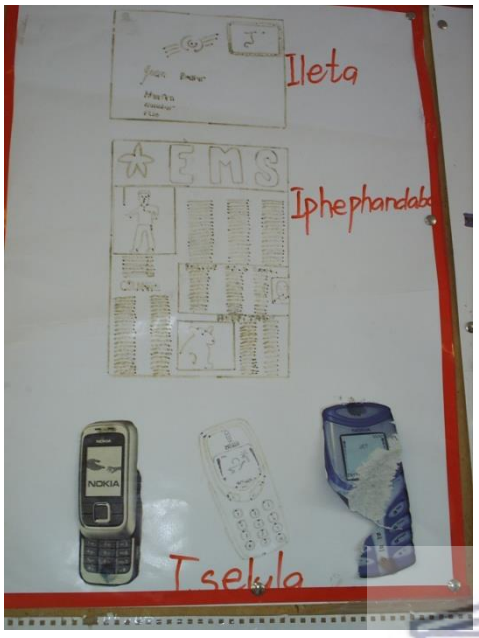


Figure 5.5 *Seasons chart*

In the poster above, some of the English terms are replaced with their Afrikaans equivalent. Not all the English words are covered, but this could be because Mrs H only focuses on the main terms on the poster.

Below is a selection of posters made by a Grade 3 isiXhosa teacher at School A:



Figures 5.6 and 5.7 *isiXhosa chart showing communication*

Figure 5.8 *Bilingual isiXhosa and English communications chart*

The posters above show different forms of communication. Figure 5.8 has both the isiXhosa and the English word for the items. These learners may be more acquainted with the English words as used in their community than the isiXhosa equivalent. This is useful, as posters such as figure 5.8 (and other bilingual posters previously mentioned) have the potential to enhance the learning experience, as learners and the teacher will use either term. Having both the isiXhosa and English or Afrikaans and English on the same poster, legitimises both languages in the classroom, thereby allowing learners to use either when engaging in class.

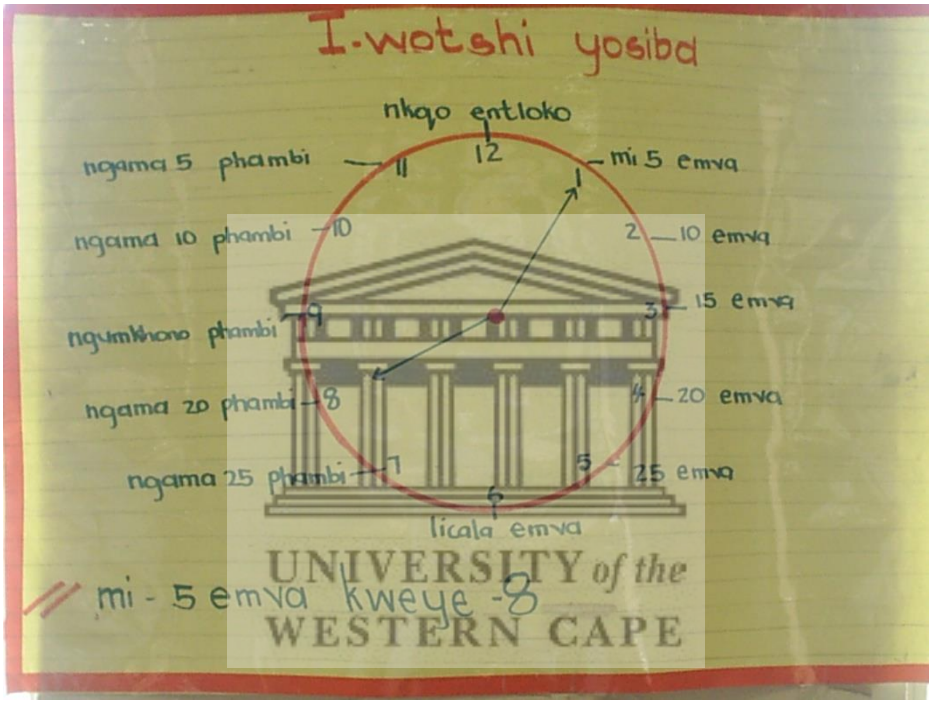


Figure 5.9 *isiXhosa chart showing time*

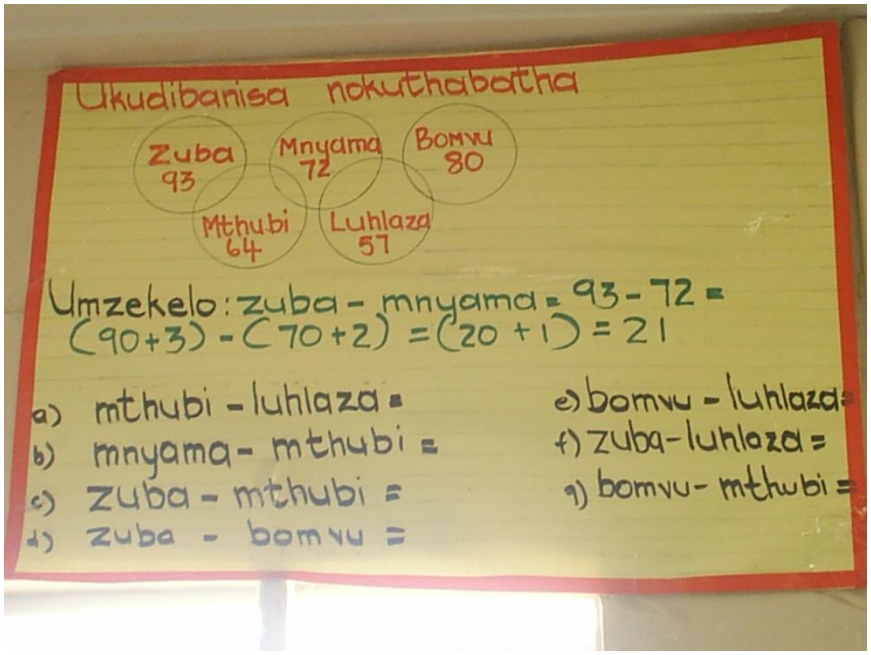


Figure 5.10 *isiXhosa mathematics chart*

Figures 5.9 and 5.10 show how teachers have to create their own posters. These two specifically are monolingual, however, space seems too limited to add another language. While there is usually a claim that there is shortage of resources and teachers have to create their own posters based on their lessons, there are those who use what they have and adjust it accordingly to suit the need of their classroom (figure 5.5).

5.11 Summary

After analysing School A's language policy, it has become apparent that while the school's intentions are commendable in trying to promote multilingualism, their propose plan to achieve this does not seem practical. Learners are being classified as monolingual who are yet to have acquired another language, whereas their linguistic capability has already been showcased during classroom observations. Having the current language policy at this school causes learners not only to be linguistically segregated, but racially segregated too. In doing this, the school is not effectively meeting the needs of the community, as it does not enhance socialisation among races and cultures within Delft. Outside of the school races live side by side and communicate regularly by means of translanguaging, yet during school hours they are kept separate and treated as monolingual.

Teachers' concerns have also been discussed at length, with one of the main concerns highlighted being a lack of educational material. While teachers generally either have to make their own posters (figures 5.6, 5.7, 5.8, 5.9 and 5.10), or improvise posters at their disposal (figure5.5), what seemed more effective were the bilingual posters (figures 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4) apparent in the Grade 1 class. Even more effective than these bilingual posters mentioned, is figure 5.1 with three languages on one poster. In order to accommodate all languages and ensure that resources are available to all, the Western Cape Education Department should consider investing in creating multilingual posters with Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa on them.

The next chapter summarises the main findings and ends with a final conclusion of the study.

Chapter 6

Summary and Conclusion

6.0 Introduction

This chapter summarises the findings, by highlighting common themes among classes observed. This includes a discussion on how learners and teachers defy the school's monolingual policy through translanguaging to make sense of the content being taught (and by using bilingual posters in classrooms) and how translanguaging can foster multilingualism and multiculturalism. In addition to this, recommendations are provided regarding classroom language practices and the limitations of the study outlined before finally concluding the chapter.

6.1 Defying Monolingual policy

From the various classroom extracts discussed earlier, it is clear that learners and teachers alike do not use language as hermetic structures. Instead, they mix languages, Afrikaans, English, isiXhosa and informal or formal varieties of each, by means of translanguaging during communicative opportunities. Translanguaging can be considered as learners using creative ways to express themselves (Banda, 2017). Such translanguaging utterances within the classroom reflect the daily multilingual practices of the area as Banda (2018) argue that the linguistic practices of learners are influenced by their community. These language practices defy the notion that languages are autonomous structures.

While the census information that Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa are the common languages in this area, the information fails to reflect the multilingual competency of speakers here. The fact that speakers not only know more than one language, but also that they use more than one language on a daily basis from basic tasks such as going to the shop, learners using '*vetkoek*' or '*amagwinya*', is overlooked. Arabic is also used by various speakers when greeting fellow Muslims or by non-Muslims greeting other Muslim friends/acquaintances as shown in the example of the non-Muslim learner greeting me with "*Assalamualaikum*''.

Muslims are not all fluent in Arabic, they do, however, know the basic greetings for various occasions and are able to recite the Quraan. This means that while they may use the Arabic greeting when conversing with fellow Muslims, the rest of the conversation will be conducted in a local language. In this way, they use translanguaging to merge their cultural identity of being Muslim – by using Arabic (foreign language) – and that of being South African – by using a local language. If languages were to be used strictly as autonomous structures, what would this mean for the unique Muslim identity within South Africa?

Considering the influx of foreign nationals in Delft, especially Somalis, Nigerians and Pakistanis, it can also be expected that residents will come into contact with the languages these foreigners bring to the area. Therefore, it is not inconceivable that translanguaging practices with various combinations of local and foreign languages will become the norm in this area and others with a similar linguistic landscape. Conversely, foreign nationals will also incorporate South African linguistic idiosyncrasies, such as 'braai', into their repertoire.

6.2 Teachers' classroom practices

Teachers' indulgence in translanguaging during lessons legitimises it as an effective classroom language practice (Flores and Garcia, 2013). Bloch (2002) states that learners should be exposed to the languages of the area and translanguaging allows for the use of Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa within the classroom. By using this method, teachers are able to access knowledge that learners acquired from their communities, thereby "bridg(ing) home and school-based literacy practices." (Banda, 2018:202). Allowing answers in the language that is not stated as the language of learning and teaching, encouraged class participation, as learners can access the communicative space with the knowledge that they already have within their linguistic repertoire (Banda, 2018).

The extracts provided in the previous chapters show how when teachers also engage in translanguaging, there is type of fluidity during lessons, as learners feel free to express themselves in the way they know how – by using the language(s) of their community in any combination. Teachers' use of languages other than the imposed language of teaching for a

particular class, as Mrs O read an English story to her Afrikaans Grade R class, appears to be an acknowledgement not only of learners' knowledge of more than the language of instruction, but also the value of teaching these multilingual learners using more than one language (Banda, 2010). Conversely, one wonders whether if translanguaging was not used as a learning tool in these classes, would there be as much interaction and willingness to participate in classroom discussions. By not segmenting sessions for Afrikaans only and English only instruction, as done by many models which set aside designated periods for each language, translanguaging as classroom practice allows learners to engage with new concepts in a manner that makes sense in their multilingual milieu.

6.3 Teaching for comprehension

The schools practice of using isiXhosa as a language of instruction seems to oppose the deluge of research (De Klerk, 2002) claiming that there is a lack of interest in isiXhosa being used in as language of teaching. Despite English being the target language from Grade 4 onwards, the dichotomy appears to be between Afrikaans and isiXhosa as choices of comfort, while English has a role as the language of learning in the intermediate and senior phase. Despite English being present in the repertoire of learners, as it is commonly used by learners in translanguaging during informal discourse, it is still eclipsed by Afrikaans and Xhosa during lessons in the Foundation Phase.

The aim of learning is to utilise the knowledge gained from the classroom, to make sense of one's immediate surroundings and the world at large. Essentially, you are taught how to function effectively outside of the classroom. Therefore, if the community surrounding the school is multilingual, classroom practice should also mirror such multilingual tendencies. As Banda (2010) posits that policies claiming to promote multilingualism are contradicted by its implementation, therefore, what is needed is a model acknowledges multilingual realities. In this way, teaching in one language limits the child's socialisation sphere, instead of enhancing their (already) multilingual repertoires.

Evidently, there were learners who showed linguistic adroitness with regard to the way they would switch between languages, there were also instances where some learners could not grasp concepts in a language other than the medium of instruction. This shows that learners are on different points on the bilingual continua (Flores and Garcia, 2013). While the isiXhosa girl in the Grade 3 Afrikaans class needed assistance to say the numbers '48' and the year '1990' correctly, there was alternatively a boy from the isiXhosa Grade 2 class who could verbally engage in an Afrikaans numeracy lesson. After being assisted by the teacher, the Afrikaans numbering system was better understood by the isiXhosa girl.

During the Grade 2 numeracy lesson mentioned above, the Xhosa boy could also answer in English which encouraged other Afrikaans learners to also answer in English. This visibly had some learners confused about the answers. Those who did not understand the English numbering system as opposed to the Afrikaans one, were the learners identified as being academically weak, and having already failed in the Foundation Phase. Already struggling to comprehend concepts in one language, they were somewhat excluded from participating during this lesson with the changes in language use. Having to accommodate for academic levels of all learners – from those who are academically strong, independent workers, to those weaker learners who repeated the grade and need learning support – can be quite challenging as a teacher.

6.4 Adequate teaching materials

As previously noted, adequate and appropriate teaching material such as posters for the classroom, worksheets etc. is claimed to be a challenge to procure. Posters included in this research show how teachers make their own posters appropriate to the themed lesson (figure 4.2), or they use English posters and paste labels/phrases of the medium of instruction over the English words (figure 5.5). In other incidents, an English poster was used in an Afrikaans class without having the English months of the year without being covered by its Afrikaans equivalent (figure 4.1). Significantly, there were also posters printed with both English and Afrikaans words on them (figures 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4), the bilingual handmade poster (figure 5.8), in addition to figure 5.1 with three languages labelling the different body parts.

The bilingual posters being used in the classrooms cater for both Afrikaans and English learning. By adding a third language, isiXhosa, the main language of the Western Cape will all be catered for on one poster (as Afrikaans, English and Zulu were used on the 'My Body' poster). This may be one way to deter from having limited resources – at least with regard to the naming ofbasic items or objects (body parts, fruit, colours etc.). By doing this, such posters can be used by any language class. In addition to appealing to all three languages, trilingual posters can also pique the interest of learners to use a word in another language, thereby, expanding the linguistic repertoire of learners. Learners have already shown an inclination to use Afrikaans and English words interchangeably (or as synonyms for the intended item), therefore, a trilingual poster will allow them to further expand their linguistic repertoire by adding the Afrikaans/isiXhosa word(s).

To avoid confusion for those learners who need learning support, each language could be colour coded as on the 'My Body', 'Vegetables', 'In the garden' and the Mathematical operations (figure 5.4)posters. These posters make it easy to follow the different language varieties as each language is printed in a different colour. Simply adding isiXhosa to the the Afrikaans and English words on the 'Vegetables', 'In the garden' and Maths posters seem like an easy solution to a notorious problem.

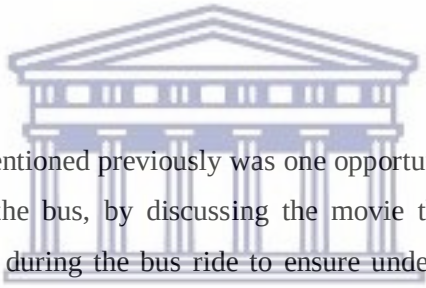
6.5 Fostering multicultural communication

Based on the language classifications as per the school's language policy, this school cannot be seen as ideal to foster intercultural relations and multilingualism. Instead, it seems to perpetuate separate spaces for different races similar to the way ethno-linguistic identities are defined by the nation-state paradigm (Flores and Garcia, 2013). Parallel to Banda's (2010) findings, identities seem to be ascribed to learners as being either Afrikaans or isiXhosa speakers as they are being linguistically segregated as such.

As South Africa is a multilingual nation, efforts should be made to encourage intercultural communication. Despite such interaction opportunities being abound in the Delft community, the school environment also plays a crucial role in facilitating multilingualism and good relations among different races. As Banda (2017) has stated, using a single mother tongue for instruction is a

disconnect with the learners' home and social context. Are such policies teaching learners to function only within a certain language sphere (within spaces of their medium of instruction)? Teaching in one language does not equip them to effectively communicate and socialise in their multilingual environment. How then, do such language policies promote multilingualism and consequentially foster intercultural relations if learners are segregated during teaching time? The lack of cross cultural communication and the visible racial cliques formed as noted in the senior phase (Grade 7 observations) could be as a result of the mother tongue language streaming in the Foundation Phase.

A school should be a site where children are equipped with skills to approach issues (social, academic, etc.) within their community and beyond their immediate surroundings (outside of Delft). Developing competent, confident learners who can engage effectively with other cultures of South Africa is an essential component of fostering good intercultural relations among races. Schools can be influential in facilitating such relations by encouraging the use of more than one language by various speakers and in various ways.



The Grade 3 cinema outing as mentioned previously was one opportunity to engage both the isiXhosa and the Afrikaans speakers on the bus, by discussing the movie they had seen. As noted in the findings, teachers code-switched during the bus ride to ensure understanding by the Afrikaans and isiXhosa classes. The irony here is that the movie shown "Shrek the third" was in English. If learners were expected to understand the English movie, why was English not used as a lingua franca on the bus during the trip to the cinema? Also, why is English not used more extensively within the classroom, as the learners were expected to understand the above mentioned movie, it shows that they have a comprehensive level of understanding in English.

If language were to be kept hermetic, one would lose some of the cultural cues, such as terms of respect, apparent in cross cultural discourse/communication discussed earlier. Through translanguaging, learners were able to display their knowledge of other cultures' languages by using the Arabic greeting *"Assalamualaikum"* when speaking to me. In the event that this Arabic knowledge was not known to them, they drew on their linguistic repertoire and either addressed me as '*Juffrou*' (teacher) or 'Miss' or '*Sisi*' as described in the section: Informal observations as teacher. 'Sisi' especially shows how the Xhosa girl (based on her home and cultural knowledge) found it appropriate to address me using this term of endearment. Such cross cultural interaction is significant

as it shows how we use what knowledge we have in our linguistic repertoire to bridge the gap between cultures.

Despite the segregatory practices that the language policy imposes upon learners, it was pleasing to note that the Afrikaans and Xhosa Grade R pupils were given time to play together at the play park under the supervision of their respective teachers. Sharing this enclosed play area afforded them the opportunity to engage with one another and befriend each other in a natural, relaxed setting. What makes this interactive experience different to that of interval, when learners also share the field for play, is that these Grade R learners utilise the same play equipment – slides, climbing frame, etc. Due to this, they interact within a more confined space as compared to the Foundation, Intermediate and Senior phases. In this way, these learners can be thought of as now having a shared experience they can build on for future interaction.

6.6 The school as social agent

Using Heller's (2007) language as social practice framework, it is clear that the school could be seen as a social agent in which a myriad of social actors engage in communicative events. By observing these events, it could once again be confirmed as Banda (2018) and numerous others have stated, that the norm in Africa is that children are **not** monolingual. Hence, multilingualism is the norm rather than the exception. As the common conditions associated with poverty stricken areas, such as drugs, single parent homes, abusive home life, gangsterism, teenage pregnancy, behavioural problems, malnutrition due to poor income and alcoholism, Delft is also overcome by these problems. Considering this, the role of the school to provide stability in the pupils' lives is of paramount importance. It is here where children will incur social skills which are void in their parents' home and the community at large.

Although there are families with parents who work and have structure at home, these structured houses unfortunately are the minority. Therefore, the school is the primary site where pupils will be taught how to socialise and how to co-exist with others from various backgrounds. If language is the primary communicative tool and means of understanding, the importance of a school language policy cannot be disputed.

6.7 Recommendations

Reflecting on how effective translanguaging was during classroom discussions to get learners engaged in learning, it should be given more recognition within the school's language policy. While many still champion 'mother tongue' or 'first' language instruction, learners are not monolingual. Instead, they are languagers who make sense of the world using their linguistic repertoire, which includes multiple languages at varying degrees of proficiency, as influenced by their socio-linguistic environment. Therefore, by classifying them as monolingual and restricting their language use in the class, consequently subdues learners' true nature as multilingual speakers.

Having translanguaging as a legitimate classroom practice would allow learners more freedom of expression. It would also ensure better understanding of content, as even those who struggle academically with their work will feel included because the language is at their level of understanding. The aim is to produce learners who are able to effectively express themselves both verbally and in writing. Translanguaging should, therefore, be seen as a tool to get learners to a point in which they are able to use the standard form of any of the languages they translanguage in.

With regard to teaching material, the bilingual posters in figures 5.2, 5.3, 5.4 and 5.8 seems more appropriate for a environment where many languages are present. Even more effective than the bilingual posters, is the multilingual one in figure 5.1. Exposing learners to words or terms in various languages allows them to extend their linguistic repertoire and enhance their multilingualism. Multilingual posters will also alleviate the problem of insufficient resources.

Therefore, the final recommendations are as follows:

i) Translanguaging should be seen as a legitimate classroom practice and therefore should be included in the school's language policy
ii) Promotion of multilingualism should be done by promoting translanguaging
iii) Trilingual posters, with Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa words, should be made more readily available to schools in the Western Cape
iv) Language policies should be more comprehensive in how they plan to reach their goals of multilingualism. To aid this, schools should consult with language planning experts to ensure they will have a policy that is conducive to their intended outcomes.

6.8 Limitations

As research was conducted mainly at one School in Delft and predominantly within the Afrikaans classrooms, the study focused on the inadequacy of this particular school's language policy, which should not reflect the policies for all the schools in Delft. However, language practices in classroom around Delft can be assumed to be similar, as the translanguaging practices that was observed outside of the school is prevalent throughout the area.

6.9 Conclusion

In proving that learners and teachers alike defy monolingual expectations within the classroom, it is clear that translanguaging is not only a natural way of communicating, but also a necessary technique for teaching. It will enhance learning, and also foster multilingualism in this multilingual area. Therefore, translanguaging as classroom practice should be included in every schools language policy as it is apparent that people throughout the Western Cape (and South Africa) use translanguaging on a daily basis to understand the world at large.

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Appendix A

Statistics South Africa
Census 2011 v1.1
Table 1
Language (first) by Sex
for Delft, Person adjusted

	Male	Female	Total
Afrikaans	34805	36644	71449
English	6906	7425	14331
IsiNdebele	257	231	488
IsiXhosa	27539	29949	57488
IsiZulu	512	358	870
Sepedi	115	133	248
Sesotho	635	525	1160
Setswana	386	382	768
Sign language	315	429	744
SiSwati	74	30	105
Tshivenda	92	51	142
Xitsonga	152	63	215

Created on 18 December 2014
Statistics South Africa: Web page: www.statssa.gov.za
Statistics South Africa mailto:info@statssa.gov.za

Statistics South Africa
Census 2011 v1.1
Table 1
Grouped level of education by Sex
for Delft, Person adjusted

	Male	Female	Total
No schooling	2400	2075	4476
Some primary	17372	15958	33330
Completed primary	4617	4882	9499
Some secondary	28243	31116	59359
Grade 12/Std 10	10648	12339	22988
Higher	1393	1511	2903

Created on 18 December 2014
Statistics South Africa: Web page: www.statssa.gov.za
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Statistics South Africa

Census 2011 v1.1

Table 1

Sex and Population group for Delft, Person adjusted

Male	
Black African	34380
Coloured	37913
Indian or Asian	271
White	100
Other	1949
Total	74612
Female	
Black African	35883
Coloured	40368
Indian or Asian	254
White	78
Other	836
Total	77418
Total	
Black African	70263
Coloured	78281
Indian or Asian	524
White	178
Other	2785
Total	152030

Created on 18 December 2014

Statistics South Africa: Web page: www.statssa.gov.za

Statistics South Africa mailto:info@statssa.gov.za

Appendix B

SCHOOL LANGUAGE POLICY

VISION

- Mother tonge education as far as possible within our capacity
- Acquisition of at least one additional official language
- Treating other cultural and language groups in a sensitive and accommodating fashion

MISSION

- The development of Xhosa as home language
- The teaching of Engels as first additional language
- The acquisition of a third language for all learners, in other words, Afrikaans as subject
- The gradual acquisition of Afrikaans as a second additional language

LANGUAGE OF LEARNING AND TEACHING

The language of teaching in our school will be English home language, as well as Xhosa in the foundation phase. Learners who speak other languages as home language will be accommodated as far as humanly possible within our capacity.

LANGUAGE OFFERED AS SUBJECT

In addition to Xhosa Home Language, English as First Additional Language will be offered as a subject, with the intention that the third official language of the region, namely Afrikaans, will also be offered in the future. The time allocated will be 4,5 hours per week, according to the guidelines of the Education Department for Afrikaans, Xhosa and English.

REVISION OF THE POLICY

The school's language policy should be be reviewed annually at a meeting of parents and educators. The language rights of learners who are already registered should be protected and any changes should be phased in after thorough consultation with those involved. The following aspects should receive attention immediately:

- Medium of communication: English should be extended as medium of teaching to the intermediary and senior phases.
- In the foundation phase teaching should start with a parallel medium of teaching, namely English and Xhosa.

- The school should be developed further as a school with parallel medium teaching in all the phases.

COMMUNICATION WITH PARENTS

The language of communication with parents should be Xhosa or English. If necessary, people who do not speak or understand Afrikaans should be assisted in English or Xhosa.

ALL OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

Parents and educators should be sensitised regularly regarding the promotion of all South African languages, in order to make positive progress towards multilingualism and to help with nation building and the fostering of good citizenship.

IMPLEMENTATION PLAN
STAFF PROVISION

- If vacancies occur, prospective applicants will be expected to comply with the school's current language policy. Mindful of the school's vision regarding multilingualism, candidates who have command of more than one language should enjoy preference, depending on the school's needs, i.e. such a person should be able to contribute towards realisation of the ideal.

FEEDER SCHOOLS

- Discussions should take place continuously with feeder schools to stay informed of language needs and developments at those schools, but also in the whole district. The school should assess itself constantly to determine whether its language curriculum and language provision is still in line with those of the feeder schools. This assessment can be done annually before the annual parent educator meeting so that changes can be made at the review meeting if needed.

LEARNING AND TEACHING SUPPORT MATERIAL

- Where English is the language of learning and teaching, most of the material used for these activities should also be in English. However, in the annual budget provision should also be made for the purchase of LTSM that can provide for the needs of non-English speaking learners and educators.

LANGUAGE REQUESTS

- Role players (parents, educators, learners, community members) should be given an opportunity to submit requests for another language of teaching, which should then be discussed at the annual revision meeting. Record should be kept of requests for another language from learners that the school cannot comply with. Such requests should regularly be forwarded to the EMDS.

MANAGEMENT, MONITORING AND QUALITY ASSURANCE

- The principal, the SMT and the SGB are responsible for the management, monitoring and implementation of the language policy. A schedule should be developed for the

implementation of the language policy. Management should only ensure that, as the need for a second additional language increases, the necessary adaptation and plans for it are implemented.

END

- The school's language policy should be made available to parents who plan to register their children and should form part of the signed admission agreement included in the registration process. The school's language policy and its implementation plan should be provided annually by the Education Department. In die case of problems or tension regarding the language policy issue the Education Department, or its appointed agents, should respond to an invitation to play a supportive role until negotiations are concluded to the satisfaction of all the parties involved.

SIGNED ON THIS..... DAY OF.....200...

PRINCIPAL..... DATE.....

CHAIRPERSON (SGB).....DATE.....

EDUCATOR.....

SECRETARY.....

Appendix C

Mzali Obekekileyo

Sinazisa ngamaxesha okuphuma kwesikolo kwezintsuku zimbini zilandelayo .
Ngomhla we 10 & 11 September 2009 (ngolwesine nangolwesihlanu) abantwana bazaku-phuma ngo 13h00 ngengxa yentlanganiso yotitshala.

Ngomhla we-21 September 2009 (ngomvulo) abantwana base Foundation phase (grd-R-3) bazakuphuma nesikolo. Imali yokuhamba yi-R30.00. Sicela inxaso yenu abazali. Sinqwenela ukubakhupha bonke abantwana.

Geagte Ouers

Hiermee wil ons u graag in kennis stel dat die skool opo Donderdag 10.09.09 en Vrydag 11.09.09. om 13h00 sal verdaag.

Die graad R-3 leerders gaan volgende week 21 September 09 op n uitstappie. Die koste beloop R30.00 per leerder. Die geld moet teen volgende Maandag in wees.

Baie dankie.

Die Uwe

_____
(Principal)

Date:09 September