

This study seeks to answer the question: 'What are the language contexts, preferences and behaviours of English as an Additional Language (EAL) students and staff in the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Cape Town?' The study, which was carried out at an English-dominant institution that has nevertheless committed itself to promoting multilingualism, finds that EAL students show an ambivalent attitude towards English and their own primary languages in teaching and learning programmes. The study argues that the language contexts, preferences and practices of EAL students and staff constitute part of the UCT institutional culture, and that these should be considered in the implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan.



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

Language preferences and behaviours of selected students and staff in the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Cape Town, in the context of the university's implementation of its 2003 Language Policy and Plan: a qualitative study

Gaontebale Joseph Nodoba



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Abbreviations

AD	Academic Development
ANC	African National Congress
BACELS	BA degree in Contemporary English Language Studies
BICS	Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills
CALLSSA	Centre for Applied Language and Literacy Studies and Services in Africa
CALP	Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency
CAS	Centre for African Studies
CELS	Contemporary English Language Studies
CHE	Council on Higher Education
CHED	Centre for Higher Education Development
DAC	National Department of Arts and Culture
EAL	English as an Additional Language
ESL	English as Second Language
FL	Faculty of Language
ICASA	Independent Communications Authority of South Africa
L1	First Language

L2	Second Language
LPHE	Language Policy for Higher Education
LiEP	Language in Education Policy
LoLT	Language of Learning and Teaching
MEP	Multilingualism Education Project
MoI	Medium of Instruction
MT	Mother Tongue
MUST	Multilingual Studies
NLRDC	National Language Research and Development Centre
NLU	National Lexicography Unit
NPHE	National Plan on Higher Education
NP	National Party
PanSALB	Pan South African Language Board
PL	Primary Language
PLs	Primary Languages
PRAESA	Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SAL	Another South African Language
SDO	Student Development Office
SRC	Student Representative Council
TL	Target Language
UCT	University of Cape Town
UKZN	University of KwaZulu-Natal
UL	University of Limpopo
UNIN	University of the North
UNISA	University of South Africa
UWC	University of the Western Cape

Abstract

This dissertation seeks to answer the question: What are the language contexts, preferences and behaviours of English as an Additional Language (EAL) students and staff in the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Cape Town (UCT)? The language contexts EAL students and staff find themselves in are either formal or informal. The former refers to domains such as the classroom and administration offices, while the latter alludes to student residences and generally out-of-class social interaction. Language preferences refer to attitudes of both EAL students and of staff towards language(s) that are used in their linguistic context. The language behaviours of EAL students and of staff are their language practices in the various social contexts within which they find themselves.

The following research instruments were used to collect data in order to answer the research question: questionnaires, interviews and observations. I opted for self-administered questionnaires and conducted semi-structured interviews to validate questionnaire responses. Both the questionnaires and interviews had closed-ended and open-ended questions to accommodate a variety of responses. I observed a group of respondents, who were part of purposive samples of convenience (snowball samples), for three months and subsequently processed data qualitatively through thematic analysis.

The first finding of this study is that EAL students find the UCT language context to be different to their home language context. In the home context they use their primary languages (PLs) more while on UCT campus the institutional culture forces them to use mainly English. The second finding is with regard to their language preferences. EAL students show an ambivalent attitude towards English and their own primary languages in teaching and learning programmes. This attitude of EAL students towards English at UCT is also documented in research by Bangeni (2001), Bangeni & Kapp (2005), and Thesen & Van Pletzen (eds) (2006). This attitude is in tandem with their language behaviour. EAL students shuttle between their PLs and English. The data show that EAL students code-switch in conversations outside class and in their residences. They mainly use English for instrumental reasons (see also De Klerk & Barkhuizen 1998:159–160). Staff members, on the other hand, use English inside and outside class.

The language contexts, preferences and practices of EAL students constitute part of the UCT institutional culture. This institutional culture is the social context within which institutional policy documents such as the UCT Language Plan (2003) are to be implemented. Implications for

the implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan could be drawn from the language preferences and behaviours discussed above.

The study concludes by making recommendations for the implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan. The study recommends that the Multilingualism Education Project (MEP) collaborate with language departments so as to explore possibilities of designing programmes that target EAL students and staff for postgraduate certificate courses. Such courses could focus on workplace-oriented communicative skills. Renewed marketability of African languages, as well as reviewing how they are taught and used within the UCT speech community, should be considered.

Though the small sample sizes underpinning this study do not justify generalisation on the UCT community, its findings could nonetheless serve as preliminary evidence of significant language contexts, preferences and behaviours of EAL students and of staff in the Faculty of Humanities at UCT. The outcome of this research could be invaluable for language planning at UCT and similar institutions.

Opsomming

Hierdie tesis soek antwoorde op die vraag: Wat is die taalkonteks, voorkeure en gedrag van Engels as 'n Addisionele Taal (EAT) studente en dosente in die Fakulteit van Geesteswetenskappe by die Universiteit van Kaapstad (UK)? Die taalkonteks waarin EAT studente en dosente hulle bevind is óf formeel óf informeel. Eersgenoemde verwys na domeine soos die klaskamer en administrasiekantore, terwyl laasgenoemde op koshuise en algemene buitemuurse sosiale verkeer dui. Taalvoorkeur verwys na houdings van beide EAT studente en dosente jeens die taal of tale wat in die taalkonteks benut word. Die taalgedrag van EAT studente en dosente is die taalpraktyke in die verskeie sosiale kontekste waarin hulle hulself bevind.

Die volgende navorsingsinstrument is gebruik om inligting in te win om sodoende die navorsingsvraag te beantwoord: vraelyste, onderhoude en observasies. Ek het op self-inge vulde vraelyste besluit en het semi-gestruktureerde onderhoude gevoer om die vraelys-antwoorde te toets. Beide die vraelyste sowel as die onderhoude het sowel geslote as ope vrae bevat om 'n reeks antwoorde te akkommodeer. Ek het 'n groep respondente, wat deel gevorm het van 'n doelgerigte (en maklik beskikbare) steekproef, vir drie maande dopgehou en aansluitend die inligting kwalitatief verwerk deur die gebruik van tematiese analise.

Die studie se eerste bevinding is dat EAT-studente die UK-taalkonteks as anders ervaar as hul eie huistaalkonteks. In die huistaalkonteks gebruik hulle hul primêre tale meer dikwels, terwyl die institusionele kultuur van die UK hulle dwing om op die kampus hoofsaaklik Engels te besig. Die tweede bevinding hou verband met hul taalvoorkeure. EAT-studente toon 'n ambivalente houding jeens Engels en hul eie primêre tale in leer- en onderrigprogramme. Hierdie houding van EAT-studente jeens Engels by die UK is ook in navorsingsstukke deur Bangeni (2001), Bangeni en Kapp (2005), en Thesen & Van Pletzen (red.) (2006) gedokumenteer. Hierdie houding stem ooreen met hul taalgebruik. EAT-studente flits heen en weer tussen hul primêre tale en Engels. Die data toon dat EAT-studente in gespreksituasies buite die klaskamer sowel as in hul koshuise kodewissel. Hulle gebruik hoofsaaklik Engels vir instrumentele redes (sien ook De Klerk & Barkhuizen 1998:159–160), terwyl dosente binne sowel as buite die klaskamer slegs Engels praat.

Die taalkontekste, -voorkeure en -praktyke van EAT-studente vorm deel van die UK se institusionele kultuur. Hierdie institusionele kultuur is die sosiale konteks waarbinne die instansie se beleidsdokumente soos die UK se Taalplan (2003) in die praktyk omgesit word. Sekere implikasies vir die implementering van die UK se Taalbeleid en -plan kan volg uit die taalvoorkeure and -gedrag, soos hierbo genoem.

Die studie sluit af deur aanbevelings vir die implementering van die UK se Taalbeleid en -plan te maak. Die studie beveel aan dat die Veeltaligheidsprojek (VP) met die taaldepartemente moet saamwerk met die doelwit om EAT-studente en dosente op doelgerigte nagraadse sertifikaatkursusse te stuur. Sulke kursusse sou klemlê op werkplekgerigte kommunikatiewe vaardighede. Die hernieude bemarkingskrag van Afrika-tale, sowel as die hersien van hoe hulle geleer en deur die UK-taalgemeenskap gebruik word, sou in ag geneem moes word.

Terwyl die studie se te-klein steekproewe veralgemenings mbt die UK-gemeenskap teenwerk, kan die bevindinge nogtans as 'n voorlopige bewys van belangrike taalkontekste, -voorkeure en -gedrag van EAT-studente en dosente in die Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe by die UK dien. Die uitslae van hierdie navorsingsstuk kan waarde verleen aan taalbeplanning te UK en ander soortgelyke instansies.

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Le thisisi zinzame zokuphendula lo mbuzo: Zeziphi iimeko abazikhethayo abafundi ngosetyenziso lolwimi olongezelelweyo olu sisiNgesi (EAL) nabalisebenzisa kwicandelo lezifundo ngezoluntu (humanities) kwiDyuni-vesiti yaseKapa? Iimeko zolwimi i-EAL ezimiselweyo nengamiselwanga abathi bazifumane bekuzo abafundi kunye nabasebenzi. Oku kukhankanywe ngasentla kubhekisele kwindawo ezi nje ngee-ofisi namagumbi okufundela logama oku kungamiliselwanga kuthi kuxhaphake kwiindawo zokuhlala zabafundi kunye najikelele kwiintetha eqhubeka ngaphandle kumagumbi okufundela. Ukuzikhethela ulwimi kubhekisela kwiimeko zokuchasa okanye ukuthanda kwabafundi nabasebenzi iilwimi ezisetyenziswa kwiimeko abasebenza phantsi kwazo. Izimbo zolwimi kubafundi nabasebenzi abasebenzisa isiNgesi njengolwimi lwesibini zindlela abasebenzisa ngayo ulwimi kwimeko ezahlukeneyo zasekuhlaleni nabathi bazifumane bekuzo.

Kusetyenziswe ezi zixhobo zilandelayo zophando ukuqokelela ulwazi: amaphepha mibuzo, awodliwano-ndlebe kunye noqatshelo ze kubhalwe phantsi. Ndiye ndaqgiba ekuhambiseni amaphepha-mibuzo ngokwam ndaze ndaqhuba nodliwano- ndlebe olocwangcisiweyo ukuzama ukuqwalasela ubunyani bempendulo endizifumene kumaphepha-mibuzo. Kimeko zombini, amaphepha-mibuzo kunye nodliwano-ndlebe ndibe nemibuzo ethe nkqo kunye nethe gabalala ukuvulela iimpendulo ezahlukeneyo. Ndiye ndakhela umkhanyo iqela labathathi nxaxheba, ebe liyisampuli yangabom kwinjongo yoluphando kangangenyanga ezintathu nangaph ezulu ndaza ndacwangcisa ulwazi ndisebenzisa izihloko ukuzihlalutya.

Iziphumo zokuqala zolu phando zifumanisa abafundi isiNgesi elulwimi lwabo lesibini bayifumana imo yolwimi yaseUCT yahlukile kuleyo yolwimi yakumawabo. Kwimo yakumawabo bathi basebenzise ulwimi lwenkobe amaxa amaninzi lo gama iimeko zeziko le mfuno liyiUCT libanyanzelisa ukuba basebenzise isiNgesi ixesha elininzi. Iziphumo zesibini zim-alunga neelwimi ezithandwayo. Abafundi aba-EAL babonakalisa izimbo ezahlukeneyo xa kuthethwa ngesiNgesi kunye neelwimi zabo zenkobe kwinkqubo zabo zokufunda. Le mbonakalo yabafundi abasiNgesi ilulwimi lwabo lesibini ishicilelwe kuphando lukaBangeni (2001), Bangeni & Kapp (2005), kunye noThesen & Van Pletzen (eds.) (2006). Le mbonakalo intlantlu mbini (in tandem) kwimbono zabo ngolwimi. Abafundi be-EAL bayazixuba iilwimi xa bethetha, ulwimi lwenkobe kunye nesiNgesi. Iziphumo zophando zibonisa ukuba abafundi be-EAL bayazixuba iilwimi

xa bencokola ngaphandle kwamagumbi okufundela kunye naxa bekwindawo zabo zokuhlala. IsiNgesi basisebenzisa ngezizathu sokubesebenzisa izixhobo (see also De Klerk & Barkhuizen 1998:159–160). Amalungu abasebenzi kwelinye icala wona asebenzisa isiNgesi ngaphakathi nangaphandle kwamagumbi okufundela.

Imeko zolwimi, ukukhetha kunye nokusetyenziswa kwazo ngabafundi abasiNgesi ilulwimi lesibini yinxalenye yezithethe nenkcubeko yeziko le mfundo lase-UCT. Le nkubeko yeliziko yimo yokuphila apho kunokuthi amaxwebhu omgaqo eliziko anje ngeCebo leLwimi laseUCT (2003) anokuthi aphunyezwe ngalo. Xa kunokuthi kuphunyezwe uMgaqo Nkqubo woLwimi neCebo loLwimi laseUCT oku kungathi kube ngunozala wokukhethwa kweelwimi njengoko kuxoxwa ngasentla.

Olu phando luphetha ngokuza neziphakamiso zendlela ekungaphunyezwa ngayo uMgaqo Nkqubo wolwimi neCebo lolwimi laseUCT. Olu phando luphakamisa ukuba uMsebenzi ongeMfundo eneeLwimi ezininzi (MEP) mawusebenzisane namasebe eelwimi kumasebe awohlukeneyo ukuphonononga amathuba ukuyila iinkqubo ezingathi zijolise kubafundi nabasebenzi abasiNgesi ilulwimi lesibini kubo ukuze kusekwe izatifiketi zabantu abasele benezidanga. Izifundo ezinjalo zingathi zigxile kubuchule becoko enokwenza neendawo zokusebenzela. Ukuvuselelwa kwezinga eliph-ezulu lwelwimi zaseAfrika, ndawonye nokuqwalaselwa kuze kuphononongwe indlela ezifundiswa nezisetyenziswa ngayo ezilwimi kumzi waseUCT.

Nangona ibubuncinane beesampuli le yoluphando engena kuqinisekisa imo yokuquka kuye wonke umntu okumasongo aseUCT, iziphumo zalo zingathi zisebenze njengobungqina bethutyana wemo ebalulekileyo ngezolwimi, ukuzikhethela kunye neemeko zabafundi nabasebenzi abantetho iyiEAL. Iziphumo zoluphando zingathi zibe nexabiso elingathethekiyo kucwangciso lwezolwimi eUCT nakumanye amaziko akumile kunje.

1. Introduction

1.1 Description of the study

This is a qualitative study of the language contexts, preferences and behaviours of both EAL¹ students and of staff² in the University of Cape Town's (UCT's) Faculty of Humanities. EAL students in this study have one of the indigenous South African languages as their Primary Language (PL)³ English is to them an additional language. Staff members include L1 speakers of English (with no proficiency in any of the indigenous South African languages) and speakers of the indigenous South African languages including Afrikaans. The study analyses language contexts, preferences and behaviours of both these students and staff in the Faculty of Humanities at UCT.

The analysis of language contexts, preferences and behaviours of EAL students is mainly based on self-reporting and personal observation. Respondents report on their language preferences and behaviours while at home. At home their language contexts are social and informal while at UCT they are both formal (classroom and administration offices) and informal (out-of-class social interaction). Staff self-reporting also focuses on language contexts, preferences and behaviours at UCT. The language contexts, preferences and behaviours of staff at UCT occur in both the formal and informal domains. The UCT Language Plan (2003) outlines ways in which the university plans to promote multilingual awareness and proficiency on its campuses. It provides guidelines for language development at faculty level. One of the guidelines is: 'identifying the nature of the proficiency of students in English and in other South African languages' (UCT Language Plan 2003:3). About multilingual proficiency and awareness, the UCT Language Plan (2003:11) recommends that 'academic and administrative staff be provided with appropriate language learning opportunities and training in ESL teaching and multilingual awareness'. Both the guidelines and recommendations of the UCT Language Plan (2003) cited

have implications for the language contexts, preferences and behaviours of EAL students and staff in this study. The analysis and interpretation of the data will hopefully indicate what these possible implications might be.

1.2 Context of the research

1.2.1 The National Language Context in higher education

The emergence of a democratic state in South Africa heralded legislative enactments such as the Higher Education Act 1997 and the Department of Education's Language Policy for Higher Education (LPHE) 2002. These enactments were put in place to regulate transformation within the higher education sector. Of significance to this research are the challenges associated with the LPHE (2002) and the constitutional provision on the elevation of the status of all eleven South African languages. Within this context universities are required by law to promote multilingual awareness on their campuses. Furthermore, their pedagogy and assessment practices are to reflect the ethos of multilingualism. What this means is that institutions of higher learning are to demonstrate through academic programmes and projects their seriousness to increase visibility of other South African languages in academic discourse. Work-related courses at a conversational level need to be encouraged. UCT offers such work-related courses through the multilingualism Education Project (MEP)⁴ In a sense what UCT is doing finds resonance with one of the recommendations of the report of the Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions. The recommendation states that the Minister (of higher education) is to request institutions 'to indicate how they intend to give effect to their commitment to multilingualism and, in particular, the development of African languages as academic languages and as languages of communication, including time frames for implementation' (Ministerial Committee Report 2008:102). The conscious promotion of isiXhosa alongside Afrikaans and English in the Western Cape Province as languages of official use should be viewed in the light of the sentiments the ministerial committee raises in the cited recommendation. As an institution of higher learning in the Western Cape, UCT has to comply with prescripts of the Western Cape Language Policy (2001) and continue to give effect to its commitment to multilingualism.

During the period 1994–2004 many universities and technikons (now universities of technology) had to adjust to the new environment. Before outlining how UCT responded to this new environment, it is necessary to understand UCT's linguistic context. UCT uses English exclusively as MoI. At the time this study was conducted Afrikaans and isiXhosa were taught only as subjects. This occurs despite the fact that both these languages have official status in the Western Cape (see Western Cape Language policy 2001). In this dissertation I focus on one aspect of UCT's response to national and provincial enactments regarding language equity and multilingual awareness. This aspect is UCT's response to challenges posed by the LPHE (2002) and the Western Cape Language Policy (2001). UCT's response assumes a Language Plan document titled *Towards a Language Plan for the University of Cape Town: 2005–2010* released in November 2003. The purpose of this language plan is ostensibly 'to propose strategies, guidelines and structures for the introduction of multilingual awareness and practice at the University of Cape Town' (UCT Language Plan 2003:1).

Recommendations of the UCT Language Plan (2003) can be summarised under three topics namely, *Language Development*, *Language Practices*, and *Multilingual Proficiency and Awareness*. With regard to *Language Development*, the Language Plan provides guidelines for language development at the level of faculties, degree or programme committees and departments at UCT, over a six-year period. Pursuant to the ideal of aligning *Language Practices* at UCT, to the institution's goals, the Language Plan proposes that certain innovations pioneered by the Language Development Group (LDG)⁵ within the Centre for Higher Education Development (CHED) be mainstreamed and systematised. Finally, with reference to *Multilingual Proficiency and Awareness*, the Language Plan proposes steps to be followed in order to foster multilingualism and multilingual awareness, also over a six-year period. The salient features of the Language Plan, under these three topics, are detailed in Chapter 3.

The statement: 'Although the recommendations in this report contain concrete suggestions about structural implementation, this should not preclude new initiatives or the use of resources other than those mentioned' (UCT Language Plan 2003:11), encourages innovation on the part of all UCT stakeholders. Particularly concerning the enhancement of multilingual awareness and practice at UCT.

1.3 Rationale for research

1.3.1 Contexts of EAL students and staff in the Faculty of Humanities at UCT

This research is necessary because at UCT language contexts, preferences and behaviours of EAL students and of staff have not been thoroughly studied. Having worked with EAL students at university for some time, I have always been curious to know what they think, believe or feel about the use of their PLs in relation to English. In the Faculty of Humanities EAL students are largely speakers of South African official national languages. These students come from various class and social backgrounds. It needs to be remembered that because of differences in class background these students have different school experiences – those with a working class background mostly come from township and rural public schools while students from the elite and middle classes attended ‘Model C’, private or public schools in affluent suburbs. Though EAL students are treated as a homogenous group in this study, they do have these socio-economic differences. Staff members in the Faculty of Humanities comprise L1 speakers of English (with no proficiency in any of the other official national South African languages) and L1 speakers of the other official national South African languages including Afrikaans. Staff members fall into two categories, namely academic and administrative staff. The nature of their jobs places them in the middle-class economic bracket.

The language contexts of EAL students assume both an informal and formal nature. In their households, which are both formal and informal, EAL students tend to use their PLs most of the time. However, a lot of code-mixing and code-switching also occurs with their PLs and English. In residences at UCT and in other social interactions these students use English and their PLs interchangeably. In the classroom and when interacting with administrative staff in offices, both formal domains of language use, EAL students use English to the exclusion of their PLs. Both the homes of EAL students and UCT provide language contexts for these students. In this study the language contexts of academic staff is the classroom, which is mainly the formal domain of language use, and

their offices, which constitute both the formal and informal domain of language use. For administrative staff their offices are the formal domain of language use.

The language preferences of both EAL students and of staff are what they yearn for linguistically and in some instances are their attitudes towards language(s) used in their language contexts. Their language attitudes are usually linked to their values and beliefs, which in turn either promote or discourage the choices they make in the academic or informal domains of language use. For EAL students, a timely example is their ambivalence towards English as documented in research by Bangeni (2001), Bangeni & Kapp (2005), Moyo (2002), Steyn & Van Zyl (2001) and Thesen & Van Pletzen (eds) (2006). It is also important to state that preferences are often shaped by socio-economic realities. In this sense, a change in language preferences could indicate a response to a change in socio-economic conditions. I however, use attitudes and preferences interchangeably, notwithstanding the fact that preferences could also be influenced by socio-economic realities.

The language behaviours of EAL students and staff tend to be their language practices in their various social contexts. So far the discussion reveals that EAL students use English for instrumental reasons in the formal domain and their PLs in the informal domain. On the other hand staff members invariably use English inside the classroom. Depending on who they talk to outside the classroom (on campus), they will use their PLs. The rationale for doing this research is to gain an understanding of the implications of the implementation of the UCT Language Plan (2003) in view of the language contexts, preferences and behaviours of EAL students and staff at UCT.

1.4 Research question

Following the description of this study and its rationale, my research question and its sub-question is:

What are the language contexts, preferences and behaviours of EAL students and staff in the Faculty of Humanities at UCT?

The sub-question is:

What are the implications of these language contexts, preferences and behaviours for the implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan?

1.5 Limitations of the research

The research focused mainly on EAL students in the departments of African Languages, English, Film and Media Studies, Organisational Psychology, Political Studies and Sociology. The student sample also included members of the 2003 / 2004 Student Representative Council (SRC). Staff members were randomly chosen within departments in the Faculty of Humanities and in the then Student Development Office. Both academics and support staff participated in the study. A self-administered questionnaire was distributed to twenty-five (25) EAL students and to fifteen (15) members of staff. One of the student respondents was interviewed on issues emanating from her questionnaire responses. Further interviews were held with two students of the Centre for Applied Language and Literacy Studies and Services in Africa (CALLSSA). The Methodology chapter outlines the reasons why interviews with these CALLSSA students became necessary.

1.6 Discussion of key terms

In this discussion focus will only be on the following key terms: Language contexts; language preferences; language behaviours and multilingualism.

1.6.1 Language contexts

The language contexts of EAL students and of staff at UCT are either formal or informal. The former refers to domains such as the classroom (academic), offices of lecturers and administration offices, while the latter alludes to student residences and generally out-of-class social interaction. In the classroom English is the academic language of instruction. The academic language of instruction is the medium through which teaching and learning occurs within an academic setting (cf. Swann et al. 2004:202). This usually includes assessment (e.g. tests, assignments and examination). It is sometimes also referred to as Medium of Instruction (MoI) and now in the Department of National Education, as Language of Learning and Teaching (LoLT).

At home the language contexts of EAL students are both formal and informal. On the one hand, occasions such as family gatherings, marriage negotiations and general interaction with elderly people, constitute formal contexts of language use for EAL students. On the other interaction with friends, siblings and general interaction with family members and community members in occasions such as wedding celebrations are informal contexts of language use. These lists are by no means exhaustive, but the

mentioned events are those popularly known. Drawing from the discussion so far, it can be concluded that both UCT and the homes of EAL students provide the language contexts referred to in this study.

1.6.2 Language preferences

Language preferences refer to attitudes of EAL students and of staff towards language(s) that are used in their linguistic context. These attitudes are linked to their values and beliefs which in turn promote or discourage the linguistic choices they make in the academic or informal realm of their daily activities. An example is the ambivalence EAL students display towards English as documented in research by Moyo (2002), Steyn & Van Zyl (2001) and Thesen & Van Pletzen (eds)(2006). Such ambivalence is to some degree also influenced by attitudes. The definition of which has always been a contested area of academic exchange among researchers. The diversity in the definition of attitudes arises as a result of the difficulty in studying attitudes. Some authors like Giles, Hewstone, & Ball (1983:82) offer brief, but informative definitions of attitudes. They write that attitudes “are not directly observable but have to be inferred from the respondents’ introspection”. Others offer more elaborate definitions. Garret, Coupland & Williams (2003:3) refer to the ‘tripartite structure’ of attitudes, which they claim has the cognitive, affective and behavioural components. They explain that attitudes ‘are cognitive in that they contain or comprise beliefs about the world’. They further argue that attitudes ‘are affective in that they involve feelings about an attitude object’. Finally, attitudes are systematically linked to behaviour, because they predispose humans to act in a certain way (ibid.). Similarly, Wetherell (1996:124) writes that for Zanna & Rempel, for whom an attitude is the categorization of a stimulus object along an evaluative dimension, is generated from three classes of information, namely, ‘(1) cognitive information, (2) affective/emotional information and/or (3) information concerning past behaviours or behavioural intentions’.

From the definitions of Garret et al. (2003) and Wetherell (1996) there appears to be consensus on the ‘tripartite structure’ of attitudes. However, underlying all three definitions cited above is the evaluative quality of attitudes. De Klerk & Barkhuizen (1998:159) point out that ‘because of their complexity and multidimensionality’ attitudes are problematic to define. They however, provide among many definitions Hofman’s (1977) categorisation of attitudes: ‘the intrinsic or integrative (involving personal, emotive perceptions) and the extrinsic (relating to the instrumental value of the language)’. Though

this definition also refers to the evaluative quality of attitudes, it highlights the nature of attitudes. Attitudes can involve emotive perceptions and also refer to the instrumental value of language. For an example EAL students are ambivalent towards English. This is a reflection of an attitude because this ambivalence is intrinsic. It involves personal perceptions about English. In some instances these EAL students engage in code-switching. This is probably because of the instrumental value they attach to both English and their PLs. In a sense these cited examples resemble language attitudes, which Baker (1992) and Edwards (1994:97–98) explicate thus: ‘a disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to a language’ (cited in Dalvit 2004:27). This working definition resonates with the dictionary definition of language attitudes, which states, ‘the attitudes which speakers of different languages or language varieties have towards each other’s languages or to their own language ... Attitudes towards a language may also show what people feel about the speakers of that language’ (Richards & Schmidt 2002:286). My view is that language attitudes can either encourage or discourage the language choices a person makes within a particular social environment.

I argue that language attitudes are circumstantial, transitory and therefore very subjective. The data of this study and similar other studies (Dalvit 2004 and Bangeni & Kapp 2005) corroborate this claim. The value of this research is the evidence it provides in so far as the existence of language attitudes among EAL students and staff are concerned. The study also shows the need for larger scale surveys and cross correlations with more quantitative related data as a basis for generalisation to be claimed in so far as it concerns language attitudes. Such generalisations might be helpful to language planners and researchers at UCT and elsewhere regarding the implementation of UCT’s Language Plan (2003).

Another concept related to attitudes and language attitudes is motivation. Gardner (1985:10) defines motivation in relation to attitudes towards language learning. He writes: ‘motivation in the present context refers to the combination of effort plus desire to achieve the goal of learning the language’. He continues to argue that ‘motivation to learn a second language is seen as referring to the extent to which the individual works or strives to learn the language because of a desire to do so and the satisfaction experienced in this activity’ (ibid.). Ager (2001) distinguishes seven motivating attitudes that steer language attitudes. Two of these are ‘integration with a group and instrumental motives for advancement’ (Van Der Walt 2004a:308). Linking motivation to language attitudes Van Der Walt (2004a:308) draws on Ager

(2001) who writes that the two motivating attitudes alluded to above ‘coincide with motives that drive individual language attitudes, namely integration with a group and instrumental motives for professional and economic advancement’. Implied in Ager’s (2001) assertion is that motivation to learn L2 is sustained by instrumental motives, that is the opportunities for ‘professional and economic advancement’. Individuals strive to learn L2 precisely for the benefits they perceive are associated with knowledge of such a language.

Dalvit & De Klerk (2005) agree with Gardner (1985) and Ager’s (2001) assertions about the motives an L2 learner might have in learning the target language (TL). They write:

The call for research into language attitudes has encouraged a number of studies in South Africa at all levels of the education system. Webb (1996) claims that most African parents prefer English as a medium of instruction for their children in primary school, especially for instrumental reasons (Dalvit & De Klerk 2005:2).

De Klerk & Barkhuizen (1998:159–160) argue that the integrative and instrumental aspects of attitudes result in differing orientations to language. They cite Gardner & Lambert (1972) who posit that the core orientations to language learning are ‘a desire to be part of the other community, and the instrumental, motivated by a desire to gain social recognition or economic advancement’. A substantial body of research in language attitudes suggests that L2 learners and their parents are motivated to learn and use the TL mainly for instrumental reasons (Bangeni 2001; Bangeni & Kapp 2005; Dalvit 2004; De Klerk 1996; Heugh 2002; Kapp 2001; Moyo 2002; Steyn & Van Zyl 2001; Kamwangamalu 2002; Thesen & Van Pletzen (eds) 2006). EAL students in this study are motivated to use English because of its market value and international usage.

1.6.3 Language behaviours

The language behaviours of EAL students and staff are their language practices in the various social contexts within which they find themselves. Their language practices are the manner in which they use language. Language behaviours also refer to the language choices staff and EAL students make in the various contexts they shuttle in.

1.6.4 Multilingualism

It is necessary to provide a working definition of multilingualism in this study because this research analyses language preferences and language behaviours of EAL students and of staff in the Faculty of Humanities of a

historically monolingual white institution. UCT is an institution that claims to have since repositioned itself as an Afropolitan university. In its mission statement, UCT commits itself to strive to provide an environment that will promote ‘... diversity in demographics, skills and backgrounds’ (www.uct.ac.za/about/intro/ accessed on 15 April 2010) for its diverse student and staff community. I provide three definitions of multilingualism and illustrate through them that universities such as UCT claim to promote and aspire towards multilingualism, meanwhile they actually promote monolingualism and reinforce the power of English through their carefully crafted policies and unchanged institutional culture.

In the first definition Brand (2003:27) defines multilingualism as ‘... More people using more languages in more registers and in more domains’. This definition could be interpreted to mean that speakers of the many South African languages could over time learn each other’s language(s) without fear of marginalisation of their languages. Moreover Brand (2003:27) argues for a multilingual academy. He is of the view that a multilingual academy could be possible if multilingualism is introduced progressively over time rather than full-scale in the short term (see also Ministerial Committee Report 2005:10, 11, 13). My understanding of Brand’s (2003) argument is that multilingualism is a process that needs to be implemented in phases. It does not need to be done in a sensational manner, but rather over time. Implications of a definition such as this for UCT are that classroom practice will be affected, so will its staff component. But because of UCT’s Afropolitan stance this is a realisable goal.

The second definition of multilingualism is provided by Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck (2005:197) who premise their argument in the social context within which people operate. They write:

We argue for reversing the usual order of thinking: multilingualism is not what individuals have and don’t have, but what the environment, as structured determinations and interactional emergence, enables and disables.

This definition takes the focus away from individuals and foregrounds linguistic opportunities or constraints that the social context provides for language users. This means the social context is constructed and determines what language users can or cannot do. This brings in the issue of policies and hegemony. What language or languages will be used does not depend on the language users, but on the ‘structured determinations’ in a given social context. For instance, UCT claims to be Afropolitan and has adopted a trilingual policy. However, English remains the normative language. The

‘structured determinations and interactional emergence’ enables the use of English and disables that of the other two languages in this trilingual policy. The question that arises is: Can UCT really claim to be a multilingual university? I argue that its monolingual history together with its culture of ‘whiteness’ militates against other languages flourishing as default languages. The linguistic choices speakers of the different languages make are largely influenced by what the UCT *habitus* (Bourdieu 1991) allows.

The discussion so far suggests that the main obstacle towards multilingualism in South Africa is both the power of English and other factors. These factors are the attitude of EAL speakers towards their PLs; the intricate link between practical language use and political posturing. As an illustration of these issues above, Braam (2004:53) found that the interplay between policy and social practice ‘reflects the dominant ideology of post-apartheid South African society’. This ideology constitutes a ‘shift towards English as the sole language of power’. At both school- and tertiary level there is an increase of English usage. This then raises the question of how multilingualism is to be practised in the midst of this growing affinity towards English usage. A possible answer lies in what Freeman & Freeman (1998:196) refers to as multi-medium and additive bilingual models of education. In these bilingual models PLs of learners in the school system are maintained throughout. At a practical level the feasibility of this approach can be corroborated by a dual-medium BA degree taught since 2003 at the University of Limpopo (see Ramani, Kekana, Modiba & Joseph 2007; Ramani & Joseph 2002).

The third definition of multilingualism is actually two definitions provided by Swann, Deumert, Lillis & Mesthrie (2004:214). In the one definition they indicate that multilingualism is a synonym for bilingualism, which is the use of two or more languages by an individual or by a speech community. In the other they refer to an approach that sociolinguists believe should be adopted, namely keeping bilingualism separate from multilingualism. In this sense bilingualism should refer to the use of two languages, while multilingualism is the use of more than two languages. This definition brings to light what Garcia (2009) refers to as monoglossic uses of language. Using many languages as opposed to using two languages does not indicate as to what the effects of such use are. Are people using the different languages doing so with each other or only with those who speak their languages? Garcia’s (2009) monoglossic uses of languages means exactly this – each person using her or his language with those who speak it to the exclusion of others. This is monolingualism at

its best. It is on this basis that in this dissertation I adopt Brand's (2003) approach to multilingualism because it encourages people to use many languages in many registers. It encourages the use of such languages in many domains. Brand's (2003) definition fits the language contexts and language preferences of subjects of this study.

1.7 Overview of the dissertation

Chapter 2: Literature review

This chapter provides a discussion of Spolsky's General Theory of L2 Learning with special reference to conditions that relate to language contexts, preferences and behaviours of EAL students and of staff. Where this theory fails, work of other scholars in L2 learning and acquisition is used.

Chapter 3: Review of policy documents

The aim with the review of the language policy documents is to provide a background to the interpretation of the UCT Language Policy and its implementation Plan. A further aim is to discuss the role language policies play in language use and management in higher education. The discussion draws on current debates and perspectives on language policy in higher education. Focus is on current criticisms of the LPHE (2002) pertaining language policy formulation and implementation in higher education. The discussion also focuses on recommendations of the Ministerial Committee Report (2005) on the use of African languages as MoI in higher education.

Chapter 4: Research design and methodology

A discussion on research methodology is presented by making reference to key research concepts. Drawing on Chilisa & Preece (2005), Hitchcock & Hughes (1989), Cohen et al. (2000) and Neuman (2003) research methodology justifying the use of an attitude survey and related approaches is explored. A description of the process of selecting participants for this study is provided as well as a discussion of the methods of gathering and analysing data in relation to challenges faced when conducting this research.

Chapter 5: Data analysis

The analysis of data is presented in two parts. Part 1 describes responses of students and staff to questionnaires and interviews.

Part 2 attempts to contextualise student responses and to a limited

extent responses of staff to the linguistic milieu prevalent at the time (2004–2005) this study was undertaken.

Chapter 6: Interpretation of data and their significance

This chapter provides the outcome of the study and gives an interpretation of the data. It discusses EAL students' language contexts, language preferences and language behaviours and their implications for the implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan. It contrasts findings from the student questionnaires with those of staff.

Chapter 7: Conclusions and recommendations

This chapter gives conclusions and recommendations of the study. It makes recommendations regarding the possible implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan, and for areas of future research.

The next chapter discusses Spolsky's General Theory of L2 Learning with special reference to conditions that relate to language contexts, language preferences and language behaviours of respondents in this study. It also touches on Cummins' work to address academic proficiency and achievement. The discussion shows that language learning and use is located within a social context.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This literature review starts with a cartoon depicting a classroom as a domain of teaching and learning. Even though the cartoon shows young school children, its message is relevant to a university such as UCT.

Like school children who are expected to learn English and to become accustomed to using it as LoLT EAL students at university are faced with the task of acquiring an academic language. What is clear from the cartoon is that the language of teaching in the formal classroom context is not the same as the language of learning. That is why learners are expressing a desire to use their primary languages (PLs). The situation in the majority of classrooms at UCT is similar to that illustrated in the cartoon. EAL students come to UCT with different linguistic capital. But at UCT they are faced with a predominantly English environment, both in the institutional environment and in the classroom situation. In the classroom, most lecturers at UCT and in the Faculty of Humanities are not L1 speakers of EAL students' PLs, and EAL students are thus afraid to verbalise their language preferences. The cartoon illustrates the point that the language environment within which a language user is largely determines their language behaviour. For instance, in a situation where English dominates, like is the case in classrooms in the Faculty of Humanities at UCT, both L1 speakers of English and EAL students will use English for communication and general interaction purposes.

In this chapter, I discuss some of the literature on language contexts, language preferences and language behaviours with a view to showing how these factors influence the implementation of a language policy. The focus will be on Spolsky's General Theory of L2 Learning. This theory will be used in this study to show how language contexts could influ-

ence both language preferences and language behaviours. I use Spolsky's theory because it examines conditions under which languages are learned and used. It attempts to include all kinds of L2 learning, be it by adults or children – in formal or informal contexts (Spolsky 1989:230). In this study EAL students use English in both formal and informal conditions, both academic and administrative staff also use it. An overview of this theory follows in the next section.

2.2 Overview of Spolsky's General Theory of L2 Learning

In his General Theory of L2 Learning, Spolsky proposes 74 interacting conditions, which he argues are relevant to L2 learning. These conditions are allocated to 11 clusters in such a way that those dealing with similar aspects of L2 learning fall into the same cluster. Because there are so many conditions, I will limit myself to those conditions that are directly related to language contexts (i.e. Conditions 1, 7 and 42), language preferences and motivation (Conditions 48, 49, 52, 54 and 55) and language behaviours (Conditions 12 and 15). Finally, I will show how Spolsky's Model of L2 Learning can be applied to the context of EAL students in this study.

There are two main types of conditions in Spolsky's theory, namely, necessary and typical conditions. Necessary conditions are essential for L2 learning to occur; in other words, if they are not in place, L2 learning is impossible. Conversely, typical conditions are not essential for L2 learning to occur. Spolsky uses Jackendoff's Preference model as the basis for his own theory. His types of conditions are derived from this model, which is in turn based on the preference rule system of the human psychological processes. In his model, Jackendoff distinguishes between necessary conditions and typical conditions. Drawing on Jackendoff's preference model, Spolsky's theory involves the interaction of several clusters of interrelated conditions (Spolsky 1989:16). Both the necessary and typical conditions in Spolsky's theory are graded, and there is a relation between the amount and extent to which a condition is met and the nature of the outcome (Spolsky 1989:14). Table 1 below shows Spolsky's conditions discussed in this chapter. It indicates to which cluster they belong and what aspect of L2 learning they focus on.

Spolsky's Conditions of L2 Learning	Clusters to which Conditions belong	Aspects of L2 Learning
Conditions 1 & 7	1	What it means to know a language, i.e. the knowledge of language
Conditions 12 & 15	2	Language use
Condition 24	5	Psycholinguistic basis for learning L2
Conditions 42, 48 & 49	8	Social context of L2 learning
Conditions 52, 54 & 55	9	Attitudes and motivation of the L2 learner

Table 1: Spolsky's Conditions and their Clusters used in this Study

As stated earlier, Conditions 1, 7 and 42 are relevant to language contexts in this study. More specifically, Conditions 1 and 7 belong to Cluster 1 of Spolsky's conditions; this cluster looks at the nature of language knowledge, and indicates how such knowledge is to be measured. In other words, it defines the meaning of 'knowing a language'. Condition 1 is related to interlanguage, which refers to a L2 learner's knowledge of L2 or TL. Interlanguage is a process through which the L2 learner's knowledge becomes a unified whole, with new knowledge being integrated and systematically reorganised with previous knowledge of the L1. Interlanguage is distinct from L1. It is the overlap between the L1 and L2. Condition 1 is a necessary condition for L2 learning, while Condition 7 specifically relates to academic skills and is a typical graded condition.

Condition 42 is a typical condition that refers directly to the influence the number of L2 speakers of a TL can have on potential L2 learners. This condition belongs to Cluster 8, which discusses the social context within which L2 learning takes place. Conditions in this cluster thus affect at-

titudes to and opportunities for learning that occur in a social context. The social context indirectly influences L2 learning. It develops in the learner a set of attitudes towards TL, its speakers and the language learning situation (i.e. the context). The social context also determines the social provision of various language learning opportunities and situations (Spolsky 1989:131). In this study EAL students are afforded opportunities in the classroom to display their academic proficiency skills. However, they are confronted with the Englishness of the classroom, which sometimes makes them to be ambivalent towards English. They cannot use their PLs in cases like these. The data in Chapter 5 show that these students then develop attitudes towards English. In Chapter 6 we show what implications of these attitudes are towards the development of their academic language proficiency.

I will discuss Conditions 1, 7 and 42 in relation to respondents in this study. This is because EAL students use their PLs and English (L2) in both formal and informal domains, such as in their residences and in the classroom respectively. They however also use both languages in the informal domain such as in-between classes and at the cafeteria. Conditions 48 and 49 are discussed in relation to language preferences. These conditions belong to Cluster 8 of Spolsky's conditions, details of which have been discussed in relation to Condition 42 above. Conditions 48 and 49 are typical conditions that refer to linguistic convergence and divergence respectively. I also discuss Conditions 52, 54 and 55 as part of language preferences and motivation. These conditions are all typical conditions and form part of Cluster 9 of Spolsky's conditions. They relate to the attitudes and motivation of the L2 learner. Generally, motivation comes from attitude, suggesting that attitude leads to motivation, which in turn influences learning (Spolsky 1989:149). Condition 52 expresses the influence of motivation on L2 learning. Whereas Condition 54 refers to integrative motivation, Condition 55 is concerned with instrumental language learning or teaching.

Conditions 12 and 15 are relevant to language behaviours in this study. They belong to Cluster 2 of Spolsky's conditions, which stress the importance of language use. In other words, this cluster is concerned with knowing how to use a language. Condition 12, which is a necessary condition, deals with automaticity. Automaticity, which Spolsky (1989:49) derived from Bialystok (1982 cited in Spolsky 1989:49) is the basis of fluency in speech. Condition 15 relates to communicative competence. It expands on a condition that Spolsky refers to as the Dual Knowledge condition (Spolsky 1989:49). It is a typical communicative goal condition that refers to a situ-

ation where, although language learners have knowledge of a language (e.g. its grammatical rules), they do not necessarily have the ability to use such knowledge (to communicate effectively).

Finally, I discuss Condition 24 as part of language proficiency and academic achievement. Condition 24 belongs to Cluster 5, which has to do with individual factors affecting learning. This cluster sets out the psycholinguistic basis for L2 learning. Consequently, Condition 24 refers to formal abstract tasks in the formal classroom context. It is connected to abilities of the language learner that are related to abstraction and analysis. It is a typical graded condition.

The discussion that follows provides a critical analysis of Spolsky's General Theory of L2 Learning with regard to language contexts, preferences and behaviours. The discussion on language preferences focuses on attitudes and motivation because Conditions 54 and 55 of Spolsky's theory relate directly to integrative and instrumental reasons for language learning and use that are relevant to this study.

2.2.1 Spolsky's proposed model of L2 learning and language contexts of EAL students

Conditions 1 and 7 of Spolsky's General Theory of L2 Learning are concerned with what it means to know and use a language. Condition 1 states: knowledge of L2 forms a systemic whole. This suggests that the L2 learner has an interlanguage (IL), which is a linguistic system that draws on the PL of the L2 learner as well as on the TL (Spolsky 1989:30). Implicitly, the IL represents language knowledge of what Spolsky (1989:34) refers to as an 'idealized speaker of a homogenous community of second language speakers'. In a social environment such as UCT where English is the default language, EAL students are forced to speak English. However, the English they speak varies from the TL (Standard English). Nonetheless, despite such variations, EAL students are expected to use Standard English for oral and written tasks, like all other students enrolled at UCT. No exceptions are made for them. Spolsky argues that there are different views as to what should constitute IL. In that respect he critically discusses views held by scholars such as Selinker, Swain, Dumas, Davies, Klein and Ellis on IL (Spolsky 1989:35–36). What this means is that scholars have differing views on what IL should entail. I cautiously label the English variety spoken by EAL students in this study an IL, while qualifying this by indicating that

EAL students in this study aspire to be proficient in English, similar to native English speakers. I adopt this approach in order to highlight that EAL students in this study speak a variety of English, distinct from the Standard English. Because EAL students in this study are forced to use English, just like all the other students at UCT, I contend that the UCT language context similar to that at other universities in South Africa, is not conducive to L2 learning because there is little support at a micro level (i.e. in the classroom) to enhance L2 proficiency. Recommendations in this regard will be presented in Chapter 7.

Condition 7 relates to an academic setting where language teaching and use are associated with the development of academic language skills. What this means is the continued use of L2 should improve the L2 user's language skills and develop academic language skills as well. This suggests the L2 learner is supposed to know the rules of L2 for communicative purposes and using it for cognitively demanding tasks as well. The data in this study shows that it is not always the case that academic skills are automatically developed in L2 by learning that language. It depends on a number of issues, such as the purpose for learning and using L2, and the language context. At university students are expected to use the L2 (in this instance English) for both communicative and academic purposes. In Cummins' (1991, 2000) terms they are to use English for cognitively demanding tasks. However, research (Bangeni & Kapp 2005; Paxton 2007, 2009) has shown that EAL students still struggle with academic language proficiency, despite the dominance of English in their contexts. The discussion in Chapters 5 and 6 will explore possible causes for such language behaviour or attitude. Spolsky's Condition 7 therefore seems not to apply to student respondents in this study. The dominance of English should have made it possible for EAL students to be more fluent in English and use it for cognitively demanding tasks with much more ease.

Spolsky's Condition 42 describes the influence that the number of speakers of a language as L1 or L2 can have on potential TL learners. However, it is not always the case that the existence of a large number of L1 or L2 speakers will encourage others to learn TL. For example, L1 speakers of English constitute only 8,2% of the South African population, yet it is the country's default language. Conversely, isiZulu has the most speakers (23,8%) in South Africa (<http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/report-03-02-01>) accessed 22 April 2010), but it is not the normative language of the country. I therefore argue that the existence of a large number of speak-

ers of an L1 or L2 by itself does not necessarily persuade others to learn such a language. But what might encourage people to learn such a language could be the status of that language reinforced by ideology. English is dominant in South Africa because of reasons other than the number of its L1 or L2 speakers. To be specific, the UCT social context and the South African context in general are influenced by linguistic and political ideology inherited from South Africa's colonial and later Apartheid past. The education system in South Africa reinforces the power of English by using it as MoI. The current battle for the survival of Afrikaans as a language of influence in higher education and commerce in South Africa bears testimony to this claim. However, English is embedded in the fabric of South African society (Chetty & Mwepu 2008:333; see also Tollefson 1991:11). Those who use English do so because South African society embraces English for instrumental reasons, not because of the number of its speakers. In addition, Tollefson (1991:11) argues that people have come to embrace English because of the dominant ideology as referred to above. The dominant ideology is largely unconscious. Despite it being largely unconscious, ideology shapes behaviour and ensures that people conform to the norms of the dominant group (ibid.). EAL students in this study acculturate to English for reasons of ideology, amongst other reasons. This ideology often masquerades in the form of language policies and language education practices.

Another example pertaining to the power of English is the percentage of L1 speakers of the various languages spoken in the Cape Unicity. According to Statistics South Africa (2001) 41,4% of persons in the Cape Metropolitan area speak Afrikaans as L1 as opposed to 27,9% who speak English as L1 (Williams & Bekker 2008:172). If we follow the proposition of Spolsky's Condition 42, it would mean that speakers of languages other than English should be influenced to speak Afrikaans because of the large numbers of Afrikaans speakers in the Cape Metropolitan area. However, this is not the case. Instead, English is the dominant language in the formal domain. This occurs despite the fact that, in the Western Cape Province, Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa are recognised as official languages (Western Cape Language Committee 2001).

In addition to the reasons provided above as to why people are influenced to learn and use English, research shows that the *status* of a language is particularly important. In their research at UCT, Bangeni & Kapp (2005:3-4) discovered that most 'black' students at UCT regard English as their L1. This might be because they studied it at school as L1 or because

they use it at home. I argue, however, that these students declare English as their L1 because it gives them a sense of newfound power. It also has international capital and influence in terms of usage. With regard to staff, it was found that "75% of academic staff in Humanities are 'white' and many of the dominant institutional academic and cultural practices are still 'white' and male ..." (Bangeni & Kapp 2005:11). These factors, rather than the number of people who speak the language, indirectly influence EAL students to acculturate towards English, (see also Gardner 1985:135). Furthermore, because of the impact of English in society, it has come to be associated with formal education and language teaching (Paxton 2007 and 2009). The power of English in education is reinforced by language in education policies. As the discussion in Chapter 3 will show, the UCT Language Policy (1999) unambiguously states that English is the official language at UCT. In terms of the power relations, English is clearly dominant. In this sense, then, the UCT Language Policy (1999) is ideological – it maintains the status quo, that is, the power and influence of English (Tollefson 1991:11). This is the language context in which EAL students find themselves at UCT. In Chapter 6 I present recommendations on how to deal with the implications of the language context of EAL students in the Faculty of Humanities at UCT.

According to Spolsky's model, this social context, which Bourdieu (1991) refers to as *habitus*, leads to language attitudes and behaviours, which join with other personal characteristics of the language learner such as 'previous knowledge', 'capabilities', 'personality' and 'age'. The 'previous knowledge' could be the multilingual expertise EAL students bring to UCT. 'Capabilities' could refer to their code-switching or translanguaging ability. All these factors are used by the language learner in the domains of language use, giving rise to 'learning opportunities'. These 'learning opportunities' could be in the classroom or the home. The model shows that 'learning opportunities' are part of the 'social context', which suggests that 'learning opportunities' are also influenced by the 'social context'. The last stage of the model looks at the outcome of the interplay between the language learner and the social context; such outcome is both linguistic and non-linguistic. Spolsky's Model of L2 Learning is thus very useful in explaining how language contexts influence both language preferences and language behaviours. In the sections that follow, other theories of L2 learning will be used to supplement Spolsky's theory, particularly with regard to academic language proficiency.

2.2.2 Language preferences and motivation

Drawing on Reid's (1987) research, which is based on self-reporting and observation of university students, Spolsky (1989:109) concludes that 'the likelihood is high that group and individual preferences will affect the performance of students in appropriate and inappropriate learning. For example, in this study EAL students prefer English as the MoI even though they have an ambivalent attitude towards it. As a group EAL students would like to see their PLs being used in academia, but the problem is which PL to choose as they belong to different tribal groups. Reid's (1987) research results show that there will always be individual differences when it comes to language preferences. What matters most in a multilingual society are the attitudes of L2 learners and users towards the TL. These attitudes usually shape the learning style preferred by language users. Whether the language user will have an integrative or instrumental orientation towards L2 depends on the preferred learning style. In other words, the linguistic choices or preferences made by L2 learners depend in part on affective and social factors. Affective factors are mainly attitudes, values, cultural beliefs and ethnic background, while social factors include the learner's place of abode and family ties, among others. These affective and social factors either promote or discourage the linguistic choices made by L2 users in this study in the academic or informal realm of their daily activities. The learning opportunities to which they are exposed mostly determine their language preferences and choices.

The choices made by EAL students and staff within their linguistic contexts are succinctly summarised in Conditions 48 and 49 of Spolsky's General Theory of L2 learning. These conditions refer to linguistic convergence and divergence respectively. Both of these terms relate to Giles' Accommodation theory, as reviewed by Ellis (1997:39), who suggests:

... that when people interact with each other they either try to make their speech similar to that of their addressee in order to emphasize social cohesiveness (a process of convergence) or to make it different in order to emphasize their social distinctiveness (a process of divergence).

It is likely that language users who display convergence may be amenable to linguistic assimilation with the dominant language group. They are also likely to attain reasonable proficiency in L2. Conversely, those who show divergence may find it difficult to communicate effectively in the L2. Through the process of divergence, L2 users 'emphasize their social distinctiveness' (Ellis 1997:39) from other language groups. Conditions 48 and 49 also pro-

vide a synopsis of conditions related to ethnolinguistic identity theory and intergroup theory. The former stresses ethnic identity and upholds linguistic differentiation, while the latter encourages social cohesiveness.

In the Faculty of Humanities, EAL students show convergence. This means they are willing to make their speech similar to that of their English L1 classmates and lecturers. However, their lecturers and English L1 classmates do not reciprocate this gesture. They retain their English distinctiveness. The data analysis in Chapter 5 shows that it is only EAL students who code-switch, translanguage and doubt their proficiency in English, whereas L1 students do not. I argue that, because of the power of English at UCT, L1 speakers of English are not motivated to learn other languages. In addition, because the current language policy continues to emphasise English, L1 speakers of English do not have a pressing need to learn any other language in order to cope at UCT. This could have negative implications for the implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan, which promotes multilingual proficiency.

Various scholars agree that attitude influences motivation and motivation in turn influences learning (Baker 1993; Gardner 1985; Spolsky 1989). Baker's (1993:95) definition of motivation as 'the readiness to engage in language learning or language activity' relates directly to Spolsky's Condition 52, which is a typical condition. Drawing on Baker's (1993) definition, Spolsky's Condition 52 can be restated as follows: the more a learner is ready or willing to engage in language learning, the more time she or he will invest in learning the TL. The readiness to engage in language activity is also dependent on the orientation of the language learner towards such TL. The following example illustrates this point: If TL (English) is the normative language, as is the case in the Faculty of Humanities at UCT, then it is likely that the orientation of an L2 user will be instrumental. Language users with an instrumental orientation tend to use TL because they have a set goal; for example, proficiency in TL leads to a language credit for study purposes or to better job prospects (Bialystok & Hakuta 1994:137). This is the essence of Condition 52 of Spolsky's theory.

Sometimes, however, an L2 user may have an integrative orientation, rather than only an instrumental one, by desiring to become part of a particular community. Some scholars argue that an integrative orientation is premised upon learning the cultural contexts of the language (Bialystok & Hakuta 1994:137). Spolsky's Condition 54 sums up the integrative motivation by stating that integrative orientation is a cluster of favourable attitudes

to speakers of TL, which have a positive effect on the learning of L2, in particular the development of a native-like pronunciation and semantic system (Spolsky 1989:151). Although Spolsky's Conditions 54 and 55 refer directly to integrative and instrumental reasons, his General Theory of L2 Learning does not specifically indicate why L2 users would be motivated to learn through TL instead of their PLs. Spolsky (1989:153) acknowledges that, since Condition 54, for instance, is a typical condition, it does not apply under all circumstances. To this end he writes, 'while greater motivation and better attitudes lead to better learning, the converse is not in fact true: learning another group's language does not necessarily improve one's attitude to the group' (Spolsky 1989:153). Research at UCT shows that EAL students identify English as a major obstacle to becoming fully integrated and motivated to learn (Paxton 2007:63–64). In the UCT context, therefore, Spolsky's Condition 54 does not apply to all EAL students in this study. This proves that McLaughlin (1987) is correct when he indicates that all theories have limitations. Even though Spolsky's theory has 74 conditions through which he tried to avoid some of the pitfalls of other language learning theories, his theory still has shortcomings.

Consequently, I use other scholars who cite differing reasons to explain why EAL students in this study might be motivated to learn through English rather than through their PLs. Webb (2002:83) proposes that speakers of the 'Bantu languages' are attracted to English because of its status and social meaning. According to him, English 'has a central place in public life', as opposed to 'Bantu languages', which 'have very little prestige in the public arena and can be described as marginalised' (ibid.). De Klerk (1996:114) concurs that English has an instrumental appeal for EAL students. Some of these students even value it higher than their PLs because it is perceived to open doors, thus promoting upward social and economic mobility (Nodoba 2002:334). For Bangeni & Kapp (2005:11), EAL students who come to universities such as UCT are confronted with, not only the predominant language of English, but also a culture of 'Englishness', which is the capital most visible to them. They argue that this 'Englishness' serves as a gatekeeper, both academically and socially. Nonetheless, studies confirm that English continues to pose a challenge for EAL students as MoI. For instance, Paxton (2007:63–64) found that 32% of EAL students indicated that studying through the medium of English affected the way they learned. She concluded that this was an indication that UCT was 'perpetuating inequality through language' (Paxton 2007:64).

In contrast to Bangeni & Kapp's (2005) notion of English as gatekeeper, Chetty & Mwepe (2008:333) indicate that English 'is firmly embedded in the fabric of South African education and society'. These authors suggest that, because the majority of South Africans speak multiple languages, it is not justifiable to argue that English discriminates against the majority of South Africans (Chetty & Mwepe, 2008:335). Pragmatically, it can be concluded that EAL students appear motivated to learn through English because it is the language of social and economic power in South Africa. Its influence is indisputable (Ridge 2001). Not only does it have international currency, but it is also South Africa's *de facto* national language. The differing views of scholars on why EAL students might be motivated to use English rather than their PLs suggest that this is a tricky issue. After all, EAL students themselves are ambivalent towards English. I conclude that the contexts within which EAL students find themselves and their rationalizations about the importance of English in their careers are the determining factors about how they will react to English and its native speakers. Furthermore, it is important to note that non-linguistic outcomes, such as changes in attitude, motivation and personal learning goals, cannot always be accurately predicted. By their nature they are largely subjective and context dependent. The complexity of attitudes also makes it almost impossible for them to be predicted with absolute certainty.

2.2.3 Language behaviours

Both Conditions 12 and 15 of Spolsky's General Theory of L2 Learning stress the importance of language use. Condition 12, which refers to the language user's fluency in speaking a particular language, is a necessary condition for language learning. Condition 15 is a typical condition, which refers to the language learner's aim of achieving various degrees of control of a language for communicative purposes by investing in TL (Spolsky 1989:18). Such an investment in TL, according to Ellis (1997:42), enhances the cultural capital of language users, in that it grants them 'access to the knowledge and modes of thought that will enable them to function successfully in a variety of social contexts' (see also Bangeni & Kapp 2005). In the current study, EAL students do have knowledge of English as both TL and MoI. However, their classroom practices, as reflected in their self-reporting and observation, reveal that they experience a sense of ambivalence towards English. They do not participate in class discussions because they are not confident about their proficiency in English. They nonetheless use English in the informal context with friends. When they interact with administra-

tors, EAL students use English and sometimes their PLs, depending on the L1 of their interlocutor. They also use English with administrators, not because administrators are L1 speakers of English, but because they view English as the common language that enables them to communicate effectively. L2 speakers in administration might well be L1 speakers of Afrikaans or even L1 speakers of African languages. Nonetheless, EAL students and administrators switch to English almost automatically, because African languages generally lack the necessary technical vocabulary. For instance, when inquiring about fees or academic and financial exclusions, EAL students are forced to use English because their PLs might not have adequate vocabulary needed to express themselves in addressing issues of this nature. This discussion clearly shows that, despite their ambivalence towards English, EAL students do still use English because it is useful to them in the UCT context. In a sense, their behaviour is in accordance with findings of Bialystok & Hakuta (1994) who reaffirm the general view that learning a language requires one to be engaged in its active use.

Conditions 12 and 15 also relate to L2 acquisition. In this regard, Ellis (1997:42) makes the point that “L2 acquisition involves a ‘struggle’ and ‘investment’” from the language learner. He argues that ‘successful learners are those who reflect critically on how they engage with native speakers and who are prepared to challenge the accepted social order by constructing and asserting social identities of their own choice’ (*ibid.*). Theories such as Schumann’s Acculturation Model of L2 acquisition, Peirce’s Social Theory of L2 acquisition and Giles’ Accommodation Theory all contextualise L2 acquisition and proficiency. As mentioned earlier, the data of the current study show that EAL students in the Faculty of Humanities at UCT are the only ones who do shuttle back and forth between languages. They are continuously code-switching and adjusting to the Englishness or English culture of UCT. They do so because their social conditions determine the extent of their contact with TL and their commitment to learning it in relation to their PLs. In this sense, the language behaviours of EAL students are actually the effect of their attitudes. Such attitudes manifest as their resolve or motivation to learn and use TL. It can be said that Conditions 12 and 15 of Spolsky’s theory apply directly to EAL students in this study. The language behaviours of EAL students, as enumerated above, have positive implications for the implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan. In contrast, the language behaviours of both English L1 students and staff have negative implications for the implementation of the same, especially in view of its promotion of multilingual proficiency and awareness.

2.3 Language proficiency and academic achievement

As indicated earlier, Condition 7 of Spolsky’s General Theory of L2 Learning relates to language teaching and use in an academic setting. It refers to academic language skills, but does so superficially. Instead of providing a discussion on what the development of academic language skills entail, Spolsky (1989:43) mentions other scholars who criticise Cummins’ BICS-CALP distinction. These scholars, cited by Spolsky, indicate that BICS-CALP ‘is largely a result of a special kind of school testing’ (*ibid.*). This is one of the shortcomings of Spolsky’s theory with regard to the discussion on the development of academic language skills of the L2 learner.

In this section, I refer to Cummins and other scholars to discuss in detail the duality of language and academic proficiency. This discussion will show the relationship between academic language proficiency and academic achievement. In the current study, EAL students need academic language proficiency in order to be successful in their studies. Consequently, this discussion is necessary. Scholars such as Oller (1979), Labov (1973), Bruner (1975), Olson (1977), Donaldson (1978) and Bereiter & Scardamalia (1981, 1982) put forward arguments centred on the developmental relationship between thought and language. They argue for the necessity to distinguish between processing language in informal everyday situations and language processing required in most academic situations (Cummins & Swain 1986:142–156; Cummins 1991, 2000). Cummins’ BICS-CALP theoretical framework is based on this duality of language processing.

In reviewing Cummins’ work, Appel & Muysken (1987:105) argue that Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS) are phonological, syntactic and lexical skills, which are necessary for a language learner to function in daily interpersonal contexts. Activities related to BICS, such as chatting with friends, are said to be context-embedded and cognitively undemanding. Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP), however, is needed for tasks where language learners are required to manipulate surface features of language beyond interpersonal contexts. Examples of CALP tasks are writing an essay or persuading someone in an argument (*ibid.*). In this sense, CALP tasks are context-reduced yet cognitively demanding. Because these tasks rely on the recognition of linguistic cues to meaning, they lead to interpretation and manipulation of the logic of communication. These are real academic tasks, which EAL students face in the classroom.

With regard to language proficiency, particularly when dealing with EAL students, Bialystok (1991) argues that a distinction should be drawn between language proficiency in L1 and L2: 'second-language problems are depicted as demanding higher levels of skills than comparable problems in a first language because the demands placed upon performance for speakers in a second language are more taxing than those imposed for speakers carrying out the same function in a first language' (Bialystok 1991:123). Bialystok's argument revolves around proficiency in the oral uses of language. In this study, for example, EAL students are speakers of multiple African languages. One assumes that they are reasonably proficient in their PLs. When they come to university, however, they are expected to perform oral academic tasks in a language in which they are not proficient, while they do not use – are not allowed or able to use – the one in which they are proficient. Thus, as Bialystok states, the performance of such students in oral academic tasks will be below par compared to their classmates who carry out such tasks in their PL (usually English). It is clear that in this instance language proficiency entails the ability to express and interpret meanings as they develop through spoken discourse. Not only are students expected to be orally capable, they also have to use language to show literacy and meta-linguistic expertise. Their literacy uses involve the construction of meaning emanating from interactions with the written text, while the meta-linguistic uses of language entail a relatively high demand for analysis of linguistic knowledge and control of processing (Bialystok 1991:124, 128, 130–131). Similarly, Spolsky's Condition 24 is also an example of the meta-linguistic uses of language. It looks at formal abstract tasks in the formal classroom context. Furthermore, it is connected to abilities of the language learner, which are related to abstraction and analysis (Spolsky 1989:97). Clearly, all these tasks are cognitively demanding and are largely context reduced. It is this classroom reality, among other factors, that elicits reactions such as the lack of responses from EAL students in class discussions. Their personal rationalizations about their classroom experiences also lead to their ambivalence towards English.

Bialystok's (1991) argument that there is a distinction between language proficiency in L1 and L2 makes it necessary for us to interrogate the relationship between academic skills in L1 and L2. In this respect, Cummins (1984) is helpful. He argues that academic skills in L1 and L2 are interdependent (Cummins 1984:15). This is because of the transferability of proficiencies across languages, for example, proficiencies in reading and

writing. His argument is premised upon the interdependence hypothesis, which was developed in relation to the development of bilingual academic skills (Cummins 1984:14). Cummins argues that 'any language task which is cognitively demanding for a group of individuals is likely to show a moderate degree of interdependence across languages' (ibid.). Some scholars agree with Cummins insofar as the need to develop an adequate theoretical framework for relating language proficiency to academic achievement is concerned. However, they do not think his BICS-CALP framework adequately describes the relationship between language proficiency and academic achievement. For Genessee (1984:24), it is not clear from Cummins' framework as to whether 'it is simply L1 mastery that predicts L2 mastery in the case of academic language skills or whether age and possibly other factors play a role'. He thus implies that Cummins' framework ignores the impact of the social context within which language development and use occur (Genessee 1984:26).

Canale (1984) provides a critical review of Cummins' framework on various aspects of language proficiency. Canale (1984:32) observes that 'Cummins equates "language proficiency" with "communicative proficiency" to emphasise the importance of the broader social context in which language proficiency develops'. He argues that equating language proficiency with communicative proficiency 'gives the questionable impression that communication is the only or most important use of language' (Canale 1984:33). Another problem Canale (1984:33) raises is the 'order of difficulty and developmental sequence regarding the four general types of tasks', in other words, the relationship between the four quadrants in Cummins' framework. Canale (1984:34) concludes with an important observation, which relates to Cummins' BICS-CALP activities. This has to do with what students can or cannot do. Canale (1984) argues that the performance of students in terms of language proficiency and academic achievement cannot strictly speaking be accounted for only by Cummins' four quadrants regarding academic tasks, namely, (a) context-reduced cognitively undemanding, (b) context-reduced cognitively demanding, (c) context-embedded-cognitively undemanding and (d) context-embedded-cognitively demanding academic tasks. Canale's (1984) criticism brings to light the fact that there is considerable variation among individuals when it comes to communicative proficiency or language proficiency and academic achievement. Being a good oral communicator does not automatically translate into being a good analytical writer.

Even though Cummins' BICS-CALP theoretical framework has been criticised by scholars, as cited by Spolsky (1989:43), who argue that BICS-CALP is largely the result of a special kind of school testing, I believe the concept is useful because it has improved our understanding of the duality of language and academic proficiency. It also brings into sharp focus the issue of the power of language in the classroom in relation to academic achievement. EAL students do not have the freedom to use their PLs in class, unlike their English L1 classmates, whose language is the MoI. EAL students thus experience the effects of what Tollefson (1991) refers to as the monolingual ideology in the classroom, which does not allow for language variation. EAL students are expected to perform well academically, despite the fact that their academic performance is assessed in a language in which they are less proficient. The language power relations in the classroom are such that PLs of EAL students are not used for teaching or for assessment – despite theories such as Cummins', which show that CALP tasks need students to be proficient in the language used as MoI.

2.4 Language, identity and culture

Spolsky's General Theory of L2 Learning does not make direct reference to the relationship of language, identity and culture. However, it is important to show the link between these three aspects of social life in a study that analyzes language preferences and behaviours in a university context. In this discussion, I thus refer to scholars who discuss the relationship among language, identity and culture. Gardner (1985:134) argues that it is possible for proficiency in a language to lead to a change in a person's identity: 'with proficiency in the language comes the possibility of changes in self-identity'. Proficiency in a language can lead to a change in self-identity in the event where there is linguistic inequity. In such situations, language users make rationalizations, for example, in her interview in this study, Nosizwe uses English to 'put food on the table'. This is an instrumental reason for using TL, which in the Faculty of Humanities at UCT is the normative language. Sometimes self-identity can be affected by integrative motivation because speakers of TL seem to enjoy certain benefits, one of which is status – TL (English) enjoys greater prestige in society. Norton's (2000) conception of identity refers to the interconnectedness of language and culture. She uses 'identity to reference how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands

possibilities for the future' (Norton 2000:5). By using and understanding the nuances of a language, an individual discovers who she or he is in relation to other people. Research at UCT shows that more and more EAL students declare English as their L1 (Bangeni & Kapp 2005; Paxton 2009; UCT Language Plan 2003). This may be their way of dealing with challenges they encounter in the university context, whose *habitus* is English. In order to be part of this social reality and to be acceptable to the rest of the academic community, they have to adjust. Most scholars argue that identity is based on how individuals relate to others in society. For instance, 'identity is constituted on the basis of shared characteristics and symbolic representations such as languages and cultural values in relation to other groups with different symbolic representations' (Mashige 2004:2). Mashige (2004:2) also contends that identity is strategic and positional; it is never fixed in form. He recognises identity as being largely provisional, determined by and dependent upon the context within which it is articulated. Identity can be said to be social, fluid, multiple and often contradictory (Bangeni & Kapp 2005: 6). De Kadt (2005:22) corroborates the fluidity of identity thus: 'In poststructuralist terms, identity is conceptualised as not pre-existing but rather as socially constructed on an ongoing basis'. EAL students in this study have brought their home identities with them to UCT, but within the UCT social context, they assume another identity – they are EAL students. As such, they constantly have to access the power of English. This identity issue causes some of their ambivalence towards English.

In the South African context, the use of English and Afrikaans in the academy has given rise to multiple identities, especially of EAL students. When such students enter universities such as UCT, they are expected to have the 'cultural capital that the institution deems appropriate' (Bangeni & Kapp 2005:6). Bangeni & Kapp (2005:11) claim that at UCT "'Englishness' is the capital that is most visible to students and, in their eyes, it is owned by 'whites' and serves as a gatekeeper, both academically and socially". Findings of a student climate survey conducted by Strategy & Tactics on behalf of UCT in 2004 corroborate Bangeni & Kapp's (2005) claims (see Smith et al. 2004). From Smith et al's (2004) findings, it emerges that proficiency in the dominant discourse affects self-identity at UCT. Again, studies carried out at UCT and elsewhere show that this tension might lead to changes in the self-identity and self-esteem of EAL students (see Bangeni & Kapp 2005:6–7; Gardner 1985:134; and Thesen & Van Pletzen 2006:5–6).

Bangeni & Kapp (2005:15) also found that EAL students come from 'very different class backgrounds and the schools they attended vary between elite, middle-class and working-class'. Although I refer to EAL students as a homogenous group in this dissertation, the citation above brings into sharp focus the fact that tension between the home identities and English of EAL students with a working class background is more pronounced than is the case in the other two class categories (i.e. among their middle-class or wealthier peers). However, an important point to note is that students with a working class background are not homogenous either. For instance, the student respondents in this study come from both urban and traditional rural areas. Their experiences of the tension between their home identities and English are bound to differ. In the case of rural students, for instance, the use of English tends to be restricted to the classroom, while they use their PLs mostly in social circles. Urban students, in contrast, claim that they use English both at UCT and at home. Their socio-economic context in the townships generally allows for the limited use of English and the leeway to use the various varieties of their PLs (see also Nomdo 2006). As 'political activists', the SRC respondents in this study expressed views from within the advocacy movement, that is, they politicise issues by continually referring to the role the state plays in influencing policy direction at universities. It would appear their views on language use both on and off campus are largely influenced by their political rationalizations and their social spaces of influence.

The possible changes in 'self-identity' and 'self-esteem' referred to above introduce other possibilities, which constitute the last stage of Spolsky's Model of L2 learning, namely, the outcome of language acquisition. This outcome can either be additive or subtractive bilingualism. Additive bilingualism occurs when an additional language and culture 'have been acquired with little or no pressure to replace or reduce the first language' (Baker 1993:95). This form of bilingualism is likely to lead to a positive self-concept of the L2 acquirer. Additive bilingualism is linked to integrative motivation, in which the language user is likely to maintain her or his PL while using the TL (see Sawhney 1998 and Spolsky's Condition 54). Subtractive bilingualism, in contrast, often evolves when speakers of a minority language appear to reject their own cultural values in favour of an economically and culturally prestigious group. However, Garcia (2009) raises new perspectives on these concepts of additive and subtractive bilingualism. She argues that both of these have a 'monoglossic orienta-

tion' because they promote monolingualism (Garcia 2009:116). Garcia (2009:118) suggests two alternative theoretical frameworks for bilingual education, namely, recursive and dynamic, which she claims does not rely on monolingualism. I will not go into detailed discussions of the recursive and dynamic theoretical frameworks because that falls beyond the scope of this study. The purpose of mentioning these other theoretical frameworks was merely to indicate an awareness of current thinking in the field of bilingual education. I will therefore retain my use of the concepts: additive and subtractive bilingualism.

Additive bilingualism, as Sawhney (1998:120) argues, is linked to instrumental motivation and it is socially constructed. Instrumental motivation is also alluded to in Spolsky's Condition 55. It states: 'If you need to speak to someone who does not know your language, you can learn that person's language or help that person to learn your language'. This notion of instrumental motivation as enumerated in Spolsky's Condition 55 directly applies to EAL students in this study. These students are mostly faced with monolingual lecturers and classmates who do not know their PLs. To ensure communication, EAL students therefore acculturate to English. The UCT social reality forces them to change from their PL to English. But the process ends there. The social context in the classroom does not make room for EAL students to teach their monolingual lecturers and fellow students their PLs. In an attempt to address this anomaly, the Multilingualism Education Project (MEP) uses its 'Masithethe isiXhosa' classes for students and staff to help them learn isiXhosa. Furthermore, UCT has adopted a trilingual approach to its language policy. Chapter 3 offers a critical discussion of this policy.

2.5 Conclusion

The discussion of Spolsky's General Theory of L2 Learning has revealed that success in L2 learning and use is context dependent. It has also shown that the language preferences, motivation and language behaviours of the L2 learner determine the success of language learning. In addition, the discussion has shown that language is a powerful marker of social identity. Both Tollefson (1991) and Cummins (1984) have argued that EAL is about accessing the power of English in the formal and informal domain in higher education and in society in general. The power of English at UCT and other universities is sustained through ideology, which is largely an unconscious process reinforced through language education policies. The issue of the

power of English is raised sharply in this study to indicate that the language context in the Faculty of Humanities at UCT influences language preferences and language behaviours. In turn, such language preferences and behaviours of EAL students and of staff affect the implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan within the context of practices such as written assessments and classroom pedagogy conducted in English. This further confirms the dominance of English in the said faculty.

The discussion on language contexts examined what it means to know and use a language in a cognitively demanding environment, such as a university. The question was raised as to whether the UCT language context in the Faculty of Humanities is conducive to effective L2 learning. A possible answer to this question encourages an in-depth analysis of the data, which is presented in Chapter 5. The value of Spolsky's General Theory of L2 Learning in this study lies in the framework it provides. It helped me understand that social context can influence the language behaviours and language attitudes of L2 learners.

The discussion of language preferences and motivation focused on integrative and instrumental reasons for language learning and use. It concluded on the note that learning opportunities EAL students are exposed to will ultimately determine their preferences. Language behaviours are a direct result of language attitudes. The discussion thus referred to the investment made by a language learner in learning L2. Spolsky's General Theory of L2 Learning has shown that language contexts, language preferences and language behaviours have implications for language policy implementation in the Faculty of Humanities at UCT. Finally, Cummins' BICS-CALP distinction clarified the relationship between academic language proficiency and academic achievement. It showed that language use could determine power relations in the classroom.

This literature review has shown that the classroom in the Faculty of Humanities at UCT does not allow for the use of many languages – it is largely guided by a monolingual ideology, which promotes English as the default language. Furthermore, Cummins' BICS-CALP distinction can be used to help us understand, for example, the ambivalence of EAL students in the Faculty of Humanities towards English and their PLs. The language behaviours and associated language preferences of both EAL students and staff were also interpreted by using some of the theories discussed in this literature review. Such interpretation is discussed more fully in Chapter 6 of this dissertation. The interpretation provides a better understanding of the impli-

cations of the language contexts, preferences and behaviours of EAL students and staff for the implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan. Chapter 6 presents the outcome of this study, whereas Chapter 7 provides the answer to the research question by summarising the language preferences and behaviours of EAL students and of staff in their various language contexts. Implications for the implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan of the language contexts, preferences and behaviours of both EAL students and of staff will also be presented in that chapter.

The theoretical framework of this study would be incomplete without a review of policy documents. Chapter 3 below discusses the UCT Language Plan (2003) in relation to the LPHE (2002). The review of these policies shows what their implications are for language contexts, preferences and behaviours of EAL students and of staff at UCT. The review of these policies complements this literature review.

3. Review of policy documents⁶

*No easy walk to linguistic freedom*⁷: the significance of multilingualism in an afropolitan university.

3.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the different language policy documents pertaining to higher education in South Africa. It discusses the role language policies play in language use and management in higher education. The aim with the review of the language policy documents is also to provide a background to the interpretation of the UCT Language Policy and its implementation Plan. The discussion draws on current debates and perspectives on language policy in higher education and focuses on current criticisms of the LPHE (2002) in relation to language policy formulation and implementation in higher education. Finally, the discussion refers to recommendations of the Ministerial Committee Report (2005) on the use of African languages as MoI in higher education.

3.2 The role of language policies in language use and management

Briefly, language policy may be defined as decisions taken with regard to language use (cf. Phaswana 1994:4). According to Spolsky (2004:39) language policies are based on various beliefs about language; and that such policies develop within various social groups and mostly result in efforts to manage and modify language practices of others. Language policy as Spolsky (2004) notes is associated with power and authority. Tollefson (1991:6) expresses a similar view by arguing that language policy plays an important role in the structure of power and inequality, especially in relation to school-based language learning. Following both Spolsky (2004) and Tollefson (1991:11) language policy could be seen as a tool used to sustain power relations that exist within society, particularly at an ideological level. Moreover, Tollefson (1991) argues that the

spread of English and its centrality in language policies in countries such as Namibia and South Africa, is largely ideological in that English is portrayed as the language of economic power, governance and influence in society. In this process other languages are marginalised.

However, Ridge (2001:17) introduces another dimension to the debate. He declares that the existence of policy does not follow that it will translate into social reality. The fact that language policy is associated with political power and ideology is in Ridge's (2001) terms the essence of the 'idealist discourse'. Ridge (2001:17) argues that the 'idealist discourse' has 'bedevilled language policy' in that it makes 'the assumption that principle is policy, word is deed, and law once passed into the statute books is social reality'. The point Ridge (2001:17) is making is clearly stated in this statement: 'Policy makers may state what they like in regard to language development, but the people will determine by their own agenda the extent, the character and the time scale of change on the ground'. This statement could be interpreted to mean that the way people behave regarding their everyday use of language cannot, strictly speaking, be regulated. However, I argue that people's language behaviour can be regulated both in the formal and informal domain of language use. For instance it is not through coincidence that the UCT Language Policy (1993) declares English as MoI. This declaration is both a function of ideology and the influence of the UCT linguistic *habitus*. The institutional culture and distinct English identity of UCT also influence decisions around its language policy.

Spolsky (2004) introduces another dimension to the significance of language policies in communities. According to Spolsky (2004) language policies can either assume an implicit or explicit format. The former is based on how a community understands what its language policy is, based on linguistic practices of its members while the latter refers to the implementation of a written policy. It could be argued, as Spolsky (2004:39) notes: 'in any social group, there may or may not be explicit and observable efforts at language management', the existence of a policy notwithstanding. At the very core of language policy is choice. Whether the policy is implicit or explicit, individual members of society, groups or organisations continually make choices within or outside the confines of the policy, as EAL students in this study demonstrate. Spolsky (2004:217) further makes the point: '... language practices, beliefs and management are not necessarily congruent. Each may reveal a different language policy. The way people speak, the way they think they should speak, and the way they think other people

should speak may regularly differ.' It is therefore not surprising for language policies of universities in the Western Cape Province, for example, to differ, even though they are regulated by the LPHE (2002). The status a language has in society to a large extent indicates its influence and power. At UCT English is the normative language because of its power. At Stellenbosch University Afrikaans is the normative language because of its status and power on that campus. The language policies of these two institutions are bound to differ because of the language power dynamic.

Universities in South Africa responded to the LPHE (2002) in ways that are informed by their institutional cultures, linguistic contexts, and dynamics of demographics of both their staff and students profile. Such a response is in line with successful language planning, which must be underpinned by two vital elements namely: 'an analysis of actual needs and an understanding of ideological commitments' (Ridge 2001:17). My impression is that the response of some universities to the LPHE (2002) was to align their language policies and plans such that they take advantage of the loopholes in the LPHE (2002) and weaknesses in its politically desirable declarative statements such as the equity of the eleven South African languages. To declare South Africa's eleven languages official without considering the practical implications thereof is for me political expediency premised on what in Ridge's (2001) terms is the 'idealist discourse'. What should rather be looked at are factors that shape language use in formal and informal contexts. Both language behaviours and preferences of language users are important in this respect. The impact of phenomena such as internationalisation in higher education and globalization need careful consideration because as Tollefson (2002:327) argues language policies in education emerge in response to important social forces. In current times such social forces are not only local (i.e. political changes; institutional transformation, etc) but international as well (i.e. economic meltdown, globalization and institutional collaboration). So, language policy, especially of universities will be impacted upon by both local and global forces.

In its response to the LPHE (2002) UCT revised its Language Policy in 2003 and also developed a Language Plan. UCT's Language Plan (2003) incorporates actual needs and the different ideological perspectives of various stakeholders at UCT (which were solicited through the *Multilingualism Panel Debate Series*, organised by the task team that developed the language plan). The discussions that follow enumerate salient points of the UCT Language Policy and Plan.

3.3 UCT Language Policy (1999, revised in 2003)

The revised UCT Language Policy is UCT's current policy on language of instruction, administration and assessment. The UCT Language Policy (1999) recognises the personal, social and educational value of multilingualism and language development. It further reflects UCT's institutional goals which are to:

1. Be a player in the global field whilst playing an active developmental and supportive role in its local African environment;
2. Ensure meaningful access and success for students and staff from diverse backgrounds;
3. Create an institutional culture where systems, processes, behaviour, symbols and rituals represent a diversity of culture (UCT Language Plan 2003:1–2).

The UCT Language Policy (1999) also stresses the importance of the development of multilingual awareness and proficiency. This implies that not only should students and staff be sensitive to other languages and their speakers, but be communicatively functional in such languages where practicable. Even though the UCT Language Policy (1999) stresses the importance of multilingual awareness and proficiency, it states unambiguously that English is the MoI; it is the language of administration and internal governance. Those members of the UCT community to whom English is not a primary language are expected to acquire 'effective literacy in English', by which is meant to 'understand the ability to communicate through the spoken and written word in a variety of contexts: academic, social, and in their future careers' (UCT Language Policy 1999:1). To me, this sounds contradictory in the sense that the UCT Language Policy (1999) claims on the one hand to promote multilingual awareness and proficiency, while on the other it stresses English proficiency. English is the default language and the MoI.

The question to ask is: How possible is the promotion of multilingual awareness and proficiency in the light of the dominance of English at UCT? The language policy in its current form seems not to address this concern, suffice it to devolve its implementation to Faculties, Language and Literature Departments, CHED and CALLSSA. As discussed earlier, the UCT Language Policy reflects the linguistic *habitus* of the institution. By

declaring English as MoI, language of administration and internal governance, UCT's intentions are clear – maintain the *status quo* by promoting the 'Englishness' of the institution. As Tollefson (1991:6) mentioned, this is a case of language policy playing an important role in the structure of power and inequality. The claim to promote multilingual awareness and proficiency in its language policy document, is UCT's way of using public discourse to give the impression that as a historically English university, it has transformed linguistically. The fact of the matter is the linguistic landscape is still very English. In fairness to UCT, however, it is worth mentioning that the institution has devised a language plan outlining how it intends going about transforming its language practices and addressing gaps in its language policy. In this respect the UCT Language Plan (2003:1) proposes: 'strategies, guidelines and structures for the introduction of multilingual awareness and practice'.

3.4 UCT Language Plan (2003)

The UCT Language Plan (2003) was a direct response to the national government's 2002 directive to South African universities to devise language plans so as to indicate how they plan to go about implementing multilingualism on their campuses. In this sense the UCT Language Plan (2003) complements the UCT Language Policy (1999). It details how multilingual awareness and practice is to be promoted at UCT. To this end the UCT Language Plan (2003:1) states: 'to propose strategies, guidelines and structures for the introduction of multilingual awareness and practice at the University of Cape Town'. The discussion thus far reveals that both the UCT Language Policy (1999 revised in 2003) and the UCT Language Plan (2003) constitute the statutory language context for both EAL students and staff in the Faculty of Humanities. This is the context within which EAL students and staff show their language preferences and behaviours. They both make their linguistic choices within the confines of the Language Policy and Plan or outside of it – depending on whether the domain of language use is formal or informal. To capture the essence of the language context at UCT (at a statutory level) the recommendations of the UCT Language Plan (2003) could be summarised as follows:

1. Language Development,
2. Language Practices, and
3. Multilingual Proficiency and Awareness.

3.4.1 Recommendations of the UCT Language Plan (2003)

1) *Language Development*: The UCT Language Plan (2003) provides guidelines for language development at the level of Faculties, Degree or Programme Committees and Departments at UCT, over a six-year period. These guidelines are:

- a. Identifying the nature of the proficiency of students in English and in other South African languages.
- b. Degree Committees are to give thought on how to strengthen and expand their current provision of language and literacy support through adjunct tutorials and writing tasks, particularly at senior levels.
- c. Departments are encouraged to develop self-access, contextualised multilingual concept dictionaries in their first-year courses with the help of African Language specialists and Educational Technology staff in CHED.

2) *Language Practices*: Pursuant to the ideal of aligning language practices at UCT to the institution's goals, the UCT Language Plan (2003) proposes that the following innovations by the Language Development Group be mainstreamed and systematised:

- a. Encouraging students to use their PLs in class as scaffolding to clarify ideas and concepts.
- b. Conducting Writing Centre, staff and student consultations in the PL.
- c. Providing orientation materials in the PL – (the Commerce orientation booklet is cited as an example).
- d. Translating essay topics to the PL.
- e. Training tutors to use multilingualism as a resource.
- f. Developing multilingual textbooks or teacher's resource books [see Young, van der Vlugt, & Qanya (2005), a teacher's resource book].

3) *Multilingual Proficiency and Awareness*: The UCT Language Plan (2003) proposes the following steps to foster multilingualism and multilingual awareness over a six-year period:

- a. Degree committees consider the introduction of a relevant Southern African language requirement (as a credit-bearing course). In some faculties this may take the form of a workplace-

- orientated, communicative course (as has been the case in the Health Sciences).
- b. Academic and administrative staff be provided with appropriate language learning opportunities and training in ESL teaching and multilingual awareness.
 - c. Human Resources consider the notion that staff efforts to learn SAL or to undergo training in ESL teaching be recognised for purposes of performance appraisal.
 - d. Student Development and Services and the Residences sector be asked to develop appropriate informal opportunities for the promotion of multilingualism and for English L1 speakers to hear and speak other South African languages with their peers.
 - e. UCT promotes multilingualism in the environment by, for example, creating signage in public spaces in the three official languages of the province, producing some documentation in English, Xhosa and Afrikaans and acknowledging and celebrating (its) multilingualism at official gatherings (timely examples are UCT's emblem and the welcome message on the UCT website homepage written in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa).

The UCT Language Plan (2003) also proposes a trajectory to phase in the aforesaid proposals over a six-year period. Equally important is the statement:

Although the recommendations in this report contain concrete suggestions about structural implementation, this should not preclude new initiatives or the use of resources other than those mentioned (UCT Language Plan 2003:11).

This opens opportunity for innovation and experimentation with new ideas as proposals of the UCT Language Plan (2003) are put into effect. However, this open-endedness and seeming flexibility is subject to a plethora of interpretations. Firstly, it could be assumed that UCT wants to create an atmosphere of stakeholder-participation and buy-in beyond 2010, when the language plan shall have been implemented. Secondly, this approach may be viewed as part of a bigger institutional project, meant to afford MEP curriculum space (cf. Thesen 2006) in order to explore other innovative ways of fostering multilingual awareness and proficiency throughout UCT campuses. Lastly, another interpretation emanates from Desai's (1997) comments in relation to

policy documents in general. In her view policies are but just statements of intent. In most instances those that promulgate them never get to the point of implementation (Desai 1997). Pursuing this line of reasoning, critics of the UCT Language Plan (2003) might argue that this plan is a way of repackaging the centrality of English in a much more subtle way than the policy's emphasis on English as the operational language. Comparing the UCT Language Policy (1999, revised in 2003) with those of other universities, Balfour (2005:70) makes the following observation:

... the University of Cape Town's policy does not provide any indication of timeframes or development plans. Of all the policies it alone advocates the most explicit 'English only' approach to the question of language development stating that 'Language and literature departments at UCT that teach South African languages other than English or international languages are expected to play a key role in exploring ways of assisting the UCT community to achieve awareness and proficiency' (2003:1).

Balfour (2005) criticises the fact that the UCT Language Policy (1999) designates English as the primary MoI and that its implementation is highly devolved. Even though the UCT Language Policy (1999) 'does not provide any indication of timeframes or development plans' as Balfour (2005) argues, the Language Plan (2003) details UCT's intentions of promoting multilingual awareness over a specified period. UCT has also established MEP to oversee the implementation of proposals of its Language Plan (2003) and to make practicable the broad ideas in the revised Language Policy (1999). Compared to actual language practices at Universities of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) and Limpopo (UL), for example, UCT is doing reasonably well, its 'Englishness' notwithstanding. Table 2, over, summarises language policy practices at UCT, UKZN and UL (at the time this study was undertaken).

At both UKZN and UL curriculum development promotes multilingualism. UKZN has established the School of isiZulu Studies. Ndimande (2004:76) discusses the School of isiZulu Studies with approval: 'This School offers modules in translation, interpreting, lexicography, language planning and editing since 2000' where 'isiZulu is successfully used as the language of instruction'. Ndimande (2004) implies that the school has positive curriculum impact at UKZN. UL's School of Languages and Communication Studies offers a BA degree in Contemporary English Language Studies (CELS) and Multilingual

Studies (MUST) – BACELS, which was started in 2003. CELS is taught in English while MUST utilises Sesotho sa Leboa as MoI (Ramani & Joseph 2002:233 and 234; Ramani et al. 2007:209 and Part 2 of UL Faculty of Humanities' Calendar for 2005:24–26 & 79–2). Again, Ndimande (2004:76) shows a positive disposition towards BACELS by indicating that its aim: 'is to develop students into bilingual specialists who will be able to compete effectively for careers and jobs in South Africa's multilingual society'. Ndimande (2004:76) makes the point that UL 'has set a precedent that African languages can be developed and used as medium of instruction, assessment, and examination at tertiary institutions'. Ramani et al. (2007) corroborate Ndimande's claims by

Activity	UCT
Language(s) of academic Operation	*English only in all programmes excluding language departments. *Afrikaans & isiXhosa: not mandatory. *Staff encouraged to acquire a working knowledge in Afrikaans and isiXhosa.
Institutional Shape and Size	Did not merge with any institution.
Student Profile	*Local (Black, Coloured, Indian and White). *International (countries in Africa and abroad).
Multilingual Programmes	*MEP: Implements the UCT Language Plan (2003). *MEP: Runs short courses for staff development in isiXhosa and Afrikaans (e.g. Masithethe isiXhosa). *MEP: Developing glossaries for courses such as Economics, Engineering, Law, etc. *Research: CHED, Language Development Group. *Writing Centre: PLs of EAL students used in consultations. *CALLSSA: Multilingual Concept Literacy (school-based) research. *PRAESA: Terminology Development (school-based) research; Translation of stories (school-based).

Table 2: Language policy practices at UCT, UKZN and UL

drawing on their experience of conceptualising and implementing this dual-medium undergraduate BA degree and making a case for using African languages as media of instruction in higher education (Ramani et al. 2007:207). The authors demonstrate through the use of actual examples and materials used in class how terminology could be developed for discipline-specific purposes through pedagogic processes. They basically argue that: 'acquisition planning can drive corpus planning' (Ramani et al. 2007:207).

Even though Table 2 does not provide statistics comparing the number of Sesotho sa Leboa (EAL) students at UL and isiXhosa (EAL) students at UCT, it is important to mention that the two universities differ in this

UKZN	UL
*English and to a limited extent isiZulu in some other programme(s). *isiZulu is mandatory for all staff.	*English and to a limited extent Sesotho sa Leboa (Sepedi) in a programme. *Sesotho sa Leboa (Sepedi) dominant in the area. No specific language requirement prescribed. *English dominant among staff.
The former universities of Natal and Durban Westville merged to form UKZN.	The former universities of the North and MEDUNSA merged to form UL.
*Local (Black, Coloured, Indian and White). *International (countries in Africa and abroad)	*Local (Black, Coloured, Indian). *International (countries in Africa)
*School of isiZulu Studies: *isiZulu used as language of instruction. *Modules offered: translation, interpreting lexicography, language planning and editing.	*School of Languages and Communication Studies: *Sesotho sa Leboa (Sepedi) and English used as languages of instruction. *Offers B-degree (BACELS) in Contemporary English Language Studies (CELS) & Multilingual Studies (MUST). CELS – taught in English; MUST – taught in Sesotho sa Leboa (Sepedi).

respect. UL has the advantage of having Sesotho sa Leboa students in the majority while at UCT isiXhosa students do not even constitute 10% of the entire student population. The result is the language contexts at these two institutions differ. Because Sesotho sa Leboa students are in the majority at UL, it is possible for a programme such as MUST in BACELS to be taught in Sesotho sa Leboa with a reasonable measure of success. However, the same cannot be said of the situation at UCT where isiXhosa students are in the minority. In fact, 'in the last three years, on average, 65% of the overall UCT student population declared English as their first language' (UCT Language Plan 2003:2). For obvious reasons therefore UCT's approach will have to be different. This explains in part why MEP opted for short communicative courses in isiXhosa (Masithethe isiXhosa) taught to staff and students. In a sense this approach shows that UCT is honest in at least accepting that EAL students are a reality on its campuses. Such an approach finds resonance with Spolsky (1989:131) when he argues that the social context influences L2 language learning in indirect ways. The social context also determines the social provision of language learning situations and opportunities of various kinds.

It should be emphasised here that to make some of the recommendations of the UCT Language Plan (2003) to work, UCT must employ a sufficient number of isiXhosa or other L1 speakers of indigenous African languages to teach and supervise EAL students in their PLs or MTs. This approach might ensure that assessment in PLs of EAL students becomes a reality at UCT. However, the challenge that remains is: 'How will UCT moderate and standardize results from the same examination written in different languages, in the short term?' This is a challenge the UCT Language Policy Committee will have to deal with.

The social context and curriculum development at UL is best summed up by Ramani & Joseph (2002). They report that their collaboration as language departments at UL on the BACELS degree encouraged cross curricula collaboration:

What is unique for us is that for over eight months, we from the discipline of English studies have been meeting with colleagues from Sesotho sa Leboa (Northern Sotho), Sesotho, Tshivenda, Setswana, Xitsonga, Afrikaans and German and French to design a curriculum for the new degree. For the first time ever, at UNIN, the historical barriers between these language practitioners have been dissolved. (Ramani & Joseph 2002:233).

Drawing from both Ramani & Joseph's (2002) observations and Table 2, it could be concluded that different language contexts will call for different approaches in promoting multilingual awareness at the different institutions of higher learning in South Africa. What this means is that language policy implementation should be approached with the necessary caution. In this respect UCT can draw lessons (at an international level) from Spolsky's (2004) description of how the language policy of Monash University in Australia, for example, fell apart soon after it had been formulated.

Pertaining the linguistic choices and preferences EAL students are likely to make, the UCT Language Plan (2003:4-5) suggests that for the 'purpose of epistemological access as well as a degree of affirmation', EAL students be:

- a. Encouraged to use their home languages in class as a scaffolding tool to clarify ideas and concepts
- b. Allowed to write in their home languages as a scaffolding device
- c. Provided with orientation material in their home language

In addition, the Language Development Group: 'found that there is an increased level of participation in class when students (EAL) feel that the classroom is a safe environment where they can get help with translation when they struggle with English, as opposed to feeling humiliated' (UCT Language Plan 2003:5). In relation to staff the language plan states: 'When lecturers have a working knowledge of (as opposed to proficiency in) a student's home language, it is possible to have a conversation in two languages with the student speaking his or her home language and the lecturer replying in English' (UCT Language Plan 2003:5). The language plan also states that lecturers have expressed a positive attitude towards receiving training in English L2 teaching and multilingual awareness (ibid.). This means that the UCT Language Plan (2003) is pragmatic in the sense of it considering the affective and social factors of EAL students and staff. It is these affective and social factors that tend to promote or discourage linguistic choices language users in this study make in the academic or informal domain of language use. Basically the learning opportunities EAL students are exposed to largely determine their language preferences or choices.

In as far as the language behaviours of EAL students are concerned, the UCT Language Plan (2003:8) refers to the positive responses of Student Faculty Councils and the SRC to the proposal of using isiXhosa and Afrikaans alongside English in class. The Language Plan goes further to state that: 'In the Health Sciences, where Xhosa and Afrikaans are

compulsory, student evaluations have been overwhelmingly positive, with students' only significant complaint being the workload' (UCT Language Plan 2003:8). These evaluation results show that these students are able to recognise the relevance of the courses in their careers – they will need conversational skills in both isiXhosa and Afrikaans for medical consultations. So, they are motivated to learn these languages (UCT Language Plan 2003:8). The model in the Health Sciences also encourages interdisciplinary and interfaculty collaboration on the part of staff (e.g. Humanities and Health Sciences). Not only do language practitioners from the Humanities teach language courses to students in the Health Sciences, but also have to interact with colleagues in this faculty to establish the actual needs of their students. Needless to mention staff in the Health Sciences must have a working knowledge in both Afrikaans and isiXhosa to ensure the programme really benefits their students.

3.4.2 Western Cape Language Policy (2001)

Though the UCT Language Plan (2003) is a response to provisions of the LPHE (2002), it also indirectly addresses provisions of the Western Cape Language Policy (2001), in line with the aim of the National Language Service. This aim is to harmonise language policy at national, provincial and local spheres of government (National Language Service 2003). The other compelling factor is UCT's geographic location. The Western Cape Language Policy (2001) outlines its purpose and goals in so far as governance is concerned. It enumerates provisions for the use of official languages of the Western Cape by the Provincial Government. These provisions are effected in official notices and advertisements; internal communication; communication with and services to the public. Both the Private Sector and Local Government are obliged to work within the provincial language policy framework.

A cursory look at the Western Cape Language Policy (2001) leads to the conclusion that the Provincial government is concerned with the actual use of isiXhosa, English and Afrikaans in the various language domains within the province. As an example to ensure access to material and government records, the provincial government is committed to offering translation services. Universities in the Western Cape are expected to render such services by offering formal courses and training of translators and interpreters. However, seven (7) years down the line these intentions seem not to have taken effect. A recent exploratory study analysing the language policy and speech practice in Cape Town within the public health sector found:

'English and Afrikaans remain the two languages used within the Cape Unicity health facilities, contrary to provincial policy, which emphasises the equal use of the three languages in written, translated, edited and spoken forms for internal and external communication'. Furthermore, "there is little accommodation for the growing 'minority' of isiXhosa speakers, whose language preference is their mother tongue. This is reflected in the lack of officially trained medical interpreters to accommodate them" (Williams & Bekker 2008:181). Again this is an affirmation of Ridge's (2001) argument on the intricate link between practical language use and that which is desirable and appears politically appealing.

3.5 Language Policy for Higher Education (LPHE) 2002

The following discussion gives background to, and framework of the LPHE (2002). The Minister of Education requested and received advice from the Council on Higher Education (CHE) on how to proceed in developing a framework for the LPHE (2002). The Minister also received a report from an Informal Committee, which was specifically convened to advise him on the position of Afrikaans in the university system (Ministry of Education 2002:6). Even though the LPHE (2002) records that there is linguistic diversity within the student population in higher education (Ministry of Education Table 1:7), English is the sole MoI. Concerning the historically Afrikaans medium institutions, CHE (2001) found that:

... the University of Stellenbosch is the only university where 'at the level of policy, Afrikaans is the only Language of Tuition at undergraduate level'. It is clear, however, from the recent language audit carried out by the University of Stellenbosch that in practice there has been a shift towards the use of English as language of instruction in conjunction with Afrikaans (Ministry of Education 2002:7).

The LPHE (Ministry of Education 2002:7) ascribes 'the shift on the part of historically Afrikaans medium institutions to parallel or dual language instruction to the demographic changes in the student population over the past decade'. This is an interesting finding because the changing demographics of the student population are as a result of compliance with provisions of the Constitution of the country, especially regarding access to public institutions. Prior to 1994, there was limited access for EAL

speakers, especially to the so-called historically advantaged institutions. Reasons for this limited access might be varied, but in this dissertation I argue that language (and race group) was one of the barriers to access – the truth of the matter is, this was a consequence of the inherited legacy of the bilingual language policy premised upon racial discrimination policies of the time (see also Madiba 2004; Nodoba 2002 and 2003). Not by a fault of its own, but because of politics of the day, English remains the preferred language of communication, trade and education. It influences our behaviours and is the language of politics. In relation to other national official languages, it means English is the dominant language of power. The equal status other national official languages is accorded with English, is only symbolic (see Maluleke 2005:70). The following statement from the policy framework for language in higher education illustrates this symbolism of language equity:

The Ministry acknowledges that the **implementation of multilingualism will, in practice, be in tension with other imperatives and considerations such as the need for financial affordability and the rights of others.** The Constitutional provisions in respect of languages in education explicitly state that such rights **as receiving education in the official language(s) of choice in public educational institutions are subject not only to considerations of equity and the need to redress the results of past racially discriminatory laws and practices, but also to those of practicability** (Section 29 (2) of the Constitution)(Ministry of Education 2002:9, my emphasis).

Unlike the historically Afrikaans universities, the historically English universities seem not to have been ‘affected’ by the changing demographics in the student population. As an example, UCT never opted for the parallel or dual language instruction model. It remained purely an English medium institution.

The LPHE (2002) is an instrument meant to enhance cross curricula activities through the use of the eleven national official languages in the South African higher education system where practicable. The LPHE (2002) was determined by the Minister of Education in accordance with Section 27(2) of the Higher Education Act of 1997. According to Madiba (2004:26) ‘this Act requires higher education to be in line with the national language policy and the multilingual reality in the country’. Consequently, it became mandatory for University Councils to determine language policies for their respective institutions. Such language policies are expected to comply with provisions of the LPHE (2002).

In its preamble the LPHE (2002) makes reference to the building of nationhood through South Africa’s many languages. To this end the LPHE (Ministry of Education 2002:3) states:

The role of all our languages ‘working together’ to build a common sense of nationhood is consistent with the values of ‘democracy, social justice and fundamental rights’, which are enshrined in the Constitution.

Some scholars: Alexander (2005), Heugh (2002), Madiba (2004 and 2005), Mesthrie, Swann, Deumert & Leap (1999) and Young (2005) echo the need for nationhood albeit from a linguistic educational perspective. They argue that South Africa’s many languages should be viewed as a resource, to be used as Ridge (2001) argues: to attain additive and functional multilingualism.

The LPHE (2002) draws on Section 29 (2) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (RSA) in order to stress the point that each individual has the right to access education in the official language of their choice. However, this constitutional provision is conditional. It reads:

Everyone has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice in public educational institutions **where that education is reasonably practicable.** In order to ensure the effective access to, and implementation of, this right, **the state must consider all reasonable educational alternatives,** including single medium institutions, taking into account –

- a. equity;
- b. practicability; and
- c. the need to redress the results of past racially discriminatory laws and practices

(Constitution of RSA Act 108 of 1996; my emphasis)

This citation is important in a number of ways. Firstly, it provides a context within which policy formulation may possibly evolve. Secondly, it could be seen as an attempt to ensure that the LPHE (2002) complies with salient provisions of the country’s constitution especially in relation to the Bill of Rights. Finally, it is an attempt to harmonise the apparent contradictions between constitutional provisions on the one hand and actual language practice on the other (Spolsky 2004:217).

The policy framework for language in higher education outlines how (a) language of instruction; (b) the future of South African languages as fields of academic study and research; (c) the study of foreign languages; and (d) the promotion of multilingualism in policies and practices of institutions of higher education, are to be dealt with, within the higher education context.

3.5.1 Medium of Academic Instruction (MoI)

The Ministry of Education proposes that English and Afrikaans continue as languages of academic instruction in higher education, while other languages are developed in the long term 'to a level where they may be used in all higher education functions' (Ministry of Education 2002:10). The LPHE (2002) acknowledges that the promotion of indigenous South African languages as languages of instruction will require 'the development of dictionaries and other teaching and learning material' (Ministry of Education 2002:10) – A proposal also enshrined in the UCT Language Plan (2003). The LPHE (2002) emphatically rejects the idea of an Afrikaans university on the grounds that it will have unintended consequences, such as threatening the transformation gains resulting from the dual, parallel language instruction approach adopted by some institutions as a means of promoting diversity. To this end the LPHE (Ministry of Education 2002:12) states:

The notion of Afrikaans universities runs counter to the end goal of a transformed higher education system, which as indicated in the National Plan for Higher Education (NPHE), is the creation of higher education institutions whose identity and cultural orientation is neither black nor white, English or Afrikaans-speaking, but unabashedly and unashamedly South African (NPHE:82).

Having expressed the foregoing concerns, the Ministry of Education concludes:

The Ministry is of the view that the sustainability of Afrikaans as a medium of academic expression and communication could be ensured through a range of strategies ... (Ministry of Education 2002:12).

The LPHE (2002) further states that:

... the Ministry will, in consultation with the historically Afrikaans medium institutions, examine the feasibility of different strategies, including the use of Afrikaans as a primary but not a sole medium of instruction (ibid.).

Implied in the foregoing citations is the fact that the status of Afrikaans as MoI in higher education is almost guaranteed despite its marred history of association with the erstwhile apartheid regime. As for indigenous African languages they still need to be developed 'to a level where they may be used in all higher education functions' (Ministry of Education 2002:10). When this will happen, the LPHE (2002) does not specify. I am of the view that the ambiguity on the development of indigenous African

languages is deliberate and a logical development from prescripts of the National Curriculum statement. English as LoLT at school level reinforces its status as the de facto language in South African society. It needs to be remembered that universities cannot operate in isolation. The pool of students registered at South African universities is a product of the school system. The majority has been socialised through the school system to embrace English. For instance, UCT draws heavily on ex-Model C students who have been socialised and linguistically shaped by the Model C English language of instruction policies and practices. All this is a demonstration of the power and influence of the English language in South African society.

3.5.2 South African languages as fields of academic study and research

The LPHE (Ministry of Education 2002:13) states that the Ministry of Education commits itself to the development and study of South African languages and literature. This includes the development of languages such as the Khoi, San and Nama, which have been and are still marginalised as conduits of scientific knowledge. To this end institutions of higher learning are encouraged to develop and enhance these languages as fields of academic inquiry. Maluleke's (2005) assertion that indigenous languages influence one another as they develop and Alexander's (2005) finale on 'The Role of African Universities in the intellectualisation of African languages', find resonance in the following statement in the LPHE (Ministry of Education 2002:13):

In a country of diversity, knowledge of languages and literature offers access to and understanding of different cultures which not only enhances communication and tolerance, but also positively enriches and extends our horizons.

The LPHE (2002) encourages institutions to build South African languages and literature through curriculum development in indigenous African languages. Accordingly the Ministry commits itself to plan and fund incentives encouraging institutions of higher learning to develop programmes in indigenous South African languages. To assist this process, the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) currently provides funding in the form of bursaries to students studying Editing, Human Language Technology, Translation Studies and Interpreting. Research opportunities are also offered by the National Language Research and Development Centres (NLRDC's) established for each of

the indigenous African languages. The establishment of NLRDC's is a DAC-sponsored initiative aimed at enhancing corpus development and planning.

Though the indigenous African languages are accorded equal status with both English and Afrikaans, the LPHE (2002) indirectly acknowledges the point many scholars make, namely: 'the equity of South African languages' is not achievable. From this discussion it could be concluded that the equity of South Africa's national official languages is romanticism *par excellence*. This argument arises because of the apparent insufficient political will to promote indigenous African languages. Consequently, EAL students have over the years developed an attitude towards their PLs. Ndimande (2004:64) reports that separate studies carried out by Barkhuizen (2001) and Pillay (2003) among isiXhosa and isiZulu speaking students in the Eastern and Western Cape, and KwaZulu-Natal respectively found that the majority of respondents prefer to be taught in English because they perceive it to be the language of progress and success. These attitudes are a reflection of how South African society perceives indigenous African languages vis-à-vis English in education. African languages are treated as regional languages, while English and Afrikaans are for all intents and purposes international and national languages respectively (Alexander 2005; Cele 2004; Maluleke 2005 and Nodoba 2002).

Ndimande (2004) offers an analysis that contextualises the perceptions referred to above. She makes reference to Wolff (1999:129) who defines problems of African languages: 'as a complex set of interlocking problems, which link patterns of language use with underdevelopment in general, and educational crises in Africa in particular'. In respect to patterns of language use associated with the mentioned 'interlocking problems' Ndimande (2004:72) relates the following experience:

... in trying to develop isiZulu in KwaZulu-Natal, negative attitudes towards the language by L1 speakers as well as speakers of other languages impinge negatively on the use of isiZulu as a medium of instruction. Any discussion on the issue is based on the misguided assumption that the aim of developing isiZulu or any other African language is to abolish English. The ever-increasing role of English as an international language must be acknowledged and given its rightful place. However, this should not be done at the expense of the indigenous African languages in South African education.

For me the attitude displayed by L1 speakers of African languages described by Ndimande (2004) could also be described in terms of what Ridge (2001) refers to as the triumphalist discourse: 'which conceives of

the relationship between languages in binary conflictual terms' where one language is usually suppressed in favour of another – in a sense the favoured language triumphs over the less favoured one (Ridge 2001:15). As a society committed to ensuring that additive and functional multilingualism prevails, stakeholders should take seriously the practical use of all languages in all domains of society. I argue that this is possible only if the triumphalist discourse can be avoided. Just like everybody else L1 speakers of African languages should identify with their languages for the simple reason that: 'Language is a window through which members of society view the world and themselves' (Nodoba 2002:332).

3.5.3 Promoting multilingualism in institutional policies and practices

The Ministry of Education states unambiguously that it recognises the important role institutions of higher learning can and should play in promoting multilingualism. Multilingualism, the Ministry of Education argues, should be promoted for social, cultural, intellectual and economic development (Ministry of Education 2002:14). Consequently, the Ministry of Education is of the view that all institutions should be encouraged to consider ways of promoting multilingualism by amongst others:

- a. Changing events such as graduation ceremonies to acknowledge and accommodate diversity;
- b. Requiring proficiency in an African language as a requisite for a range of academic fields of study;
- c. Offering short courses in African languages as part of staff development strategies;
- d. Allocating preferential weighting to applicants who have matriculation passes in indigenous languages;
- e. Changing the diversity of student and staff profile (applying the Bill of Rights and prescripts of the Employment Equity Act respectively);
- f. Establishing student support services such as mentoring and counselling;
- g. Allowing the evolution of a receptive institutional culture which embraces linguistic diversity.

The LPHE (2002) offers a framework within which institutions of higher learning can evolve their language policies to reflect the country's linguistic diversity. In the statement: "The Ministry will continue to monitor

the impact of language policy in higher education' (Ministry of Education 2002:15), the LPHE (2002) hints at the Ministry's watchdog role of ensuring that institutions of higher learning are in line with the national language policy and multilingual reality in the country (Madiba 2004:26). However, critics of the LPHE (2002) might question the validity of the mentioned statement in that it falls short of outlining practical steps of how the monitoring of the impact of language policy in higher education would be achieved.

The LPHE (2002) makes us aware of the dialectic, which requires of the intelligentsia a measure of pragmatism when dealing with the language situation in South Africa. The challenge we have:

... is to ensure the simultaneous development of a multilingual environment in which all languages are developed as academic/scientific languages, while at the same time ensuring that the existing languages of instruction do not serve as a barrier to access and success (Ministry of Education 2002:5).

I argue that what the LPHE (2002) poses as a challenge is in fact an indication that government is not willing to exercise political will to develop the other official national languages other than English and Afrikaans. For me, exercising political will would entail government committing human and material resources to ensure that these other languages are developed as academic and scientific languages. Another pressing issue is language barriers caused by the exclusive use of either Afrikaans or English as MoI at institutions of higher learning. The point I am making is, because of the power of English locally and internationally, it is almost impossible not to deny others, such as EAL students a chance to succeed through the medium of English. The following is an attempt to illustrate how the framework of, and background to the LPHE (2002) attempts to contribute towards solutions to the contradictory language situation in South Africa as discussed above.

3.6 Criticisms levelled against LPHE (2002)

A language policy is a critical component of an institution in the sense of it helping to establish how an institution approaches language issues (Kajee 2001:41). It should also come up for review as the need arises (ibid.). As for the LPHE (2002), it is a well-intentioned document meant to advance transformation in higher education consistent with provisions of the Constitution of RSA (Act 108 of 1996). However, similar to the Constitution, the LPHE (2002) is littered with what Van

Der Walt (2004b:146) and Kamwendo (2006:63) refer to as 'escape clauses' (see also Ngcobo 2007). Madiba (2005:183) prefers the expression 'escaping phrases', which he argues act as a drawback to the rights contained in the Bill of Rights. Kamwendo argues that such 'escape clauses give governments and other bodies, excuses for not adhering to the constitutional provisions in full' (2006:63). In line with this reasoning, Van Der Walt (2004b:146) observes that the LPHE (2002) offers higher education institutions an escape clause to opt for a more limited interpretation of multilingualism, which is described in a general way as providing '... an inclusive institutional environment advancing tolerance and respect for diversity' (Ministry of Education 2002:9). No wonder multilingualism means different things to the various universities in this country. Another such 'escape phrase' relates to languages of instruction. It reads:

The Ministry acknowledges the current position of English and Afrikaans as the dominant languages of instruction in higher education and *believes that in the light of practical and other considerations it will be necessary to work within the confines of the status quo until such time as other South African languages have been developed to a level where they may be used in all higher education functions* (Ministry of Education 2002:10, my emphasis).

This statement might suggest that for its part the Ministry of Education and by extension the Department of Education remains non-committal on the development of 'other South African languages' as languages of academic instruction in higher education. However, it needs to be remembered that the Ministry of education is not the only role player in language policy matters. Whatever it pronounces on language policy issues should be in sync with the Department of Arts and Culture and other related legislative bodies. This grey area in policy determination works to the advantage of higher education institutions – they can delay the development of indigenous African languages for as long as it takes.

The existence of the many 'escaping phrases' found in both the Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) and the LPHE (2002) can be explained following Foley (2004:59). He argues that politically there seems to be no determination on the part of the general population to bring about development and advancement of the indigenous languages. He further claims that the present government does not treat language as a priority, as the ruling party had always favoured English as the official language. To have eleven languages as official enshrined in the Constitution was a result of a compro-

mise reached between negotiators of the African National Congress (ANC) on the one hand, and those of the then National Party (NP) on the other (see Foley 2004:59).

The policy framework of the LPHE (2002) declares that: 'it takes into account the requirements of the constitution, the advice received, as well as the objectives and goals of the National Plan for Higher Education (2001)' [Ministry of Education (2002:9)]. It further states that: 'For the first time, a genuine attempt will be made to ensure that all of our official languages are accorded parity of esteem' (ibid.). According to Foley (2004:62) this statement is vague. In the next section the LPHE (2002) states: '... the implementation of multilingualism will, in practice, be in tension with other imperatives and considerations such as the need for financial affordability and the rights of others' (Ministry of Education 2002:9). The foregoing statement seems to contradict the earlier one, which states that a genuine attempt will be made to: 'ensure that all our official languages are accorded parity of esteem'. How will this parity occur when the LPHE (2002) states that it would almost seem impossible to implement multilingualism because such a move will: 'be in tension with other imperatives ... such as the need for financial affordability?' This question demonstrates vividly the unlikelihood that indigenous African languages stand a chance to be functional languages of instruction in the higher education sector (Foley 2004:62). Kamwendo (2006:64) argues that it is common practice for governments in Africa to show reluctance in investing in language policies on account of cost.

However, in fairness to the South African government, Kaschula (2004) acknowledges the existence of an Implementation Plan for South Africa's language policy, which was adopted by cabinet in 2003. While Kaschula (2004) refers to an implementation plan, Madiba (2004) alludes to the 'South African Languages Bill', which provides: 'a more practical way of implementing the eleven official languages, by providing a six language formula according to which each government department(s) should use at least six languages in written communication' (Madiba 2004:29 and 2005:190). These six languages are Afrikaans, English, Tshivenda, Xitsonga and one each from the Nguni and Sotho languages.

Kaschula (2004:20) argues that the National Treasury presented to the Implementation Conference in 2003, the costs of implementing functional multilingualism. The report 'demonstrated that the costs ... are sustainable with minor adjustments to planned budgets' (ibid.). According to Kaschula (2004:20) it practically means that national government departments would

over a three year implementation period collectively spend an estimated amount of R379 349 732:

... on setting up infrastructure for a language unit in each department/province; recruiting and training, salaries and benefits of unit staff, work program of the unit to drive implementation, outsourcing translation services, publications for each department, as well as ongoing training for unit staff.

In view of the aforementioned, the question of financial affordability in relation to the implementation of multilingualism should not arise at all.

Accordingly, Kaschula (2004:21–22) is of the view that the National Language Policy of South Africa is indeed taking effect. He refers to changes in language policies of tertiary institutions and the media. He also cites UCT's efforts to re-assess its language policy through the establishment of a language Task Team, which came up with the current Language Plan (2003), of which he was a member. As for the media, Kaschula refers to television and radio. In both media he argues that news bulletins are presented in all official languages. Even though Kaschula (2004) is positive about government's movement to implement South Africa's Language Policy, he is quick to point out that: 'it will take time before one can assess the effectiveness of this implementation' (Kaschula 2004:24). Kaschula (2004:24) concludes that the 'trickle-down effect' of the implementation of the language policy would lead to its success if there is:

... effective collaboration between the various role-players such as DAC, PANSALB as well as all the other structures which have been put in place. Most importantly, there has to be sufficient political will in order to drive the entire process. This still remains the real challenge of implementation.

Through a discussion of views of various scholars in language policy and planning, it emerged that 'escape clauses' are to be found in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996), the LPHE (2002) and the UCT Language Plan (2003). However, to show political will and a willingness to address weaknesses identified in the LPHE (2002), the Ministerial Committee appointed in 2003, to amongst other things advise the Minister of Education on how to address the gaps or 'escape phrases' identified in the LPHE (2002), made some recommendations. These are that 'legislation should be revisited to close possible loopholes created through phraseology such as 'where reasonably practicable'' (Ministerial Committee Report 2005:24). With regard to indigenous African languages being used as MoI, the Committee recommends the need for: 'a coordinated, long-range national plan that works at national, provincial, and local

levels to provide adequate resources and support for indigenous languages' (Ministerial Committee Report 2005:21). Such a plan is to be driven by national government through statutory bodies such as PANSALB (Ministerial Committee Report 2005:24). Hopefully this time PANSALB will have powers of coercion (see Ridge 2001:25).

3.7 Conclusion

This review of policy documents revealed that the LPHE (2002) is a policy framework; institutions of higher learning are expected to use, in order to develop their own language policies. The discussion also highlighted the fact that language planning and implementation of policy are complex processes (Spolsky 2004) with their own associated challenges. However, Ridge (2001:29) advises key actors in language policy and planning: 'to come to terms with their enterprise and provide a way of speaking about it that will enable others to follow their lead'. Ridge's (2001) advice needs careful consideration because language policy in particular, is influenced by ideology and the linguistic *habitus* of an institution. This review of policy documents has demonstrated lack of political will to challenge the dominance of English in South Africa. For instance, if the possibility of using isiXhosa and Afrikaans as MoI at UCT could threaten the 'Englishness' of UCT; there would certainly be an outcry and resistance against such a threat. In addition, the implementation of multilingualism in particular and transformation in the higher education sector in general, has not been and is still not an easy walk to linguistic freedom. My impression of the possibility of a multilingual academy is that it will be a difficult goal to achieve in the current language environment. Even though through its proposal on bilingual education the LiEP (1997) envisages linguistic development in MT, the school system socialises children through the de facto language – English. In his study on community perceptions of change in a school's language policy, Braam (2004:53) found that the interplay between policy and social practice: 'reflects the dominant ideology of post-apartheid South African society', which constitutes a: 'shift towards English as the sole language of power'. Such research evidence proves that the school system indeed reflects the dominant ideology of the power of English. I am convinced that the power of English already renders the idea of a multilingual academy sterile. Reasons in support of this claim are:

- a. Universities cannot be expected to operate in a discontinuous vacuum. They reflect what occurs in society.
- b. University students are a product of the school and socio-political system in which English is the de facto language. So they are socialised along such lines.
- c. Under the current language environment the promotion of any other language to be on par with English is idealistic and unrealistic.
- d. In the discussion that follows, I outline the research methodology adopted in this study. I also detail the data gathering methods followed and challenges associated with this research project.

4. Research design and methodology

4.1 Introduction

I outline my research methodology by offering a description of the research design and methodology used for the data collection process. I also explain the sampling process and challenges faced in doing this research.

Research, as Chilisa & Preece (2005:4) assert is a systematic method of inquiry to expand our knowledge about a particular issue of interest. The authors argue that 'there is no single, correct way of conducting an inquiry. The nature of the problem and the questions you want to ask will influence how you go about it' (ibid.). For Cohen, Manion & Morrison (2000:45) 'the term research itself may take on a range of meanings' and be applied to a variety of contexts, however they restrict its usage to 'social' and 'educational' contexts. By 'social research' the authors suggest 'the systematic and scholarly application of the principles of a science of behaviour to the problems of people within their social context' (ibid.), while 'educational research' implies the application of the same principles of a science of behaviour 'to the problems of teaching and learning within the formal educational framework' (ibid.).

I mainly discuss the interpretive research paradigm in both educational and social research. I adopt this approach motivated by the view that it is generally up to the researcher to choose the paradigm that is best suited to his or her problem and would assist to answer questions the research poses. This approach is particularly suited for the analysis of language contexts, preferences and behaviours of EAL students and staff in this study. In addition, language preferences are subjective and should thus be understood from perspectives of research subjects. The language behaviours of subjects of this study constitute their experiences of language use in various contexts

within which they shuttle. Again it is critical to understand such language behaviours from perspectives of subjects of this study. What follows is a discussion of the interpretive paradigm outlining why it is relevant for analyses of language contexts, preferences and behaviours of EAL students and of staff in the Faculty of Humanities at UCT.

4.2 Interpretive paradigm

The anti-positivists argue in their interpretive model of social research that the researcher must understand human behaviour from perspectives of subjects of the research. They uphold this view because of their concern with the research participant's experience of social phenomena. Cohen et al. (2000:22) succinctly argue that 'the central endeavour in the context of the interpretive paradigm is to understand the subjective world of human experience'. Following this approach the researcher through participant observation becomes a member of the group being studied, and is better placed to understand the circumstances of the object of study – *Verstehen* (Cohen et al. 2000:29; Neuman 2003:75 and Welman & Kruger, 2001:181). For the anti-positivists the context within which human behaviour occurs is important because of the unity between the researcher and what is being researched.

The interpretive approach is particularly suited for this study because of its attempts to understand and investigate the social world from perspectives of research participants. In this study an attempt is made to understand the language contexts, preferences and behaviours of EAL students and of staff in the Faculty of Humanities in relation to UCT's Language Policy and Plan. Central to the interpretive approach is the notion of social research, which has to directly confront the way in which the subjective experience of individuals manifests in what they do and say (Hitchcock & Hughes 1989:29). It could be described as being informed by both phenomenology and hermeneutics.

According to Chilisa & Preece (2005:28), from a phenomenological perspective: 'truth lies within the human experience and is therefore multiple; it is time, space and context bound'. Phenomenologists also claim that research should produce individualised conceptions of social phenomena and personal assertions rather than generalisations and verifications. Hermeneutics seeks to understand situations through the eyes of the participants. In this sense hermeneutics is: 'premised on the view that reality is socially constructed' (Cohen et al. 2000:29). Hermeneutics enables the

researcher to come to an understanding of a given social text and then make a choice between two or more competing interpretations of the same text (Chilisa & Preece 2005:28). As Neuman (2002:76) asserts, hermeneutics: 'emphasizes a detailed reading or examination of text, which refer to a conversation, written words or pictures'. Responses of EAL students and of staff on both multilingualism and provisions of the UCT Language Policy and Plan are analysed. Interviews are used to probe such responses. What respondents say they do with language is triangulated through participant observation.

In line with tenets of the interpretive approach in qualitative research, the participant is allowed the opportunity to expand on statements given, enabling her or him to provide a more thorough explanation (Struwig & Stead 2001:18). The participant's description of events may include references to the past, present and future. By employing methods available to researchers in qualitative studies, I am able to elicit responses from participants in this study regarding their attitudes towards multilingualism and the use of English as MoI at UCT.

Having noted the above, I am fully aware that the interpretive approach to human behavioural research is not error-free and as such I acknowledge its shortcomings. I concur with Welman & Kruger (2001) who identify the following possible weaknesses of this approach:

The possibility that **participant observers** (*researchers*) may become so engrossed in group activities that they **abandon their role as observers** in the process, **represents a real danger in participant observation** (185) ... there is also the danger of the **researcher becoming involved** to such an extent that the **scientific community would question his or her objectivity** (9) (My emphasis).

I chose the interpretive approach fully aware of its possible shortcomings as alluded to by Welman & Kruger (2001). However, drawing on Chilisa & Preece (2005:142) who have this to say about qualitative research: 'qualitative research refers to the type of inquiry in which the researcher carries out research about people's experiences, in natural settings, using a variety of techniques such as interviews and observations, and reports findings mainly in words rather than statistics'; I firstly piloted questionnaires used in this study. I then opted for self-administered questionnaires to minimise my influence on subjects of this study. Semi-structured follow-up interviews were also conducted. These interviews were tape-recorded and later transcribed. Finally, I interacted with some of my research subjects for

a period of three months in participant observation. The field notes from the participant observation were analysed in conjunction with questionnaire and interview responses. These are the research techniques I used in attempting to minimise researcher bias (see Cohen 1998).

4.3 Research instruments used

This study seeks to understand how provisions of the UCT language policy and plan respond to language contexts, preferences and behaviours of EAL students and staff in the Faculty of Humanities. It also focuses on practices of academics and administrators in their management and pedagogy with the view of assessing their attitude towards the implementation of the UCT Language Plan (2003). Drawing on the following statement by Baker (1992:9): 'Attitude surveys provide social indicators of changing beliefs and the chances of success in policy implementation', I argue that an attitude survey together with interviews and participant observation, are some of the appropriate approaches used to achieve the aims and purposes of a study that focuses on implications of policy implementation. The attitude survey is specifically used to elicit language attitudes or preferences of EAL students and staff towards multilingual awareness and English as MoI in the Faculty of Humanities at UCT. In addition, the use of an attitude survey is in line with the primary goal of all surveys, namely: to enable the researcher to predict accurately characteristics or thoughts of a predefined group of people (see Doyle 2004). Interviews were used to gain an understanding of the language contexts of subjects of this study and to further construe language attitudes of respondents in the study. Participant observation afforded the researcher the opportunity to record behaviours of EAL students within the various language contexts they operated in.

4.3.1 Attitude survey

An attitude survey in interpretive qualitative research leads to the point where the researcher has to develop relationships with participants of the study. Various scholars contend that researchers who opt for the interpretive paradigm tend to choose more directly participant forms of observation (Cohen et al. 2000, Hitchcock & Hughes 1989 and Neuman 2003). Semi-structured interviews were held with one EAL student respondent; two EAL CALLSSA students and one staff member from the pilot study. The researcher also interacted for three months with a selected group of EAL students who were members of the 2003/2004 SRC Executive Committee

and some EAL students who were all respondents to the questionnaire of the main survey.

Data in this study were collected mainly through the following research instruments:

- a. Self-administered questionnaires.
- b. Tape-recorded, semi-structured interviews.
- c. Field notes from participant observation.

4.3.2 Self-administered questionnaires

Two questionnaires were designed – one for students and the other for staff. Though the study is primarily about the language contexts, preferences and behaviours of EAL students in relation to the UCT Language Policy and Plan, there was need to elicit responses of staff in the Faculty of Humanities towards the university's Language Policy and Plan. Reasons for this approach are:

- a. The interactive nature of the relationship between EAL students and staff.
- b. The UCT Language Policy and Plan occur within the UCT social and academic milieu.
- c. The possibility that experiences and perceptions of EAL students and staff about each other in relation to language use and attitudes towards multilingualism might differ.

Drawing on both Doyle (2004) and Oppenheim (1992), I chose a self-administered questionnaire as one of the methods of gathering data for this study. A self-administered questionnaire minimises interviewer bias (Oppenheim 1992:103). Interviewer bias is minimised in that the respondents have the liberty to express themselves without interference from the interviewer. Another advantage of administering such a questionnaire is the cost factor. In addition to its methodological relevance to the aims of this study, the self-administered questionnaire was the best option because I could not afford financing research assistants.

Both the pilot study and final version questionnaires for students comprise closed-ended and open-ended questions, while for staff questionnaires consist of open-ended questions only. Such a questionnaire design is consistent with the nature of an attitude survey, and is also in line with aims of this study enumerated in Chapter 1.

4.3.2.1 Closed-ended questions

In this study I utilised three types of closed-ended questions, namely *Checklists*, *Rating Scales* and *Likert-type Scales*. In these types of questions the respondent is supposed to choose from two or more of the options provided.

In *Checklists* the respondent is given a list from which to make a choice of either one or more answers. An example of such a *Checklist item* in the student questionnaire is Question 38: 'In what language(s) are the books you read? Please tick one of the options in the space provided' (see also Question 41 Appendix 1). *The Rating Scales* afford the respondent an opportunity to indicate his or her choice from an ordered series of categories or sometimes along a continuum of possible response alternatives. An example of a *Rating Scale item* is Question 5: 'How often do you use your primary language on campus? Please tick one of the options in the space provided' (see also Questions 4 and 6 Appendix 1). *The Rating Scales* were used to determine the language contexts of respondents albeit from their own point of view.

The Likert-type Scale items require the respondents to rate their level of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with various services or degrees of agreeing or disagreeing with various declarative statements. An example of such a question is Question 18: 'Given that you are at UCT by choice, how do you feel about having to study through the medium of English? Please tick one of the options in the space provided.' *The Likert-type Scales* largely measured language preferences of respondents while *Checklists* focussed on language behaviours and practices of respondents. The preceding discussion on forced-choice questions was adapted from <http://www.tele.sunyit.edu/Scoop7.htm> (accessed 10 June 2006). These three types of forced-choice questions were chosen for their advantages, which are:

- a. Choices for respondents are given, making it easier and quicker for the respondents to answer.
- b. They enhance the consistency of responses in that all respondents are to choose from the same response alternatives provided in each question.

The main disadvantage of forced-choice questions is the limiting effect of the options provided to respondents. I tried to get around this weakness by ensuring that response alternatives are as relevant as possible to the declarative statement made. Pilot-testing the questionnaire among typical respondents for the main study, and also amongst experts who made

valuable input by offering constructive criticism of both the questions and questionnaire layout, helped greatly.

4.3.2.2 Open-ended questions

In open-ended questions respondents are allowed the freedom to answer in their own words. Open-ended questions have the advantage of encouraging respondents to provide more detailed responses, which can even be extrapolated to incorporate information concerning other related closed-ended questions in the questionnaire. The one disadvantage of open-ended questions is as recorded in <http://www.tele.sunyit.edu/Scoop7.htm> (accessed 10 June 2006): 'open-ended items take a considerable amount of time to interpret and score'. In this study my primary aim was to get data that pinpoint the actual language contexts, preferences and behaviours of EAL students and staff in relation to the UCT Language Policy and Plan. Responses to the open ended questions provided a wealth of information regarding language contexts, preferences and behaviours of the respondents, in both the formal and informal domains of language use at UCT.

Examples of open-ended questions from the student questionnaire

- Question 29: The University of Cape Town in its (2003) Language Plan promotes multilingualism (the use of more than one language) everywhere on campus, in learning and teaching situations. What do you think? (see also Questions 28 and 34). Examples from the staff questionnaire
- Question 7: 'The Task Team of the UCT Curriculum Working Group further suggests that English and Afrikaans speakers should be encouraged to acquire at least a working knowledge of an African language. What is your view on this suggestion? (see also Questions 2 and 8).

4.3.3 Semi-structured interviews

In this study in-depth qualitative interviews were used. According to Doyle (2004) such interviews are flexible and exploratory. These in-depth qualitative interviews are semi-structured in order to allow respondents to elaborate on their responses. It is through this flexible and exploratory nature of semi-structured interviews that, as May (1995:93) observes the interviewer has more latitude to probe beyond the answers. Chilisa & Preece (2005:151) concur, when they argue that one of the advantages of semi-structured

interviews is their flexibility of allowing the researcher to pursue unanticipated topics. In probing answers of respondents, the interviewer might use a thematic guide, which has the effect of expanding on issues raised by the respondents. Respondents may share crucial information that would otherwise have remained concealed had other interviewing methods been used. In a sense in-depth qualitative interviews enhance the quality and depth of a research project.

In this study, in-depth qualitative semi-structured interviews were also chosen because they are suited for a small sample. The sample sizes in this study are 25 students and 15 members of staff in the Faculty of Humanities at UCT. These in-depth qualitative interviews were used to assess the language contexts, preferences and behaviours of both students and staff in the formal and informal domains of language use at UCT. In line with tenets of qualitative research, I have come to accept responses of my respondents as authentic and well intentioned. Though I accept responses of my respondents as authentic, I am equally open-minded to the possibility that some information provided might be exaggerated.

Triangulation through participant observation assisted to minimise the effects of exaggerated information from respondents. Whatever respondents say in the questionnaire is measured against what they do, and how they conduct themselves in actual natural settings where they use language. By this I am not suggesting that triangulation rendered my methodology error-free – it is but a research instrument used to minimise methodological shortcomings. In this respect May's (1995:90) caution to researchers against overdependence on triangulation was taken seriously by the researcher: 'while triangulation might appear attractive, it is not a panacea for methodological ills'.

4.3.4 Field notes from participant observation

In the first semester of 2004 I attended *Multilingualism Panel Debate Series*, the purpose of which was to discuss the UCT Language Plan (2003) and to invite comments from the university community regarding its implementation. These discussions were attended by members of the 2003/2004 SRC Executive Committee, academics, administrative and support staff members who participated in the pilot study and later the main survey of this study.

I recorded all my notes in a research journal, which is invaluable to a qualitative researcher in that it: 'serves as a diary in which all events that affect the way the study is conducted are recorded, analysis made, inter-

pretation reached and conclusions formed' (Chilisa & Preece 2005:169). I used my journal notes to gain a better understanding of the language contexts, preferences and behaviours displayed by respondents in the study. I observed some of the respondents, while I was attached to the SRC Elections Project coordinated by the then Student Development Office (SDO). As Media Officer on this project I interacted with the following groups of people: EAL students who later became respondents in the main survey of this study; members of the 2003/2004 SRC Executive Committee and administrative staff members attached to the SDO. Observations recorded while on this project afforded me an opportunity to gain insight into how EAL students perceived the UCT Language Plan (2003) and what their language preferences and behaviours were in this context. This participant observation enabled me to gain a better understanding of the research project.

Respondents from the students' side were drawn largely from the departments of African Languages, English Language and Literature, Psychology, Political Studies, Sociology and the Centre for Film and Media Studies. Most of the student respondents were chosen because they had a keen interest in language related matters. Some of these students also had an interest in student governance issues. They would therefore be part of Student Societies, Faculty Councils and would participate in SRC Elections as Election Assistants. The six SRC Executive Committee members were chosen because they participated in the Multilingualism Panel discussions, which looked closely at proposals of the language plan. As Humanities students these SRC Executive Committee members had a keen interest in language related issues. Furthermore, the justification for my sampling preference in this study is based on the fact that proposals of the Curriculum Working Group's Task Team: 'received full support from all the Student Faculty Councils and the SRC' (UCT Language Plan 2003:8). This is a demonstration of the fact that the six SRC Executive Committee members belonged to a body of students with keen interest in language related issues at policy level. I should however point out that these students also hold political views on language policy issues, and would sometimes articulate views within the advocacy movement. I had daily contact with all these students from July to September 2004 as Media Officer based in the SRC Elections Office. Drawing on Doyle (2004) and May (1995) I used this setting to observe most of

the EAL students in this study together with the six SRC Executive Committee members.

According to Doyle (2004) participant observation (field research) is carried out in specified settings:

field research is carried out in natural settings and is frequently viewed as a way of empathizing with and understanding the subjective meanings of the people being studied.

(<http://www.wpi.edu/academics/Depts/IGSD/IQPHbook/ch9.html/> accessed 11 June 2005).

The SRC Elections Office was a 'natural setting' for these EAL students. As Media Officer in the SRC Elections Office, I could easily empathise and understand EAL students because I was familiar with their daily linguistic context. The field notes and feedback from two conferences⁸ helped me gain insight into language preferences emerging from both the interviews and questionnaires in this study. The field notes are a record of the assessment of language behaviours and attitudes of EAL students during participant observation.

4.4 Sampling

4.4.1 Sampling procedure

Time, costs, resources and accessibility are major factors influencing a researcher's choice of sampling procedures. There are two categories of sampling procedures – Probability and Non-Probability sampling. In both these sampling procedures there are various methods available to researchers. Firstly, all involve costs to carry out the research. Costs range from the personnel assisting the researcher to essential material needs of activities associated with some of the procedures in these methods. Secondly, some procedures are not only materially costly, but take up a lot of time. Some methods might take up more time than the researcher could afford to give, lessening the time needed to cover other aspects of the research project. The success of a research project is dependent on the accessibility of its subjects. In choosing the sampling methods and sample size for this study, I had to consider the time it would take to complete processes of this research and also determine what kind of resources were needed. I had to ensure that I would have reasonable access to potential respondents. Hence my research site was the Faculty of Humanities at UCT.

4.4.2 Sampling frame

On the basis of due consideration for the aforementioned, I firstly had to determine my sampling frame. Respondents were drawn from the Faculty of Humanities at the main campus of UCT. They consisted of EAL students, academic, administrative and support staff members. Staff members who participated in this study are spread across the departments and centres in the Faculty of Humanities and in the SDO. For the pilot study, I had a sample size of 15 for both students and staff while in the main survey the sample sizes were 25 students and 15 staff members respectively.

4.4.3 Non-probability sampling

For both the pilot study and the main survey, I opted for non-probability sampling. The pilot study samples were samples of convenience, which assumed a purposive nature. I needed volunteers who would be easily accessible and have keen interest in language issues. In choosing respondents in this study I followed Chilisa & Preece (2005:151), who argue that the quality of data gathered in qualitative research depends on the researcher's success in identifying knowledgeable research participants. The major contributing factor for opting for purposive samples of convenience was the preoccupation of this study with the analysis of language contexts, preferences and behaviours of EAL students and staff in relation to the UCT Language Policy and Plan. Purposive samples of convenience may assist a researcher in obtaining detailed data. Samples of convenience further enabled me to target a specific group of both EAL students and staff.

During the pilot study it emerged that undergraduate students in the Faculty of Humanities have been 'over-researched'. As a result they were very suspicious of any research project. I had to contend with the fact that potential student respondents were generally not interested in any research project, if it did not promise material rewards. At the time of conducting the pilot study and, subsequently, administering the questionnaire for the main survey, I had to compete with the campus-wide student climate survey⁹ and the mid-year examinations at UCT. EAL students saw participation in this climate survey as more prestigious than in my study. The other challenge was not being a full-time student at UCT. As a result, my access to respondents was circumstantially restricted. These are some of the challenges that, in addition to methodological relevance and convenience, prompted me to opt for non-probability sampling methods.

I gained access to the non-SRC student respondents through their heads of departments, lecturers and, in some instances, tutors and fellow students or friends. Staff members were approached directly based on their interest in language matters. In some instances some staff members were chosen because of recommendations from both fellow colleagues and students. Needless to mention, both students and staff samples were as a result of snowballing – lecturers, tutors and fellow students suggested possible participants who were either passionate about language related issues or had interest in languages generally. All ethical considerations were observed in interacting with all respondents who participated in this study.

4.5 Validity and reliability

Drawing on Johnson (1992:111) who argues that the purpose of research should determine sample selection procedure, I opted for purposive samples of convenience. I also relied on Welman & Kruger (2001:189) who argue that in qualitative research, the researcher usually obtains individuals with whom to conduct unstructured interviews by means of purposive or snowball sampling. They contend that purposive sampling is frequently used for reasons of convenience and economy (Welman & Kruger 2001:47). From the questionnaires and interviews, I ascertain the language contexts, preferences and behaviours of EAL students in relation to their sociocultural identity at UCT. The study also foregrounds concerns of staff in relation to the possible implementation of UCT's Language Plan (2003).

Purposive sampling proved effective in this study in that informants, especially the two CALLSSA students and the staff member interviewed during the pilot study, provided valuable information on account of their language contexts – as EAL students and an African language learner respectively. The questionnaire was preceded by a pilot study, the data of which was presented at two conferences (see 4.3.4. footnote 8). The questionnaire and the interview schedule incorporated inputs from both conferences.

Because I could not solely rely on data from the questionnaires and interviews, participant observation supplemented these data. The pilot study data further enhanced the reliability of the data of this study. Through triangulation and pre-testing questionnaires and interview schedules among experts, I minimised the influence of my own subjectivity in the study. In the student questionnaire I used 'methodological triangulation', which assisted greatly in cross-referencing questions, thereby deciphering rich data

from the questionnaire and interviews [see Flick, von Kardorff, & Steinke (2004:178–183) on forms of triangulation]. African language practitioners outside UCT validated the isiXhosa and Sesotho translations and transcriptions in the interviews.

The response rate or non-response is also a factor likely to bring the validity and reliability of the data into question. A total of 25 EAL students were targeted and only 21 filled out and returned the questionnaire. While out of a total of 15 staff members only 13 returned the questionnaire. This translated into response rates of 84% and 86% respectively to both questionnaires. For purposes of reliability on the data obtained these response rates are reasonable and acceptable. The number of interviews conducted in this study might also become a source of contention. However, in a qualitative study the researcher has flexibility to determine the amount of data needed to answer the research question(s). In this respect three interviews were conducted and data from one of the interviews conducted during the pilot study were also used.

4.6 Generalisability

The sample size for both EAL students and staff is another aspect that might bring findings of the study into question. However, the qualitative interview methods used justify the use of a small sample. According to Johnson (1992) generalisability of a survey study is related to the purpose of the researcher, the sample selection procedures followed and the value of the research to the body knowledge:

The purpose of the research should determine sample selection procedures. If it is not the purpose of the researcher to generalize to a population, then it is not necessary to sample from a population ... this does not mean that a survey based on a convenience sample is not valuable. Its value often lays not so much in its quantitative generalizability but in identifying important issues or trends. It may also serve as a pilot study to prepare for a larger study (Johnson 1992:112).

Transferability is sometimes used in relation to generalisability. According to De Vos et al. (2002:352) transferability is an alternative to external validity or generalisability. Chilisa & Preece (2005:169) seem to concur when they aver: 'qualitative researchers focus on situationally unique cases, so generalisation of findings is not always necessary'. Because the implementation of multilingualism appears to be a continuous process at UCT and in higher education in general, further inquiry into issues ema-

nating from this and similar studies undertaken elsewhere is most likely. It is also possible that such inquiry might use either qualitative or quantitative research methods to probe language contexts, preferences and behaviours of role players in institutions of higher learning. For instance, the value of this study might lie in it serving the purpose of a pilot study that would have identified important issues or trends related to multilingualism and implications of the implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan.

4.7 Description of the data collection process

I designed and pilot-tested a questionnaire among EAL students during May 2004. However, it occurred to me before I commenced with the piloting of the questionnaire that a similar research exercise could be carried out among staff members in order to give the data more depth and value. In addition, once implemented the UCT Language Plan (2003) would not only affect EAL students, but staff members in their various employment categories and ranks. Invariably, EAL students encounter academics, administrative and support staff members in their daily routine on campus, during lectures and tutorials, and in the residences. It is probable that the language preferences and language behaviours of EAL students might reflect the way in which they interact with academics, administrative and support staff in the various departments within which they are registered. English is the medium through which the role players mentioned interact. It is also the MoI and language of administration. As such it is important to know what it is that both EAL students and staff think about it vis-à-vis the idea of introducing a multilingual approach to learning, teaching and interaction at UCT.

4.7.1 Phase 1 – Pilot study: questionnaires

All student respondents to the pilot study were volunteers. They were each informed that participation in the pilot study was anonymous, and under no circumstances would their identity be revealed in the entire research project. In line with Oppenheim's (1992) approach the pilot study took the form of exploratory interviews, which were tape-recorded. Respondents were interviewed individually and at different times. Though these interviews were semi-structured (less formal and communicative), I

still had an interview schedule with all the questions to be posed to each respondent. I probed responses that I felt needed follow up, and as such valuable information came out of these interviews (see Appendices 6 and 7). The questionnaire was pilot-tested for two months (May and June 2004). Thirty respondents were interviewed, that is, 15 EAL students and 15 staff members.

In addition to academic staff respondents, I included some administrative and support staff members in the pilot study, because they are attached to departments and centres that offer courses in Education, Applied Language Studies, Languages in general, and the SDO. Anonymity was guaranteed and the interviews were tape-recorded. Though respondents were given an option of answering the questions in their PL, none of the student respondents answered in their PL. For staff members a different picture emerged. Two academic staff members used both English and isiXhosa, while one used Afrikaans and English to answer questions. This was an interesting development, which unfortunately did not follow through to the questionnaire of the main survey. The PLs of the student respondents were isiXhosa, isiZulu, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana and Tshivenda, while for staff respondents the PLs were Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa.

The pilot-test was specifically undertaken to ascertain the suitability and relevance of questions and attitude statements contained in the questionnaires. It was also a way of verifying whether different respondents interpret the questions in the same way (cf. De Vos 2002, Doyle 2004 and Welman & Kruger 2001). Finally, it was also a measure of ensuring that the questionnaires remain relevant to the aims of this study. Some of the key questions put to the respondents elicited interesting information that was eventually integrated into questions and attitude statements of the questionnaire of the main survey, and the interview schedule used in the interviews later. Piloting also afforded me an opportunity to get a sense of whether this research project was worth pursuing.

4.7.2 Phase 2 – Main study: questionnaires

I administered both student and staff questionnaires for three months (August, September and October 2004). Out of a total of 25 student questionnaires distributed, 21 were completed and returned. From these questionnaires 15 were from EAL students in the Faculty of Humanities, while six were from members of the 2003/2004 SRC Executive Committee. These SRC members were all studying in the Faculty of Humanities. In addition

to attitude statements and questions relating to the UCT Language Plan (2003), the questionnaire broadly elicited information in categories such as biographical information of the respondent and language use.

This was a self-administered questionnaire and I had to constantly keep contact with respondents persuading them to complete it. Two respondents commented on how they experienced the completion of the questionnaire. Respondent 4 wrote: 'very long and demanding questionnaire' while Respondent 8 commented: 'was a pleasure'.

I handed out 15 questionnaires to academic, administrative and support staff members. From these 13 were completed and returned. Six of these respondents were academics; three were administrators, while the remaining four were support staff members. The staff questionnaire consisted of 10 questions as opposed to 44 questions in the student questionnaire. The PLs of staff respondents were Afrikaans, English, isiXhosa, isiZulu and Setswana.

4.7.3 Phase 3 – interviews

After analysing the questionnaires of EAL students I was satisfied that the information they yielded would be adequate to answer the research question(s) of this study. However, there was one respondent; Respondent 4 who, like all the others, answered the questionnaire in English save for question 14 that was answered in the respondent's PL – Sesotho. It reads: 'In which language(s) would you prefer to be taught during lectures? Please explain your answer.' In a structured interview held towards the end of November 2004, Respondent 4 gave a detailed explanation as to why she gave her answer to question 14 in Sesotho (see Appendix 5). Though the interview was conducted in English there was code-switching throughout.

Comparing the themes and trends that emerged from the data of the student questionnaire with those I found in the pilot study data, especially from staff members, I decided to interview two of the CALLSSA students – one participated in both the pilot and main study and is also a staff member at UCT, while the other was in the process of finalising her Masters degree with UCT. She is employed outside UCT. The other factor that drew me to these CALLSSA students was the possible value their language contexts as EAL speakers could add to the data of this study. Their experience as academic practitioners, who encounter EAL students in their work enabled them to better articulate information regarding their experiences and challenges of working with EAL students (see also Welman & Kruger 2001:189).

I also used information from the pilot study interview I had with one staff member, because of its relevance in raising issues related to themes emerging from responses of both staff and EAL students regarding the importance and use of African languages in academia and socially. The data in this interview also reveal practical steps for the use of many languages in class and the enabling role of multilingualism in a multicultural and plural society like South Africa.

The next chapter provides an elaborate analysis of the data yielded by both the student and staff questionnaires and interviews. Though this study is largely qualitative, aspects of it contain simple statistical and thematic analysis of the questionnaire data. Tables are used to give a numerical summary of responses of students and staff to questionnaires.

5. Data analysis

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents data collected through questionnaires and interviews. Responses of both students and staff are grouped into themes and categories, derived from questionnaires and the interview guide. Drawing on Newbold, Boyd-Barrett & Hilde Van den Bulck (eds) (2002:59), I analyse the data without making heavy use of measurement or numerical analysis. I analyse the questionnaires thematically, using simple descriptive statistics. In Part 1 I analyse the data from student and staff questionnaires separately under the three major aspects of this dissertation, namely: language contexts, language preferences and language behaviours. Part 2 covers the analysis of the four interviews. Each interview is discussed under language contexts, language behaviours and language preferences.

I use data from the interviews to contextualise responses from students and staff to the questionnaires. In addition, I use triangulation to validate responses to the questionnaires. Information obtained during participant observation also forms part of this data analysis.

5.2 Part 1: Analysis of questionnaires

5.2.1 Questionnaire of students

5.2.1.1 *Language contexts of EAL students*

This section analyses questions that relate to the formal and informal home context, and university context. The focus of the questions is on the location of the respondent's home. Question 1 was to ascertain the spread of respondents throughout the provinces. Knowing where respondents reside is significant in a sociolinguistic sense for reasons such as the fact that language contexts of each of the respondents at home invariably influence their

language preferences and behaviours in general. Questions 2 and 3 provide the language profile of EAL speakers in this study. Table 3 summarises responses to Questions 1, 2 and 3 of the student questionnaire.

Home of respondents Question 1	Primary Language (PL) Question 2	Other language(s) used at home Question 3	Respondents per province
Eastern Cape	isiXhosa	Afrikaans, English	5
Free State	Sesotho	Afrikaans, English	6
Gauteng	isiZulu, Sesotho	Afrikaans, English	2
KwaZulu-Natal	isiZulu	English	2
Limpopo	Sepedi, Tshivenda, Xitsonga	Afrikaans, English	4
North West	Setswana	Afrikaans, English	1
Western Cape	isiXhosa	Afrikaans, English	1
TOTAL			21

Table 3: Biographical Information

Table 3 shows that the 21 respondents are spread across seven of the nine provinces. The homes of the respondents are a mix of urban townships and rural areas. From the table it is clear that Afrikaans and English are used in conjunction with the home languages of EAL students. The only respondents who do not speak Afrikaans at home are from Kwazulu-Natal. Table 3 illustrates that the respective home languages of respondents include: isiXhosa, isiZulu, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, Tshivenda and Xitsonga. Six respondents speak isiXhosa, four isiZulu, eight Sesotho, two

Sepedi; while Setswana, Tshivenda and Xitsonga equally have one speaker. The language situation in each of the seven provinces shown in Table 3 is as follows: In the Eastern Cape Province, isiXhosa dominates as home language of the majority of EAL speakers. The Free State Province's EAL speakers utilise Sesotho as a home language. They do however use Afrikaans as an additional language. Gauteng is a cosmopolitan province, including both the Nguni (e.g. isiZulu), and Sotho (e.g. Sesotho) language families as dominant home languages for the majority of EAL speakers. These EAL speakers are also exposed to Afrikaans, due to the influence of the Coloured communities in the province.

In Kwazulu-Natal, isiZulu is the dominant language, while in Limpopo Province Sepedi, Tshivenda and Xitsonga dominate the home languages of EAL speakers. Setswana is the main home language of respondents from the North West Province. In the Western Cape Province, isiXhosa is the home language of EAL speakers (Africans). However, Afrikaans is the dominant language utilised mainly by Coloured EAL speakers. English is used as an additional language in all the seven provinces collectively. Afrikaans also has a presence in these provinces, with the exception of Kwazulu-Natal. It is important to provide this brief background about the language positioning in each of the seven provinces listed in Table 3, in order to gain a better understanding of the data presented in the table. Drawing on the data from Table 3 it is logical to expect EAL students to have a working knowledge of both Afrikaans and English. This places EAL students in a good position to be able to function in a multilingual context. Putting the home language into context provides us with a better understanding of language behaviours, displayed by EAL students in general.

Tables 5 and 6 are not discussed in this section. However, facts drawn from them clearly indicate below, that the frequency of PL use by EAL students as well as English is 'measured' according to the various familiar locations utilised by EAL students – being at home, on campus or alternatively in social environments.

5.2.1.2 Summary of main points for language contexts of EAL students

The discussion clearly illustrates that the location (context) of EAL students largely determines not only their language use, but preference. From a sociolinguistic view, this is relevant because data in this study indicate that various participants use multiple languages within their home environments,

and are therefore multilingual. As an example, in Table 3 a minimum of two languages (the PL of EAL students and English/Afrikaans) are spoken at home. The findings in this study clearly illustrate that the location of EAL students – being home, province, campus and social circles – have a vital impact on their linguistic behavioural patterns.

5.2.1.3 Language preferences of EAL students

The purpose of Questions 18, 23, 28, 29, 30, 32, 35 and 44 is to identify the various attitudes of EAL students towards English as MoI at UCT, and its influence locally and internationally. Questions 18 and 23 require students to divulge their personal feelings regarding English as MoI and as a language of assessment respectively. Question 30 focuses on the perceptions and beliefs of EAL students in relation to the effectiveness of English globally. Multilingualism at UCT and the value of African languages in class, make up the focus of Questions 28, 29, 32 and 35. Finally, Question 44 probes the feelings of EAL students towards the possibility of being taught in their PLs.

Question 18 requires respondents to comment on their feelings regarding English as MoI at UCT. It states: ‘Given that you are at UCT by choice, how do you feel about having to study through the medium of English?’ Responses of EAL students to this question are summarised in Table 4 below.

Categories	Degree of Reaction	Question 18 Responses	
		N	%
A	Strongly Positive	9	43%
B	Positive	8	38%
C	Neither Positive nor Negative	4	19%
D	Negative		
	Strongly Negative		
Total number of respondents		21	100%

Table 4: Attitude towards English as MoI at UCT

43% and 38% of respondents feel ‘strongly positive’ and ‘positive’ respectively about English as MoI. This means majority (81%) of the respondents are positive about English as MoI at UCT. The following are some of the

positive responses recorded with regards to English as MoI. Respondent 4 writes: ‘I came here knowing that UCT is an English University’, therefore she clearly expected an English environment. She continues: ‘... and one’s intention was to learn more English.’ Respondent 21 posits: ‘Because of my expectations had I come to varsity with the intention of learning in a different language, I would not feel positive.’ This response suggests that the respondent expected to encounter English at UCT, so she is comfortable with English as MoI and appears to have acclimatized to the UCT institutional culture, which is undoubtedly English in nature.

Other respondents introduced the need for the promotion of African languages parallel to English, as well as the visibility of an African languages department. Respondent 19:

I think we should continue to study in English. I am saying this in light of the fact that UCT is an international university and that English is becoming the international language. However, I think UCT should encourage all students to at least take up one African language as part of their curriculum.

Respondent 20:

Though I accept international norms – English as primary medium of instruction, I’m disappointed at times by the lack of visibility of, for instance, our African languages depts; by the one-dimension nature of lecturers and tutors, who despite language cannot and do not relate to students who are non-English 1st language speaking and sometimes require interpretation in their own language. Given that it has been shown that many students in fact take down their notes in another language but English.

Respondent 15 argues that English is the pragmatic choice:

Your questionnaire is in English, it thus would bring to reason why English is a more universal medium easily understandable and globally acceptable.

The remaining 19% of respondents is neutral (category C) regarding English as MoI. Although this is a small number, it is still significant as it shows that there are respondents who do not offer an opinion on the issue of the MoI in the Faculty of Humanities at UCT. The overall conclusion is that English is acceptable as MoI to the majority of EAL students.

Question 23 is directly related to question 18, the reason being that both questions refer to the attitude of students regarding English as the default language at UCT. Question 23 reads: ‘Currently all academic assessment at UCT is in English only. Is this practice satisfactory to you? Please explain your answer’. Figure 1 below shows the preferences of respondents for language of assessment.

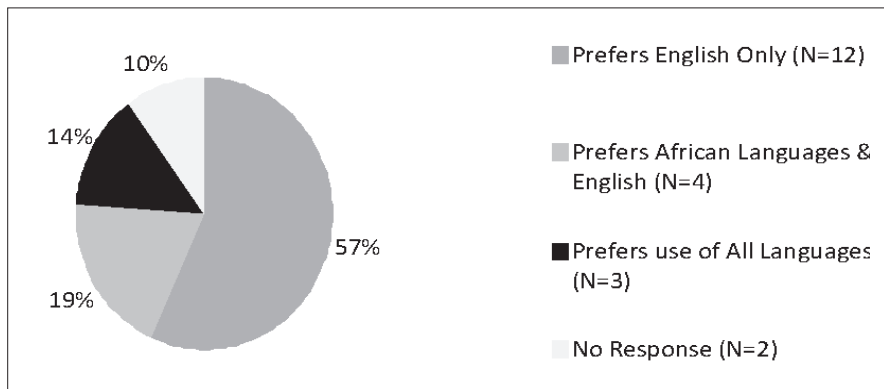


Figure 1: Preference for Language of Academic Assessment at UCT

57% of respondents prefer English as the language of academic assessment. 19% prefer African languages to be used along-side English in assessment. 14% choose all languages as preference for assessment. These percentages depict a general agreement among respondents in favour of English as the preferred language of assessment at UCT. A trend emerging from the data indicates that there is a role for African languages in the overall educational process at UCT. A growing number of respondents (19%+14% = 33%) would prefer all languages within South Africa to be used congruently with English. Therefore African languages appeal to students to the extent that they suggest these languages be treated as languages of assessment. Respondent 14 supports the view that English should remain the language of assessment. The respondent writes:

... Cultures are merging thus English has become the meeting point even though we as Africans may not like it. It's a circumstance we have to adapt to.

English is presented as a functional language both locally and internationally. However, Respondent 19 supports the use of English for assessment purposes, he pleads for the promotion and use of African languages in general. He writes:

Yes it should. But the university should put up structures to assist those students who English is their second language. And the use of African languages should be promoted.

Question 30 focuses on identifying the individual thoughts of respondents, in relation to the effectiveness of the English language, both locally and internationally. It reads: 'Do you think with English you can go everywhere in the world? Please explain your answer.' Most respondents answered 'yes or no' and provided reasons for their answers. Only 5% were

unsure of the effectiveness of English internationally. Figure 2 below depicts the comparison of the responses in percentages.

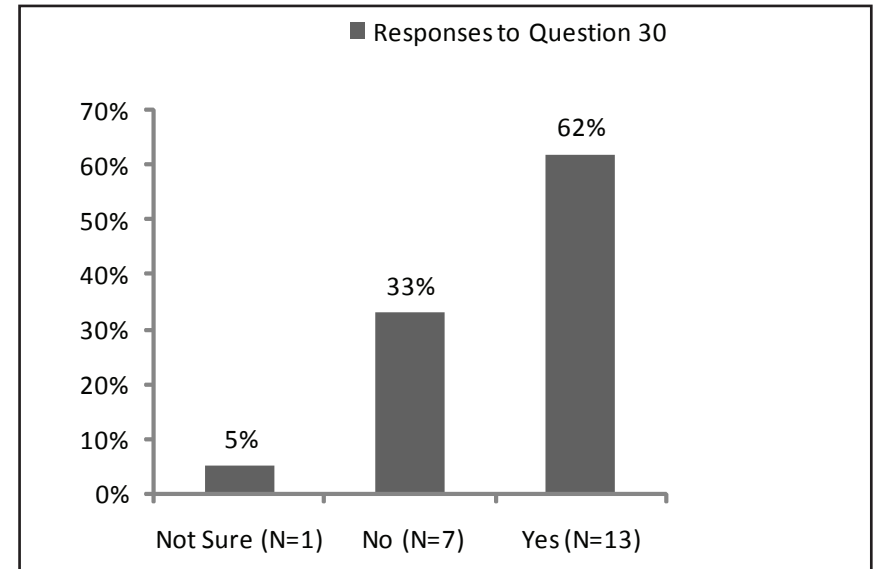


Figure 2: With English you can go everywhere¹⁰ in the world

62% of respondents confirm the international effectiveness of English. This 62% articulates the enabling power of English on UCT campuses and beyond. However not all of them agree with the view that only English has an enabling power. For instance Respondent 12 argues that both English and African languages are of value:

As much as I believe that the use of African languages at varsity will benefit some people, I think that at least the knowledge of English can help you communicate with outsiders or the international crowd.

Respondent 13 argues that English is spoken internationally and as a result it is culturally neutral. The respondent argues that English can be useful internationally, but that an African language implicitly gives an African language speaker 'collateral capital' (Nomdo 2006). It affirms an African language speaker's socio-cultural identity:

Almost everybody can speak English, which means English, as a language does not carry a culture anymore. If you are overseas, English will help you get directions but it will not help you represent your country or where you are coming from ... your own language can even take you further.

The minority (33%) argues that English is not the only useful language in the world. Some respondents, such as Respondent 7, hold the view that although local African languages are not influential in an international capacity, they can be useful in some contexts. To this end, Respondent 7 observes:

In Africa if one is involved in careers such as Social Development or a student undertakes research in low cost housing for their Economics or Engineering thesis, English will not get them anywhere, as their work will be conducted in poor areas where most interviewees and colleagues cannot speak English.

This shows that there are indeed specific interactive circles where English will not suffice as medium of communication. It is in these informal social spaces where PLs of EAL students seem to dominate. Respondent 20 states that not all nations of the world view English as a language that opens doors:

No. Just flipping onto an international news network will testify to this. Not all nations give precedence or dominance to the English language, even many 'big' western nations like France.

The point made here is that, despite being an international language, there are countries where English is not the default language. In these countries, English is a L2 or even L3, for example in France as the quote suggests.

Question 29 focuses on uncovering the various attitudes of respondents towards the implementation of multilingualism at UCT. It states: 'The University of Cape Town, in its (2003) Language Plan, promotes multilingualism (the use of more than one language) everywhere on campus, in learning and teaching situations. What are your thoughts on this?' Fifteen respondents (71%) are in favour of the implementation of multilingualism at UCT. The minority (five respondents) who make up 24% overall, are sceptical of the success of multilingualism at UCT. Their scepticism is largely created through the language profile of the current UCT staff. Most staff members are white, and mostly monolingual, as opposed to being multilingual. The other contributing factor is the dominance of the English language in class. Only one (5%) respondent did not respond to the question.

Views offered by the majority of respondents who are in favour of multilingualism at UCT are as follows:

Respondent 6 argues that multilingualism will,

not only embrace other cultures, but reinforce diversity and equality ... this will also mirror the broader/national system whereby all other languages are seen as official languages.

For Respondent 7 implementation of multilingualism through the UCT Language Plan (2003) should be responsive to student equity: 'it is only fair and a responsible act to equate such a language plan with its effort to reach equity'. Some respondents in favour of multilingualism claim ignorance of UCT's efforts towards accomplishing multilingualism. For instance, Respondent 12 asks: 'Is it being practiced?' because, she maintains: 'I have not experienced that yet'. Similarly, Respondent 15 writes: '... seems more theoretical than practical. I have not encountered this anywhere on campus'. These views on multilingualism show that students are not only embracing the concept of multilingualism, but are critiquing its implementation. This shows that EAL students have a certain insight into language issues. This is a positive indication for the implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan in the Faculty of Humanities.

The minority (24%) argue that talk about multilingualism at UCT is not realistic. Rather, it is theoretical. For instance, Respondent 3 writes:

That is good, UCT in practice is impossible seeing as some of the teaching staff is not multilingual and the diversity on UCT, it is impossible not to marginalise another language.

This response highlights the fact that lecturers, being predominately monolingual (mostly English L1 speakers) could be a potential obstacle for multilingualism becoming a reality at UCT. However, a valid point is that the time this snapshot study was conducted (2004–2005); the UCT Language Plan (2003) had not been implemented. It is therefore possible that some of the respondents were not provided with necessary information regarding the UCT Language Plan (2003). This cannot serve as an excuse, as there were, in fact, discussions held with various stakeholders on campus around the UCT Language Plan (2003). Such discussions were held under the auspices of the Multilingualism Panel Debate Series and were widely advertised, even by the SRC. Had the respondent been exposed to such discussions, he would have had a different understanding of the challenges facing UCT regarding multilingualism. The respondent's comment is therefore unjustified.

For Respondent 20 the discussion about multilingualism is theoretical as it does not seem to be beneficial for the students:

It's good on paper, but this provision means nothing practically for the daily experience and prospects of success for students who are still unable to ask questions in class for lack of opportunity to express themselves as they would prefer to or best know how.

Again, these views are assertive and illustrate the point that this particular group of students has considered the issue of language use and assessed current practices. Their main concern seems to be the implementation of multilingualism in class. This, in my opinion, is a valuable observation as it raises the issue of lack of human and knowledge resources in alternative languages. Although there are merits in the views expressed, I still find that students operate at an emotional level. This might be a reaction to the identity of UCT as an institution, which is mainly English. However, students can at times be biased. For instance, respondents do not acknowledge the fact that at the time this study was conducted, EAL students were being encouraged to use their PLs in consultation sessions in the Writing Centre at CHED.

In response to question 28, the general consensus was that both Afrikaans and English speaking individuals should be encouraged to acquire at least a working knowledge of an African language. However, as Respondents 1 and 9 argue, individuals should have freedom of choice:

Respondent 1:

I think a person should make up their own mind. Although everyone knowing or at least having an understanding of another African language would be a positive thing. Not everyone wants to know more than one language. In my view I would like to know or at least understand as many African languages as I can.

Respondent 9:

It depends on their career path. For people who are going to work with underprivileged persons from disadvantaged communities, it (an African language) could come in very handy, but for someone who is going to be CEO of a big company ... it's of no use.

Respondents 1 and 9 collectively express the belief that learning L2 should be a voluntary process. Respondent 1 argues that not all students at UCT would be partial to learn an African language. He believes that their choice should be respected. The implication this may have for the UCT Language Policy and Plan is that recommendations of the plan should rather be negotiated. Respondent 9's view is directed more towards the actual purpose of learning an African language. The question that it raises is as follows: 'Is there a need for learning African languages for the job market?' Those driving the implementation of the

UCT Language Policy and Plan will at some stage or other have to answer questions such as this one, coming from potential graduates in the Faculty of Humanities.

Respondent 6 argues that once all South Africans experience challenges associated with learning L2, they might start appreciating and respecting each other as language learners:

This is very good because it shifts the problem from black people who are burdened with the responsibility of learning other languages in order to interact with people from these groups. Making it a requirement for English and Afrikaans speakers to learn any African language as a second language exposes or gives them a chance to experience the difficulties black people come across when they have to use English or any second language as the primary language. This will ensure equality across borders.

Respondent 11's view is: 'If we take pride in our own languages, then other people will be interested to learn them'. This means the enthusiasm of speakers of African languages should act as an extrinsic motivation for potential L2 learners. On the whole, speakers of African languages should demonstrate a positive attitude towards their PLs. For Respondent 13, the ability to speak other people's languages is an empowering skill, because it enables the L2 speaker to attain a better understanding of the people whose language they have learnt:

I have often noticed that white people who know how to speak an African language understand black people much better than those who don't. At the same time black people have a better understanding of white people because they know how to speak their language.

Views expressed here are significant as they indicate the non-academic benefits of being able to communicate in languages other than one's PL. Understanding the language of others opens a cultural window for you. Through this window you are able to better understand others. The added advantage is that it creates an enhanced understanding of problems regularly experienced by L2 learners. Implications for the UCT Language Policy and Plan include social relation obstacles and the interaction between different language users in the Faculty of Humanities. This will have to be considered when implementing some of the recommendations of the UCT Language Policy and Plan.

Question 31 entails the 'value' of African languages in society. It reads: 'Is it true that African languages have little value? Please explain your answer'. 16 (76%) respondents share the view that African languages are of

great value in society. Only two (10%) hold the view that African languages have less value compared to English. Three (14%) of the respondents were neutral.

The 10% (Respondents 11 and 15) who argue that African languages are of little value compared to English offer the following reasons:

Respondent 11:

We seem to be losing our languages to English and it does not seem like we have any control over it. (Unfortunately) the schooling system, the media and all these other influences seem to be putting English before everything.

Respondent 15 refers to the status of African languages in society and the attitudes displayed towards speakers of African languages: *'those who speak them are often demeaned'*. For the 14% who are neutral, African languages can be seen as valuable or less valuable, depending on the location of the user at a particular time. In this respect, Respondent 8 explains as follows:

... it depends where in the world you are. If you are in Africa then clearly African languages will have a sentimental value but less if you were abroad in a country that does not speak any of the African languages.

Respondent 17 argues that because African languages seem to be localised, their value is limited worldwide:

... but if you think about it some African languages are only restricted to one country. For instance, you can't really do much with Zulu outside SA.

76% maintain that African languages have great value. In this respect, Respondent 1 observes that the argument stating that African languages are less valuable has been perpetuated through 'cultural imperialism'. For him, 'cultural imperialism' has made African people 'embrace alien languages and to regard their own as useless'. Similarly, Respondent 4 writes that the claim questioning the value of African languages:

... is a perception given by colonialism and many other regimes of the past and that has stereotyped us in not taking good care of our languages.

Arguing in favour of the value of African languages, Respondent 16 simply writes:

Anyone who thinks that African languages are of little value must read Steve Biko, 'I Write What I Like'.

Respondent 10 voices the view that all languages are valuable because they express people's intelligence:

No language has little value. People are very intelligent species and some can only express or use their intelligence through the use of their languages.

For Respondent 12:

African languages are an embodiment of our heritage, they tell a story, we need to preserve them ... uplift them and use them more.

Because African languages 'tell a story' their preservation in this context is seen as important.

Question 32 gauges the reaction of EAL students towards the possible use of isiXhosa and Afrikaans alongside English in lectures at UCT. 43% of respondents are in favour, while 47% oppose the use of these languages alongside English in lectures. The 43% in favour offer the following views: Respondent 2 writes, 'If there is room for all three of them then yes. If not then definitely English and Xhosa.' Because '... Xhosa is the most dominant native language in the region ... compatible with the demographics of the class.' Respondent 7 advises as follows: if for example Afrikaans is to be used in class, it must be used in conjunction with another language, in order to accommodate those who might not understand Afrikaans. The basis of this advice is an experience he once had as a student at UCT:

I have been in a class in which many remarks were in Afrikaans and I was always left out because I don't know Afrikaans.

The respondent supports the view that students to whom Afrikaans and isiXhosa are not PLs, should not be alienated in class because of their inability to converse in these languages.

The 47% opposed argue that the use of isiXhosa and Afrikaans might have the unintended consequence of some languages appearing more advantaged than others. Respondent 3 makes the following observation: 'we are therefore showing favouritism and marginalizing other languages'. Respondent 6 declares: 'as a Sotho using isiXhosa and Afrikaans alongside English in lectures has no value for me, they are not my languages'. The respondent justifies this declaration by indicating that:

... doing this may prove not only to embrace other cultures, but it will continue to instil difference and inequality within and among the UCT community making it to be fragmented.

The respondent seems to accept English as a unifying language among African language speakers; however, the use of African languages and Afrikaans is seen as a quandary aiding to 'instil difference and inequality'.

This is an attitude that will pose a challenge for the implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan (and its recommendations) on multilingual awareness and proficiency.

Question 35 asks respondents to express views on the statement: 'It is also said that the use of the different African languages in class will lead to lack of progress in a lecture'. With varied reasons, 38% (eight) of the respondents feel that the use of different African languages will stall progress in a lecture. According to them, the reason for this assertion lies in the time taken to translate and interpret the course content during a lecture. Respondent 4 argues that the use of different languages in class 'cannot work well' because of the practical implications of having to 'translate every course to each and every language'. Respondents also argue that African languages lack standardized terms for certain concepts, especially in disciplines such as Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Sociology and Psychology. Respondent 10 also reiterates the view expressed by most research participants during the participant observation stage. They lamented the deficiency of African languages in certain concepts in some disciplines. They cited words such as *ballot paper*, *discourse*, *computer software*, *globalization*, *Internet* and *ICT* as examples. In her response, Respondent 10 observes that it is likely that some lecturers are unfamiliar with African languages:

... it would be difficult to explain some things in an African language and especially if that African language is not the lecturer's main language.

28% (six) of the respondents maintain that the success of using African languages in class will take some imagination from both lecturers and students. This will entail innovative ways of doing things in the classroom. For a start, lecturers might want to make use of the multilingual skills of their EAL students in an effort to draw in those EAL students, who otherwise would have been left out of class discussion. Code-switching might also be a solution to deal with language barriers in class. Being imaginative means being creative and doing one's best with limited resources. Respondent 13 points to the necessity of 'infrastructure' and logistical arrangements essential for the effective use of African languages in class:

If you have the infrastructure, you have the same class taught in different languages possibly at different times, it could work. People would choose to go to whichever class they want to.

Respondent 8 refers to an incident which occurred in her Film and Media Studies tutorial:

I remember in my Film tut one girl couldn't express herself well in English and used to ask questions in Afrikaans, and our tutor used to translate it back to the class in English.

The respondent states that if it could work with Afrikaans, and no time was wasted, then the same should hold true for African languages.

Respondent 2's one word answer, 'nonsense', constitutes a disagreement with the view that the use of African languages retards progress in a lecture. When read within the context of the respondent's answer to Question 29, the answer becomes clearer. He states that the objective of UCT's Language Plan (2003) to promote multilingualism is a welcome initiative:

I think this action is long overdue. It should help in making a lot of black students feel more welcome and at home in this institution.

This response addresses the issue of context. Respondent 2's argument is this: if African languages are used as MoI and form part of the academic discourse, then the language context in the Faculty of Humanities will no longer reflect 'Englishness,' but multiple languages. In such a language context, EAL students will hopefully be able to identify with some of the multiple languages, given that some of these languages will be their PLs. This could have positive implications for the implementation of multilingual awareness and proficiency in the Faculty of Humanities at UCT.

In their response to Question 35, 24% (five) of the respondents provided reasons showing that the use of African languages in a lecture may either retard progress or accelerate it. In this respect, Respondent 3 ponders options available which might need careful examination before different languages are used in a lecture. These are looking: 'at all factors that need to be taken into consideration in doing something of that nature and whether UCT has the resources to do this'. Respondent 7 indicates that the question raises a 'practical issue' in the sense that 'not all languages will be used in a single lecture'. The respondent argues that: 'the use of multiple languages threatens order, management and coordination' in a lecture. To be able to use multiple languages in a lecture will take a lot of imagination and innovation from both lecturers and students alike. What remains a challenge is the level of preparedness or readiness of lecturers and EAL students in the Faculty of Humanities for the use of multiple languages in the lecture.

Respondent 12 focuses on possible steps to be followed during the implementation of the UCT Language Plan: 'if we structure the lectures properly then there would be no such thing' because '... there would be plans, strategies and so on before making sure that lectures are still effective and progressive'. The emergence of this discussion is an indication that EAL students are aware of practical issues relating to the use of multiple languages in class. These students particularly show an understanding of the importance of language in the classroom. They also express support for academic intervention initiatives meant to help them. They are, however, quick to point out that such initiative must not compromise the quality of their education.

The manner in which students report their use of English and their actual language use reveal their attitudes. This can be seen in responses to Question 44. This question is aimed at responses concerning the effect African languages would have had on the respondents' academic performance, had these languages been the MoI at UCT. Question 44 states: 'If you were to study as far as possible through your own African language, do you think that your academic performance would improve? Please elaborate on your answer'. Eleven respondents (52%) are of the view that if African languages were used as MoI they would not have improved their academic performance. They argue that they have used English throughout their education careers. Eight respondents (38%) welcome the idea of African languages as MoI. However, they express mixed feelings: they lament the fact that the possibility of tuition in African languages comes at a time when they are about to conclude their studies. Two respondents (10%) did not respond to the question. This response is a clear indication that EAL students are ambivalent towards their PLs being used as MoI alongside English. This ambivalence might be a result of a number of reasons. Firstly, they have grown accustomed to English as a language of teaching; secondly they are not confident that African languages will be adequate as MoI. This is because African languages have never been used as MoI before. Finally, they seem to express fear for being an experimental group. They prefer to continue with English because it is the language they know as MoI.

The majority of respondents (52%) opposed to academic instruction in African languages argue that they are accustomed to English as MoI; they do not see how replacing it with an African language will improve their academic performance. In this respect, Respondent 10 is forthright: 'no, it would deteriorate because it would be a huge change for me since I'm used

to using English in my studies'. Respondent 11 offers a similar view: '... but since English has always been the main medium, I don't think so'. Even though these responses resemble language attitudes, they usually result in emotional responses. These responses suggest that EAL students, over the years, have come to embrace English as MoI. They seem to have somewhat succumbed to the hegemony of English. English has come to represent success and intelligence to them. Its capital seems to outweigh that of their African languages. They basically express instrumental reasons for their affinity towards English.

Respondents, who believe that the use of African languages as MoI will improve academic performance, argue that their proficiency in these languages will be an advantage. Respondent 8 writes:

I am fluent in speaking and writing in my mother tongue than English. I can express myself clearly in my home language than English, where you will have to watch out for tenses and grammar.

The respondent argues that his ability to write and express himself clearly in his PL, compared to English, is the reason why he favours his PL as MoI. Respondent 12 writes that academic performance won't necessarily be improved in the 'beginning', but with 'time' and the requisite resources, her academic performance might improve:

If I'm given as much time and dedication to learn Sepedi like I learnt English then I should get the same marks as I am now.

For Respondent 13 'it is too late' to mention the effects of African languages on academic performance. However, she alludes to what would have happened had she been taught in her PL:

Somehow I think that if I had carried on in my language, it would be much easier for me because I wouldn't have to translate what I want today. And my language comes naturally to me, so jargon and terminology wouldn't be so hard.

These respondents express their feelings about an ideal situation. Their responses reveal that they are not convincing, despite their reports indicating preference to being taught in their PLs. They yearn for something that is not achievable practically. However, the idea of the question was to afford students an opportunity to explore possible scenarios. In a sense, Question 44 required students to go into a non-existent scenario, and see how they would respond. The pattern in thinking here shows that students are pragmatic and not emotional when it comes to language use in a multilingual society such as South Africa.

5.2.1.4 Summary of main points for language preferences of EAL students

On the whole, students are positive about English as MoI in the Faculty of Humanities. There was also a general agreement among students in regard to the retention of English as a language of assessment.

Regarding the use of African languages in class, the majority of student respondents argue that the use of African languages alongside English in class will hamper progress. Their main concern is practical considerations, such as, the time it will take to translate and interpret the course content during a lecture. Repetition of information is also a great concern. The minority group argues that it is possible to use African languages alongside English with measureable success. These opposing views suggest that EAL students in this study are divided on the effectiveness of the use of African languages alongside English in class.

According to the majority of student respondents, African languages have limited influence because they are locally based. As a result, in the global economy they are not appealing to the young generation because

CATEGORIES	A		B	
	Always in PL		In PL or SAL more than English	
	N	%	N	%
People spoken to by Respondent				
Mother	9	45%	5	25%
Father	5	26%	5	26%
Siblings	1	5%	6	32%
Grandparents	19	95%	1	5%
Other Relatives	9	50%	5	28%
Friends in lecture halls				
Friends on campus and Residence				
Lecturers and Tutors	1	5%		
Strangers			1	5%

Table 5: Language behaviours in the formal and informal contexts

they lack global economic functionality. EAL students note that, because of globalization, English as a global language is appealing. This explains the instrumental appeal of English to students at UCT. However, this linguistic picture does not mean to say EAL students do not embrace multilingualism. The patterns of language preference show that the selected group of EAL students in the Faculty of Humanities do have tolerance for languages other than their PLs.

5.2.1.5 Language behaviours of EAL students

Question 12 aims at identifying ways in which language(s) are used at a home and campus language context. There is emphasis on the frequency of the use of English and PLs of EAL students. Table 5 shows a comparison between the use of English and PLs of EAL students at home and on campus. A measure of the frequency of the use of the PL or English on campus and at home is important; it shows behavioural patterns in terms of the use of the PL or English by EAL students. Table 5 summarises responses to Question 12 of the student questionnaire. This table shows patterns of language use at home and on campus.

C		D		E		Total	% of Total
In PL and English equally		In English more often than PL or SAL		Always in English			
N	%	N	%	N	%		
5	25%			1	5%	20	100%
5	26%	2	11%	2	11%	19	95%
8	42%	4	21%			19	95%
						20	100%
3	16%	1	6%			18	90%
4	20%	4	20%	12	60%	20	100%
3	15%	10	50%	7	35%	20	100%
				19	95%	20	100%
2	10%	4	20%	13	65%	20	100%

Language use at home

Table 5 shows that 45% of respondents always speak to their mothers in PL; 25% speak to their mothers in their PL or SAL more than they do in English; A further 25% speak to their mothers in their PL and English, equally. Only 5% speak to their mother entirely in English. Categories A and B in Table 5 are inclined towards their PL. Both these categories show that the majority (70%) of the respondents use PL when speaking to their mothers.

26% of the respondents always speak to their fathers in their PL, while an equal number use PL or SAL more than English when conversing with their fathers. Another 26% speak to their fathers in their PL and English equally. The majority (52%) of respondents are inclined to use PL when speaking to their fathers. When conversing with parents, the majority of EAL students in the Faculty of Humanities use their PLs instead of English. This is not surprising because at home, the PLs of EAL students are commonly used. This is true for the 7 provinces where EAL students in this study come from.

For both maternal and paternal grandparents, the majority of respondents (95%) converse exclusively in PL. Seemingly, English is not in use when respondents converse with grandparents. One would have expected the use of English to be more pronounced, given that English seems to be the most common additional language to all respondents, as the data in Table 3 suggests. What Table 5 shows, instead, is that the PL is the language mostly used in conversations with both parents and grandparents.

50% of the respondents always speak to their relatives, other than their siblings, in PL. Another 28% converses with these relatives in their PL or SAL more than English. Approximately 78% (derived from categories A and B of Table 5) of respondents use PL more than English in conversation with relatives other than their siblings. Again, the majority uses PL instead of English. It seems as if at home, PLs are the dominant language trend of EAL students. This finding is significant in this study because it suggests that PLs of EAL students generally seem to be the overriding element of communication; most notably at home.

21% of the respondents converse with their siblings in English more often than PL or SAL. 42% use English and PL equally when conversing with their siblings. However, 32% of the respondents speak more in their PL or in SAL than English when in conversation with

their siblings. Only 5% converse with their siblings in PL. Statistics reveal that 37% of the respondents converse more in PL or SAL than in English. Only 21% speak strictly in English to their siblings. The remaining 42% use PL and English equally. Nevertheless, compared to conversations of EAL students with other family members, the use of English has increased considerably. This may suggest a generational shift in terms of language use and preference. Younger members of society tend to use English more, compared to older ones who mostly use the PL. The pattern emerging here is that EAL students speak in PL to their parents, grandparents and relatives, while to their siblings they use both the PL and English. What this shows is that, in the home context, EAL students do not work only with one language. In a sense, they are involved in a process regarded as 'translanguage'.

Responses to Question 13 are similar to those in Table 5. They all reveal that at home PL is the dominant language. English is also used, but minimally.

Language use on campus

Table 5 further reveals that, for friends in lecture halls, 60% of respondents always converse in English. Of the other 40%, 20% tend to use more English than PL or SAL, while the other 20% converses equally in English as in PL. Overall, 80% of the respondents tend to use English more than PL while conversing with their friends in lecture halls. English seems to be the dominant language among friends in lecture halls.

For conversations involving friends on campus and in residences, 35% use strictly English, while 50% converse in English more often than in PL or SAL. This means 85% of respondents use mostly English with friends on campus and in residences. With both lecturers and tutors, 95% of respondents use English exclusively. It could then be concluded that English is the dominant language in class and generally on campus, for this selected group of EAL students.

Frequency of PL use at Home, on Campus and in Other Social Circles

The purpose of Questions 4, 5 and 6 is to get information on the frequency of the use of PL in the various language contexts (formal and informal) EAL students shuttle. Responses to these questions could assist in establishing as to whether students are consistent in their responses concerning the use of PL compared with English at home, on campus and in other

social circles. Table 6 summarises responses to Questions 4, 5 and 6 of the student questionnaire.

Categories	Frequency of PL usage	Home		Campus		Other Social Circles	
		Question 4	Question 5	Question 4	Question 5	Question 6	Question 6
		N	%	N	%	N	%
A	90% of the time	14	66%	1	5%	1	5%
B	70% of the time	5	24%	2	10%	1	5%
C	50% of the time	2	10%	3	15%	8	40%
D	30% of the time			5	25%	4	20%
E	10% of the time			9	45%	6	30%
Total Respondents		21	100%	20	100%	20	100%

Table 6: Frequency of PL use at Home, on Campus and in Social Circles

Frequency of PL use at Home: Table 6 shows that 66% of respondents use PL 90% of the time at home; 24% use PL 70% of the time at home. Categories A and B show that 90% of respondents use PL more often at home than any other language.

Frequency of PL use on Campus: 30% of respondents (categories A, B and C) use PL between 50% and 90% of their time on campus. Overall 30% of respondents frequently use PL to communicate on campus, as opposed to 70% (categories D and E) who seldom use PL (between 10% and 30%). This behaviour is consistent with data from Table 5, where communication with friends on campus and in residences, and with lecturers and tutors, is mostly in English.

Frequency of PL use in other Social Circles: 10% of respondents use PL 70% to 90% (categories A and B) of their time when in social circles. However, 50% use PL 10% to 30% of their time (categories D and E). 40% converses in PL 50% of their time in social circles. Respondents tend to keep communication in PL to a minimum in social circles similar to how they use it on campus.

The pattern emerging is that the majority (90%) of respondents use PL frequently at home. On campus, the minority (30%) of respondents use the PL frequently; in other social circles statistics shows that 40% of respondents converse averagely in the PL. In a sense, this shows that the minority

of EAL students communicate frequently in PL in other social circles similar to how they use PL on campus. The developing pattern stands as: the further EAL students are from the informal language domain (in this case the home) the lesser their use of the PL. Put differently, in more formal language contexts (campus and other social circles), PLs of EAL students play second fiddle to a more prestigious language – English.

The use of English at Home, on Campus and in Other Social Circles

The purpose of Questions 20, 21 and 22 is the same as that of Questions 4, 5 and 6 mentioned above. Only this time, the information is about the frequency of the use of English in the various language contexts (formal and informal) EAL students shuttle. Again, responses to these questions could be used to establish whether students are consistent in their responses with regard to the use of English in comparison to the PL at home, on campus and in other social circles. Table 7 summarises responses to Questions 20, 21 and 22 of the student questionnaire.

Categories	Frequency of English usage	Home		Campus		In other Social Circles	
		Question 20	Question 21	Question 21	Question 22	Question 22	Question 22
		N	%	N	%	N	%
A	Very Often	7	33%	20	95%	11	52%
B	Often	6	29%	1	5%	9	43%
C	Occasionally	6	29%				
D	Very Seldom	1	4.5%			1	5%
E	Not At All	1	4.5%				
Total respondents		21	100%	21	100%	21	100%

Table 7: Frequency of English use at Home, on Campus and in Social Circles

Most responses are concentrated in categories A and B, on the use of English on campus and in other social circles. Overall, respondents use English most of the time. 100% uses English on campus while 95% uses it in social circles. At home, English is used by 62% (i.e. categories A and B) of respondents. In terms of frequency of use, Table 7 shows frequent use

of English on campus and in social circles. At home English is used less. English tends to be used more in formal language contexts (campus and social circles) than in informal language contexts (home).

The pattern that emerges here is that English is used frequently by the majority of EAL speakers on campus (by 100%) and in other social circles (by 95%). These findings are consistent with data from Tables 5 and 6. In Table 5 EAL students use English less at home as compared to how they use it on campus. Table 6 shows that EAL students use English less frequently at home and more frequently on campus and in other social circles. The influence of English goes to the homes of EAL students while the same cannot be said of the 'influence' of PLs of EAL students in the homes of potential L2 speakers of indigenous African languages (in this context mostly L1 speakers of English).

The use of the Internet influences language behaviours of EAL students. EAL students have access to the Internet on campus and in their residences. This means the Internet is part of their language context in the formal domain. Question 43 deals directly with the influence Internet use has on language choice. In this discussion reference is made to responses to Question 41 because in some ways Question 41 is related to Question 43. Question 41 deals with purposes for which students mostly use the Internet. 38% of respondents answered Question 43 in the affirmative, while 52% were negative. The 38%, who accept that the use of the Internet influences their language choice, argue that such an influence is a logical consequence in a university context. For instance, Respondent 1 writes: 'English is the language used on the Internet which reinforces my use of the language'. For Respondent 21: 'it does because all the sites are in English'. Respondent 4 expressed a similar view: '...because there is one language common on the sites that I check and most of the people I interact with use English most of the time'. The people Respondent 4 interacts with are fellow students, lecturers and friends on campus and in the residences. As shown in the discussion on language behaviours, these people mostly use English in both the formal and informal contexts.

According to Respondents 10, 12 and 20, they use the Internet for academic, personal and entertainment purposes, among others. They also indicate that English is the default language of the Internet. Respondent 10 writes: 'I use English when I use the Internet for both academic and entertainment purposes'. Respondent 20 notes: 'yes, depending on whom one is communicating with, your language use preference is confined'. Respondent 12 clearly states that: 'most of the communication on the Internet is in

English thus I never use an African language'. Respondent 16 concurs with him. For her the use of English on the Internet is the norm. She declares: 'well everything is in English what more can I say?' Since English is the default language at UCT, it should not be surprising for students to use English when they use the Internet for academic purposes.

The majority (52%) who responded negatively to Question 43 claim that the Internet has no influence in their choice of language. Respondents 8, 13 and 14 provide reasons for their claims. Respondent 8 writes: 'when I email friends I could choose to use English or Sotho or any language I know they know'. Respondent 14 reports that she uses the Internet for academic purposes, but for emails: 'I use Setswana for social communication; some emails are written in Setswana'. For these respondents, their choice of language on the Internet is determined by both the purpose for using it and their relation to the person they are communicating with. This is similar to what Table 5 depicts, as discussed in language behaviours. The language EAL students use at home, on campus and in other social circles is also determined by their interlocutors. Again, context is central to language use.

According to Respondent 13: 'the Internet is in many languages'. He goes further to say: 'if you browse to a Dutch site for instance, everything will be written in Dutch'. However, he laments the fact that other South African languages are not used on the Internet: 'it is a pity though in South Africa the different languages are not used'. This is a concern that permeates most responses throughout this study.

5.2.1.6 Summary of main points for language behaviours of EAL students

The language behaviours of EAL students show a response to reality, rather than preference or choice. For instance, EAL students speak mostly in PL in the home language context, not because they want to, but because of the practical reality; PL is the dominant language in their homes. Similarly, on campus these students face another linguistic reality. English is the MoI at UCT and invariably it is the default language. They use it not because they have much of a choice, but because for them to be functional they have to use English. In addition, the reality is that UCT is a multilingual, multi-ethnic international institution of higher learning. Therefore, the student population comprises of people from all over the country, the continent of Africa and the world. In this context, English serves as a lingua franca.

The discussion on language behaviours shows that EAL students in this study shuttle between the formal and informal language contexts. In these contexts they work in more than one language. This suggests that they are multilingual by practice. This is a resource they bring to UCT, which I argue has positive implications for the implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan. The beneficial aspect of EAL students being multilingual speakers is that they could assist with the implementation of multilingualism at the micro level (in the classroom) in the short term.

5.2.2 Questionnaire of staff

5.2.2.1 Language contexts of staff

As mentioned in Chapter 4, the staff questionnaire comprises of 10 questions. Only Question 1 refers indirectly to the language context of the staff. I assumed that since the language context of staff members is generally obvious because it is regulated by their tenure, it was not necessary to probe it further. In this section I refer briefly to the implications of a context on the behaviour of staff members, as reflected in responses to the three subsections of Question 1. I do, however, discuss Question 1 fully under language behaviours in 5.2.2.4 below. The aim of Question 1 was to basically confirm what is known already – the staff's contractual obligations to UCT (the employer). I make reference to Table 9, which summarises responses to Questions 1.1 to 1.3 (see page 114).

Table 9, discussed in language behaviours below, shows that the context of staff at UCT is linked to the activities they do. Staff members carry out their job responsibilities as academics and administrators. They teach, do research, study and in the process, communicate with their students and other interlocutors socially. All these activities occur in both the formal (classrooms, offices) and informal (outside lecture venues and generally on campus) contexts at UCT.

Knowing what the contexts of the staff are at UCT is significant in that the data of this study show that language contexts influence language behaviours and preferences. The UCT classroom context presents lecturers with certain challenges related to their job. They encounter EAL students who might need extra assistance with English. This happens while the MoI and language of academic assessment continue in English. To me, this context calls for particular behaviour on the part of the lecturer. Question

10 refers to a scenario where an EAL student will need help with English in a lecture. For me, this question refers indirectly to the classroom context and probes whether the UCT classroom context is accommodating to EAL students.

The fact that English, and not other official languages in the Western Cape, is used as MoI is another context in the formal domain of language use at UCT. In response to Question 5 the majority (61%) of respondents argue for a change of this context. They call for the use of isiXhosa and Afrikaans alongside English in class. The reasons they provide are discussed in the topic of language preferences below.

5.2.2.2 Language Preferences of staff

This section presents results for Questions 2, 3, 5, 7 and 8. Questions 4 and 6 are actually related to Questions 3 and 5 respectively in that they provide elaboration or rationalization for responses to these questions.

Question 3 is aimed at establishing what the attitude of respondents is towards English as the language of academic assessment at UCT. A question on teaching acts was not asked because the focus was on provisions of the UCT Language Policy and Plan. Also, I hoped that once respondents reflect on academic assessment they might refer to teaching, given that Question 3 is an open-ended question. Question 10 discussed under language behaviours has almost a similar effect. Question 3 reads as follows: 'Currently, the UCT Language Policy makes provision for academic assessment in English only. Should this practice continue?' Eight (61%) of the respondents are against English being used as the only language of academic assessment. Four (31%) are in favour of the current academic assessment practice. Judging from the data in Table 9, it should not be surprising that the majority of respondents show displeasure with English as the only language of academic assessment. Another relevant case, which is not part of the data, but bears relevance to assessment practices in the Faculty of Humanities, is the Writing Centre that allows EAL students to write their essays in their PLs.

The eight (61%) respondents opposed to the current assessment practice of only using English focus on the need to provide assistance to EAL students. For instance Respondent 1 observes:

A student who struggles in English should be given an opportunity to answer in her/his preferred language. Learning in a language other than English prepares students for a multilingual environment.

Respondent 4 writes: 'students who are not fluent in English are severely disadvantaged'. She feels that academic assessment through English only should be replaced with a bilingual assessment practice: 'At Stellenbosch the policy has been for years that students could write in English or Afrikaans'. She advises UCT to: 'extend such a policy to isiXhosa and to think creatively around how to facilitate marking'. What Respondent 4's argument reveals is the need for students' scripts written in isiXhosa, to be marked by academics who at least 'have a working knowledge of an African language' (UCT Language Plan 2003).

Respondent 12 argues that changing the current assessment practice is a process that should be informed by proper planning. To this end, the respondent argues that UCT will first have to answer questions such as: 'who will mark the Xhosa and Afrikaans papers if the markers' first language is English?' This brings in a human and knowledge resources issue in African languages and, to some extent, in Afrikaans. Again, this has implications for the implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan. Respondent 3 makes a compelling case for the use of other languages alongside English in the lecture:

Not if it (English) disadvantages students who could express themselves meaningfully in other languages ... Some students may not know the language well enough to articulate complex concepts yet would probably understand such concepts well enough to speak intelligently and concisely about them.

Respondents in favour of the use of English as the 'language of assessment' acknowledge the fact that currently English is the pragmatic choice at UCT. However, they are of the view that in the long term other languages should be considered for assessment purposes. It is on this basis that Respondent 8 suggests that English continues as the language of academic assessment until: 'provisions for proficiency in South African languages' is sought. Respondent 7 argues that: 'on a short-term basis' English should at least continue as the language of academic assessment. Before other languages should be phased in, questions such as: 'who and how assessment in other languages will occur?' should be answered. In addition, the respondent further maintains that: '... the profile of academic staff', should change, as the current profile shows that academics: '... are not proficient in indigenous languages'. The respondent opts for English in the interim while UCT puts in place mechanisms to diversify and empower the academic staff, thereby making provisions for indigenous African languages in teaching and assessment.

The majority (61%) of respondents argue that there is need to revise the

current practice of using English as the only language of academic assessment at UCT. However, the monolingual profile of the staff is highlighted as a constraint regarding the marking of EAL students' scripts written in PL. In contrast to the majority view of the staff (to change English as the only language of academic assessment), 57% of student respondents prefer English to remain as the language of academic assessment. What this means is that students and staff do not agree on the issue of language(s) of academic assessment.

Table 8 below summarises responses to Question 5 which states: 'Should UCT use isiXhosa and Afrikaans alongside English in lectures (for speaking, writing and reading tasks)?' The question aims at establishing what the reaction of respondents is to the possibility of using isiXhosa and Afrikaans as MoI together with English at UCT. The discussion that accompanies Table 8 provides reasons for the respondents' answer to Question 5. Such reasons were evident in the answers of the respondents to Question 6 of the questionnaire.

Answer to Question 5	Response %	
	N	%
Yes	8	61%
No	2	15.4%
Other (Yes & No)	1	8%
Not Sure	2	15.4%
Total Number of Respondents	13	100%

Table 8: Reaction to the use of isiXhosa and Afrikaans as MoI at UCT

The majority (61%) of the respondents welcome the idea of using isiXhosa and Afrikaans alongside English in class. However, they argue that both the lecturer and students should be knowledgeable in these languages to ensure effectiveness. Respondent 1 suggests that the use of isiXhosa and Afrikaans as MoI be applied to: 'all subjects and not to be confined'. Respondent 5 refers to the ethnic and racial mix of the class: 'making isiX-

hosa a priority may change the student profile for the better'. Respondent 1 also mentions that 'students learn best in their first language ... as they will be able to understand concepts better'. Makhadzi and Nkosinathi (see Appendices 4 and 6) share this view. They draw on their experience as academics interacting with EAL students at South African universities. Students are divided on this issue of the use of isiXhosa and Afrikaans alongside English in class. 47% of students oppose the use of isiXhosa and Afrikaans in lectures and tutorials while 43% favours the idea. The data show that students differ sharply. Ordinarily EAL students are expected to be in favour of their PLs, but the data show the opposite. In contrast to EAL students, the majority (61%) of the staff want change in language practices. This is an interesting pattern emerging.

Respondent 3 lists five reasons in support of the practice of using both isiXhosa and Afrikaans as MoI alongside English:

- a. *It allows for an inclusive learning environment;*
- b. *it caters for all learners – slow and agile;*
- c. *it is culturally enriching;*
- d. *such a practice revitalises and cross-pollinates languages; and*
- e. *provides linguistic dexterity and prowess for the learners.*

Respondent 4 maintains that UCT needs to: 'move towards a more inclusive ethos' with the aim of: 'educating those at the centre (white English Speaking) students and staff better'. The respondent argues that 'English speakers' will benefit because they would be: 'competent in dealing with realities of the 21st century not only in SA but globally' – they would have been freed from: 'a unilingual mindset, which is a real handicap globally'. In a sense, 'monolingual' English speakers will be linguistically and culturally empowered by the official use of isiXhosa and Afrikaans in lectures at UCT.

15% (two respondents) argue that isiXhosa and Afrikaans should not be used alongside English in class because UCT is a 'world class university', which draws students and staff from all over the world. Furthermore they argue that EAL speakers are a heterogeneous group. They speak languages different from isiXhosa and Afrikaans. For Respondent 10, using isiXhosa and Afrikaans alongside English in class: '...would serve to exclude many Africans including some South Africans as well'. Respondent 8 suggests instead that: 'English should remain the medium of instruction', mainly for two reasons:

Firstly it would be time consuming and confusing to the majority of white students and secondly lecturers will find it difficult to follow.

The other 15% (two respondents) is uncertain of prospects of success regarding the use of isiXhosa and Afrikaans in class. Respondent 12 writes: 'it would be difficult and complicated to monitor and administer'. Respondent 7's doubt is prompted by the profile of students particularly in terms of socio-economic class, and ethnic-racial composition:

My hunch is that working class W. Cape and E. Cape black people where isiXhosa and Afrikaans are predominant are not entering UCT. It is likely that these might not be the predominant languages.

Respondent 2 falls into the category of 'other' because he answered 'yes and no' to the question. He claims that using all three languages for pedagogic purposes isn't ideal because: 'not every lecturer would be fluent in all 3'. However, he suggests that: 'language courses for lecturers' be arranged before implementing the plan. A possible solution to the challenge of using all three languages is, according to him, to:

... give part of a lecture in one language with complementary or explanatory notes in another. Most textbooks ... are in English; they could serve as reinforcements for those who are able to at least read English while lectures take place in Afrikaans or isiXhosa (e.g. Stellenbosch, UWC).

Question 2 requires respondents to express an opinion on UCT's suggestion to allocate resources for enhancing staff and student proficiency in Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa. Respondents 1, 2 and 12 all raise language issues related to academic activities, signage, tenure and administration at UCT. Respondent 1 argues that for the suggestion to work the culture of the institution should change and this could occur if: 'things like signage in the University ... begin to reflect the multicultural and multilingual nature of the University'. Respondent 2 is of the view that:

This process is undoubtedly necessary if the University wants to include as many diverse students as possible, so as not to exclude anyone, lecturers and other permanent staff could be phased in – in terms of their proficiency acquired through the necessary courses over a period of ten years.

On staff tenure, Respondent 2 observes that proficiency in all these languages would:

minimise job loss and enhance greater understanding alongside the ensured stability of UCT's staff environment, which can only foster clearer and more successful communication on campus in the future.

Respondent 12 focuses mainly on the implications of this suggestion to administrators; especially those linked to academic departments: 'it would be ideal for students but as an administrator the paperwork and administrative work involved would be an onerous task'. For the suggestion to succeed Respondent 12 suggests that: 'UCT would have to employ additional staff to implement the idea and deal with that workload'.

Respondents 6, 7 and 11 accept the idea that Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa are official languages in the Western Cape Province. It is for this reason that they are prepared to support any initiative meant to enhance proficiency in these languages. According to Respondent 6 the suggestion to enhance proficiency in the three official languages of the province is appropriate for students who do community-based research:

Students, especially those going out to do research in communities, which are mainly Xhosa and Afrikaans speaking, need to have a working knowledge of these languages.

Respondent 6 suggests that students be made aware of their participation as members in the communities around their universities. And as such it would be advantageous for them to know languages used in communities around UCT for example. This observation links with the need for language users to be aware of potential challenges their language contexts could pose. Such awareness might assist language users to strive for appropriate language behaviours in such language contexts. For Respondent 7: 'proficiency in other languages should also be encouraged'. This sentiment is shared by Respondent 11 albeit indirectly:

... the Western Cape has three official languages and it seems only fair that UCT also adheres to this. Although it may seem unfair to people of other provinces who work or study here.

Respondent 11 shows sympathy for EAL students who are not conversant with Afrikaans and isiXhosa, but still insists that proficiency in languages of the Western Cape Province be promoted. Respondent 5 claims that the suggestion: 'would help to make UCT more representative and deal with criticisms of continued cultural imperialism at tertiary institutions'. In other words promoting staff and student proficiency in Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa could be interpreted as UCT's positive response to challenges posed by the cultural and linguistic diversity of its staff and student composition.

Question 7 refers to attitudes of L1 English and Afrikaans speakers towards learning other languages, especially African languages. It

is based on the following suggestion by the Task Team of the UCT Curriculum Working Group: 'English and Afrikaans speakers should be encouraged to acquire at least a working knowledge of an African language'. Question 7 asks respondents to express views on this suggestion. In response, all respondents share the view that institutional support for the acquisition of a working knowledge of an African language (by L1 Afrikaans and English speakers) is a worthwhile exercise. The following are some of the answers provided by respondents: according to Respondent 1, one way of encouraging non-MT speakers of African languages to acquire such languages is to make: 'opportunities available for non-speakers of African languages to speak or learn to speak these languages'. The respondent suggests that potential employees: 'should have as a prerequisite a qualification in African languages'. For those currently employed 'workshops', conducted by the Department of African languages are an option.

Respondent 2 claims that this suggestion will go a long way to: 'cut down the high percentage of miscommunication in lectures, consultation, assessment, etc'. Especially since: 'there are many African and foreign students in need of clear and intelligible assistance'. With a working knowledge of languages of EAL students, lecturers will be empowered to support their students: 'particularly during face-to-face consultation, and for the further elaboration of terms in class'.

For Respondent 6, efforts to acquire a working knowledge of an African language by English and Afrikaans speaking lecturers means: 'that they are more sensitive to the learning needs of their students'. As L2 learners, lecturers: 'will also be in a better position to understand the language challenges that their students encounter', while grappling with English as MoI. The data show that even though institutional support is vital for the acquisition of a working knowledge of an African language, individual effort by native English and Afrikaans speakers is also important. There must be willingness by L1 Afrikaans and English speakers to endure challenges associated with the learning or acquisition of L2.

Question 8 requires respondents to suggest ways UCT should go about supporting a member of staff who wishes to learn an African language. It states: 'In your view, how should UCT support a member of staff who wishes to learn an African language? Please suggest ways'. Question 8 is indirectly related to Question 7 in the sense that both questions refer to the learning or acquisition of an African language as L2. Three main

points emerged from responses to Question 8. These are: the need for *formal courses, incentives* for staff learning an African language and L2 learning or acquisition which forms part of *staff development* in terms of staff tenure.

Formal Courses: All respondents share the view that UCT should organise subsidised courses in African languages. Respondent 1 suggests that staff be allowed: ‘time off to attend these courses’. Respondent 3 suggests that another way to learn African languages is to: ‘agree on a language for meetings or symposia’. Meaning that meetings will not only be conducted in English, but in different languages as well (e.g. isiXhosa and Afrikaans).

Incentives: Respondents suggested that staff members need extrinsic motivation to learn African languages at UCT. Such motivation would have to be linked to conditions of service for staff. For instance Respondent 1 suggests: ‘remuneration incentives for those who have attended such a course’. Respondent 2 proposes that: ‘the course would have to be virtually free or run at a very low cost’, in order to encourage staff to learn African languages. Both these responses are about financial benefits in relation to the learning of African languages. In addition to incentives for learning African languages, Respondents 7 and 9 refer to affective issues such as ‘political will’ and ‘change of attitude’ respectively. Respondent 7 argues that: ‘moreover it requires political will to create an environment where this is encouraged’.

Staff Development: Responses are related to UCT’s acknowledgement of skills acquired by staff members during their tenure at the university. In this respect, Respondent 7 suggests that the learning of an African language by a staff member be: ‘part of performance and staff development’ while Respondent 13 argues that the most effective way of showing support for a staff member intending to learn an African language is: ‘to do it through the staff development initiatives’. The point most respondents make is that if the learning of an African language is put at the same level with on-the-job training courses meant to enhance performance of staff (and sometimes lead to promotion) then staff members will be motivated to learn such a language.

5.2.2.3 Summary of language preferences of staff

The data show that all respondents favour the view that UCT should support staff members willing to learn an African language. Respondents suggested that such support be in the form of subsidised formal courses in these languages. Performance incentives were also suggested. These are

related to financial benefits and would form part of the conditions of service for staff. Finally, learning an African language was seen as part of staff development, which should form part of on-the-job-training. Respondents argue that learning an African language would have the same effect as on-the-job-training courses. They would motivate staff and enhance their performance especially in working with EAL students.

The issue of allocation of resources to enhance staff and students’ proficiency in English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa was raised sharply. Respondents extended such allocation to issues linked to institutional identity such as signage and the general improvement of the administration of UCT.

The majority of respondents are in favour of a reversal of the practice of using English as the only language of academic assessment. They suggest the use of both Afrikaans and isiXhosa alongside English as languages of academic assessment. Generally, staff members display a positive attitude towards the use of other languages in class and socially. This observation has implications for the implementation of multilingualism in the Faculty of Humanities at UCT.

5.2.2.4 Language behaviours of staff

In this section I present results for Questions 1, 9 and 10. All these questions deal with language practices at various levels. Question 1 deals with staff tenure – job obligations of staff at UCT (for both academics and administrators). Questions 9 and 10 refer to overcoming language barriers and offering assistance to a student struggling with English respectively.

The purpose of Question 1 of the staff questionnaire is to show what language(s) the staff (academics, administrative and support) use to:

- a. Fulfil their job requirements
- b. Communicate socially and
- c. Study or conduct research

Table 9, over, shows that 92% (12 respondents) use English to communicate socially while 54% (seven respondents) use Afrikaans. This pattern of language use is not surprising because UCT figures show that 70% of the staff is still white and English. Again, this is a reflection of UCT’s institutional, cultural Englishness. In addition to English, 38% (five respondents), 15% (two respondents) and 8% (one respondent) use isiXhosa, Setswana and a combination of Sesotho, isiZulu and Swahili respectively, to communicate socially. We can assume that this pattern of use shows that speak-

ers of these other languages are in the minority at UCT. All respondents (100%) use English for conducting research. The only possible explanation for 100% of staff using English to do research is the fact that English is the language of teaching and learning at UCT. In addition, since its establishment in 1829 UCT has been a monolingual English university. English is therefore a normative language at UCT. For fulfilling their job requirements, respondents use more than one language similar to communicating socially. The interesting point about responses to Question 1.1 is that at least 23% (three respondents) and 8% (one respondent) use isiXhosa and isiZulu respectively in combination with English for fulfilling their job requirements. Generally, the data show that English is the dominant language within the workforce at UCT.

Language	Question 1.1 Fulfilling job Requirements		Question 1.2 Communicating Socially		Question 1.3 Studying/ researching	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Afrikaans			7	54%		
English	13	100%	12	92%	13	100%
isiXhosa	3	23%	5	38%		
isiZulu	1	8%	1	8%		
Sesotho			1	8%		
Setswana			2	15%		
Swahili			1	8%		
Total	13	100%	13	100%	13	100%

Table 9: Question 1 – Language(s) used at UCT

The data in Table 9 show that even though English is the dominant language among staff at UCT, African languages are also used, particularly to communicate socially. The same as with EAL students, Table 9 shows that staff members also work with more than one language. The data in Table 9 is in line with the fact that PLs of staff respondents are Afrikaans, English, isiXhosa, isiZulu, Sesotho and Setswana.

The purpose of Question 9 is to establish what it is that staff members do when faced with a student or colleague who does not understand their PL. Question 9 states: ‘How do you overcome language barriers between

yourself and your students or fellow colleagues where they do not speak your own language(s) fluently?’ Almost all respondents acknowledge that they do from time to time encounter language barriers between themselves and their students. They claim that such language barriers occur mainly between staff and EAL students. Language barriers among staff occur in informal contexts. Unlike student respondents who indicated that they opted for English to avoid language barriers, staff members deal with this challenge differently. They suggested various ways of overcoming language barriers between themselves and their colleagues or students. Respondent 1 reports that: ‘*although we normally communicate in English with my Afrikaans colleagues, we do socialize and pass jokes in our respective languages*’. Passing jokes in their respective languages has the following effect: ‘*... in this way informally (we) teach each other our languages*’. However: ‘*with English speaking colleagues we normally communicate in English*’. When teaching students who are isiXhosa or Swahili speaking, Respondent 1 reports: ‘*I will attempt to explain concepts in their language*’. In the event students do not have these languages as their PLs, Respondent 1 indicated that: ‘*I would sometimes make examples from their language if I am able to provide examples in that language*’. These are some of the things Respondent 1 does to counter language barriers that might exist in his language contexts (formal and informal) at UCT.

Respondent 2 is an English L1 speaker who has the following experience with his EAL students:

In my experience second language students often come for consultation in pairs – often one student will act as a translator (meaning an interpreter) who elaborates upon what was discussed in the shared home language.

This example shows that EAL students have come up with a way of handling language barriers between themselves and their lecturers. An acknowledgement of this approach, of students by a staff member, means there is sensitivity on language related issues in the formal context of language use at UCT. Respondent 4 uses the skill of students referred to by Respondent 2 for effectiveness in the class. She writes: ‘sometimes I ask other students in the class to act as a “resource” – interpreting or giving me assistance in understanding’. In such a language context students are active participants in their learning.

Respondent 5 makes the following observation: ‘close consultations with students go a long way in overcoming barriers. This only works if students and lecturers are willing to engage at this level’. This observation

suggests that there should be a rapport between the lecturer and students in order to eliminate language barriers. When confronted with a situation involving language barriers, Respondent 12 indicates that: 'I speak slowly. I try to listen better'. The respondent argues that more often problems of language barriers are compounded by the fact that language users sometimes fail to listen to each other.

Question 10 of the staff questionnaire states: 'In your view how should students who struggle with English in a lecture be assisted? Please suggest ways'. 85% of respondents indicated that lecturers find it challenging to help students who 'struggle with English' as MoI. They, however, suggested various ways of dealing with this challenge. For instance, Respondent 1 suggests that senior students: 'should act as tutors in order to assist new students in the language that they best understand'. He further suggests: 'mentorship programmes can also be used ... in tutorials ... not in the main lecture'. Finally, Respondent 1 suggests that lecturers who encounter students experiencing problems with English should try to: 'work in partnership with African languages Departments, CALLSSA and PRAESA in pursuit of these goals'. The essence of this suggestion is that available resources be pulled together to assist students who struggle with English. In a sense, Respondent 1 is suggesting an institutional approach to the problem of students who struggle with English in the classroom level.

Respondent 4 suggests a: mentorship element ... with more senior students 'assigned' to younger students. She sees it as a: kind of community-oriented approach, which is: part of what makes a good scholar in the making'. In addition, Respondent 4 suggests: extra tutorials in academic development; going to the Writing Centre; attending EFL courses and UCT making such EFL courses open even to members of the public, as options to pursue. Again, the suggestions are more oriented towards an institutional approach to the problem. It is important to note that 'Academic Development' and the 'Writing Centre' are recognised as significant role players in enhancing language skills (verbal and written) of EAL students. For Respondent 7, mechanisms to assist students struggling with English already exist. What is needed is the: '... review and student input to change' such mechanisms. The point Respondent 7 is making is that the existing resources meant to help students struggling with English in the classroom should be put to better use. She suggests that mechanisms used to deal with this problem be reviewed and incorporate the input of students.

5.2.2.5 Summary of main points for language behaviours of staff

Data from Table 9 reveal a willingness by respondents to use languages other than their PLs in the formal and informal language contexts at UCT. This language behaviour is similar to that of EAL students. What this means is that some staff members are able to work in more than one language. Like EAL students, staff members engage in translanguaging, that is, they engage in multiple discursive practices in order to construct meaning. Translanguaging is an inclusive discursive practice that can also accommodate monolinguals because reading could be done in one language, while writing is done in the other (Garcia 2009:45). Translanguaging has a positive implication for the implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan, particularly in relation to the promotion of multilingual awareness and proficiency in the Faculty of Humanities.

Staff members show flexibility in as far as dealing with interlocutors ignorant with their PL(s) is concerned. They use English as the 'neutral language' to facilitate communication between themselves and those who do not speak their PLs. In the classroom, lecturers try to explain difficult concepts in the students' PLs where they possibly can. If all fails they use other EAL students to interpret/translate from English to the students' PLs (i.e. they use processes of translanguaging). Some suggestions regarding assistance given by staff members (for students 'struggling with English') are as follows: tutorials; specialised courses; and mentoring by senior students speaking the same PL(s) as the struggling students. Empathy is also seen as a way of helping students, especially at a psycho-social level.

5.3 Part 2: Analysis of interviews

A total of four in-depth qualitative semi-structured interviews were conducted. One of the interviewees is Naledi (Respondent 4 in the student questionnaire). Two CALLSSA students were also interviewed – one is a lecturer at UCT while the other is attached to a university of Technology in the Western Cape Province. Their names in the interview are Nosizwe and Makhadzi respectively (see Appendices 3 & 4). Staff member F's interview from the pilot study was also used. For purposes of analysis of interviews in this study, staff member F's name is Nkosinathi. A detailed discussion on the reasons for interviewing Naledi, Nosizwe and Makhadzi – and for using Nkosinathi's interview

responses from the pilot study data – are detailed in section 4.7.3 of this dissertation.

The analysis of the interview of each of the four respondents focuses on the language contexts (formal or informal) of the respondent; it also focuses on the respondent's language preferences (attitudes) and language behaviours (use) displayed in their language contexts.

5.3.1 Interview of Naledi

Naledi's choice of language and use are largely determined by the language contexts within which she finds herself. On campus (formal and informal context) she prefers to use English while back home and among friends off-campus (informal context) she uses Sesotho. She however reports that she also uses English at home especially with her friends and siblings. In the interview she code-switched and used both English and Sesotho.

Language contexts

Naledi's main language contexts, like those of other students who completed the questionnaire, are home and the university campus. The home context has both the formal and informal language contexts; however, interaction is socially based. What this means is that rules of engagement are not documented in a policy, but people behave in ways that fit their social context. For instance, when Naledi talks with older members of her family she assumes a more formal respectful demeanour. But when conversing with friends and her siblings, the interaction is more informal. In the home context Naledi mainly uses her PL, Sesotho. English is used in combination with Sesotho with friends and siblings. In the home context, trans-linguistic processes occur all the time because multiple languages are used. When she moves from home to campus, Naledi is in fact moving from a multilingual context to a monolingual context.

On campus Naledi is again exposed to both the formal and informal language contexts. In class and when interacting with lecturers and administrators (formal context) at UCT, Naledi uses English. She uses English in the formal context not because of her choice, but because this is what the context requires of her. With her friends in residences and generally on campus (informal context) Naledi uses both Sesotho and English, similar to what she does back home with her friends. In the informal language context, Naledi uses Sesotho and English interchangeably because this is what she is used to doing even back home. Here, it

is both her interlocutors and the institutional context that determine the choice of her language.

According to Naledi the formal language context on campus and the institutional culture can be alienating at times to EAL students. She reports that:

Sometimes we don't even participate in the lecture because I think ... hmm ... my English is too bad. So I prefer to listen to whatever they are saying and then I keep my knowledge in. I would rather go meet my lecturer after this and then I may talk face to face rather than in the lecture. So I mean it's boring, I am not who I am, I am not that free ... I am not really free.

Naledi's use of the pronoun 'we' suggests that she identifies with other EAL students in class. She implies that EAL students are passive in class because they doubt their proficiency in English: 'my English is too bad'. They tend to 'keep [their] knowledge in' because the language context is intimidating. Naledi prefers to go and meet her lecturer in the office and 'talk face to face rather than in the lecture'. This indicates that EAL students like Naledi are ambivalent about English. They do acknowledge that to be at UCT they have to use English, but they indicate that English can be intimidating to them. Another striking point is Naledi's use of 'they' in reference to L1 speakers of English in her class. This might suggest linguistic polarisation in the classroom context. This polarisation comes about because of the perceived power relations between English and the PLs of EAL students. English is privileged over the PLs of EAL students because it is the normative language and MoI at UCT.

In so far as it concerns language contexts, the data show that Naledi shuttles between the formal and informal language contexts all the time. The trend emerging is that she tends to use English exclusively in formal language contexts while in informal ones she uses mostly her PL, Sesotho. English is also used in informal language contexts, particularly among friends and siblings. The use of English among friends and siblings shows a generational shift in terms of contextual language use. This trend is confirmed in responses to the student questionnaire. Among parents and other relatives at home, EAL students use their PLs; but with friends and siblings the use of English becomes more pronounced. Put differently, the use of the PL is more pronounced in the older generation (parents, grandparents and relatives) than it is among the younger generation (friends and siblings). This generational difference in language use might be attributed to the influence of the school system. The school system reinforces the centrality

of English in Education and development. The use of English is therefore a status symbol, differentiating the educated from the uneducated. The pattern of language use described here influences language preferences and behaviours of Naledi and that of other EAL students.

Language preferences

At home Naledi prefers to use Sesotho because it is the language that she claims she is comfortable with. She is comfortable with using her PL at home because there seems to be no visible sanction for mediocre proficiency in PL. This is unlikely in the formal language context where language use is regulated. Socio-culturally Naledi seems comfortable in the informal language context where she uses Sesotho. In the quotation that follows she expresses her discomfort with the formal language context and declares her preference for the informal language context: 'while you are there [on campus] you are something that you really are not ... but I am sure that I feel more comfortable at home than here. Because that's what I am, I am being me'. Where the language context allows, Naledi prefers her PL over English because she is able to express herself better through it than through English. In the interview she explains that this is the reason she answered Question 14 of the student questionnaire in Sesotho. In addition, she used Sesotho because she wanted to ensure there was no ambiguity in her answer.

As much as Naledi prefers to use her PL over English, she is aware that studying at UCT has implications regarding language choice and use. In response to Question 18 of the student questionnaire which states: 'Given that you are at UCT by choice, how do you feel about having to study through the medium of English?' Naledi reports that she is very positive because she came to UCT knowing that English is the MoI. When asked whether she is comfortable and confident in using English Naledi replied:

Yes I have like through ... not just through lectures, but socialisation and all these other stuff ... The way I can express myself now is very, very different from the way that I used to before I came here.

This quote suggests that Naledi is aware that even though she would prefer the use of her PL, she has to adapt and be accustomed to the use of English at UCT. This shows Naledi's awareness of the instrumental value of English in the formal language context. She also indicates that her shuttling between the formal (lectures) language context and the informal (socialisation) language context while on campus, enhances her ability to express herself in English.

Language behaviours

Naledi reports that she uses Sesotho 90% of the time at home but on campus she uses it 10% of the time. This could be the result of a minority in Sesotho speakers at UCT. In social circles, on and off campus she speaks Sesotho 30% of the time. This increase in percentage might suggest that she interacts with more Sesotho speakers off campus. For the remaining 70% she mostly uses English. In lectures, tutorials, assignments and examinations English is the default language. As a result of this language context Naledi speaks English 90% of the time on campus. As Naledi shuttles between the home and campus, she shifts from using Sesotho to using English.

Naledi reports that her use of English in most language contexts has not affected her attachment to her PL. She is still proud of her PL. She writes:

I am not ashamed of Sesotho because in most cases you find that ... I mean the more you get educated the more people get to really sort of dislike their language or whatever.

In the interview she indicated that she agreed to give the interview in English because this was an opportunity to practice using English outside the formal classroom context. She reports that in the interview she felt free to express herself in her PL should the need have arisen. In a sense, the interview afforded her opportunity to shuttle between languages without any possibility of censure. This partly accounts for her code-switching in the interview.

Regarding performance in class, Naledi argues that EAL students are not at the same level with their L1 English speakers in terms of information processing. She reports that EAL students first have to process information in PL then transfer it to English to make sense of what is being said in a lecture. Her observation is as follows:

One thing is if you listen to, I mean to English speakers they make more valid reasons because they've got these good words to use. So 'wena' (you) with your language you are still translating – 'what I am gonna say if I want to say this thing in a very powerful and strong way that the lecturer can understand what I mean or my classmates should understand what I want to say'. So you really have to translate almost everything!

Like other EAL students Naledi would like to participate in class discussions, but she reports that she has to rein herself because she is uncertain whether what she will say will be understood by her classmates and the lecturer. This uncertainty is caused by her delayed language processing (or transference) from the PL to TL and vice versa. In the end Naledi does not

participate in class discussions because she is afraid that her proficiency in English is not up to the required standard (see also discussion in ‘language contexts’ above).

It is interesting to note that despite its ‘alienating effect’ in the classroom, Naledi voluntarily uses English at home. In the home context she uses English as a means of displaying her newfound knowledge and status as a university student residing in the township. In regard to her non-university friends and relatives, she is the topic of envy. However, with her friends from other universities she uses English to facilitate communication and to identify as a member of their social group.

Conclusion

This discussion has shown that Naledi’s language preference and use are determined by the language contexts she finds herself in. In relation to language use, Naledi displays an attitude of someone who is able to adapt very easily.

5.3.2 Interviews with CALLSSA students

5.3.2.1 Interview with Nosizwe

Nosizwe shares experiences she had with freshman EAL students at UCT. She also juxtaposes her school background to that of these EAL students who are mostly from ex-DET township and rural schools. The language contexts of Nosizwe determine the choice of language she makes. She prefers to use English even though she is isiXhosa speaking. She mostly interacts with EAL students in formal language contexts, that is, in class and during consultation sessions in the writing centre. She indicates that in these formal language contexts she noticed that EAL students first have to process information in PL and thereafter transfer it to English. An experience Naledi refers to in her interview.

Language contexts

During the pilot study Nosizwe indicated that she uses English for her academic work. A point she reiterated in the interview. She also revealed that she is not dependant on her PL (isiXhosa) because she received an English-only education from an early age. She reports that she uses her PL for social communication purposes. This means she is communicatively competent in her PL at Cummins’ BICS level. Her English education schooling at an early age contributed to this situation. She basically did not study her PL at

school level. Matter-of-factly, she never needed her PL for serious tasks or to get out of an awkward situation. As this discussion will show, her CALP skills in her PL are not adequately developed either. Resultantly, she mostly uses the Low-variety isiXhosa, which is used mainly for purposes of social communication. Nosizwe argues that she uses English in the formal context for pragmatic reasons. She reports that English is a ‘language of producing new knowledge’. She provides the following argument for her position:

... One thing is that **English is already established**. It is established as a **language of learning**, as a **language of writing**, as a **language of producing new knowledge** ... not that it won't hold much weight when you write in Xhosa, it will but you still are trying to establish things, which the English language already has. (My emphasis)

Nosizwe indicates that English is central to learning and writing in the formal classroom sense. In contrast, isiXhosa is not comparable to English in disseminating *new knowledge* worldwide. Lack of substantial textual or knowledge resources in indigenous African languages attests to Nosizwe’s claim.

Nosizwe indirectly refers to the development of terminology when she refers to English as *language of writing* and *learning* as opposed to African languages, which are *still trying to establish things*. By this, Nosizwe does not discount the possibility of isiXhosa or any African language from being used as MoI or *language of producing new knowledge*. She simply argues that academic writing entails the production of *new knowledge*. Such *new knowledge* should, in her view, be conveyed through an international language such as English. Nosizwe is convinced that African languages are not *validated enough* for use as languages of academic discourse and international influence. Nosizwe’s concern here is at an instrumental level in terms of language use in academia – a concern shared by many educated EAL speakers. When asked why she did not accept CALLSSA’s offer to write her Masters dissertation in isiXhosa, Nosizwe indicates that she could not write academically in isiXhosa because she lacked technical vocabulary. Writing in isiXhosa would have meant more work. She opted for English because with it she ‘sailed’ through her undergraduate studies. This response shows that Nosizwe’s CALP skills in English are more advanced than those in her PL (isiXhosa). Nosizwe typifies a case of subtractive bilingualism – where the acquisition and mastery of the TL occurs at the expense of the PL. The manner in which Nosizwe argues about language shows that she is reacting to how the institutional context has taught her.

Nosizwe, however, acknowledges that the language context at UCT largely influences one's choice of language. In this respect she conceded that generally the UCT language environment does not afford EAL students an opportunity to draw on their languages as sources of information. She shares the following views about the current situation at UCT:

... Even today UCT, in terms of institutional culture it is white, it is English you know. And you as a Xhosa speaker you just have to acclimatise to that. You just have to take who you are and try to fit in there somehow. So in a way I would say it is hostile. At the end of the day you are assessed in English whether you pass or fail. As a Xhosa speaker you have to take it that it is how things are.

Nosizwe contends that the UCT formal language context gives EAL students no option, but to get used to the exclusive use of English. The UCT context reinforces the power of English – English is the language of assessment. Proficiency in it will therefore be an advantage because it determines one's academic success. Even though in her words the UCT language context is 'hostile', Nosizwe still encourage EAL students to do their best. I interpret this as ambivalence to English by Nosizwe. She complains about the whiteness of UCT, but at the same time urges EAL students to persevere and use English. All this happens at the expense of PLs of EAL students. In comparison to English, African languages such as isiXhosa cannot offer what English does. There is a sense in which Nosizwe is ambivalent to isiXhosa because of lack of influence at university level. In an attempt to assist EAL students acclimatise to both the UCT language context and academic environment, the university has introduced intervention programmes such as foundation courses. Unfortunately EAL students have over the years developed a negative attitude towards such courses because of stigmatisation. According to Nosizwe EAL students feel stigmatised because such foundation courses are mostly meant for students from ex-DET township and rural schools. Nosizwe claims that upon admission, EAL students are subjected to comments such as: 'you have to take the language of Humanities because you might struggle. Look at your mark ...'. For her this is proof that the formal language context and academic environment at UCT are hostile to the linguistic and academic development of EAL students, particularly in their PLs.

In the informal language context, Nosizwe mainly uses her PL, isiXhosa. However, she reports that she is more comfortable with the non-prestigious Low-variety isiXhosa than the prestigious High-variety. Nosizwe indicates that the Low-variety is mostly used informally among friends and

family, while the High-variety is usually used in formal language contexts. She sometimes gets embarrassed while watching news on television (based on the assurance that her knowledge of High-variety isiXhosa is basic):

... Sometimes when I listen to the news, you know ... I sometimes think: 'am I listening to Xhosa news?' And then when I look, yes it is Xhosa news on SABC1 you know. But they are using the High-variety Xhosa ... this is quite embarrassing for a Xhosa speaker.

Nosizwe also points out that High-variety isiXhosa is not totally incomprehensible to her; though she is not accustomed to using it regularly. The High-variety isiXhosa suggests that African languages also have technical vocabulary. Technical vocabulary in African languages is mostly used in oration. This to me shows the richness of African languages. In fact, oration uses cognitively demanding discourses equivalent to so-called specialised vocabulary in a language such as English. The example of the two Afrikaans-speaking colleagues of Nosizwe – mentioned in the discussion on 'Language behaviours' below – is proof of this claim. She teaches them the little bit of the High-variety isiXhosa she knows, as well as the Low-variety. She claims that such an exercise familiarises her colleagues with the everyday spoken isiXhosa (Low-variety). Nosizwe is convinced that the learning of an African language does not only benefit her colleagues, but 'advantages their students' in the sense that students will be encouraged by the lecturer to use their PLs more often in class. For Nosizwe, such an approach will help promote multilingual awareness and proficiency at UCT. She suggests that UCT should symbolically reflect its linguistic diversity: 'in terms of size, in terms of signage and graduations', as documented in its Language Plan (2003).

The data show that Nosizwe mostly uses English because of her language context as university lecturer. However, she has developed sensitivity for the challenges faced by EAL students in the formal language context. Her diglossia experience with her PL helped her understand challenges EAL students face when shuttling between the formal and informal language contexts. She thus suggests that EAL students need to acclimatise to the formal language context at UCT in order to succeed in their studies.

Language preferences

Nosizwe reports that although she prefers to write in English, she is not opposed to the possibility of people writing in African languages. However, she argues that the prospects of writing in African languages in the formal language context in higher education are minimal. Her concern lies firstly

with the attitude speakers of African languages have towards their languages. Like everybody else, speakers of African languages perceive English as a language with international currency. They desire fluency in English because, as the language of global economic influence, it offers worldwide opportunities. Nosizwe argues that unless African language speakers are able to deal with the impact of this perception about English in African communities, people like her will continue to opt for it as the preferred medium of expression in the formal language context. Secondly, she reports that what counts for her are economic benefits. In this respect she writes: 'I want to put food on the table' and English is the language that could make this happen.

Language behaviours

Nosizwe reports that academic development lecturers usually look for meaning, rather than structure, when assessing written work. She stresses that a lecturer who has a working knowledge of students' PLs is usually sensitive to the kinds of errors students make. A working knowledge of students' PLs assists the lecturer in accounting for students' errors arising as a result of MT interference. As a result, lecturers do not penalise EAL students for superficial errors. In her case, she was motivated to learn Setswana: 'because at first year I always encounter a lot of Tswana speakers'. Drawing on what she refers to as 'new literacy studies' Nosizwe understands that her Setswana speaking students bring into the classroom: 'all [their] other knowledge and even [their] literacy as [people]'. She encourages them to use their PLs to bring out their creativity in class discussions. She reports that this approach helps because even the shy students, who 'are scared of making mistakes in English,' suddenly: 'feel powerful because they are explaining something to someone else ... it helps to facilitate understanding'. Nosizwe argues that if people are afforded the opportunity to think in MT, they are able to make sense of the material they are learning, presented to them in L2.

Another example illustrating the effectiveness of 'new literacy studies' is Nosizwe's involvement with two of her colleagues whose PL is Afrikaans. She teaches them isiXhosa, while they help her with Afrikaans. When she teaches them a concept or expression in isiXhosa she also explains it in English. Her colleagues, in turn, explain to her what the concept entails in Afrikaans. Nosizwe writes about the effect of this symbiotic language behaviour as follows:

... I am able to understand some of my Afrikaans students ... This is how the structure of their language is, which means that is why they continually make those mistakes. So which means I am more tolerant and less hostile towards that and when I mark I look for the meaning rather than penalise someone over surface errors, which first language speakers get away with a lot.

This attitude towards language learning and use in class also has the effect of promoting the notion of functional multilingualism. Nosizwe and her EAL students are able to function in more than one language. In such a context, the lecturer is able to probe students' understanding and draw out those who usually do not participate in class discussions because of the English proficiency problem. In the informal language context, Nosizwe achieves the same goal with her Afrikaans colleagues – she participates in Afrikaans discussions and her colleagues are able to comprehend when spoken to in isiXhosa. Both Nosizwe and her colleagues are now empowered to better understand their Afrikaans and isiXhosa speaking students respectively.

Nosizwe makes an interesting observation about students having to adjust to challenges of language use in higher education. She indicates that EAL students are not the only ones struggling with academic English. Other students also have problems, although not to the same degree as EAL students. In this respect she writes:

... English itself is constantly evolving. And that is why you find out when white students come into UCT, they have the same problems that black students have – that African students have. But because they are mostly pronounced for black students, but it is also about these varieties where they come in and they write at a particular level of English, which you feel no matter how fluent you are, you have to know the kind of English that you have to use when you write an essay; when you talk in an academic environment.

The point Nosizwe is making is that language behaviours of lecturers should not only be such that they address problems peculiar to African black students. Rather, the approach should be a holistic one. All students in the formal language context need help with academic English. Lecturers are expected to make sure that the CALP skills of all students are developed and their potential realised. When asked why she agreed to give the interview in English when both she and the interviewer are EAL speakers, Nosizwe simply replied: '...because you don't speak Xhosa'. According to her, she opted for English in order to facilitate communication between herself and the interviewer. In this instance, Nosizwe's

reasoning could be understood to mean that English brought convergence between herself as an isiXhosa L1 speaker and the interviewer as a Setswana L1 speaker.

Conclusion

The data indicates that Nosizwe's language behaviours and preferences as a lecturer in academic development show her sensitivity towards challenges faced by both EAL students and English L1 students. She favours functional multilingualism, where she, her students and colleagues are able to function in many languages. Nosizwe, like many other EAL speakers at UCT, uses English for pragmatic reasons. She: 'wants to put food on the table' and earn a living. Her language preferences and behaviours are thus influenced by this economic factor, as well as by the fact that English is globally the: 'language of producing new knowledge'. It has international capital and at UCT it is the default language.

5.3.2.2 Interview with Makhadzi

Makhadzi reports that she was encouraged to write her dissertation in isiXhosa by Prof. Young in the Concept Literacy Project (CLP), which operated from within the School of Languages and Literature at UCT. The work of CLP stresses the use of language in context, particularly the use of science and mathematics concepts. From personal conversation with Prof. Young it emerged that Makhadzi did extensive research for CLP prior to her MEd studies at UCT.

Makhadzi claims that the burden of having to think in her PL (isiXhosa) and then process and interpret information through English motivated her to take up the challenge to write her MEd dissertation in isiXhosa. Unlike Naledi and Nosizwe, she did not stop at observing the effects of this phenomenon, but actually used this experience as motivation for writing her Masters dissertation. However, Makhadzi is quick to point out that she had her fears because she had never written academically in isiXhosa. She was also uncertain about how to proceed because she could not find any reference material written in isiXhosa to assist her in a project of this nature.

Similarly to Nosizwe, the language contexts within which Makhadzi shuttles largely determine her language choice and behaviour. As lecturer, she uses English in the formal language context. But as a Masters student she uses both English and isiXhosa. She conducted research for her Master's degree at a township primary school in Crossroads, Cape Town. In this context she

mostly used isiXhosa, even though English was the MoI. In personal communication, Prof. Young reported that the decision to allow Makhadzi to write her dissertation in isiXhosa was not without controversy. He however did indicate that in the end, Makhadzi completed her MEd successfully.

Language contexts

In response to the question, 'Was there sufficient secondary material for you to conduct your research?' Makhadzi explained that all books she needed were in English. She was, however, greatly assisted by her participation in CLP. She reports that CLP shaped her approach in coinage and concept formulation in isiXhosa. Prof. Young confirmed Makhadzi's claims of having worked for CLP. In the interview Makhadzi calls for the intellectualisation of African languages. According to Sibayan (1999:229) an intellectualised language 'can be used for educating a person in any field of knowledge, from kindergarten to the university and beyond'. Drawing on Sibayan's (1999) understanding of the uses of an intellectualised language, it is reasonable to assume that Makhadzi's determination to write academically in her PL is a worthwhile exercise in a multilingual society such as South Africa. The likely outcome of efforts of researchers like her could be the production of scientific research material in African languages. Such documented research material might then be accessible to future researchers and those interested in using African languages as intellectualised languages. The point made here is better articulated in the following statement:

Because I believe for someone reading this, the thesis that you are going to be producing after you have analysed all this, will be saying: 'Ah if it could happen in isiXhosa ... a ke ngwale, a ke ngwale ka Setswana ... ahe, you know ... a ke ngwale ka Setswana ... a ke 'try' ka seNdebele, a ke 'try' ka seVenda'. I am sure there will be a lot of people who will be doing that. And maybe your thesis will help people to be curious more to go and access my thesis as well. I ... I ... I see it happening that way.

In this statement Makhadzi also expresses the wish that my dissertation research with her will indirectly market her own dissertation. She is of the view that people reading my research will want to read hers as well. In the process, research work written in English would have advertised research work that otherwise would have remained inaccessible, given the fact that isiXhosa is not as yet established as an intellectualised language.

In the absence of research documented in isiXhosa, Makhadzi had to decide whether to draw information from the Low-variety isiXhosa used

mostly in the informal language context, or from the High-variety terminology used in the formal language context. For example, she had to decide whether to use *'unxanthathu'* for triangle, or opt for the anglicized version *'iangele'*. Her choice was made difficult by the fact that there are:

So many words for different angles ... You are not sure whether to Xhosalise it and say iangele or whether someone will understand it when you are using the actual word, which is used, like unxa.

In the end, Makhadzi used the High-variety terminology because a dissertation is an academic document that uses technical, formal language. She had to constantly decide which words to use for which concepts. As an example, she had to find isiXhosa equivalents for words such as 'Introduction' and 'Overview'. To add to her predicament, the dictionary she used was the bilingual Fischer et al.¹¹ dictionary, which was dated and did not incorporate 'current' technological concepts. The closest she could get to isiXhosa equivalents for 'Introduction' and 'Overview' was with *'Imvulambethe'* and *'Intshayelelo'*. However, the difficulty with these words is that they could be used interchangeably for 'Introduction' and 'Overview'. To overcome problems such as these, Makhadzi had to constantly liaise with her other supervisor (for the isiXhosa version).

Makhadzi identified 'self-pity' as another hindrance in writing academically in African languages. She backs this claim thus: 'I hear everybody, especially if you speak isiXhosa or Setswana, say: "so I can't write in my language". So I am trying to understand what's wrong with us.' She reports that as discouraging as this might seem, she is constantly driven by her passion to utilise her PL in academic writing:

... So I've got this passion that I do not see a situation where I am told that isiXhosa can't function fully like any other language, you see.

Makhadzi saw her dissertation as a test to prove that a project of this nature is doable. Makhadzi's passion and enthusiasm to write academically in isiXhosa should be understood against the background of someone who had worked for a project in concept literacy. She thus experienced first hand pedagogic challenges facing teachers and academics who would like to use African languages to teach content courses. However, I do not believe this should be an excuse to write a dissertation to prove a point. Rather, it should be written to inform and to encourage others to do the same. To prove that the project is doable, much needs to be done and it will take more than just one example. The challenge for Makhadzi was not so much

the medium through which to write, but the subject she was writing about. Her dissertation is about the teaching of Mathematics through isiXhosa. Since Mathematics is a discourse specific subject, with countless concepts and technical terminology, Makhadzi reports that the first thing she did was to write her proposal in English. She struggled to do this and when her supervisor realised this, he offered to allow her to write the proposal in isiXhosa. For a while, Makhadzi had to move between two supervisors – one for the English version of her proposal and the other for the isiXhosa version. She reports that it was only much later that the supervisors agreed that she should submit only the isiXhosa version. In turn, the two supervisors met separately to discuss her progress.

The analysis of data for the student questionnaire shows that EAL students have at some point in their studies to adjust and be accustomed to the rigours of academic writing. In a similar manner, Makhadzi: '... had to be cognisant of the fact that I am (she is) writing an academic paper. That doesn't require my rhyming, my proverbs, because it is translated to be repetition in western thinking ...' Writing academically means having to internalise the discourse used and avoid MT influence.

Makhadzi gave the following response to the question: 'In what ways do you think your dissertation will contribute towards multilingual awareness at UCT?'

... It really will contribute because it will really portray UCT not me. It will portray UCT as an institution that takes up and implements the policies that are invented ... So it really places UCT at very high profile ladder in terms of the society ... UCT is not only an international University, but is an intercultural University that accommodates and embrace the diversity that's within there and it also responds to the National Language Policies that are there ... that all languages should be utilised fully in ... hmm ... not only in Higher Learning but other sectors of learning as well.

Makhadzi contends that by being allowed to write her dissertation in isiXhosa, UCT had begun to implement its policy of promoting multilingual awareness and proficiency. Makhadzi stresses the point that in a small way UCT is attempting to actualise the use of African languages in the formal domain. She alludes to the point made in Table 2 about multilingual programmes at UCT. In a sense, Makhadzi's comments confirm that UCT is more honest in accepting the reality of an increasing number of EAL students in its student population.

Makhadzi reports that her dissertation has the potential to influence the thinking of African language practitioners and scholars outside UCT. She re-

ports that scholars were inspired by her research findings and impressed by the fact that she managed to write her MEd dissertation in isiXhosa. She uses her PL to express her experiences of a national research conference held at UNISA:

Enye into eyandikhubthazayo kulo nyaka uphelileyo siku ICASA bonke abantu bathi 'Yho kudala lento siyingqwenela' ewe abantu bethetha besuka koUNISA ... bonke nje besithi 'Kudala lento siyingqwenela qha besingayibambi kakuhle singayenza njani ngoku UCT nisincedile nathi sizibona', zange bathi 'Sibongile', bathi 'UCT nisincedile ngoku sibona indawo yokungena' yilonto nam ndimbulela uProf. Young, ndiyayibulela ibodi yokwimi yaseUCT ibavumela abafundi babhale ngokwimi abafuna ukubhala ngalo, ndiyababulela ngezonto ezo banganeli kukukulunqa nje umgaqo othi makusetyenziswe ulwimi 'but' xa kufuneka marwenziwe. Ndiyabulela kakhulu.

This quote illustrates the point that Makhadzi had to use isiXhosa in order to fulfil the goals of her research. But because there is a dearth of literature in African languages in the area of her academic enquiry, she had no choice but to use English in order to access information. Personally, I believe Makhadzi's experience could be used as a test case. It appears to have been a once-off inquiry because there has never been any other such case since her graduation. A more systematic approach is needed, similar to the BACELS programme offered at the University of Limpopo (see Table 2).

As a university lecturer she uses English because it is the MoI. Similarly to Naledi and Nosizwe, Makhadzi shuttles between the formal and informal language contexts as both a student (researcher) and practising academic. In both contexts English is inevitably the functional language.

Language preferences

Because of the passion she has for both her PL and intellectualisation of African languages, Makhadzi prefers to use her PL in both the formal and informal language contexts. It should, however, be noted that Makhadzi is quick to demonstrate her preparedness for linguistic convergence whenever she encounters speakers she perceives as unable to converse in isiXhosa. As an example, she provided the following reasons as to why she agreed to give her interview for this research in English:

And the reason for that, I speak isiXhosa and I assume the person interviewing me ... O bua Setswana ... SeVenda ... O bua isiXhosa hanyane, and I realised that okay I will do accommodation I will speak the universal language. Only to accommodate the person ...

This preparedness to strive for communicative convergence is also displayed by Naledi and Nosizwe in their interviews. Similarly, staff and

student respondents to the questionnaires also displayed such language behaviour.

Generally Makhadzi shows throughout her interview that even though she prefers to use her PL, the language context within which she finds herself largely determines the language that she will have to use. In most instances such a language turns out to be English. Just as in Nosizwe's case, what would have been Makhadzi's language preferences are in fact her language behaviours. Her experience at the school in Crossroads, discussed in 'Language behaviours' below, corroborates this observation.

Language behaviours

As part of her research Makhadzi observed a teacher in a township school teaching mathematics in English to a Grade 7 class. Before teaching the actual content on fractions, the teacher had to address the language issue. The following points summarise what emerged during the lesson:

- a. The teacher used a pizza as an example to provide a context for her lesson on fractions.
- b. It would appear most learners were unfamiliar with the example of a pizza and this impeded their comprehension of the lesson.
- c. Examples in the textbook were presented in English and learners struggled to understand them.

Makhadzi reports that she suggested they rework the lesson and use isiXhosa instead of English. The idea was to improve the learners' comprehension of the lesson and academic performance.

When isiXhosa was used Makhadzi reports that:

- a. The learners were immediately responsive because they were familiar with isiXhosa.
- b. She and the teacher used examples such as 'umbhako' (home baked bread) to illustrate the concept 'iqhezvu' (fraction) instead of a pizza (which learners were not familiar with).
- c. The Low-variety isiXhosa was used to scaffold knowledge, while the High-variety consolidated understanding through assessment (written test).

According to Makhadzi the outcome of the approaches was: when learners were tested on fractions through the medium of English, half

passed, but when isiXhosa was used there was a 100% pass rate. According to Makhadzi, this result was not surprising because language proved to play an important role in the comprehension of concepts and enhances academic performance. In this respect she writes:

Also what was evident for me was not about the fraction. It was how questions were asked, the language of asking questions. The language that is used to process or the language that is used to get to understand the concept. That was the language that was causing problems for learners.

From this observation Makhadzi concludes that English acts as a barrier to knowledge for learners in this class. This could also be accounted for by the fact that English is an additional language for these EAL learners. Instruction words in mathematics such as ‘determine’, ‘simplify’ and ‘solve’ can also present a challenge to an EAL learner. When a learner is given a fraction and asked to ‘simplify it’ the first thing that comes to mind is to make things easy. In isiXhosa ‘simplify’ means ‘*kukwenza lula*’ (to make easy). The learner then gets confused because s/he can’t see what it is that is supposed to be made easy. What s/he sees is a mathematical sum – nothing that is to be made easy. Another such problematic word for EAL students is ‘solve’. For an EAL learner: ‘you solve something’, usually an ‘ingxaki’ (a problem). Makhadzi argues that EAL learners are sometimes baffled by the instruction ‘to solve’ a mathematical sum because they can’t see an ‘ingxaki’ (a problem).

Apart from lack of comprehension of instruction words, Makhadzi reports that EAL learners at this school did not understand the lesson when it was presented in English. She illustrates her point by referring to Nosiphiwo’s classroom experience:

... Then I said, ‘Tell me what did you understand?’ Then she said, ‘Ja, I understood when the teacher was saying it’ ... Then I said, ‘but apply this’. Then she says, ‘but no I can’t do it’. And then we will do it all of us in a group and talk. We use isiXhosa, you know and I will be saying, ‘now when the teacher says multiply it only mean ... all you do, you ... u ya phinda-phinda, wakugqiba uku phinda-phinda la manani, wo ngeza (that’s add) ... wo ngeza uhundred (100) ‘after’ wo ngeza uhundred, u thabathe utwenty (20) ‘then’ bangaphi o x abashiyekileyo?... You multiply this number by this number add this particular number and then subtract. But all the conversation was in isiXhosa. It was ... oh what do you do with xa uphinda-phinda? It only means ten plus ten plus another ten (10+10+10+ ...) plus another ten. If it is ten times ten (10x10), ‘it is’ abo ten abayi ten ...

Makhadzi concludes that EAL learners in Grade 7 should be taught through the medium of the PL in order to scaffold knowledge. In the

quote above Makhadzi demonstrates how the use of isiXhosa reinforced Nosiphiwo’s understanding of what was taught in class. For instance, the teacher referred to multiplication and addition of numbers, which confused Nosiphiwo. Makhadzi then used isiXhosa to make things easy for Nosiphiwo – ‘*uku phinda-phinda la manani*’ means to multiple and ‘*wo ngeza*’ means to add. With the isiXhosa explanation, Nosiphiwo understood. isiXhosa served the purpose of scaffolding knowledge for her.

Makhadzi reports that Nosiphiwo’s example prompted the teacher to use isiXhosa to the point that code-switching became the norm in the classroom. However, Makhadzi observes that as helpful as code-switching might be, it also has its downside. Learners in this class found code-switching frustrating in the sense that their notes were sometimes incomprehensible – certain terms would be written in isiXhosa while the rest of the information would be in ‘Xhosalised’ English (or anglicised isiXhosa). According to Makhadzi one bright learner commented as follows:

I wish she could just use isiXhosa, you know because when she moves between the two languages, while still trying to understand what she was saying in English, then she goes and uses isiXhosa ... and I am just not knowing how to put this sentence together. If there was a situation where she would be systematic in using her language and just use isiXhosa, and if she realises that we haven’t understood it then move to iEnglish, you know.

The point Makhadzi is making here is that the learners determine their own language of learning. The teacher might use isiXhosa or even code-switch, but the learners will determine their preferred language of learning. Again, this corroborates the claim that language contexts determine language preferences and behaviours. However, it is also possible that language preferences could sometimes be personal rationalizations, which might influence language behaviours. The discussion of student responses to the questionnaire, and Naledi and Nosizwe’s interviews, also indicated that language contexts influence language preferences and behaviours.

Makhadzi further argues that their (herself and the primary school teacher) experience with Nosiphiwo made them realise that their approach in their lessons (i.e. what language and examples they should use, etc) depends largely on the language context(s) of their learners. To encourage responses from the learners they had to use examples from the learners’ everyday social experience and language use. She reports that this approach had a positive outcome:

As a result when the teacher would give them class work ... you realised that they were getting stronger in even coming out saying 'I don't understand'. They could identify where exactly they did not understand. And what it is that they do not understand.

The point Makhadzi is making here is that effective teaching (and learning) will have to consider the influence of the social context (their PLs, culture and preferences) on the learners. It is important for teachers to realise that drawing on the learners' everyday language and social experience, facilitates learning and enhances understanding and meaning in the classroom.

Conclusion

The data show that Makhadzi uses isiXhosa in the formal context as a researcher. She does this for practical reasons – it is the language learners understand best. She and the teacher at the township school used isiXhosa in order to scaffold meaning for the learners. In her own research work Makhadzi shuttles between English and isiXhosa, primarily because of the dearth of literature in isiXhosa about the teaching of Mathematics. Like Nosizwe, she shows flexibility as far as convergence is concerned. In this respect, she uses English to ensure that there is communication between her and other EAL speakers not conversant with isiXhosa.

5.3.3 Interview with Nkosinathi

Nkosinathi argues that the current student profile of UCT justifies the use of languages other than English in the learning and teaching process. The UCT student profile Nkosinathi is referring to concerns the increasing number of EAL speakers in the UCT student population. Nkosinathi is in favour of the possible implementation of symbolic and functional multilingualism in the formal language context at UCT. Table 2 shows some of the multilingual programmes currently offered at UCT. Throughout his interview Nkosinathi stresses advantages a multilingual speaker has in a multilingual society. He illustrates this claim through his personal experiences in both the formal and informal language contexts. This is a valuable point to make because, in the context of this study, it shows that being a multilingual speaker is a pragmatic way of dealing with linguistic diversity at a 'previously' English monolingual university.

Nkosinathi goes into great detail explaining that Afrikaans is an African language spoken not only by white 'Afrikaner' South Africans, but by 'African' language speakers and 'Coloureds' as well. He argues that at UCT white Afrikaans-speaking colleagues show flexibility towards the

learning of languages other than Afrikaans. However, he reports that native English-speaking colleagues do not display such flexibility. It is not as if Afrikaans-speaking colleagues learn other languages (in this case English) because they want to, but rather because the context forces them to. English is the *de facto* language of South African society. Nkosinathi also states a well known fact the world over – that native speakers of English are notorious for not being keen to learn other languages. This attitude of native speakers of English has been reinforced by the fact that English has become a world language. As shown in other interviews in this study, Nkosinathi's language use and preferences are influenced by the language contexts he finds himself in.

Language contexts

In response to the question: 'Which language or languages do you use at UCT to do your work as an academic?' Nkosinathi reports that he uses English for lecturing and both English and isiXhosa for research. He writes:

Primarily I use English ... But my research requires me to use Xhosa ... eh ... I ... in my research work, move between English and Xhosa. I speak Xhosa ... I do a lot of the translation myself and then also interview people sometimes in Xhosa depending on the context. That's the research end of my work. Classroom work, which is lecturing obviously the medium of communication is English. However on occasions ... students have come to me after class and then I use Xhosa and Afrikaans.

Similarly to Makhadzi and Naledi, Nkosinathi reports that the context within which he finds himself determines the language he will use. Nkosinathi uses both English and isiXhosa, depending on who his interviewees are for his research work. Like Makhadzi, Nkosinathi shuttles between English and isiXhosa because of the nature of his research work. In the formal classroom context he uses English because it is the MoI. However, he indicates that EAL students sometimes prefer the use of their PLs in class because: 'they can grasp the concept more easily in their mother tongue' (a point made by Naledi in her interview). He reports that he is quite comfortable in using either Afrikaans or isiXhosa in the classroom. According to Nkosinathi, the significance of the use of the PL of EAL students lies in the rapport between students and lecturer. If a lecturer is able to show 'empathy' for EAL students they, in turn, identify with her/him (cf Cummins 2000). This is a significant point because it shows that the PL of EAL students could be used to scaffold knowledge and it also helps the student at an affective level – psychosocially.

Even though Nkosinathi is in favour of the use of EAL students' PLs in the formal language context at UCT, he is quick to point out that this should not be interpreted to mean that English should not be used. He reports that an approach that advocates either for English or EAL students' PLs as MoI is defeatist and goes against nation building. Nkosinathi argues for a pragmatic approach in respect to language use in the classroom (Nosizwe also holds a similar position). He raises three critical points regarding effective use of language in the classroom:

1. Firstly, Nkosinathi agrees that key concepts in various disciplines are 'expressed technically' in textbooks mostly written in English, but he argues that when the lecturer explains and unpacks 'a concept s/he can move into the vernacular' (PL of EAL students). He goes on to say:

... my view is that it also helps enormously ... I can think of a number of instances where students have struggled with the concept and when we moved into the vernacular somehow doors opened ... It does work!

This statement alludes to the pedagogic benefits of the use of PLs of EAL students in class. It also indicates that code-switching, as Paxton (2007 and 2009) argues, has pedagogic relevance, particularly for EAL university students. Even though incidents such as the one Nkosinathi refer to are isolated in the Faculty of Humanities at UCT, they constitute important attempts towards the practical promotion of multilingual proficiency in the formal classroom context.

2. Secondly, Nkosinathi argues that although he often converses with his students in isiXhosa, for technical reasons he insists that they also learn to express themselves in English. He maintains that this will enable students to better articulate their ideas in the formal language context at UCT and elsewhere.
3. Finally, Nkosinathi reports that he uses Afrikaans or isiXhosa in class to: 'build bridges between ideas'. These bridges are meant to facilitate understanding of concepts taught in class. In this context students are afforded an opportunity to draw on their PLs in order to understand what is being taught in class. Students learn effectively when they are allowed to shuttle between their PLs and the TL in class. This point is well illustrated in the BACELS programme offered at UL and in Nosiphiwo's example discussed in Makhadzi's interview above.

Nkosinathi reports that he encourages EAL students who struggle with English to recognise the fact that acquiring skills in L2 is a process that needs perseverance. He insists on 'oral communication' in his class. Nkosinathi argues that lecturers have the responsibility to create an enabling classroom environment for all students. Students should be made aware of the fact that there will be contexts, academically and/or in the world of work, that will require communication skills in English. Therefore communication in English is as important as communicating in their PLs. Nkosinathi is quick to point out that lecturers should be aware that there are situations where English could be used as a disempowering tool against those who are not proficient in it. He argues that such situations manifest as: 'Baasmanskaap', which takes subtle forms such as: 'facial expressions and giggles' in response to inarticulate inputs by EAL students. These are non-verbal cues that show disapproval. Sometimes these non-verbal cues are done unconsciously. Nkosinathi argues that this 'Baasmanskaap' should be dealt with as it: 'suggests that the lecturer thinks that they (EAL students) are stupid as opposed to just not being able to articulate something in the dominant language of the institutional classroom'. What Nkosinathi is alluding to here is language attitudes that need to change in order to guarantee functional multilingualism at UCT, at least in the formal language context (in the classroom).

In response to the provision of UCT's Language Policy (1999 revised in 2003) on academic assessment, Nkosinathi commented that English is supposed to be the only language of academic assessment. However, in some departments this is not happening, as languages other than English are also used for purposes of assessment. In this respect he reports as follows:

... a couple of years ago a colleague of mine approached me and said that he had an isiXhosa-speaking student and he thought that perhaps if she was given an opportunity to write in her mother tongue that she may be able to express herself better ... would I be prepared to examine the essay? So I agreed on those grounds to do so ... I think the point here is that there was an opportunity for a student to write in the vernacular ... to write in the mother tongue.

Nkosinathi argues that the approach of his colleague was innovative, in the sense that it afforded the student an opportunity to draw on her PL in order to express herself academically. This is similar to Makhadzi's suggestion that she and the primary schoolteacher teach and assess fractions in isiXhosa instead of English. Nkosinathi is of the view that what his colleague did should be emulated by fellow academics because the throughput

rate at UCT increasingly suggests that PLs of EAL students be used for teaching and academic writing. Again, this is an isolated incident in the Faculty of Humanities, but it inspires hope that the use of PLs of EAL students is doable. What is needed in order to assist the process is human resource and capacity building.

Nkosinathi reports that other institutions of higher learning in the Western Cape and elsewhere in South Africa allow for greater flexibility regarding: 'the question of medium of communication in essays and in the classroom'. But, in contrast, UCT has: 'historically been quite rigid, because it is an 'English campus', which maintains: 'English as the dominant language' of teaching. Though Nkosinathi is opposed to UCT's English-only academic assessment policy, he argues that EAL students should: 'learn the technical skills to be able to articulate their thoughts and argue in English'. It is in the best interests of EAL students to be able to use English at Cummins' CALP level because it has international currency and is the language of commerce and international trade.

Nkosinathi conceded that although the use of isiXhosa and Afrikaans alongside English in the formal domain are desirable, they could equally be problematic pragmatically. Without providing details of the practical problems the use of isiXhosa and Afrikaans could cause when used alongside English, Nkosinathi reports that he has found a way around such problems. Symbolically, he uses quotes from any of the PLs of EAL students while lecturing in English. He adopts this approach in order to encourage maximum class participation. Nkosinathi reports that this approach advantages EAL students in class because they now have the upper hand over the rest of their classmates. They can relate the content of the lecture to their real-life experiences. In this respect Nkosinathi writes:

Suddenly in that situation it is an advantage to be an Nguni speaker whereas normally they're always at a disadvantage because ... they are not speaking in their mother tongue. So suddenly it's turning things upside down.

One of the expressions Nkosinathi uses to encourage class participation is: 'Umntu ngumntu nga banye abantu'. Loosely translated into English it reads: 'a person is a person through other people'. Nkosinathi explains that when the concept 'ubuntu' is rendered in English, it is poorly expressed. To this end Nkosinathi writes:

... I think the original is rich, it has far greater meaning than the English translation ... Nguni speakers immediately know what I am talking about and can talk about it in a fuller kind of meaning and context. So I think that it has layers

of meaning whereas the very kind of surface superficial translation 'a person is a person through other people', I think, does not capture the richness of the original concept ... So I think there is a situation where English speakers in the classroom really wouldn't initially grasp the depth and the breadth of the concept, and even the English language I think doesn't lend itself to an equivalent of the concept whereas the vernacular would ...

Nkosinathi argues that the medium through which knowledge is transmitted is as important as the content of such knowledge. For Nkosinathi, the MoI can sometimes impede understanding of the content of lectures. In the quote above he points out that native 'English speakers' are at a loss when he uses the isiXhosa expression: 'Umntu ngumntu nga banye abantu', but that the Nguni speaking students will immediately understand what he is talking about. They will even get the deeper meaning of whatever he says. This, he argues, occurs simply because of the language being used in the lecture. Both Nosizwe and Makhadzi share this view in their interviews.

Language preferences

According to Nkosinathi, an effective way of learning a language is to have the right attitude and exposure to conditions conducive for language learning (cf Spolsky 1989; Cohen 1998 and Cummins 2000). His advice to people who aspire to learn L2 is:

... for me my word of advice to people is ... when you are acquiring vocabulary ... try and master the vocabulary and associate it with a given context and that context particularly that you will have regular contact with.

Nkosinathi confirms what Naledi, Nosizwe and Makhadzi observed in terms of language context. The language context in a sense determines an individual's attitude towards learning or acquiring a language. For Nkosinathi it is important to first understand the social context within which you are before you consciously learn L2. In his case he learnt isiXhosa because he immersed himself in an isiXhosa environment where both English and Afrikaans were not spoken. This context enabled him to learn isiXhosa even though it was an informal language learning context.

When responding to questions accompanying the following statement: 'The Task Team of the UCT working group suggests that resources should be allocated the promotion of UCT staff and students' proficiency in the official languages, that is, isiXhosa, Afrikaans and English. What do you think? Do you think it is something good?' Nkosinathi indicated that it is a good thing to promote the proficiency of both staff and students in the

three languages used as official languages in the Western Cape Province. He believes that such an approach will go a long way towards affirming languages other than English. For him, this approach is an acknowledgement by UCT of its African location. In addition, it is UCT's realisation that multilingualism is a reality in South Africa and in the world. Nkosinathi's point is that the sooner we all embrace each other linguistically and culturally, the better. Nkosinathi also comments on language preferences and attitudes of speakers of the different language groups (i.e. African languages; English and Afrikaans) at UCT. He makes the following observation:

I think that there is also ... eh ... an arrogance I think among English-speaking people and this campus is an English-speaking campus predominantly ... primarily and so I think there is a view that you know, English is the universal language therefore those who speak English as a mother tongue don't have to make an effort to ... eh ... eh ... learn other languages. I find generally that ... eh ... black African South Africans speak multiple languages and among my colleagues ... eh ... Afrikaans-speaking people, who come from Afrikaans families ... eh ... when they are on campus they tend to speak English. And for them really ... multilingual or bilingual probably even sometimes more than that, and whereas I find that for my English-speaking colleagues they have a reluctance to learn or speak anything other than English ...

Nkosinathi confirms what is a known phenomenon – that native speakers of English the world over are known for their reluctance to speak and learn other languages (see Tollefson 1991). He also confirms Bangeni & Kapp's (2005) observation that at UCT 'Englishness' appears to be a problem for EAL students entering the university. As for speakers of African languages, Nkosinathi indicates that they speak 'multiple languages'. For Afrikaans speaking academics at UCT, Nkosinathi argues that they show preparedness to use English and other languages. He also argues that Afrikaans is an African language. Nkosinathi regards Afrikaans as an African language because: 'Afrikaans is not spoken outside Africa as a mother tongue, though it has its origins in Dutch and/or German'. He indicates that Afrikaans evolved in South Africa as 'die kombuis taal' among workers in the Dutch households. Afrikaans is not only spoken as PL by white South Africans, but by the 'Coloured people in the Western Cape' and elsewhere in South Africa. Nkosinathi is quick to point out that the problem with Afrikaans is its historical association with the erstwhile 'Nationalist Party government' and its 'oppressive apartheid ideology'. He acknowledges that Afrikaans was used as a tool of the oppressor, but nevertheless he appeals to all South Africans: 'to reinterpret Afrikaans

as a language of the people', because a significant number of people in South Africa speak it as a 'mother tongue and they regard themselves as Africans'.

Nkosinathi reports that in the past there were efforts 'to promote Afrikaans as an African language,' especially at the University of the Western Cape (UWC). Nkosinathi argues that the promotion of multilingual proficiency and awareness at UCT is a welcome initiative, particularly for 'Afrikaans speaking people' because 'Afrikaans as a language has an opportunity to redeem itself' and free itself from the stigma of the past. He appeals to native speakers of Afrikaans to make an effort to learn other languages, especially the indigenous African languages of South Africa. His point is: Afrikaans speakers are already bilingual (they use Afrikaans and English) so it should be possible for them to also learn another language. He supports multilingualism because: '... dit gaan eintlik oor die hele kwessie van nasie bou en verhoudinge tussen mense' – it is about relationships between people and nation building.

Nkosinathi also makes an interesting observation concerning language preferences of EAL speakers (both staff and students) at UCT. He argues that lecturers to whom English is an additional language prefer not to use their languages in the formal and informal language contexts on campus, particularly with EAL students. To this end he writes:

Nantsi ke ingxaki enkulu, kukho ootitshala apha esikolweni, bayakwazi ukuthetha isiXhosa, Kodwa bayongena ukuthetha isiXhosa ... Kodwa ke Ndiya bakhuthaza abanye ukuba bathethe isiXhosa kunye nabafundi ngakumbi abakwazi ukuthetha isiXhosa. Mabathethe kunye nabafundi eklasini ngamanye amaxesha xa bedibana nabo bathethe nabo ngabanye, 'one-on-one basis', kunxono bathethe isiXhosa. Kodwa ke kukhona abanye abathetha isiZulu apha ekhampasini, iSetswana, iSesotho nezinye izilwimi. Nabo ndiyabakhuthaza ukuba bathethe kunye nabafundi xa bedibana nabo, bathethe ngezilwimi zabo. Kuba ke yindlela endibona sisiya ngayo ukukhula xa sisakha indlela e ya kwixesha elizayo ukwakha ikamve eliqaqambileyo xa siya ngolo hlobo ...

In this isiXhosa quote Nkosinathi indicates that lecturers who speak PLs of EAL students are reluctant to use isiXhosa or any other African language with EAL students during lectures and in informal language contexts (outside class). He encourages lecturers who are speakers of African languages (isiZulu, Setswana, Sesotho, etc) to use their PLs in class and on campus, with EAL students. He believes this is the way to go in order to achieve a truly multilingual society.

Throughout his interview Nkosinathi argues that using PLs of EAL students in both the formal and informal language contexts has pedagogical

benefits. However, he laments the fact that lecturers who are native speakers of African languages prefer not to use their PLs with EAL students in both the formal and informal language contexts at UCT. This observation raises sharply the issue of CALP skills of native African language speakers in their PLs. The CLP and ongoing research by PRAESA have, for instance, found that teachers in township (ex-DET) schools seem not to have gone beyond the BICS skills in the teaching of Mathematics and Physical Science using African languages. This is not surprising as these teachers were not trained to teach in African languages, but in English or Afrikaans. As the CLP has shown, the problem these teachers have is not that of terminology *per se*, but of the discourse of Mathematics and Science in African languages. In view of the picture sketched above, Nkosinathi adopts an advocacy approach to encourage his colleagues (native African language speakers in particular) to use their PLs with EAL students at every opportunity they get. Like Makhadzi, he shuttles between English and isiXhosa by choice (i.e. his research work and passion to learn isiXhosa). Language contexts he finds himself in determine his language preferences and behaviours. In fact, his language preferences are his language behaviours.

Language behaviours

In social circles Nkosinathi communicates in isiXhosa and Afrikaans. However, he uses English in conversation with people who are challenged in either of these languages. Similarly to both Nosizwe and Makhadzi, Nkosinathi draws on Giles' Accommodation Theory to ensure effective communication with people not conversant with Afrikaans or isiXhosa. Although Nkosinathi is linguistically accommodating, he reports that he deliberately uses isiXhosa with a colleague on campus to affirm indigenous African languages. He also converses in isiXhosa with this colleague and with students for ideological reasons – 'I think that it is part of this broader project to affirm our African identity and our African location in the form of language and communication'. Unlike Nosizwe, Nkosinathi and his colleague do not teach each other any language as they are both conversant with isiXhosa and Afrikaans (Nkosinathi's PL is Afrikaans and his colleague's PL is isiXhosa). Theirs is to popularise the use of isiXhosa in both the formal and informal language contexts at UCT. In Nkosinathi's terms, this amounts to 'turning the status quo upside down even if it's only for a moment'.

Nkosinathi converses in Afrikaans with: 'a certain Professor in Psychology'. Again, the idea is to affirm Afrikaans as an African language

and to increase its use in the formal and informal language contexts at UCT. When Nkosinathi says he and his colleagues use isiXhosa and Afrikaans for ideological reasons, he actually alludes to the need to challenge the tradition of using English almost exclusively in the formal language context at UCT ('Englishness' referred to by Bangeni & Kapp 2005). He advances the following argument to back his claims:

I think that English ... the reality is that in the market place English is the dominant language. So I am not ... I am not suggesting that English be done away with, but what I am saying is that at an ideological level, there are battles that I think need to be fought, battles do need to be fought. And one of the battles is at an ideological level ... eh ... is that language ... eh ... eh ... like English has historically and I think continues to be used as a tool to ... eh ... eh ... marginalise people, whereas I think this is the way to challenge that. The whole debate about multilingualism I think is an important debate at an ideological level because it is about waging this ... this war ...

Here, Nkosinathi argues that English has been used historically to marginalise those not proficient in it at UCT. The point he is making is that the use of other languages other than English in the formal language context at UCT, will help fight the tradition (or ideology of English hegemony) of English being the de facto language. For Nkosinathi multilingualism is the ideal process to fight this English hegemony at UCT. Again, Nkosinathi uses the language of advocacy to register his displeasure with the dominance of English in the formal language contexts at UCT. The use of politically loaded concepts such as 'ideology', 'battles' and 'waging war' corroborate the claim we are making here.

In terms of actual classroom practice, Nkosinathi indicates that the manner in which PLs of EAL students will be used alongside English should depend on both the lecturer and students. His view is that there should be no 'strict rules about how this should be done'. He encourages flexibility and joint decision making between the lecturer and the students. In response to the question: 'How should UCT support a member of staff in learning an African language?' Nkosinathi indicates that there is a need for formal training at a conversational level in isiXhosa or any other African language. In this respect he suggests short courses like: 'isiXhosa for conversational purposes'. He argues that African languages should not only be promoted in the formal language context, but suggests people should converse with each other in African languages at an informal social level, in order to facilitate multilingual awareness. Nkosinathi's focus is more on Cummins' BICS skills in the use of African languages.

Nkosinathi argues that in his informal language context (i.e. at departmental level) there is interest in promoting multilingual awareness and proficiency. In this respect he writes: 'I have a member of staff in my department who had previously expressed an interest in learning in conversations on a regular basis just different words'. What this means is that the learning of African languages can occur informally among colleagues at departmental level. As Nkosinathi explains, in these informal language contexts, colleagues have the opportunity to learn to use African languages contextually. This is an indication that: 'there are multiple strategies that can be used to promote indigenous languages and they need not all be formal'. Staff members could be encouraged to explore various means to learn African languages. It needs to be remembered that what Nkosinathi is suggesting is actually similar to what Nosizwe reported she had done with her Afrikaans-speaking colleagues. Nkosinathi's suggestion of formal courses for staff in African languages is already being implemented – MEP runs the 'Masithethe isiXhosa' courses for both staff and students as a way of promoting multilingual awareness and proficiency at UCT.

Like the other interviewees, Nkosinathi reports that the language context he finds himself in determines the language that he will use. Unlike Makhadzi, who uses English and isiXhosa in formal language contexts, Nkosinathi uses three languages (Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa). As an illustration of how he makes use of these languages, Nkosinathi reports:

... Where I have been asked to speak formally then obviously what I would like to do then is use the language of that context. So there are times when I have written out an entire speech in Xhosa for example and then got someone to correct it, make sure that there aren't any really bad mistakes.

This quote shows that the language context within which a language user operates determines the language that is to be used. In a sense, Nkosinathi's language preferences and behaviours are influenced by the language context within which he finds himself.

Conclusion

The data show that Nkosinathi uses isiXhosa, Afrikaans and English in the formal language context as a researcher and an academic. He uses English in the classroom because it is the MoI at UCT. However, he also uses isiXhosa and Afrikaans as a way to draw EAL students into his lectures. He uses these languages as a deliberate act to promote multilingual awareness and proficiency in both the formal and informal language contexts at UCT.

At times Nkosinathi code-switches when he uses Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa (similarly Naledi code-switches between Sesotho and English in her interview). Both Nkosinathi and Naledi tend to code-switch, mainly in the informal language context (socially). Nkosinathi extends his code-switching to the classroom (the formal language context). Like both Nosizwe and Makhadzi, Nkosinathi shows flexibility as far as linguistic convergence is concerned. He uses English to ensure that there is communication between himself and people who might not be conversant with isiXhosa or Afrikaans.

5.3.4 Summary of main points for interviews

The discussion of the interviews shows that the language contexts of all interviewees influence their language use and choice. This pattern also emerged from both staff and student questionnaire responses.

The interviews also show that English is used in the formal domain for practical reasons. The reality (context) is that English is used as MoI at UCT. All interviews reveal that African languages are mostly used in the informal language contexts, that is, at home and among friends on and off campus. The analysis of student questionnaires confirms this pattern of language behaviour.

Again, the interviews confirm an important finding, namely that EAL students in the Faculty of Humanities at UCT operate in many languages most of the time. Examples from this study are the code-switching of Naledi; and Nosizwe's, Makhadzi's and Nkosinathi's shuttling between PLs of EAL students and English in their work as academics. The preparedness of Nosizwe, Makhadzi and Nkosinathi to learn and use PLs of EAL students and staff encourages functional multilingualism in the Faculty of Humanities at UCT. Questionnaire responses of staff indicate that respondents are willing to learn PLs of their EAL students. For instance, they agree that the English-only assessment policy should be changed to allow students to use their PLs in formal academic writing. Such findings from staff questionnaire responses support functional multilingualism.

The data of the study show that respondents use English for instrumental rather than affective reasons. This is so because English is the functional language in South Africa. It is used as the MoI at UCT and in higher education, locally and globally. Finally, the interviews, just like both the student and staff questionnaires, show that language contexts influence language behaviours and preferences of the respondents. Which language one will use and how it is used depends to some degree on one's interlocutors.

5.4 Conclusion

I analysed data gathered from questionnaires of both students and staff; and from four interviews. The analyses of both questionnaire and interview responses are organised into three headings, namely, language contexts; language preferences (attitudes) and language behaviours (use). Tables and figures were used to give a numerical summary of responses of students and staff to the questionnaires. Questionnaire responses that reveal similar concerns have been analysed together and cross-referencing forms the bedrock of this data analysis. Responses of EAL students were triangulated with those of staff and with data from the interviews. Both cross-referencing and triangulation helped to show that language context influences language behaviours. In addition, language preferences (attitudes) are sometimes determined by social factors and can in turn influence language behaviours.

Responses of both staff and students to the questionnaires; and Naledi and Nosizwe's interviews, all reveal that English is the language of great influence. However, for Makhadzi and Nkosinathi benefits could be derived from shuttling between English and PLs of EAL students. They both argue that multilingual proficiency is not only desirable, but achievable in the Faculty of Humanities at UCT.

The language attitudes and behaviours of Nosizwe, Makhadzi and Nkosinathi illustrate benefits of multilingual awareness and proficiency. But they should be seen for what they really are: isolated incidents that cannot be used to generalise on the entire UCT EAL student and staff populations. For purposes of this study, which is a snapshot (2004–2005), these attitudes and behaviours (code-switching, etc) are significant because at a micro level (in the classroom), they might have implications for the implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan in the Faculty of Humanities.

The next chapter interprets the data analysed above and provides the basis for the conclusions and recommendations which follow in Chapter 7.

6. Interpretation of data and their significance

6.1 Introduction

This chapter gives an interpretation of the data presented in Chapter 5. It discusses EAL students' language contexts, language preferences and language behaviours, and their implications for the implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan. The findings from students' questionnaires are contrasted with those of staff. Findings from the four interviews and information from participant observation has been used in order to add value to the interpretation of the data.

Spolsky's General Theory of L2 Learning has been used in order to contextualise findings on language contexts and language preferences whereas other theories of other scholars like Cummins' BICS and CALP are used to interpret the findings on language behaviours. Language Policy documents have been used to contextualise and interpret language practices and language preferences presented in Chapter 5.

6.2 From multilingual to monolingual context

The results of this study show that the language context of EAL students at home is different to their UCT language context, which is predominantly English. Since its establishment in 1829, UCT has promoted the use of English in its institutional environment and in teaching and learning programmes. However, as indicated in Chapter 3, following the democratic changes of 1994, the university has adopted a trilingual language policy, which recognises two other languages, namely, isiXhosa and Afrikaans as official languages. It is clear from this study that although UCT has adopted a trilingual policy, English continues to be the dominant language, especially in formal domains such as the classroom, where teaching and

learning take place. The dominance of English in the formal domain results in what Bourdieu (1991) refers to as linguistic dispositions of EAL students' *habitus*. Their linguistic disposition denotes the way they are accustomed to using language at home. The linguistic context in the formal domain at UCT places strain on EAL students' use of their PLs on campus. In a sense, they are to use their PLs in a restricted manner. Coming from their home context, where they use their PLs most of the time, and getting into a context of language use where 'Englishness' prevails, is a challenge for EAL students to handle.

However, despite this dominance of English, the study clearly shows that by enrolling more EAL students, UCT's student composition is gradually changing. Statistics show that 50% of students at UCT are Black and out of these, 35% have languages other than English as L1. Studies also show that students at UCT are linguistically diverse (Paxton 2007 and 2009; Bangeni & Kapp 2005 and Smith et al. 2004). We could interpret this to mean that the Language Policy and Plan has negative implications for EAL students. This is so because the actual language of teaching, learning, writing and assessment at UCT is English, and not any other language. UCT's claim in its Language Policy and Plan – of promoting multilingual awareness and proficiency, is therefore misleading.

In the UCT social context, the UCT Language Policy and Plan expresses the institutional ideology of Englishness, even though UCT has adopted a trilingual policy. The target language of EAL students in the UCT social context is obviously English. In the home context, the social context of EAL students will be their usual manner of using language (their *habitus* according to Bourdieu 1991). In the formal language domain, EAL students are supposed to engage in cognitively demanding tasks (CALP level). I should mention that even if EAL students were to use their PLs in the formal domain, they would have to do so at the CALP level. It is a known fact that PLs of EAL students are not developed to the level where they could be used for CALP tasks.

Finally and most importantly, the UCT Language Plan (2003) particularly came about because of a directive from the then department of Education instructing all institutions of higher learning to draw up language plans outlining how they will promote multilingualism in their pedagogy and practice. Briefly, these are the reasons that led to the adoption of English, isiXhosa and Afrikaans as UCT's official functional languages reflected in its Language Policy and Plan. As for the LPHE (2002), it

influenced UCT's trilingual policy in that it requires higher education institutions to promote multilingualism and, where practicable, use African languages in the formal domain, together with English and Afrikaans.

Based on the background information provided above, I make the following observations in relation to the UCT Language Policy and Plan: The weakness of the UCT Language Policy and Plan is that it does not seem to be responsive to the profile of its EAL students. Promoting only English, isiXhosa and Afrikaans (questionable as this might be) has the potential of alienating other EAL students to whom these languages are not PLs. Its strength, however, could be based on what is practical. English, isiXhosa and Afrikaans are languages commonly used in the immediate UCT environment. In addition, Statistics South Africa (2001) shows that 41,4% of persons in the Cape Unicity speak Afrikaans as L1 (Williams & Bekker 2008:172). This evidence serves to explain UCT's decision to adopt the trilingual approach in its Language Plan and Policy. The Ministerial Committee Report (2005:21) indirectly supports the trilingual approach adopted by UCT in its recommendation 48.3. It recommends that each higher education institution be pragmatic when selecting an African language(s) as MoI. It stresses the link or partnership with both English and Afrikaans. It also urges institutions to make choices and determine priorities such as concentration of speakers and students; and regional and locality-specific criteria.

Because EAL students speak multiple languages, they come to UCT with varying degrees of multilingual proficiency. What this means is that these students do not necessarily need multilingual proficiency and awareness as they are already multilingual speakers and come from communities in the black townships and rural areas, where they use multiple languages as functional languages. They would invariably have a working knowledge of their PLs and an awareness of languages other than their PLs. As for the UCT Language Policy and Plan, it seems to be concerned with three main areas, namely: *Language Development*, *Language practices*, and *Multilingual Proficiency and Awareness*. On the one hand Language Development is more about guidelines for Faculties on how to help EAL students. On the other, Language Practices are more about encouraging students to use their PLs in the formal domain at UCT. I think Language Practices is the issue which directly applies to EAL students in this study. This is so because currently PLs of EAL students are not used in the formal domain at UCT. Even though the Language Policy and Plan encourages the use of PLs of EAL students in the formal domain, my concern is that the 'Englishness' of UCT

and the monolingual profile of most academic staff might militate against such a possibility. I think a lot of work still needs to be done in this regard. This one aspect will be a challenge to the implementation of the UCT Language Plan (2003), both in the short and long term.

UCT also seems not to tap into the multilingual expertise of its EAL students in order to promote functional multilingualism. If used, the multilingual expertise of EAL students could have benefits for UCT similar to the benefits derived by Nosizwe and Nkosinathi's approaches to language use with their colleagues and students respectively. In this respect, Paxton's (2009) study shows that code-switching, as used by EAL students, could have pedagogic implications at university level. Paxton (2009) also notes that code-switching enables students to explore ideas and concepts in a familiar environment. She concludes that: 'the acquisition of new discipline-specific concepts can be better scaffolded by code-switching and multilingual usage and that teaching methods that make effective use of code-switching may allow richer understandings of difficult concepts' (Paxton 2009:5). Code-switching therefore has implications for the implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan, especially as regards learning and teaching. However, I argue that in terms of the development of academic skills, code-switching lags behind because it is effective at Cummins' BICS level, rather than at the CALP level of abstraction and academic language use and proficiency.

6.3. Language preferences

As discussed in Chapter 2, language preferences of both EAL students and staff refer to their attitudes towards the languages used in their language contexts (formal and informal). The discussion in Chapter 2 showed that language attitudes of both EAL students and staff could determine their linguistic choices in the formal and informal domains, and vice versa. For instance, EAL students have a different reaction to that of staff on the trilingual policy suggested by the UCT Language Policy and Plan. The discussion that follows is an attempt to interpret the language attitudes of both EAL students and of staff in relation to what their language contexts offer. In discussing language attitudes, it will be unavoidable to refer to language behaviours. This is because attitudes have an evaluative quality and could involve emotive perceptions. Attitudes also refer to the instrumental value of language. For example, EAL students in this study are ambivalent towards English. This is a reflection of an attitude, because ambivalence is intrinsic.

It involves personal perceptions about English. However, such perceptions manifest into language behaviours in particular contexts. My conclusion in this regard is that language attitudes can either encourage or discourage the language choices a person makes within a particular social environment. For me, language attitudes are circumstantial, transitory and very subjective.

6.3.1 The trilingual approach

Results of this study show that staff members support the trilingual approach proposed in the UCT Language Policy and Plan. An acceptance of the trilingual approach by UCT staff in the Faculty of Humanities suggests an implied desire by staff towards integration. This could well mean staff have come to realise the need to develop their language proficiency in PLs of their students in order to be effective as eclectic lecturers and administrators. I argue that through their support for the trilingual approach, staff members are motivated to acquire at least a working knowledge of PLs of their EAL students. Research shows that this is a display of instrumental orientation towards L2 (De Klerk 1996; Moyo 2002; Heugh 2002; Steyn & Van Zyl 2001). The benefits associated with the trilingual approach could involve opportunities for staff to communicate meaningfully with their EAL students. This is a positive implication for the implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan.

EAL students surveyed in this study are divided on the trilingual approach. Those opposed to it hold this position because of the understanding that not all EAL students have isiXhosa as a PL. In addition, similarly to other African languages, isiXhosa does not have influence in academia or internationally. In other words, African languages have no instrumental appeal to this group of EAL students. Some scholars have also alluded to this fact (De Klerk 1996; Moyo 2002; Webb 2002). However, English does not only have instrumental appeal to EAL students, but appeals to most students (EAL and non-EAL) in higher education and beyond. In addition, English appeals to students because most academic literature is in English and assessment is also done through English. The reason is simply that English has symbolic capital as an international language (Bourdieu 1991). In the education system in South Africa, the symbolic capital of English translates into symbolic power, which makes English the *de facto* language. The foregoing argument proves that the attitude of EAL students opposed to the use of isiXhosa in the trilingual approach does not suggest tribal polarisation. The truth is that isiXhosa and PLs of these EAL students offers

no economic opportunities in the job market, compared to English (locally and internationally) and perhaps also Afrikaans (locally).

The other group of EAL students is positive towards the use of isiXhosa in UCT's trilingual approach. It could well be that as speakers of multiple languages, this group of EAL students has been exposed to isiXhosa as a PL or as one of the many languages they speak back home. It appears as if for them the issue is not proficiency in isiXhosa, but rather that English is no longer the only language of communication in the formal domain. For them, isiXhosa is a shared code among EAL students. I conclude that their motives for accepting the trilingual proposal are integrative. Spolsky's General Theory of L2 learning helps us gain a better understanding of the link between attitudes and behaviours in a social context. Spolsky (1989:131) explains the influence of the social context on L2 learning and use. Firstly, the social context plays a major role in developing in the L2 learner a set of attitudes towards TL, its speakers and the language-learning situation. Secondly, it determines the social provision of language learning situations and opportunities of various kinds. In brief, EAL students opposed to the use of isiXhosa in the trilingual approach are not motivated to learn through isiXhosa at university. These attitudes of EAL students have implications for the implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan. The fact that half of EAL students are indifferent to the use of isiXhosa means more work needs to be done. EAL students will have to be convinced that in current times, their PLs could be used as MoI or LoLTs at school level because they have cultural capital (Bourdieu 1991). Instead of the divided views of student respondents causing alarm, they should be viewed as an indication that African languages must be seen as part of the linguistic *habitus* in the UCT formal domain in the Faculty of Humanities.

The results of this study show that EAL students surveyed favour the use of English in both the formal and informal context. English is seen as a prestigious language in the informal home context. In everyday use, English is reinforced as the language of social, economic and political power. In both electronic and print media, English is the preferred language. Generally, EAL students are socialised through the school system up to university level, with the understanding that English opens doors of opportunities. It should therefore not be surprising when English is favoured above other languages, even by EAL speakers. Generally, English is favoured for instrumental reasons

and for being a prestigious language locally and internationally, as mentioned earlier.

In this study, Nosizwe uses English for instrumental reasons – to: 'put food on the table'. For Naledi, however, English could not express her ideas clearly. Hence, she answered Question 14 of the student questionnaire in Sesotho. Evidence also shows that Naledi adopted this approach for another reason. She doubted her proficiency in English and as such used her PL to express herself instead. These different language preferences could easily be explained using both Spolsky (1989) and Ridge (2001). In this respect, Spolsky (2004:217) argues that: 'the way people speak ... and the way they think other people should speak may regularly differ'. This means in a language context people will always display different language behaviours because of their differing language attitudes and expectations. For Ridge (2001:17), language users have different preferences to those a policy prescribes. Even though the UCT Language Policy and Plan promotes English as the default language, language users could still use their PLs, as Naledi did in her interview. These language preferences have a positive implication for the implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan, precisely because the UCT Language Policy and Plan proposes a trilingual approach, where English, isiXhosa and Afrikaans are functional languages at UCT.

The data show that both EAL students and staff continually negotiate their identities in the UCT language milieu. A case in point is the ambivalence of EAL students towards the use of English, particularly in formal domains. In some instances, EAL students hold the view that English opens doors to opportunities because of its instrumental value. They articulate the enabling power of English on UCT campuses and beyond. However, in some instances EAL students argue that English is not the only influential language in the world. There are contexts where English will be 'powerless' communicatively speaking. For instance, students in Social Development who might do research in a rural area or on a heritage site where the inhabitants of the area are not conversant in English, will have to use the PL of the inhabitants. In this context, the PL of the inhabitants will have more instrumental value than, say, English. This is so because to access information for their research, these students will have to interview the inhabitants in their own language(s). The ambivalence of EAL students towards English suggests to me that there are contexts which are conducive for the use of English, while others are conducive for the use of PLs of EAL students.

On another level, EAL students are ambivalent to the use of English because of their lack of proficiency in English. The fear of making mistakes in spoken English sometimes accounts for the ambivalence of EAL students towards English. In the informal domain, EAL students use English because it is a prestigious language. However, in the formal domain, it is the MoI and they sometimes find it difficult. This tension between the two contexts tends to frustrate EAL students. In the Faculty of Humanities, EAL students display this ambivalence and, as such, their language behaviours would sometimes indicate negativity towards English. Such negativity, in my view, is an acknowledgement of lack of proficiency in English on the part of these EAL students. Language behaviours, such as the ambivalence of EAL students towards English, have implications for the implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan.

The language behaviours discussed above go a long way towards showing that university language policies should bring about change in teaching and learning practices (LPHE 2002 and Verhoef & Venter 2008), particularly regarding the MoI and language of academic assessment. My view is that different people learn L2 for various reasons, and their proficiency in L2 depends on their use of it (see Cohen 1998). Furthermore, teaching and learning L2 is a dynamic and contextual process. Recognising this fact, different academic institutions have adopted different approaches to teaching and learning, particularly in relation to the MoI and use of PLs of EAL students in class.

As mentioned in the discussion in language contexts above, EAL students come to UCT with a reasonable degree of multilingual proficiency. I make this assumption because EAL students are multilingual speakers. They come from communities where multiple African languages are used as functional languages. However, the same assumption cannot be made for staff. At the time this study commenced (2004–2005), the majority of staff in the Faculty of Humanities was white, male and mostly monolingual (L1 speakers of English).

Staff surveyed in the Faculty of Humanities was positive towards institutional support for staff learning an African language. Respondents suggested that the university should organise and subsidise short courses in African languages. These courses are to assume the format of on-the-job training courses that will form part of the staff member's service conditions. Linking such courses to their tenure shows the level of enthusiasm and commitment of staff towards the use of African languages in the formal

domain. I should mention that what staff suggested in their responses is being implemented by MEP. MEP runs the 'Masithethe isiXhosa' short communicative course for both staff and students across campus. The positive response of staff and students to the 'Masithethe isiXhosa' courses, show that staff are indeed committed to learning African languages as part of UCT's drive towards the realisation of multilingual awareness and proficiency among staff and students.

Observations discussed above have positive implications for the implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan in that they all are skewed towards multilingual awareness.

6.3.2 Language of assessment

EAL students agree that English should be retained as the language of assessment in the Faculty of Humanities. This selected group of EAL students appear to embrace English as their functional language at UCT. They have accepted English for instrumental reasons. They therefore prefer the status quo to remain. However, the majority of staff are opposed to the English-only academic assessment practice at UCT. Their argument is based on the need to promote multilingualism on campus. Furthermore, their argument is backed by UCT admission figures, which show an increase in the enrolment of EAL students. In the light of this increase in enrolment numbers, it is reasonable for staff to argue that the UCT Language Policy and Plan should encourage the use of PLs of EAL students for assessment purposes. This difference of opinion between staff and students on the language of assessment might mean that expectations of EAL students and those of staff regarding language of assessment differ. Implementers of the UCT Language Policy and Plan will have to contend with this challenge. The other issue to consider is that the Faculty of Humanities does not comprise only of EAL students. This, therefore, means policy cannot just be tailor-made for this selected group of students. Policy is usually in line with the mission and vision of an institution. It manages and seeks to influence the behaviours of the majority of an institution's stakeholders.

6.4 Language behaviours

In this study, language behaviours of the respondents denote their language practices in the various social contexts within which they shuttle. Both EAL students and staff display language behaviours in the formal and informal language contexts.

6.4.1 Academic language proficiency

In terms of academic performance in class, EAL students are not at the same level as their L1 English speakers in terms of information processing. What this means is that EAL students first have to process information in PL, then translate it into English in order to make sense of the content of the lecture. The implication is that EAL students take longer to understand the content of their lectures. Sometimes they are completely lost because of the problems of equivalents in their PLs for English. Condition 7 of Spolsky's General Theory of L2 Learning helps explain the linguistic situation of EAL students in this study. Condition 7 stresses the development of academic language skills of the L2 learner or user. In Cummins' terms, this will be the same as CALP, which requires language learners to manipulate surface features of language beyond interpersonal contexts.

The discussion on the duality of language and academic proficiency in Chapter 2 shows the relationship between academic language proficiency and academic achievement. It further shows that if the language used for academic proficiency is not the same as the learner's PL, this will place great demand on learners when they have to draw on their academic language skills, because the MoI is not their PL. The result is non-participation in class discussions. EAL students are afraid their proficiency in English is not up to the required standard. Drawing on Bialystok (1991), this classroom situation could be explained. Bialystok (1991) observes that a distinction should be made between language proficiency in L1 and L2 when it comes to cognitively demanding academic tasks. She writes: 'second-language problems are depicted as demanding higher levels of skills than comparable problems in a first language because the demands placed upon performance for speakers in a second language are more taxing than those imposed for speakers carrying out the same function in a first language' (Bialystok 1991:123). To encourage EAL students to participate in class discussions, lecturers need to be aware of the language proficiency challenges their EAL students have to face almost on a daily basis. The implication this will have on classroom practice is illustrated in Nkosinathi's interview. He sometimes uses examples in PLs of EAL students (see discussion in 6.4.2. below). Practically, this means lecturers will have to learn African languages or, in the short term, use other EAL students as a resource in class to mediate meaning (through translation and interpreting). This is the real test for the implementation of multilingual awareness and proficiency in the classroom domain in the Faculty of Humanities at UCT.

6.4.2 Shuttling between English and PLs

EAL students display a willingness to vacillate between the use of their PLs and English. They mostly use their PLs at home because of their *habitus* (Bourdieu 1991) and social influence. They shift to English as and when necessary, or code-switch while communicating with fellow EAL students. Spolsky's Condition 48: Linguistic Convergence condition of his General Theory of L2 learning could be linked to this theme in that it describes a language-learning situation where an L2 speaker learns TL because of a desire for social approval of speakers of TL. This condition depicts an L2 speaker with a positive disposition towards TL. Because the context within which language is used is a determining factor of the language behaviour of, say, an EAL user, I argue that one of the innovations of the LDG to encourage EAL students to write academic essays or tasks in their PLs be encouraged. This is a positive implication for the implementation of one of the goals of the UCT Language Plan (2003), which encourages systematising the use of EAL students' PLs in academic discourse. Once EAL students are able to use their PLs in academic discourse, their participation in class discussions and throughput might improve.

The interviews show that the use of EAL students' PLs enhances their confidence and encourages their participation in class. When afforded an opportunity to code-switch in class, EAL students immediately become active participants. One of the interviewees illustrates the effectiveness of this approach in his teaching by using the isiXhosa expression: '*Umntu ngumntu nga banye abantu*' (a person is a person through other people). Nguni-speaking (isiXhosa; isiZulu and isiNdebele) EAL students suddenly have the upper hand over their classmates because they are able to relate to this expression on more than one level of meaning. Firstly, to them this is an idiomatic expression, which suggests humans should co-exist and enrich one another. Secondly, they are able to interpret its meaning in relation to the context within which it is used. Lastly, because of this richness in understanding, EAL students are able to respond meaningfully through their PLs and enrich the class discussion through their insights into issues raised.

The findings of this study also show that EAL students use code-switching in some contexts. As some respondents indicate, code-switching provides an opportunity for EAL students to shuttle between languages and express themselves in their PLs without censure. In the interviews, this partly accounts for Naledi's code-switching. Generally, respondents prefer to code-switch in informal language contexts where they are comfortable

with their interlocutor(s). It means code-switching and the use of the PLs of EAL students will have to be considered for pedagogic purposes. In the short term code-switching could be used to achieve additive bilingualism that will ultimately lead to multilingualism. When code-switching, EAL students and staff will be acquiring proficiency in the TL because they will also use their PLs. Difficult concepts will be understood more easily than would otherwise have been the case. The use of bilingual concept glossaries will also be of assistance in ensuring that multilingual awareness and proficiency flourishes in the Faculty of Humanities at UCT (Paxton 2009:4).

The language behaviours of respondents, including those of the interviewees, suggest a link between language and identity. The majority of respondents alluded to the fact that they feel more comfortable when they use their PLs and code-switch. Using their PLs affirms their cultural identity. The interconnectedness of language and identity has implications for the implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan.

The use of code-switching in class does not suggest English be abandoned as MoI at university level. It is one way of showing that when other languages are used in class alongside English, English could be made to play an empowering role. English will be empowering in that EAL students can then interpret their understanding to the rest of the class through English after they have been formally afforded an opportunity to first understand it in their PLs. Currently, English is used as the sole language of teaching. The truth, however, is that EAL students use both English and their PLs in the classroom. They use their PLs as languages of learning, while English is the language of teaching. As discussed earlier, EAL students first have to process information in their PLs and then translate it into English. Using English as the only language of teaching is disempowering for EAL students, particularly because of language processing and the English proficiency issue. Scholars have also argued that English should play an empowering instead of disempowering role in a transforming education system (Thesen 2006; Young 2005; Parmigiani 2005).

In conclusion, the advantage of code-switching lies in it drawing on the knowledge of EAL students, who are multiple speakers of African languages. However, I should caution that code-switching should be seen as an intermediate measure, and not as a lasting solution for introducing African languages in class. This is because code-switching operates at Cummins' BICS language proficiency level. Code-switching operates at this level because much still needs to be done in African languages before they

could reach Cummins' CALP language proficiency level. Code-switching only addresses the communicative aspects of language use, not the cognitive academic language proficiency aspects. I should state that what is needed in academic discourse is more than just basic interpersonal communication skills in the PL. High levels of linguistic abstraction and cognitive academic skills are required. With code-switching using PLs of EAL students, the latter skills do not manifest.

6.5 Multilingual awareness and proficiency

So far, this study shows that all languages, including English, are effective only for as long as the context within which they are used allows. What this means is there will be contexts that will render even influential languages such as English ineffective, communicatively speaking. For instance, the English equivalent of: '*Umntu ngumntu nga banye abantu*' – 'a person is a person through other people' does not capture the richness of the original concept of 'ubuntu'. It in fact shows that translation can be superficial and not contextual. What we have just explained is the essence of multilingual awareness. Being able to know that our own PLs could have limitations in relation to equivalents in other languages is a positive step towards the realisation of true multilingualism. As discussed in Chapter 2 Cummins' framework also helps us understand the relationship between language proficiency and academic achievement. It serves the purpose of clarifying the point that proficiency in L1 does not mean automatic proficiency in L2. Proficiency in languages other than one's PL is a positive approach towards language learning and teaching. It is a way of mediating meaning and encouraging participation in the academic discourse at institutions of higher learning, like in the Faculty of Humanities at UCT.

Though Dr Levin, a Cape Town paediatrician, is not a respondent in this study, his language learning experience typifies a classical example of the positive effects of the combination of the formal and informal conversational approach to L2 learning and use. His experience of learning isiXhosa illustrates the value and benefits of multilingualism in the workplace. As an L2 isiXhosa learner (an English L1 speaker), he initially had trouble when communicating with both his patients and the nurses who would, from time to time, assist him with interpretation for his patients. In this respect, he writes:

I found it quite difficult to work, so in trying to learn Xhosa I insisted that the nurses speak only Xhosa to me. I did most of my history taking

and counselling in Xhosa, but I realised later on that despite being able to speak the language there were still issues with words being used differently (*Sunday Times* 2005:13).

Dr Levin discovered through informal conversations in isiXhosa: 'that in some cases doctors and patients took particular Xhosa words to mean different things' (*Sunday Times* 2005:13). This made him realise that the context within which a language is used, is as important as its content. Informal conversations provide the much-needed contextual understanding of some of the concepts used in African indigenous languages. The point we are making here is that: the language context determines behaviours of language users and could influence attitudes of speakers towards the language(s) used. Dr Levin's situation also shows that the language one will use not only depends on the context and one's language preferences, but on the interlocutor as well. This suggests that in order to communicate effectively, language users should be eclectic, just like Nkosinathi. In this respect, Spolsky (1989:15) suggests that there are various ways of learning and teaching a language. However, not all these ways work with all learners in all contexts. Teachers will have to be innovative and flexible to their students' needs and be responsive to differing language contexts.

In this study both Nosizwe and Makhadzi used the eclectic approach alluded to by Spolsky (1989). Nosizwe taught her Afrikaans speaking colleagues isiXhosa and in turn learnt Afrikaans. Patterns emerging from Makhadzi's research findings are similar to those of research conducted among EAL university students. As an example, the data of Paxton's (2007:63) study illustrate: 'how important it is for multilingual students to explore their ideas in their primary languages' and shows: 'that learning is restricted when it is limited to the use of the second language only'. In Makhadzi's case, when she used the *pizza* example to explain fractions to her EAL schoolchildren, they could not understand. Nevertheless, after she used *umbhako* (home baked bread) a term from their PL, the children understood the concept much easier. This is evidence that using EAL students' PLs in the formal domain could enable them to access knowledge. The use of the PLs scaffolds meaning and understanding of difficult concepts.

In his lectures, Nkosinathi implements recommendations of the UCT Language Plan (2003). One such recommendation is to encourage a systematic and mainstreamed approach to the use of the PLs of EAL students in class. The PLs of EAL students are used as scaffolding to clarify ideas and concepts to students. Nkosinathi's use of the isiXhosa quote does

exactly this. His approach to teaching shows that the linguistic diversity of EAL students is an asset to the university. I conclude that eclecticism could help promote additive bilingualism in the Faculty of Humanities at UCT. This will imply lecturers should be open to new proposals and be flexible to the needs of their students. The work of LDG and findings of studies such as Paxton's (2009) show that higher education needs eclectic academics who see their EAL students as a resource, which could be utilised to explore the richness of phenomena such as code-switching in the lecture room. A final point to make about language use of EAL students in general is translanguaging. EAL students translanguaging by shuttling along a continuum of multiple languages they are exposed to. Again, studies such as Paxton (2007 and 2009) support the shuttling of EAL students occurring in the formal language domain.

6.6 Summary of main points of chapter

In this Chapter, I have argued that there is evidence emerging from this study regarding the occurrence of multilingualism within the Faculty of Humanities at UCT. EAL students and their interlocutors (staff) use their PLs for social communication and informal face-to-face interactions. In the formal domain, except for academics in African languages, CALLSSA, CHED and PRAESA, academic staff members generally communicate in English with EAL students and among themselves. This study has also shown that EAL students are flexible when it comes to the use of their PLs. They are prepared to accommodate language users who are unable to communicate to them in their PLs. For me, the following language behaviours and preferences stand out:

- 6.6.1 EAL speakers shuttle between their PLs and English. They mostly use their PLs at home and shift to English as and when necessary, or code-switch while communicating with fellow EAL students. These language behaviours could be contextualised using Spolsky's Condition 48: The Linguistic Convergence condition. EAL speakers accommodate other language users by making their speech similar to theirs in order to facilitate cohesiveness. I think this is a positive attitude of EAL speakers within the Faculty of Humanities at UCT. Linguistic convergence could be used in class to change the attitude of all students. This could be achieved by allowing EAL students to code-switch in class discussions and to translate information from English to their PLs and vice versa. For me, this will be actualising multilingual awareness and practice in the classroom.

- 6.6.2 The following practices all reveal that the successful implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan is dependent upon the positive attitude of all language users:
 - 6.6.2.1 The work of MEP established in 2005
 - 6.6.2.2 The utilisation of EAL students' PLs during consultation sessions in the Writing Centre
 - 6.6.2.3 The collaborative efforts of the Department of African languages in teaching African languages to students in the Faculties of Engineering and Health Sciences at UCT.

My interpretation of these language practices is that under the current social context dominated by English, UCT is in a small way attempting to transform its *habitus* (Bourdieu 1991) and recognise the cultural capital of PLs of EAL students and those on the margins of society. For me this is part of language management, meant to influence language behaviours and attitudes, without being prescriptive. It is a bottom up approach towards language planning, a process with which I strongly identify.

- 6.6.3 Code-switching could be a pedagogic tool used to enhance concept formation in the PL of EAL students and improve language development in the short term. In the long term, CALP skills in PLs of EAL students will have to be developed, in order to enhance language practices and harness multilingual proficiency and awareness in the Faculty of Humanities (see Paxton 2009). I argue that code-switching should be seen as a resource that could be drawn on as and when necessary, particularly when it relates to scaffolding meaning and facilitating communicative competence in the classroom. It should not be seen as a replacement for the actual development of PLs of EAL students as MoI. Such a development will help to take the use of PLs of EAL students to the CALP level. I do not agree with scholars who see code-switching as a permanent feature in the classroom. It needs to be remembered that code-switching uses the everyday low variety dialects of PLs of EAL students. Academic discourse requires language at a higher level than this (Bourdieu 1991; Cummins 2000; Spolsky 2004). As discussed in Chapter 5, staff, as well as EAL students, translanguange in the classroom. They engage in multiple discursive practices, (Garcia 2009) which do more than code-switching. EAL students can speak in their

PL, while the writing task occurs in English. This is particularly true for EAL students, who play the role of translators or interpreters in class. I argue that translanguaging as used by Garcia (2009) should, in the long term, replace code-switching in class.

6.7 Conclusion

In conclusion, it is clear from the discussions that the implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan will be effective if driven by eclectic academics and language users in the Faculty of Humanities. Evidence from this and similar studies show that the context, within which language users are at a particular time, will influence their behaviour and choice of language. For instance, in some domains EAL students prefer to use English, while in others they opt for a combination of English and their PLs. Among friends, EAL students code-switch, while in class discussions they do not participate because they doubt their proficiency in English. These language behaviours are indicative of the influence of both the context of language use and interlocutors of EAL university students.

Evidence from this study further reveals that what respondents claim to do with language is not, in fact, what they actually do with it. Their language preferences are sometimes at odds with their language behaviours. For instance, during the participant observation, I encountered EAL students who claimed that they preferred using their PLs with friends. However, what I found was that this was not always the case. These students will sometimes converse with each other entirely in English. What became clear to me was that, because of lack of equivalent concepts in their PLs for some technical English concepts, EAL students switched almost automatically to English, to avoid confusion. This is an example of how practical language use could force language users to opt for a language other than the one they would normally prefer. This factor made triangulation necessary in this study. Language behaviours of EAL students were triangulated with those of staff and the four interviewees.

The final chapter of this dissertation provides conclusions of this study. It also gives recommendations for further investigation regarding language preferences and contexts in relation to language development, language practices and multilingual proficiency and awareness in the Faculty of Humanities at UCT.

7. Conclusions and recommendations

7.1 Introduction

This study is a snapshot taken between 2004 and 2005. It captures language contexts, language preferences and language behaviours of EAL students and of staff in the Faculty of Humanities at UCT. It explores the implications of these language contexts, preferences and behaviours for the implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan. The rationale for conducting this research is to gain an understanding of such implications towards the implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan.

The literature review shows that attitudes are not static and, as a result, need continued evaluation. Because this study analyzes attitudes observed during a particular period, I acknowledge the possibility of a changed landscape by the time its findings are published. Furthermore, ongoing work of MEP on glossaries and research conducted by the LDG in relation to concept formulation using PLs of EAL students adds to this possibility.

7.2 Summary of findings

The following is a summary of the main findings of this study:

- 7.2.1 The language context in the Faculty of Humanities at UCT is predominantly English. The dominance of English is also due to the fact that 70% of staff at UCT is English. Thus, English is used in the classroom both for general communication purposes and for engaging in academic discourse. All these factors suggest that the language context in the Faculty of Humanities does not easily lend itself to the implementation of multilingualism. In addition, such a context clearly has negative implications for the implementation of the UCT Language Policy and

Plan, in the sense that the language policy and plan is concerned with promoting multilingual awareness and proficiency.

- 7.2.2 The UCT language context is in sharp contrast to EAL students' home contexts, which promote the use of multiple languages. In this language context, PLs of EAL students are dominant. Unlike the UCT language context, the home language context allows EAL students to practise multilingualism. The implication for the implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan is again negative – EAL students come to UCT already as multilingual speakers of the different African languages. They are thus well placed to assist the drive towards multilingual awareness and proficiency in the Faculty of Humanities, but are not afforded the opportunity to do so.
- 7.2.3 By allowing a Masters Dissertation to be systematically supervised, written and assessed in isiXhosa, the Faculty of Humanities succeeded in implementing the UCT Language Policy and Plan. The dissertation is available to EAL students, staff and researchers at UCT and beyond. This is a positive development for the promotion of multilingual awareness and proficiency in the Faculty of Humanities at UCT.
- 7.2.4 EAL students are ambivalent to both English and their PLs. Their ambivalence towards English arises out of their appreciation for the instrumental benefits of English as the language of commerce, social functionality and international capital. However, they are still not prepared to shift from their PLs, preferring to use these when interacting with members of their families, friends and communities at home and on campus. Their ambivalence towards their PLs comes about because of the comparison they make with English. They rationalise that their PLs are not developed enough to be used as MoI. EAL students reckon that, unlike English, their PLs do not have international influence. They mainly use their PLs for integrative purposes and English for instrumental reasons. Implications of this ambivalence for the implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan are generally positive. It means with the use of many languages, EAL students will be able to use English for instrumental reasons and their PLs for integrative purposes. In a sense Spolsky's Condition 48 of linguistic convergence discussed in Chapter 2 will benefit both EAL students and other language users in the Faculty of Humanities. Language practices at the micro-level (classroom) will encourage linguistic convergence.

- 7.2.5 Currently, language behaviours of EAL students in the classroom reveal that they shuttle between languages. Their language of learning is for instance, not the same as the language of teaching. In addition, their passive participation in class indicates that they generally feel marginalised in the classroom. They feel so because of the Englishness of the university and their lack of proficiency in English as the MoI. To cope in this context they generally use code-switching as a solidarity code among themselves. Because of their English proficiency problem they tend not to participate fully in the discourse of the classroom. As discussed in Chapter 5, EAL students will raise issues among themselves outside class or as Naledi indicated in her interview, they will go to see the lecturer privately. These language behaviours have implications for classroom pedagogy and implementation of the Language Policy and Plan in general. In the first instance the throughput of EAL students might be negatively affected and secondly, linguistic and cultural integration in the classroom will be negatively affected.
- 7.2.6 The study shows that staff welcome the idea of using PLs of EAL students for assessment purposes. The growing enrolment figures of EAL students and the effectiveness of Academic Development programmes in improving throughput rates of EAL students motivate staff to adopt this approach. In contrast, EAL students reject the use of three languages (Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa) in teaching and assessment. This difference in attitude between EAL students and staff towards the language of assessment and teaching has implications for the implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan. This might mean that implementers of the language policy and plan will have to assess reasons that motivate the attitude of both parties. For me what are at stake are perceptions held by both staff and students regarding language practices and pedagogy. Staff is in favour of linguistic integration, while students are concerned about shortcomings of their languages in relation to English. The implication for the implementation of the Language Policy and Plan is positive. However, there is a challenge that will need dialogue so as to strive for common ground. This is more an issue of practicality than anything else.
- 7.2.7 On the one hand, the shuttling of EAL students between the formal and informal language contexts affords them an opportunity to work

in more than one language, thus translanguaging becomes their strong linguistic attribute. On the other, staff members' interest in on-the-job short communicative courses in PLs of EAL students, and their appeal for support for members of staff interested in such courses, shows that there is a positive spirit regarding multilingual awareness in the Faculty of Humanities. These are positive developments that have potential to positively impact the implementation of UCT's Language Policy and Plan in the Faculty.

- The study's emergent data show that language behaviours and preferences occur within the various language contexts of EAL students and of staff. Most respondents in this study operate between the formal and informal language contexts all the time. However, EAL students do not only move between the formal and informal language contexts, but also between languages. It is this translanguaging that could be used to assist the process of implementing multilingual awareness and proficiency in the Faculty of Humanities at UCT.

7.3 Recommendations

In view of the analysis and interpretation of the results of this study, the following recommendations are made:

- 7.3.1 Multilingualism should be promoted by changing the institutional identity through signage and make UCT more inclusive. This is necessary at a symbolic level because unless there are visible signs that attempts are being made to transform the institutional culture, EAL students will continue to feel alienated at UCT (see Bangeni & Kapp 2005; Paxton 2007, 2009).
- 7.3.2 Implementing multilingualism in the classroom in the Faculty of Humanities will mean that in the short-term the following steps should be taken:
 - 7.3.2.1 Consider using multilingual tutors (preferably EAL speakers) to facilitate the use of many languages in the classroom. This will make multilingualism to be effective.
 - 7.3.2.2 Consider using code-switching as a tool to aid teaching and learning. Code-switching should also be used to encourage EAL students to participate in class discussions.

- 7.3.2.3 Translanguaging should be used in the long-term as a tool to enhance teaching and learning, along the lines suggested by scholars such as Garcia (2009).
- 7.3.3 The throughput rate of EAL students should be increased by using their PLs to scaffold knowledge in the formal language domain. As mentioned above, in the short term, multilingual tutors will fill this gap. However, long-term solutions should be explored because tutors come and go. CHED, in particular research and work done by LDG, could guide this process.
- 7.3.4 The UCT Language Policy and Plan should be viewed as a curriculum intervention initiative intended to influence language attitudes and behaviours at macro-, meso- and micro institutional levels. The macro level is the broad institutional context, while the meso level comprises Faculties (departments, units and administration in general); the micro level is basically the classroom, where learning and teaching occurs. It is at the micro level that I think we will have to cascade change and transformation.
- 7.3.5 Short workplace communicative orientated courses in isiXhosa, Afrikaans and Sesotho should be offered to staff and students. The UCT Language Policy Committee should recommend that such courses be recognised as part of on-the-job-training (performance appraisal) for staff. For students, these should be credit-bearing courses as recommended in the UCT Language Plan (2003).
- 7.3.6 MEP should prioritise the production of multilingual texts, such as the resource book for teachers produced by the CALLSSA Concept Literacy Project.
- 7.3.7 A more detailed university-wide quantitative language survey (see University of Stellenbosch 2005) should be conducted to further explore language attitudes and behaviours of both EAL students and of staff. This will assist in making generalisations regarding implications for the implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan. It will also help understand the ambivalence of EAL students towards their PLs and English.

As mentioned in Chapter 4 the value of this study lies in it serving the purpose of a pilot study. Its framework and methodology could be useful in

further research (see recommendation 7 above). The trends it has identified in relation to multilingualism and implications for the implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan could be useful starting points for a more detailed university-wide quantitative language survey. Such a survey might either confirm or dispute findings of the current study. The limitation of the current study is that it cannot make generalisations on the entire UCT community about language contexts, preferences and behaviours of EAL students and of staff. It can only reflect the snapshot as was taken during 2004–2005.

7.4 Conclusion

The data emerging from this study show that only EAL students seem to be doing the adjusting to the UCT institutional English culture that Bangeni & Kapp refer to as the ‘Englishness’ of UCT. EAL students also appear to be the only ones who are shuttling between languages, i.e. code-switching, using multiple languages and translanguaging. The process seems not to go the other way round. Their English L1 counterparts do not do the same. This then leads to questions such as: Is multilingualism feasible in such a language context? Is such a language context not reinforcing the power of English at UCT? I argue that the language context in the Faculty of Humanities does not lend itself to the implementation of multilingualism. To advance multilingualism, the classroom should be seen as the place where to cascade change. Policy is there to guide, but people decide how and when to react to situations (see also Ridge 2001). The discussion in Chapters 3 and 6 showed that policies can be manipulated by their human handlers. In some instances policies can reinforce the dominant ideology in subtle ways. Sometimes policies work sometimes they don’t. Spolsky illustrates this point with the example of the language policy of Monash University, which collapsed soon after it was introduced (Spolsky 2004).

Answers to questions raised above are not that simple. To answer them we need evidence from a more representative study, such as the one recommended in point 7 above. What could be said however is that the language context within which EAL students find themselves has implications for the implementation of the UCT Language Policy and Plan. Such implications have been summarised in section 7.2 of this chapter. The fact that the UCT Language Policy states unambiguously that English is the MoI, is in itself evidence that policies reflect institutional identity and culture. In a sense the language context in the Faculty of Humanities, through the UCT

Language Policy reinforces the dominance of English, even though the Language Plan promotes multilingualism. Data from this study show that stakeholders in the Faculty of Humanities at UCT should not be fixated on: 'the flogging of the dead horse of the hegemony of English' (Young 2005:56). What they should rather accept is: 'that English will probably remain the preferred language of choice as SA's Language of Instruction (LoI)' (ibid.). What could be done by those on the margins at UCT is to heed these words of one of the respondents in this study:

African languages are an (embodiment) of our heritage, they tell a story, we need to preserve them ... uplift them and use them more (Student Respondent 12; see 5.2.1.5).

This quote could be interpreted to mean that the status and influence of languages are to some degree determined by the attitude of their native speakers towards their use. People who need to preserve, uplift and use African languages more at a micro level are native speakers of these languages. The cultural capital of African languages will have to be affirmed by African language speakers themselves (see also Bourdieu 1991). This could be achieved by using these languages more and more and not blame English for the demise of their influence in public discourse.

Endnotes

1. The concept EAL (English as an Additional Language) is according to Swann; Deumert; Lillis & Mesthrie (2004:96) 'a cover term for English as a Second Language (ESL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL)'. In this dissertation I use the term EAL because the student respondents are essentially speakers of one or more of the other official national South African languages. A similar view is expressed by Swann et al in their observation that EAL '... also leaves open whether English has been acquired as a second or third or later language for individuals' (2004:96). The use of EAL is not only in sync with the language context of student respondents in this study, but also an acknowledgement of its existence. The reality is that English has been and still is an additional language in the education of EAL students at UCT and elsewhere.
2. Staff members in this study have L1s or PLs such as isiXhosa; English; Afrikaans; Setswana; isiZulu; Sesotho and Swahili. Unlike student respondents, staff members are not all EAL speakers.
3. The primary language may be defined as the language a language learner encounters from birth and grows up speaking. It is 'the most commonly-used language' in the home and community (see Swann et al 2004:213). Though I have opted to use primary language to refer to the language most commonly-used by EAL students in this study, I do acknowledge that in the literature surveyed the term L1 is widely used.
4. UCT has adopted a project approach to the implementation of its language policy and plan. It is for this reason that MEP is based on the UCT Language Policy and Plan. MEP runs the Masithethe isiXhosa (Xhosa Communication) course for UCT students and staff to enhance their multilingual proficiency and awareness.
5. The LDG is a university-wide resource that contributes to policy development in language related areas in the Academic Development Programme. Its focus is on the role of English in academic literacy in a multilingual society. It looks at concerns of students who have English as a second language. It also provides a drop-in consultancy for students at all levels through the writing centre.
6. My supervisors and I are of the view that policy documents do not form part of the Literature Review. As a result a chapter focusing on the UCT Language Policy and Plan, the LPHE (2002) and the Western Cape Language Policy (2001) became necessary.
7. This expression is lifted from Kamwendo's (2006) article, which appears in the references. I am indebted to the author for its use in this dissertation.

8. I presented data from the pilot study of this research at the SAALA International Conference held on 13–15 July 2004 at the University of Limpopo in Mankweng. The paper was titled 'UCT Staff and Students' Attitudes to the UCT Multilingualism Language Policy.' Another version of this paper was presented at the 4th Education Students' Regional Research Conference held on 15–16 October 2004 at the University of Cape Town. A copy of which appears as appendix 7.
9. The report of this Survey was prepared by Smith et al (2004) of Strategy & Tactics. It is titled 'Same River Different Boats' and was completed in December 2004. I also make reference to its findings in this dissertation.
10. The expression is lifted from Kapp's (2000) article, details of which appear in the references. I am indebted to the author for its use in this chapter and in questionnaires used in this dissertation.
11. The bilingual dictionary is by Fischer, A., Weiss, E., Mdala, E. & Tshabe, S. (1985) *English Xhosa Dictionary*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

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<http://www.unisa.ac.za/dissertations> (accessed 15 November 2005)

Appendices

Appendix 1

QUESTIONNAIRE

Please feel free to use any of the eleven South African official languages to answer any of the following questions:

1. Where is your home?

.....

1.1. How long have you lived there?

.....

2. Which language(s) do you use at home?

.....

3. What are the languages spoken as Primary Languages by:

3.1. Your Father.

.....

3.2. Your Mother.

.....

3.3. Your Siblings (Brothers/Sisters).

.....

3.4. Yourself.

.....

4. How often do you use your primary language at home? Please tick one of the options in the space provided.

A	90% of the time	
B	70% of the time	
C	50% of the time	
D	30% of the time	
E	10% of the time	

5. How often do you use your primary language on campus? Please tick one of the options in the space provided.

A	90% of the time	
B	70% of the time	
C	50% of the time	
D	30% of the time	
E	10% of the time	

6. How often do you use your primary language in other social circles? Please tick one of the options in the space provided.

A	90% of the time	
B	70% of the time	
C	50% of the time	
D	30% of the time	
E	10% of the time	

7. For which other purposes do you usually use your primary language?

.....

8. What other language(s) do you speak?

.....

8.1. How often do you use this/these language(s)? Please tick the appropriate space(s).

		Afrikaans	English	isiNdebele	isiSwati	isiXhosa	isiZulu	Sepedi	Sesotho	Setswana	Tshivenda	Xitsonga	Other
A	90 % of time												
B	70 % of time												
C	50% of time												
D	30% of time												
E	Less than 10% of time												

9. How well do you speak this/these language(s)? Please tick the appropriate space(s).

		Afrikaans	English	isiNdebele	isiSwati	isiXhosa	isiZulu	Sepedi	Sesotho	Setswana	Tshivenda	Xi tsonga	Other
A	Excellent												
B	Very Good												
C	Good												
D	Averaged												
E	Poor												

10. What other language(s) do you understand?

.....

11. How good is your understanding of this/these language(s)? Please tick the appropriate space(s).

		Afrikaans	English	isiNdebele	isiSwati	isiXhosa	isiZulu	Sepedi	Sesotho	Setswana	Tshivenda	Xitsonga	Other
A	Excellent												
B	Very Good												
C	Good												
D	Averaged												
E	Poor												

12. In which language do YOU speak to the following people? Please tick one of the options in the space provided over:

PL = (Primary Language) – this may be the first language(s) you spoke when you encountered language. Also it is the most frequently and comfortably used language(s)

Eng = English

SAL = Another South African Language

	A	B	C	D	E
	Always in PL	In PL or another SAL more often than Eng	In PL and Eng equally	In Eng more often than PL or another SAL	Always in Eng
Mother					
Father					
Friends in the lecture halls					
Brothers/Sisters					
Maternal Grandparents					
Paternal Grandparents					
Other Relatives					
Friends on campus and in residence					
Lecturers/Tutors					
Strangers					

13. In which language do the following people speak to YOU? Please tick one of the options in the space provided over:

PL = (Primary Language) – this may be the first language(s) you spoke when you encountered language. Also it is the most frequently and comfortably used language(s)

Eng = English

SAL = Another South African Language

	A	B	C	D	E
	Always in PL	In PL or another SAL more often than Eng	In PL and Eng equally	In Eng more often than PL or another SAL	Always in Eng
Mother					
Father					
Friends in the lecture halls					
Brothers/Sisters					
Maternal Grandparents					
Paternal Grandparents					
Other Relatives					
Friends on campus and in residence					
Lecturers/Tutors					
Strangers					

14. In which language(s) would you prefer to be taught during lectures? Please explain your answer.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

15. In which language(s) would you prefer to be taught during tutorials? Please explain your answer.

.....

16. In which language(s) would you prefer to write your assignments? Please explain your answer.

.....

17. In which language(s) would you prefer to write your examinations? Please explain your answer.

.....

18. Given that you are at UCT by choice, how do you feel about having to study through the medium of English? Please tick one of the options in the space provided:

A	Strongly Positive	
B	Positive	
C	Neither Positive Nor Negative	
D	Negative	
E	Strongly Negative	

19. Please explain your answer to number 18 above. Use any of the eleven official South African languages you prefer to answer this question.

.....

20. How often do you use English in your daily activities at home? Please tick one of the options in the space provided.

A	Very Often	
B	Often	
C	Occasionally	
D	Very Seldom	
E	Not at all	

21. How often do you use English in your daily activities on campus? Please tick one of the options in the space provided.

A	Very Often	
B	Often	
C	Occasionally	
D	Very Seldom	
E	Not at all	

22. How often do you use English in your daily activities in other social circles? Please tick one of the options in the space provided over.

37. How often do you read books for pleasure? Please tick one of the options in the space provided.

A	Very Often	
B	Often	
C	Sometimes	
D	Seldom	
E	Never	

38. In what language(s) are the books you read? Please tick one of the options in the space provided.

A	Afrikaans	
B	English	
C	isiNdebele	
D	isiSwati	
E	isiXhosa	
F	isiZulu	
G	Sepedi	
H	Sesotho	
I	Setswana	
J	Tshivenda	
K	Xitsonga	
L	Other	

39. How much time per day do you spend watching television? Please tick one of the options in the space provided.

A	30 Minutes or less	
B	60 Minutes	
C	90 Minutes	
D	120 Minutes	
E	150 Minutes and more	

40. How much time per day do you spend using the World Wide Web (WWW)/Internet?

A	30 Minutes or less	
B	60 Minutes	
C	90 Minutes	
D	120 Minutes	
E	150 Minutes and more	

41. For which purposes do you use the World Wide Web/Internet? Please tick the option(s) relevant to you in the spaces provided.

A	For Personal purposes	
B	For Academic purposes	
C	For entertainment	
D	Out of habit	
E	Not sure	

42. How much time per day do you spend emailing? Please tick one of the options in the space provided.

A	30 Minutes or less	
B	60 Minutes	
C	90 Minutes	
D	120 Minutes	
E	150 Minutes and more	

UCT language policy in respect of South African Senior Certificate undergraduate applicants:

- South African Senior Certificate undergraduate applicants to UCT must have achieved a pass at 40% or more on the Higher Grade in English (First or Second Language) at Senior Certificate/Further Education and Training Certificate level.

UCT language policy in respect of undergraduate or postgraduate English Foreign Language (EFL) or Foreign Permanent (FP) applicants whose primary language is not English (note: an EFL country is defined as one in which English is not, for example, the medium of communication between educated groups of people who do not share a common language, or is not the medium of instruction in schools or a significant medium of written communication):

- such applicants are required to submit one of the following: a recent score (obtained within 3–5 years before application for admission) of at least 570 (paper-based test) or 230 (computer-based test) on the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL); a recent overall band score of 7.0 (with no individual element of the test scoring below 6.0) on the International English Language Testing System (IELTS); or, noting that this may only be written at certain designated venues within South Africa, a score of at least 65% on the university's Placement Test in English for Educational Purposes (PTEEP).
- on arrival at the university, all EFL undergraduate students will be required to write the PTEEP for placement, if necessary, in an academic literacy course or a mainstream course with an academic literacy component.

Administration

English is the language of internal governance and of administration. All English communication must be clear and concise and gender-sensitive.

All administrative heads of department will be required, with the aid of language and literature departments, and CALSSA (The Centre for Applied Language Studies and Services in Africa), to explore and implement ways in which the aims of multilingualism awareness and proficiency may be promoted.

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2. Plüddemann, P., Mati, X. & Mahlalela-Thusi, B. 2000. Problems and possibilities in multilingual classrooms in the Western Cape.
3. Alexander, N. 2000. English unassailable but unattainable: The dilemma of language policy in South African education.
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