

The changing language repertoires of Congolese migrants in the Vaal Triangle

**TM Dekoke
23613483**

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
Philosophiae Doctor in Linguistics and Literary Theory at the Vaal
Triangle Campus of the North-West University

Promoter: Prof AS Coetzee-Van Rooy

December 2016

DEDICATION

To the God of Papa and Maman Olangi

To my wife Melanie Londa Dekoke

My children Christian, Favdi and Isaac

I dedicate this thesis

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to give exceptional gratitude to my promoter Prof. A.S. Coetzee-Van Rooy. Without your constant support guidance, impressive knowledge, insight and patience throughout the years I doubt that this thesis would have been completed. I will never forget it.

Special thanks to Prof. Bertus Van Rooy. Your advice and support are appreciated.

I am so grateful to all the Congolese migrants who participated in this study. This thesis is the fruit of your participation.

The financial support of UPSET and North-West University are acknowledged.

Thank you to my colleagues who form part of a great team who study multilingualism in UPSET and the School of Languages at the NWU-VTC.

I wish my parents could see what they started in me.

My gratitude goes to Dr Kazadi and Papa JP of the Olangi Wosho Foundation in Johannesburg for your encouragements.

May all the Dekokes in the world: Augustine, Josée, Rupert, Jeanne, Romain and Vivien see through this work the hand of God.

My sincere gratitude to my mother in law, Maman Pierrette Bakeba, for her kindness.

Abstract

This study aimed to explore the nature of the changing language repertoires of Congolese migrants in the Vaal Triangle region. The study assessed how the participants' language repertoires changed in terms of the Congolese languages brought to South Africa, and the South African languages that the participants selected to acquire. In the migratory context, migrants' language repertoires and cultural identities are often challenged as migrants face new socioeconomic environments and new sociolinguistic needs arise to enhance their social position in the host community.

With the growing number of migrants from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), a country that has more than 200 languages, South Africa has become a destination of choice among migrants. Motivation for the drastic measure that is migration is due to the closure of American and European frontiers. In the host country, migrants have to learn new languages in addition to maintaining their home languages. The selection of new languages for acquisition is complex in a multilingual context like South Africa with 11 official languages that have unequal symbolic power. Within this linguistic market, Congolese migrants have to make language choices to improve their lives. In this process, the language repertoires of the migrant population change.

In this study, questionnaire and interview data were gathered among a group of Congolese migrants to learn more about the language repertoires of the participants. The participants were selected via snowball sampling. A total of 54 participants, who are Congolese migrants, completed the questionnaire part of the study and 13 interviews were conducted. Care was taken to ensure participation across different generations.

The main findings of the study are that the maintenance of Congolese languages among the older participants is driven by its role as a marker of Congolese cultural identity. However, the cultural identity of Congolese migrants is not enough to transfer the languages to the younger generation and there is evidence from this study, which indicate that the second generation will not maintain Congolese languages in this context. South African languages are learnt by the participants in this study and these languages become part of the home languages. English and Afrikaans hold high status (especially because they are learnt as school languages) but these languages are not sufficient to perform the important task of social cohesion in this context. Thus, other South African languages like Sotho and Zulu are also learnt by the participants.

The overall finding of the study is that knowledge of more languages is important for the integration project that the participants are involved in; and that new patterns of language repertoires are emerging in this super-diverse context. Moreover, in the current context where global migrations are on the increase, more and more societies will start to resemble the context of this study. The findings of the study present potential global relevance.

Key words

Congolese languages in South Africa; Congolese migrants in South Africa; globalisation; language repertoires; language attitudes; language maintenance; language shift.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie ondersoek die veranderende taalrepertoires van Kongelose migrante in die Vaaldriehoekstreek. Die studie ondersoek hoe die deelnemers se taalrepertoires verander as mens die Kongelese tale wat hulle na Suid-Afrika bring in ag neem, en ook die Suid-Afrikaanse tale wat hulle kies om te leer. In 'n migrantekonteks word mense se taalrepertoires en hulle kulturele identiteit dikwels onder druk geplaas wanneer hulle met nuwe sosio-ekonomiese situasies gekonfronteer word en wanneer nuwe sociolinguistiese behoeftes ontstaan wat meewerk om die sosiale posisie van die migrante in die gasheerland te verbeter.

Die Demokratiese Republiek van die Kongo (DRK) is 'n land waar daar meer as 200 tale gebruik word. Vir migrante uit die DRK word Suid-Afrika toenemend 'n voorkeurbestemming omdat die grensbeheer in lande soos Amerika en die Europese vasteland al hoe strenger word. In die gasheerland moet migrante noodgedwonge nuwe tale leer en byvoeg tot die tale wat hulle reeds ken. Die keuse om 'n nuwe taal te kies om aan te leer in die Suid-Afrikaanse konteks is moeilik, omdat daar elf amptelike tale in Suid-Afrika is wat egter oor oneweredige simboliese mag beskik. In hierdie komplekse taalmark moet Kongolese migrante taalkeuses uitoefen wat hulle instaat sal stel om hulle lewens te verbeter. Tydens hierdie proses verander die taalrepertoires van mense wat migreer.

In hierdie studie is data met behulp van 'n vraelys en onderhoude ingesamel om meer te leer oor die taalrepertoires van die deelnemende Kongolese migrante. Die deelnemers is gekies deur sneeubalseleksie. In totaal het 54 mense vir die doeleindes van die studie die taalrepertoirevraelys voltooi en daar is onderhoude met veertien van hierdie deelnemers gevoer. In die seleksieproses is groot sorg aan die dag gelê om deelnemers vanuit verskillende generasiegroepe te betrek.

Die hoofbevindings van die studie is dat die Kongolese tale deur die ouer deelnemers gehandhaaf word, hoofsaaklik omdat die tale as merkers van die Kongolese kulturele identiteit van die deelnemers gesien word. Alhoewel die Kongolese tale status het as merkers van Kongolese kulturele identiteit, is die status nie genoeg om te verseker dat die Kongolese tale aan die tweedegenerasiedeelnemers oorgedra word nie. Suid-Afrikaanse tale word deur die deelnemers geleer en hierdie tale word selfs deel van die huistale van die migrante in die studie. Engels en Afrikaans het hoër status in hierdie konteks (veral omdat die tale in die skool geleer en gebruik word), maar die tale is nie genoeg om die belangrike taak

van sosiale integrasie in hierdie konteks te verseker nie. Ander Suid-Afrikaanse tale, soos Sotho en Zulu, word vir hierdie doeleindes deur die deelnemers geleer.

Die hoofbevinding van die studie is dat kennis van meer tale belangrik is vir die integrasieprojek waarmee die deelnemers betrokke is, en dat nuwe patrone vir taalrepertoires aan die ontwikkel is in hierdie “super-diverse” konteks. Nog meer belangrik, in die huidige konteks waar migrasie in die wêreld aan die toeneem is, sal meer en meer sosiale kontekste soortgelyk aan dié van Suid-Afrika word. Die bevindings van die studie kan potensieel belangrik raak op ’n groter skaal.

Sleutelterme

Kongolese tale in Suid-Afrika; Kongolese migrante in Suid-Afrika; globalisering; taalrepertoires; taalhoudings; taalhandhawing; taalverskuiwing.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1	INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXTUALISATION	1
1.1	Introduction	1
1.2	Concepts and a state of the art review of research on migration and language repertoires.....	5
1.3	Review of literature identifying the unresolved issues in the field.....	11
1.4	Research questions	15
1.5	Objectives	15
1.6	Research methodology.....	16
1.6.1	Literature review.....	16
1.6.2	Empirical research.....	17
1.6.3	Ethics	22
1.6.4	Conclusion	23
1.7	Contribution of the study.....	23
CHAPTER 2	THEORIES OF LANGUAGE AND MIGRATION	25
2.1	Introduction	25
2.2	Theories of language and migration	25
2.2.1	Conclusion	45
2.3	Linguistic exchanges as commodities	45
2.3.1	The law of supply and demand.....	47
2.4	Conclusion.....	51

CHAPTER 3	RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	53
3.1	Introduction	53
3.2	Research paradigm	53
3.2.1	Positivist paradigm	54
3.2.2	Post-positivist paradigm	55
3.2.3	Interpretivist paradigm	55
3.2.4	Pragmatist paradigm	56
3.3	Research design	57
3.3.1	Mixed methods	60
3.2	Ethics	77
3.3	Conclusion.....	77
CHAPTER 4	FINDINGS	78
4.1	Introduction	78
4.2	Section 1: Questionnaire study	78
4.2.1	Demographic data of the questionnaire participants	78
4.2.2	Correspondence analysis investigating the association between the nature of the languages repertoires and the demographic details of questionnaire participants.....	81
4.2.3	The language repertoire data of the questionnaire study participants	94
4.2	Findings from the interview data	176
4.2.1	Language status.....	180
4.2.2	Language in domains	198
4.2.3	Home languages and intergenerational transfer	203

4.2.4	Cultural identity	206
4.2.5	The complex currency of Congolese languages as perceived by the participants.....	209
4.6.6	The complex currency of South African Bantu languages	212
4.3	Conclusion.....	214
CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE RESULTS		215
5.1	Introduction	215
5.2	Congolese languages	216
5.2.1	Maintenance of Congolese languages.....	216
5.2.2	Loss of Congolese languages	220
5.2.3	Discrepancy between aspirations for the intergenerational transfer of Congolese languages reported in the questionnaire data and not supported by the interview data.....	224
5.3	South African languages	225
5.3.1	The symbolic power of English	225
5.3.2	The symbolic power of the Bantu languages	227
5.3.3	The surprising status of Afrikaans	230
5.4	Conclusion.....	232
CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSIONS		234
6.1	Introduction	234
6.2	Reflections on the limitations and strengths of the study	235
6.3	Main conclusions of the study	236
6.3.1	Language loyalty and language maintenance of Congolese languages.....	236

6.3.2	Language disloyalty and language shift of Congolese languages.....	238
6.3.3	The symbolic power of South African languages and language domain choices.....	241
6.4	Implications of the findings of the study for existing theories of language maintenance, language shift and language loss in migratory settings	243
6.5	Conclusion.....	245
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	246
	ANNEXURE A: LANGUAGE REPERTOIRE QUESTIONNAIRE	264
	ANNEXURE B: INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE	300
	ANNEXURE C: THE MOST PROMINENT CODES THAT EMERGED FROM THE ANALYSIS	301

LIST OF TABLES

- Table 1:** Demographic data of the questionnaire participants (N=54)
- Table 2:** Participants' number of years in South African and an indication of their intention to stay in South Africa (N=54, Mean=9.48 years, Minimum=2 years, Maximum=24 years, Standard Deviation=6.04 years)
- Table 3:** Frequencies of languages included in the repertoires of participants (N=54)
- Table 4:** Cross-tabulation for languages in the repertoire of the participants and gender used in correspondence analysis (N=54)
- Table 5:** Cross-tabulation for languages in the repertoire of the participants and re-coded categories for age at the time of participation (N=54)
- Table 6:** Cross-tabulation for languages in the repertoire of the participants and re-coded categories for time spent in South Africa (N=54)
- Table 7:** Cross-tabulation for languages in the repertoire of the participants and frequencies related to the participants' intentions to stay or not to stay in South Africa at the time of participation (N=54)
- Table 8:** Cross-tabulation for the ages of participants and their intentions to stay or not to stay in South Africa at the time of participation (N=54)
- Table 9:** Home languages of questionnaire participants (N=54)
- Table 10:** Number of languages known by the questionnaire participants (N=54; mean=4)
- Table 11:** Language learnt first in the order of languages learnt as reported by the questionnaire participants (N=54)
- Table 12:** Language learnt secondly in the order of languages learnt as reported by the questionnaire participants (N=54)
- Table 13:** Third language learnt in the order of languages learnt as reported by the questionnaire participants (N=53)
- Table 14:** Fourth language learnt in the order of languages learnt as reported by the questionnaire participants (N=46)
- Table 15:** Fifth language learnt in the order of languages learnt as reported by the questionnaire participants (N=31)
- Table 16:** Perceived first strongest languages in the repertoires of the questionnaire participants when they were children (N=54)
- Table 17:** Perceived second strongest languages in the repertoires of the questionnaire participants when they were children (N=54)
- Table 18:** Perceived third strongest languages in the repertoires of the questionnaire participants when they were children (N=44)

- Table 19:** Perceived fourth strongest languages in the repertoires of the questionnaire participants when they were children (N=33)
- Table 20:** Perceived fifth strongest languages in the repertoires of the questionnaire participants when they were children (N=17)
- Table 21:** Perceived sixth strongest languages in the repertoires of the questionnaire participants when they were children (N=3)
- Table 22:** Perceived strongest languages of the questionnaire participants (N=54)
- Table 23:** Questionnaire participants' perceptions of the their proficiency in their strongest languages (English = 20, French = 18, Lingala = 10)
- Table 24:** Perceptions of questionnaire participants' frequency of use and proficiency in conducting different reading tasks in their strongest languages
- Table 25:** Questionnaire participants' perceptions of the frequency and proficiency with which they perform writing tasks in their strongest languages
- Table 26:** Perceptions of questionnaire participants about the contribution of factors towards the *learning* of their strongest languages
- Table 27:** Perceptions of questionnaire participants about the contribution of factors towards the current use of their strongest languages
- Table 28:** Participants' perceptions about the transfer of their perceived strongest language to their children one day
- Table 29:** Participants' attitudes toward their strongest languages
- Table 30:** Perceived second strongest languages of the questionnaire participants (N=54)
- Table 31:** Questionnaire participants' perceptions of the their proficiency in their second strongest languages (French = 26, English = 10, Lingala = 7)
- Table 32:** Perceptions of questionnaire participants' frequency of use and proficiency in conducting different reading tasks in their second strongest languages
- Table 33:** Questionnaire participants' perceptions of the frequency and proficiency with which they perform writing tasks in their second strongest languages
- Table 34:** Perceptions of questionnaire participants about the contribution of factors towards the learning of their strongest languages
- Table 35:** Perceptions of questionnaire participants about the contribution of factors towards the current use of their second strongest languages
- Table 36:** Participants' perceptions about the transfer of their second strongest language to their children one day
- Table 37:** Participants' attitudes toward their second strongest languages
- Table 38:** Perceived third strongest languages of the questionnaire participants (N=54)
- Table 39:** Questionnaire participants' perceptions of the their proficiency in their third strongest languages (Lingala = 14; Swahili = 11)

- Table 40:** Perceptions of questionnaire participants' frequency of use and proficiency in conducting different reading tasks in their third strongest languages
- Table 41:** Questionnaire participants' perceptions of the frequency and proficiency with which they perform writing tasks in their third strongest languages
- Table 42:** Perceptions of questionnaire participants about the contribution of factors towards the learning of their third languages.
- Table 43:** Perceptions of questionnaire participants about the contribution of factors towards the current use of their third strongest languages
- Table 44:** Participants' perceptions about the transfer of their second strongest language to their children one day
- Table 45:** Participants' attitudes toward their third strongest languages
- Table 46:** Perceived fourth strongest languages of the questionnaire participants (N=46)
- Table 47:** Questionnaire participants' perceptions of the their proficiency in their fourth strongest languages (Lingala n = 12; Swahili n = 10)
- Table 48:** Perceptions of questionnaire participants' frequency of use and proficiency in conducting different reading tasks in their fourth strongest languages
- Table 49:** Questionnaire participants' perceptions of the frequency and proficiency with which they perform writing tasks in their fourth strongest languages
- Table 50:** Perceptions of questionnaire participants about the contribution of factors towards the learning of their fourth languages
- Table 51:** Perceptions of questionnaire participants about the contribution of factors towards the current use of their fourth strongest languages
- Table 52:** Participants' perceptions about the transfer of their fourth language to their children one day
- Table 53:** Participants' attitudes toward their fourth strongest languages
- Table 54:** Perceived fifth strongest languages of the questionnaire participants (N=32)
- Table 55:** Questionnaire participants' perceptions of the their proficiency in their fifth strongest language (Tshiluba n = 8; Afrikaans n = 5)
- Table 56:** Perceptions of questionnaire participants' frequency of use and proficiency in conducting different reading tasks in their fifth strongest language
- Table 57:** Questionnaire participants' perceptions of the frequency and proficiency with which they perform writing tasks in their fifth strongest language
- Table 58:** Perceptions of questionnaire participants about the contribution of factors towards the learning of their fifth language
- Table 59:** Perceptions of questionnaire participants about the contribution of factors towards the current use of their fifth strongest language

- Table 60:** Participants' perceptions about the transfer of their fifth strongest language to their children one day
- Table 61:** Participants' attitudes toward their fifth strongest language
- Table 62:** Most prominent codes that emerged in the analysis of the interview data for participants in the study

LIST OF FIGURES

- Figure 1:** Representation of the “value” of languages in a multilingual context for different domains
- Figure 2:** The study research design
- Figure 3:** 1D plot of languages in the repertoires of participants and gender (N=54)
- Figure 4:** 1D plot of languages in the repertoires of participants and their ages at the time of participation (N=54)
- Figure 5:** 1D plot of languages in the repertoires of participants and time spent in South Africa at the time of participation (N=54)
- Figure 6:** 1D plot of languages in the repertoires of participants and intention to stay in South Africa at the time of participation (N=54)
- Figure 7:** 1D plot of the ages of participants and their intention to stay in South Africa at the time of participation (N=54)

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXTUALISATION

1.1 Introduction

Globalisation has changed the face of the world by fostering transnational identities, linking countries that are positioned far apart and unifying people from different nation-states who could eventually claim several nationalities. According to Mufwene (2002; 2010) globalisation started in the Middle Ages when the Arabs and Chinese expanded their trade routes around the world as they sailed across the Mediterranean as well as across the Indian and the Pacific oceans. Today's globalisation has been accused *à tort et à raison*,¹ as a tool that creates economic and political inequalities between industrialised nations and developing countries. Despite this generally accepted truth, colonisation is not the only factor that resulted in the invasion of territories by powerful nations. In Africa, for example, "Bantu populations have largely assimilated or decimated the Pygmies and [Khoisan] in central and southern Africa, and only a few of these populations remain today as distinct minorities in a [mostly Bantu speaking] area" (Mufwene, 2002:27).

Migrations have been at the centre stage of globalisation from the earliest times. As an indispensable aspect of globalisation, migrations can be viewed as an irreversible mechanism of transformation that restructures every aspect of the world. The face of the current globalising world has changed in respect of the vast distances that people can travel with ease, the nature and the numbers of migrants, traders, goods and ideas that are exchanged in short time spans. Compared to earlier forms of globalisation, contemporary globalisation involves much more extensive human mobility. In this context, from time to time, long distance trade does not only involve exchanges in commodities, but huge global traffic of people, cultures and ideas, similar to the dispersion of populations because of war and natural disasters (Mufwene, 2010).

In migratory settings, people leave their homeland to settle in a host community. Separated from their land of origin, they have to learn new languages and cultures belonging to the host population. Like in most cases of migration, Blommaert and Dong (2010) argue that the migrations of people across space have never been a move into empty spaces. Migrants will always inhabit spaces that are already filled with languages, cultures, norms, expectations, and conceptions of what counts as the dominant language in the space, perceptions of proper and normal language use and legitimate language use. Bourdieu (1991) states that

¹ Italics will be used to indicate foreign words or expressions, for example, in French.

when migrants move into a different country, crossing the state's frontier creates a product of the legal act of delimitation that produces linguistic and cultural differences. Thus, within the nation-state, languages are commodities belonging to different linguistic communities: those who resided there for a long time, and those of migrants who start to make their home in the host country.

“Languages in contact – the [consequence] of people in contact and [the] communities of people of different language backgrounds in contact” (Clyne, 2003:1) – have resulted in increased, world-wide multilingualism. Some scholars even speak about multilingualism as the “new linguistic dispensation” (Aronin & Singleton, 2008; 2012) in the world. These observations explain the current focus on the role and status of languages in the multilingual world. Debates about languages have led sociolinguists to express conflicting views about the linguistic vitality of languages across the world. Globally, there are vibrant academic and general discussions about language maintenance, language shift and language endangerment. Some scholars present the McDonaldization, Neo-Colonisation, *Mondialisation* or Globalisation of the world as the trigger of worldwide acculturation that would lead to language endangerment, language shift and language death (Kamwangamalu, 2003; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Phillipson, 1992; 1998; Romaine, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2010; Williams, 2008). Other scholars see in globalisation the benefits of world unification by sharing human knowledge and transforming world economies (Friedman, 2006; Mufwene, 2002; Schiller, 2009).

Despite the conflicting views expressed by scholars, it can be observed that migrations occur as the pre-eminent driver of language contact. Whenever migrants go into another nation-state, they travel with their languages. The languages of migrants could potentially transform the linguistic landscape of the host nation. In this context, migrations have transformed the world language heritage because via migrations and increased language contact, new languages are born, some languages are lost and in many cases, several new-born nations have as their official language a “transplanted”² language that belonged to the so-called colonial master. In most cases of migration, learning the dominant community language is a tool of integration into the new host communities where migrants settle.

Linguistic competence, in the most legitimate dominant language of the host community, is seen as an important tool that facilitates the integration of migrants into the host community's

² Quotation marks will be used to indicate that a familiar word or phrase is used in an unfamiliar way for the first time.

existing social life. According to Bourdieu (1991:43), every linguistic exchange is made in a specific linguistic market governed by specific laws. Thus, a language constitutes a kind of “wealth” which could be used by all its speakers, or members of the same linguistic community, to freely participate via the usage of the general “treasure” or dominant language in the society. Bourdieu (1991:66) states that the “relation of communication between a sender and a receiver, linguistic exchange, is an economic exchange which is established within a particular symbolic relation of power between a producer, endowed with certain linguistic capital, and a consumer, which is capable of procuring a certain material or symbolic profit”. Therefore, one could assume that words are not only signs to be understood, but also signs of wealth, to be evaluated and appreciated; and signs of authority, intended to be believed or obeyed. From this follows the general assumption that it is “rare in everyday life for language to function [only as an] instrument of communication” (Bourdieu, 1991:67). In this approach, languages are seen as instruments of wealth, socioeconomic progress and social integration or exclusion.

On the one hand, we can assume that a linguistic exchange between a speaker and a listener is a relation of symbolic power imposed on both by a symbolic authority, the “linguistic market”. In the host community, migrants will not only acquire a new language but will adapt their language skills to the new linguistic landscape to acquire the dominant language spoken in the host community. Migrating to a new nation-state, on the one hand, means to accept, acquire and adapt to a new linguistic market. On the other hand, competence in the dominant language functions as linguistic capital of every specific linguistic market securing a profit of distinction in its relation to other competencies only in so far as certain conditions are continuously fulfilled. Individuals and groups which possess that competence are able to impose it as the only dominant language used in formal markets. It is perceived as the *à la mode* language, the language that leads to educational advancement, the language used for political participation and the main administrative language in the linguistic market. The dominant language in the host community is used in “most of the linguistic interactions in which [migrants] are involved” (Bourdieu, 1991:55-56).

Depending on the amount of socioeconomic wealth, migrants are, in one way or another, in search of a better life. The host country is a particular linguistic market where a linguistic norm is imposed on all members of the same linguistic community. However, linguistic exchanges are measured against the acceptable practices of the linguistic market, the practices supported by the dominant social class assuming the recognised power in the society (Bourdieu, 1991:52). Coming into the new linguistic market, migrants submit and adapt to the rules of the new environment where the acceptable or dominant language is

spoken. In order to fit in, each member of the linguistic market must be able to speak the dominant language of the market. Ignorance of the acceptable or dominant language would exclude one from the social domains in which competence in the language is required. In other words, speakers who lack competence in the acceptable or dominant language “are *de facto* excluded from the social domains in which this [linguistic] competence is required, or are condemned to silence” (Bourdieu, 1991:43).

International migrations have been an important characteristic of North-South relations as the main migratory socio-political space. Castles (2010:1568) observes two great international migration periods. Firstly, the great wave of agriculture and industrialisation from the nineteenth to the twentieth century that led to the mass migration of people into the transatlantic economy with both the slavery of many Africans and flows of European settlers into the United States of America (USA). Secondly, nowadays, accelerated globalisation has led flows of people from all parts of the world mostly into industrialised countries. Scores of populations, mostly from pauperised (or war torn) countries of the Southern hemisphere or the Middle East have moved into rich and industrialised countries of the North. Consequently, many African or Middle Eastern migrants are hastening to Europe and America, and face difficult circumstances in an attempt to better their lives.

Recently, the issue of immigration and the management of migration became an important topic in European and American elections. European policy-makers are mostly concerned about the general public opinion of voters about migration (Brücker *et al.*, 2001:54) and this issue dominated elections in 2015 and 2016. Thus, in cases where the government’s popularity depends largely on their economic success, a well-conceived migration policy may boost the national opinion in favour of the current government (Castles, 2004:213). The recent Brexit vote in the United Kingdom (UK) and the election of Donald Trump as the next president of the USA indicate that the trend of securing the borders of the UK and the USA via policy will continue (Barrett & Allen, 2016). Such policies limit access to European countries like the UK and also to the USA for African and Middle Eastern migrants. In contexts like these, the traditional migration patterns of destitute people in Africa and the Middle East change.

Historically, migration formed an important part of South Africa’s history both in the form of Bantu migrations and the migrations of European settlers like the Dutch and the British (Adepoju, 2003; Deumert, 2004; Lekogo, 2006; Maharaj, 2001; Mesthrie, 2000). The most recent development, where African countries like South Africa, become attractive new destinations for African migrants, has led to an increase in Sub-Saharan migrations, where

African migrants decide to make South Africa their new home where they could fulfil their dreams of getting a better life (Meny-Gibert & Chiumia, 2016). This movement has transformed South Africa into a promised land where many Africans of different nationalities are in contact. Consequently, the new democratic dispensation of South Africa experiences an increase in migration from African internationals. In the 2011 Census data, it is indicated that 75% of the international population in South Africa are from African “sending countries” (Meny-Gibert & Chiumia, 2016). The dynamics of African migration to South Africa is creating a new “ethnoscape” of globalisation in the country (Adepoju, 2003; Maharaj, 2001; Orman, 2012; Wa Kabwe-Segatti & Landau, 2011).

The focus of this study is the increase in francophone migration, particularly from the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) into South Africa. Migrants from the DRC bring with them several languages. In their new home, Congolese migrants have to acquire South African languages to fulfil their socioeconomic goals. On the one hand, migrants’ contacts with the members of the host community could change their language repertoires. On the other hand, the Congolese languages that migrants bring into South Africa could potentially change the linguistic landscape of South Africa, the host community. This context, being the migration of multilingual African migrants into multilingual South Africa, provides an ideal sociolinguistic milieu for studying factors related to changes in the language repertoires of multilingual people, like language maintenance and language shift. In this context, the South African multilingual situation provides a significant field of investigation to test the relevance of monolingual theories related to migrations and languages.

1.2 Concepts and a state of the art review of research on migration and language repertoires

In migratory settings, migrants acquire new languages and potentially lose languages that they acquired earlier when repositioning the various languages at their disposal, fluctuating and crossing from one culture to another when they have to adjust themselves to a new environment (Aronin & Singleton, 2012:38). In this study, concepts like ethnolinguistic repertoire and language repertoire will be used to investigate the ebb and flow of individual and group language resources in migratory contexts.

Benor (2010:160) defines “an ethnolinguistic repertoire as a fluid set of linguistic resources that members of an ethnic group may variably use as they index their ethnic identities”. In that sense, an ethnolinguistic repertoire is seen as a tool to measure the ethnic language

identity of an immigrant or ethnic group in multi-ethnic contexts. In a way, a person's ethnolinguistic repertoire is used to communicate within the group. In this approach, "any elements of language that are marked as distinct from language [use] in other groups, including system-level morphosyntactic, phonological, and prosodic features, as well as sporadic lexical and discourse features", are interpreted as markers of an ethnic group's identity, including that of a migrant ethnic group. Thus, the "ethnolinguistic repertoire approach enables comparison across ethnic groups" (Benor, 2010:160). In this sense, an ethnolinguistic repertoire could be seen as an identifying language or idiom of an ethnic group (including a migrant ethnic group) which differentiates the group from other populations in the same country.

Even when members of a given community present similar language features, as Benor (2010) argued, they do not always have the same amount of languages to use in the different domains. At the individual level, the language repertoire could be defined as "the total complex of linguistic resources available to speakers to use in different social contexts and within particular communities" (D'warte, 2014). Investigating the multilingual dispensation among African students on the Vaal Triangle Campus of the North-West University, Coetzee-Van Rooy (2012:89) argued that a language repertoire represents the range of languages known from which multilingual speakers draw the resources they need to communicate in multilingual societies. In this definition, it is accepted that speakers with multilingual language repertoires would possess different levels of proficiency and knowledge of the range of languages included in their language repertoires. The proficiency levels and knowledge of languages in a given repertoire are dependent on the individual's use of specific languages in different social domains and determined by the life history of the person. As it appears, from time to time, speakers (especially migrants) negotiate and re-negotiate their language repertoires in either responding to the multiple facets of socio-economic pressures, socio-political reasons or intellectual necessities in order to fit into their communities or newly adopted communities.

In multilingual settings, languages are variably used by speakers belonging to the same linguistic market; language maintenance and language shift could be observed as different sides of the same coin (Weinreich, 1966:1). Because of various competency levels and selected languages used in specific social domains, one language will be preferred in one domain whereas another language will not be used in that domain. Consequently, the phenomena of language loss, language maintenance and language shift are observed across the lifespan of people, and especially within migrant communities. In the migrant context, language shift is defined as the change from the habitual language use of one

language to that of another and it implies that languages sometimes replace each other, among some speakers, particularly in certain types or domains of language behaviour, under some conditions of intergroup contact (Fishman, 1966:424; 1972; 2001; Weinreich, 1966:68). According to Dyers (2008a:54), “language maintenance occurs when a language continues to be used across all generations – despite the presence of other languages also being used” by the speakers of the community. By contrast, language shift takes place when the younger speakers of a migrant language – often a minority language in the host community – do not continue to speak the language of their parents, but opt in favour of the dominant majority language instead. According to Winford (2003:15), language shift refers to the partial or total abandonment of a group's native language in favour of another – as a consequence of intense pressure from a dominant group leading to bilingualism among subordinate group language speakers that could develop into monolingualism in the dominant language over generations. Asymmetrical forms of bilingualism result most often from the acquisition of the dominant language of the high status group by the minority group or migrants in the context (Thompson, 2001).

Many scholars admit that minority languages tend to be marginalised and lose their place in the regional and global linguistic landscape (Kamwangamalu, 2003; Phillipson, 1996; Romaine, 2000). In the migration process, the fate of migrants’ languages – as minority languages in the host community – is often determined by the forces that govern the dynamics of language practices in the host communities. In the context of migration, and increased language contact, language maintenance, language shift and multilingualism are the major possible linguistic outcomes (Paulston, 1994:3). Understanding the social conditions in which the above sociolinguistic outcomes occur constitute an important terrain for studies dealing with language matters in migrants communities.

Studies of migration and changes in the language repertoires of migrants have traditionally been done in the USA where they have developed in the contexts where, for example, European migrants, migrated to the USA. In this context, it is accepted that the language repertoires of migrants usually develop along three stages in the language repertoire cycle. In the first generation, migrants learn English and become bilingual with an adequate knowledge of the first language. In the second generation, migrants could become bilingual to some degree, but it is acknowledged that English takes over as the language of choice in the high status domains. In the third generation, the children of migrants are usually monolingual in English with little or no passive knowledge of their heritage language. Speakers of the minority languages may be forced to adopt the languages of the host community in order to integrate in the new socio-economic sphere. This situation highlights

the fact that migrants' languages are vulnerable and endangered to such an extent that the languages could be abandoned by their speakers in migration contexts. The vitality of migrant languages are always subjected to continuous and irresistible social, political, racial, and economic pressures from the national and official counterpart in the host community (Hornberger, 1998:439).

In migratory situations involving a high status community and a low status community, where the ethnic heritage, including the language, usually ceases to play a vital role in the life of the third generation of migrants, language shift can be expected from the contact between languages (Fishman, 1966:343). However, the above mentioned situation is not an automatic phenomenon as the different stages of acculturation and shift could influence the outcome of language contact. Language shift implies that the main language of the place or country where migrants settled, permanently or not, exerts a decisive influence on the migrants' home language. Prabhakaran (1992) states that in a multilingual society, language shift happens if a community abandons the use of its habitual home language in favour of another acquired language and the shift affects the whole cultural value system of the community. Prabhakaran (1992:168) argues that, "when members of a community emigrate from one place to another or from one country to another where they are exposed to a new language, which has more speakers, social status or political status than that of their own mother tongue, the people usually shift their language to the dominant language of the new environment". Moreover, Thompson (1974:306) argues that the disappearance of migrants' languages is the consequence of not transferring them to the next generations. Thus, migrants' languages would cease to be used by forthcoming generations who would prefer to acculturate to the host community's culture and language. This view is shared by Veltman (1983:91) who contends that the lack of intergenerational language transmission produces patterns of language shift in migrants' communities.

From these observations, it could be argued that many "languages around the world [are] in danger because they are not transmitted to the next generation" in migratory situations (Downes, 1998:27; Hornberger, 1998:441). The lack of intergenerational language transmission could be understood as the principal reason of language shift – and language loss – in migratory situations. In most cases, the erosion of language use and ethnicity in the migrant communities takes place in the course of three generations, involving the immigrant parents, their children, and their grandchildren. Thus, the ethnic heritage, including the home language, usually ceases to play a vital role in the life of the third generation of migrants. Third generation migrants do not see the need for learning their grandfathers' language

since they have never mastered it and there often is no use outside the home for the heritage language (Fishman, 1966:343).

Migrants from a minority group can impose their language on the main group of a society in the case of colonisation and war. Also, the immigration of powerful migrant groups can contribute to the creation of indigenous minority groups and/or language shift. Less powerful migrant groups, enjoying negligible symbolic capital, usually assimilate into the dominant language of the new society (Deumert, 2006:131). However, the presumed socio-economic successes of migrants are linked to the language-related problems they experience as the result of relocation into foreign communities; as in many cases, migration theories mainly talk about poor people with low income, moving from a low income region to a higher earning community (Orman, 2012:303). On the whole, language maintenance and language shift in migration contexts are a combination of several factors where intergenerational transmission plays a major role.

Moreover, migrants' language choices are linked to the value assigned to the languages in competition in the same linguistic market and the symbolic capital (or authority) associated with the group that speaks it. Language choices and language commodification are intrinsically bound to the economic and symbolic benefits (or profit) that speakers may gain from speaking or mastering it to obtain access to higher positions and a better life in the host community (Vigouroux, 2008:228). In multilingual communities, language shift towards the dominant language of the host community is related to the opportunities of accessing the economic advantages and social prestige endowed by the dominant community (Paulston, 1994:20). Consequently, language maintenance and language shift will depend on the dynamics of symbolic capital of the different communities in contact/competition and the economic power bestowed upon their languages.

Different studies have investigated the patterns of language maintenance and language shift of various migrant groups. Gal (1979), for example, has "investigated the linguistic situation in the town of Oberwart in eastern Austria where German" replaced Hungarian in almost all domains despite the Hungarian-German bilingualism which has existed for a long period of time. In the case of migration to Canada, Norton (2000) argues that inequitable relations of power and the consequential identity struggle experienced by migrants, "limit the opportunities second language learners have to practice the target language [English] outside the classroom". The opportunities to acquire the dominant language are limited. Focusing on Chinese immigrant children in Australia, Tannenbaum and Howie (2002:420) report the importance of family relations as a significant means of language maintenance

among immigrant children. Becoming competent in the new language may facilitate the Chinese child's feeling of belonging to the new group. Studying the language maintenance and shift of Saudi Hausa people of Mecca, Tawalbeh *et al.* (2013:139) note that the "negative attitudes [of] Saudi Hausa towards their ethnic language and the [reduced] appreciation they have towards it have led to a shift towards Arabic". This is the consequence of the lack of effort by parents to encourage the use of Hausa with their children in the home domain. Reporting on South African immigrants' language practices in New Zealand, Barkhuizen (2006) argues that children "are shifting to English and most, especially the younger ones, are experiencing Afrikaans loss [or] attrition in New Zealand, notwithstanding the strategies employed by parents to decelerate the process".

In South Africa, there is an estimated half a million people of Portuguese origin. Despite the large number of people, only 48 705 claim to speak Portuguese as their home language – according to the 1991 population Census (Barnes & McDuling, 1995). Despite the size of the community, this world language is rapidly declining especially in the third generation of Portuguese immigrants to South Africa where an increasing shift from Portuguese as a home language to the dominant languages in South Africa are observed (Barnes & McDuling, 1995:148).

Moreover, Kamwangamalu (2013:33) suggests that the "maintenance of immigrant languages is very difficult among [the] second generation" Congolese migrants in the United States of America because children lose parents' languages. Despite favourable conditions, notably population density of migrant communities and the geographic concentration of Congolese speakers of the immigrant languages (especially in the UK and Belgium; and to a lesser degree in South Africa) and efforts made by one of or both parents to use the immigrant languages when addressing the children, language shift from the second generation onwards is widely reported. Accordingly, DRC migrant families in South Africa learn new languages in the diaspora and forget their heritage languages, or stop using their heritage languages. The frequent use of English in daily interactions, particularly in the domain of education, together with unsustainable strategies for maintaining DRC languages at home, limits opportunities for the Congolese migrant children to develop full competence in their parents' homeland languages. A lack of intergenerational transfer of the Congolese languages is reported in Kamwangamalu's (2013) study. Congolese migrant children in South Africa prefer the language of education (English) and perceived opportunities in South Africa.

Since migrations often result in language shift, the latter phenomenon should be analysed in terms of the functions of the languages in contact, since a group of people may switch to the host community's language in certain functions. Furthermore, adult migrants may come to use a new language in their dealings with governmental authorities, while the children use it in school. At the same time, the languages from the sending community "may live on in the homes and at informal gatherings of the [migrant] group" (Weinreich, 1966:107). A study of the vitality of Congolese migrants' languages (including a study of the intergenerational transfer of Congolese languages to migrant children; and the acquisition of South African languages among this group of people) in the context of multilingual South Africa, could provide new insights on the phenomena observed from mainly one type of context over time.

1.3 Review of literature identifying the unresolved issues in the field

As is evident from the previous section, several studies focused on the issue of changes in the language repertoires of migrants over time. In this section, the researcher aims to outline the unresolved issues in the field and indicate how this study hopes to contribute knowledge in this field.

As explained in the previous section, migrant populations experience great pressure to adjust and participate in the host community that they entered. If they do not succeed in adjusting to their host community and to participate actively in it (especially in a socio-economic sense), then their dreams of building a better life for themselves and their families will be destroyed. These pressing socio-economic needs may be in conflict with the need to preserve their home language, other heritage languages, and their identity as experienced in their home country. As is clear from the previous section, studies about the changes in the language repertoires of migrant populations were conducted primarily involving migrants from monolingual nation-states – like Poland – who migrated to monolingual nation-states like the USA (Norton, 2000). In addition, current studies of language and migration generally involve migrants moving to host countries where one dominant language is the sole official language of the country. In so far, studies where changes in the language repertoires of multilingual migrants who migrate to multilingual nation-states are not widespread. In general, Orman (2012), for example, indicates that there is a paucity of studies of African migrants into South Africa. The focus of studies about migration in North-South or South-North settings bring a specific angle to theories of language maintenance and language shift that does not take into account the complexities of African multilingual migrants migrating into another multilingual African country like South Africa.

It is generally argued that speakers of a given language will possibly lose their mastery of their first language if it is not used for a long enough period (Seliger & Vago, 1991:53). Furthermore, the “main possible linguistic outcomes of [the] prolonged contact [of] ethnic groups” could be resumed in language loss, “language maintenance, or language shift” (Paulston, 1994:3). This study, with its focus on changes in the language repertoires of multilingual Congolese migrants from the DRC into multilingual South Africa, hopes to add new knowledge about the dynamics that influence choices that lead to language maintenance, language shift and language acquisition in these more complex contexts.

Apart from providing data from a not yet widely studied context, this study also hopes to reflect on the implications of potential new findings on existing theories that focus on changes in the language repertoires of migrants. For example, mainstream theories based on the concepts of motivation and integrativeness should explain the success (or failure) of learning a second language where monolingual speakers migrate into monolingual states. However, these concepts do not account for the complex realities of language acquisition and language choice in multilingual settings (Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2006; Peirce, 1995). In the case of English, Kachru (1996:243) states that the reality of language acquisition in the traditional multilingual societies (in the Kachruvian Outer Circle) is very different when they are compared to monolingual contexts. In multilingual contexts, people simultaneously learn more languages in informal contexts. In monolingual settings (in the Kachruvian Inner Circle), additional languages are acquired successively, and often in school contexts. Multilingual Outer Circle contexts provide multilingual convergences of languages that are structurally and culturally unrelated to each other. The nature of the language contact in these settings is different from the language contact in cases where there is a clearly identified dominant language in a society; and where additional languages are learnt for purposes other than communication in the dominant society. Moreover, because of the functional differences of languages in multilingual contexts, the expectations of the speakers of languages are different from those in the Inner Circle. In traditionally multilingual societies, language mixing and language switching are the norm (Kachru, 1996:246). These language phenomena are not well-pronounced in traditionally more monolingual societies and the experiences of people acquiring and maintaining or declining to use specific languages are different.

These experiences influence the nature of people's individual and social identities. Coetzee-Van Rooy (2006), for example, states that research of second and foreign language learning has mostly ignored the reality of multilingual and pluricultural societies involving the knowledge and the accommodation of multiple languages and identities. In describing her

approach to understanding the identity of the South African speakers, Coetzee-Van Rooy (2006:439) reacts against the simplex view “that learning a second language results in the loss of the first language, and the establishment of a new simple identity as [a] monolingual speaker of the target language”. According to Coetzee-Van Rooy (2006), these assumptions refute the multidimensional identities of African languages speakers, who are generally multilingual and display more complex identities.

As stated above, the study of languages in migration in South Africa has been largely neglected by language scholars. Orman (2012:349) states that “the handful of studies which have addressed the issue have yielded ethnographic data and raised questions of considerable significance for the development of theoretical perspectives on the sociolinguistic consequences of geographical and social mobility”. In the sociolinguistic field, Mesthrie (1995; 2002) and Vigouroux (2009) acknowledge the presence of African migrants’ languages in South Africa. However, these studies seem incomplete as they do not give an account of the changes in the language repertoires of multilingual African people that migrate to other multilingual African settings. The scarcity of sociolinguistic studies describing the language repertoire changes of African migrants has almost rendered these languages inaudible and invisible by well-intentioned South African sociolinguists.

Orman (2012) focuses on the perspective of conventional language planning approaches where language-related problems contribute to the social inequality experienced by migrants because of their relocation into a new nation-state. According to Orman (2012:312), an incoherent government language policy towards migrants is evidence of a widespread violation of migrants’ rights and a source of the potential non-integration of non-citizens into the South African society. The South African language policy context relocates migrants’ languages in a sub-class at the bottom of the scale. Moreover, the current language policy approach is theoretically unable to meaningfully address certain types of language-related problems which may arise as a consequence of mobility. Due to the lack of study of the phenomenon, there is an incomplete view of the “centrality of language or linguistic issues in the lives of migrants in South Africa” (Orman, 2012:3). The success of the implementation of South African language policies and planning is questioned by Orman (2012) and other language planners in South Africa (Beukes, 2009; Du Plessis, 2006). The comments by these and other language planners highlight the language policy issues present in complex multilingual settings. Apart from the general paucity of research that describes the language experiences of African migrants in South Africa (noted by Orman, 2012), at a theoretical level, there are a lack of studies where multilingual migrants enter multilingual societies where the *de jure* situation is at least that the market place is filled with many languages to

acquire; and many languages to maintain; and the potential of language loss as well. To add descriptions of the language experiences of multilingual Congolese migrants into multilingual South Africa will go some way to correct the “empirically incomplete” (Orman, 2012) descriptions of the language choices made by African people when they enter South Africa in general. More pertinently, this study could contribute to the domain of language sociology by adding descriptions and explanations of the experiences of multilingual African people migrating into multilingual South Africa. Data from this context might shed new light on theoretical challenges related to language maintenance and language shift noted by scholars like Romaine (2006).

Due to the paucity of descriptions of multilingual migrants in multilingual host communities; and the specific paucity of descriptions of African migrations into South Africa; current and mainstream theories of language maintenance and language shift are inadequate when applied to the context of multilingual Congolese migrants entering multilingual South Africa – as they were made to explain language acquisition of monolingual migrants moving into a monolingual host territory. Therefore, it is worthy to discover why, in a multilingual society, multilingual migrants will acquire one language, avoid learning some languages, and maintain some of the languages in their repertoires by unpacking the social conditions involving language repertoire changes and language choices made in this context.

Kerswill (2006) argues that language contact occurs when a group of people moves into a host territory – and migration is a major factor leading to externally motivated language contact. Consequently, migration has profound sociolinguistic effects influencing the linguistic repertoires of migrants and that it should be understood in relation to different parameters of time, space, motivation and socio-cultural factors (Kerswill, 2006:3). According to Kerswill (2006:19), whatever the type of migration and language varieties in contact, it is possible to make generalisations and to predict specific sociolinguistic outcomes. In the context of the scarcity on studies of the migration of multilingual people into multilingual host societies, this statement seems simplistic. Therefore, it is possible that studies from multilingual contexts could challenge this notion.

Moreover, in the case of multilingual African migrants moving into multilingual African communities, Kerswill (2006) seems mute as this particular migration has not really interested many scholars. As a consequence of the African linguistic density, multilingualism is the norm in Africa and has been for a long time. The expectation of multilingualism forms a notable part of the “African language ideology”. The two or more languages in one’s repertoire are generally assigned to different social contexts (Grenoble & Whaley, 1998:44).

In this case, as Orman (2012) stresses, studies of African multilingual migrants migrating into other multilingual African contexts might shed light on the sociolinguistic consequences affecting multilingual migrants. However, the explanatory models developed for observed patterns of language loss, language maintenance and language shift in monolingual recipient societies might not be relevant to explain the patterns in multilingual host societies. Thus, new linguistic theories can be developed to understand the patterns of language loss, language maintenance and language shift in multilingual settings. Therefore, the following research questions are relevant for the study.

1.4 Research questions

Keeping the paucity of research about multilingual African migrants migrating into multilingual African contexts, and the potential theoretical incompleteness about language maintenance, acquisition and loss that result from a lack of data from these contexts, the following research questions are identified as the focus of this study:

- 1.4.1 What is known about migration and language maintenance, shift and loss?
- 1.4.2 Do Congolese migrants to South Africa maintain and/or lose certain Congolese languages? Which Congolese languages are maintained and/or lost? Why and how?
- 1.4.3 Do Congolese multilingual migrants add South African language(s) into their existing language repertoires? Which South African languages are added? Why and how?
- 1.4.4 Would insights from this context extend the scope of the understanding of existing theories of language maintenance and language shift – derived from migration of monolingual recipient societies?

1.5 Objectives

Following from the research questions, the study has the following objectives:

- 1.5.1 To provide an overview of mainstream literature related to migration and language maintenance, acquisition and loss.
- 1.5.2 To describe the multilingual repertoires of Congolese migrants in the Vaal Triangle region with a focus on noting which Congolese languages are maintained and/or lost and which South African languages are added.

- 1.5.3 To explain why and how multilingual Congolese migrants in the Vaal Triangle region maintain or lose Congolese languages and why and how specific South African languages are added to their multilingual repertoires.
- 1.5.4 To extrapolate implications from the findings for mainstream theories about language maintenance and language shift in the context of migration of multilingual migrants into a multilingual host community.

1.6 Research methodology

The nature of the research questions of this study determines that the research methodology will be comprised of a literature review and an empirical study. The latter will include the use of a questionnaire and interviews to determine the language repertoires of Congolese migrants to a selected region in South Africa, namely the Vaal Triangle region. The broad approach followed in this study is considered as “mixed method” research by some scholars (Dörnyei, 2007:42). However, using questionnaires to gather baseline information about the language repertoires of language users (for example, finding out **which** languages they know); and following up with interviews to determine, for example, **why** people learnt specific languages included in their repertoires and **how** they learnt those languages, are very typical research methods used in sociolinguistic studies. These two methods are regarded as supplementary in typical language repertoire studies.

1.6.1 Literature review

The literature review is related to the first research question posed for the study: *what is known about language maintenance and language shift in the context of migration?* Several scholars have conducted work on migration and languages. The literature review will be focused on the theories of language maintenance and language shift in general and theories of migration and language in particular. However, this reading will target the key texts focused on –

- worldwide migratory trends;
- migration and language;
- African migrations into Europe and the USA; and
- Sub-Saharan African migrations into South Africa.

As stated above, most of the studies done in the field of language maintenance and shift in migratory situations focus on monolingual migrants moving into monolingual territories. A

typical example would be the migration of a Polish citizen to Canada (see, for example, the studies of Peirce, 1995). The explicit aim of the current study is to find out if existing theories of language and migration could be applied to the context where multilingual migrants move into multilingual communities like South Africa.

1.6.2 Empirical research

The empirical part of the study will include the use of a questionnaire, as well as an interview with selected participants, to gather data about the nature of the language repertoires of the participants and their perceptions of the changes in their repertoires over time. Firstly, a questionnaire will be given to the participating Congolese migrants in the Vaal Triangle region. This region in South Africa is selected because researchers like Coetzee-Van Rooy (2012) have established the nature of the multilingualism meaning, “the capacity of societies, institutions, groups and individuals to engage on a regular basis in space and time with more than one language in everyday life” (Aronin & Singleton, 2012:6-7) in the region at the individual and societal level. The questionnaire data will provide answers to the second and third research questions of the study. The completion of the questionnaire will be followed by interviews with selected participants. The interviews will provide data that will contribute to the achievement of the second and third objective of the study. The fourth objective will be achieved via a synthesis of data from the literature review and the empirical study.

1.6.2.1 Questionnaire

Quantitative research explains and predicts findings that will be generalised to other subjects, persons or members of the same community (Leedy & Ormrod, 2010). According to Dörnyei (2007:95), the questionnaire is the most frequently used and appropriate instrument for the collection of quantitative data in the context of applied linguistic research. In order to answer the second research question, a questionnaire was used to capture information about the participating Congolese migrants' language repertoire histories. This questionnaire included questions related to the Congolese languages that the participants brought into South Africa, and the South African languages added to these migrants' repertoires. The questionnaire study is viewed as phase one of the empirical project.

1.6.2.1.1 Participants

Congolese migrants in the Vaal Triangle region – in the south of the Gauteng Province of South Africa – are the targeted population of the study. According to Statistics South Africa (SSA) (SSA, 2011:24, 36), DRC residents are the fourth largest migrant group in South Africa who receive temporary residence permits (a total of 2 601 in 2011, after Zimbabwe, Nigeria and Lesotho). When permanent residence permits are taken into account, migrants from the DRC constitute the second largest group of citizens (a total of 1 054 in 2011, after Zimbabwe) (SSA, 2011:49). In the selection of participants, particular attention will be given to secure participation of Congolese migrants in the Vaal Triangle region from different generations in the same household and/or family. This will enable the researcher to observe the patterns of intergenerational language transmission, which is indicated as an important indicator of language maintenance or shift in the repertoires of migrants. As “South Africa is increasingly host to a truly pan-African and global constituency of legal and undocumented migrants” (Crush & Macdonald, 2002: 4), studying Congolese migrants’ language repertoires sheds light on the multilingual nature of the region from the perspective of one migrant constituency. The researcher aims to collect questionnaire data from a group of 30 to 50 migrants. The point of data saturation will determine the number of migrants included in the questionnaire study.

1.6.2.1.2 Sampling

For the purpose of the study and the accuracy of the findings, the sample needs to have very close similarities to the whole target population. However, it is a difficult task to identify Congolese migrants in the Vaal Triangle region, because there is no detailed list of this population that is available in the public domain. The snowball sampling technique will therefore be used to reach the relevant number of Congolese migrants to participate in the study. With this technique, firstly, the researcher identify a few Congolese migrants that are known to him. The researcher will inform the potential participants of the aim of the study and invite them to participate. The participants who give informed consent will be approached as participants. Secondly, the researcher will request participating Congolese migrants to nominate other appropriate community members who might agree to participate in the study. These participants will also be informed and will be asked to give their consent to participate in the study. In the sampling process, the researcher aims to invite appropriate participants from a variety of backgrounds and ages and genders to ensure that representatives from different socioeconomic backgrounds and with different life experiences

are included in the sample. Moreover, preference will be given to migrants who have been in South Africa for three years or longer, because it is assumed that they would have had ample time to network with South Africans and therefore to make decisions about the addition of South African languages, if they added any to their repertoires. Prior to the three year period, any noticeable potential attrition of the Congolese languages is also unlikely to occur.

1.6.2.1.3 Instruments

The questionnaire is compiled from existing sets of questionnaires used by several sociolinguists. The main questionnaire that will be adapted for the purpose of the study would be that of Coetzee-Van Rooy (2010) used in her study on South African higher education multilingualism in the Vaal Triangle region. For the aim of the study, the questionnaire gathers information about the biographical detail of migrants, the time they spent in South Africa and/or in the Vaal Triangle region, and the language repertoire and history of the Congolese migrants. The questionnaire has been piloted and advice from a statistician³ was incorporated into the pilot questionnaire.⁴

1.6.2.1.4 Data gathering

For the completion of the study, intensive field work will be conducted. Consequently, the researcher would like to meet most of the participants in their homes, if possible. The researcher will, therefore, try to drive to the participating Congolese migrants' homes to inform them of the study, secure their written consent, submit, explain and later on, to collect completed questionnaires. In some cases, the researcher foresees that some participants will be provided with the questionnaires at their work places. That could facilitate data collection, and allow the researcher to understand the broader social challenges experienced by Congolese migrants in the Vaal Triangle region to a deeper extent.

The questionnaire will be accompanied by an information letter that provides information about the purpose of the project, as well as a request to all participants to provide permission to be contacted for a follow up interview. After both phases of the project have

³ Professor Faans Steyn from the North West University statistical consultation services on the Potchefstroom Campus.

⁴ See Annexure A for the questionnaire used in the pilot study.

been explained (the questionnaire and interview), the potential participants will be requested to consider to take part in the study and to provide informed consent. Evidence of informed consent will be archived for the required five years as determined by the NWU ethics regulatory body in the office of the researcher.

1.6.2.1.5 Data analysis

Descriptive statistics will be used to report on the main tendencies of the questionnaire data. With descriptive data analysis, the useful information collected during the field work will be presented meaningfully through tables, graphs, and frequencies to summarise the language repertoires of the participating Congolese migrants. Depending on the nature of the data, further statistical analyses could be required. They will be conducted with the help of the statistical consultation services from the North-West University, Potchefstroom Campus. The data from the questionnaires will be used to identify elements that should be explored in the interviews, as the aim of the interview phase of the study would be to gather information about how and why specific languages were added to the repertoires of the Congolese migrants that participated in the study.

1.6.2.2 Interviews

For decades, interviews have been used in empirical research as a means of generating data. In sociolinguistics, most researchers expect to conduct interviews as a complementary tool after basic data were gathered via the use of a questionnaire. For the purpose of the study, the qualitative part of the research includes an interview that will follow the questionnaire with the aim of understanding why and how Congolese migrants maintain, add or lose specific languages related to their languages repertoires. The data from the interview will assist to answer research questions two and three. The interview part of the study could be viewed as phase two of the empirical project.

1.6.2.2.1 Participants

The participants who completed questionnaires during the first data collection process will be requested to participate in the interview part of the study. During the second phase of data collection, the number of participants will be reduced based on the main trends observed

after the questionnaire data sets were analysed. A number of 20 participants will be the initial target for the interview process. However, if the number of trends observed from the questionnaire study increase and if a point of data saturation is not achieved by 20 interviews, more participants will be approached for interviews.

1.6.2.2.2 Sampling

In the interview phase of the study, a sample of Congolese migrants who have previously responded to the questionnaire will be selected for interviews. The sample selection for the interview part of the study will be done according to the categories of family members: the parents (have children) and children (do not have children) in relation to the information gathered and trends observed in the questionnaire data.

1.6.2.2.3 Instrument

The researcher will conduct interviews with ordinary turn-taking conventions that would certainly be expected by the interviewees (Dörnyei, 2007: 134). A prepared list of broad interview questions will be used for all interviews (see Annexure B). The prepared list of broad interview questions is aimed at gathering information about the why and how of the language that the participants maintain, acquire or potentially lose. If important information related to the why and how of language use in the repertoires of the participants arises during an interview, follow-up questions will be asked.

1.6.2.2.4 Data gathering

Interviews will be conducted at the interviewees' home or in the researcher's office. The interviews will be recorded with a digital voice recorder. A transcript of the different interviews will be produced as source of data that will be used to gain insight into the histories of the Congolese language repertoires and language maintenance, use, acquisition and decline patterns. The languages of the interviews will be English, French and Lingala. When French and Lingala are used, an English translation of the transcriptions will be provided.

1.6.2.2.5 Data analysis

The data analysis of interviews starts with transcribing interview data into texts typed in word-processing" programmes (Henning *et al.*, 2004:127). After the data collection and transcription, a process of data coding will be followed. The researcher will read all transcriptions and will code recurring themes. This is followed by a process of validating the codes by inviting the promoter to code selected transcripts individually and then codes are compared in order to reach consensus in cases where the allocation of codes may differ. Once a set of codes and themes are selected, the researcher will code all interviews and then review all codes to see if they should be clustered to result in more meaningful interpretations of the data. The research will end with an analysis where the main trends in the interview data, represented by codes or clusters of codes, will be summarised with relevant excerpts from the transcripts as examples. The main point of the analysis of the interview data would be to use the qualitative data to explain elements that the quantitative data (captured in the questionnaires) could not explain. The researcher will use the Atlas.ti computer programme for the coding process.

The theoretical framework of Bourdieu (1991) will be used to explore potential codes to use in the analysis of the interview data. Notions of "symbolic power" (Bourdieu, 1991:66; Kramsch, 2009:8) or "symbolic capital" (Coupland, 2010:15) and the "linguistic market" will be explored as codes to interpret the information about language maintenance, acquisition and loss provided by interviewees. Possible codes for analysis would include references to: the nature of linguistic exchanges; languages and their "values", "prices" and "currencies"; the "investments" made by language users when they acquire or maintain languages and their expected "returns on investment"; and the general "competition" experienced between languages in the linguistic market. The theoretical framework that informs the study (and the coding process) will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

1.6.3 Ethics

In general, sociolinguistic research of this nature is categorised as low risk. This means that discussions about the languages one knows and continues to know; the languages one learns; and the languages less often used, are not particularly hazardous to people in a specific way. People often have discussions or conversations about cultural issues, such as language and how it is used (or not used) in communities. The plethora of letters to newspapers about language indicates how widespread the topic of language is among the

ordinary public. Ordinary ethics arrangements for sociolinguistic research should also be taken care of in this study. This includes informing participants about the nature of the project and securing the informed consent of adult participants (18 years and older). In the case of participants who are younger than 18 years, the assent of child participants, as well as the consent of their parents should be secured. Ensuring the anonymous reporting of the data provided by the participants, as well as care to ensure that all participants contribute in a voluntary capacity, is important in the context of this study. The participants in this study are Congolese migrants to the Vaal Triangle region. The migration channels and migration status of the participants could include different stages of vulnerability and the researcher would need to take care to ensure that anonymous reporting of data and voluntary participation are protected.

All of these ethical considerations discussed briefly above were presented in an application to the NWU ethics committee for approval. The research project for the study was approved as a sub-project of an approved and existing NWU umbrella project that has ethics clearance (NWU-00031-07-A1; November 2012-2017; Project leader: AS Coetzee-Van Rooy). All ethical requirements (briefly summarised above) will be observed during the progress of the study.

1.6.4 Conclusion

An important methodological issue related to this study is the use of quantitative and qualitative data gathering in a complementary way. The strength of questionnaires and the strength of interviews are used in a complementary way to answer what, how and why questions related to this study. In this context, the different research questions could be adequately addressed with the combination of both methods.

1.7 Contribution of the study

Currently, several scholars argue that language diversity is giving way as a result of the monolingual imperialism exercised by the spread of English that dominates Western led globalisation (Phillipson, 1992; Phillipson, & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2010; Tsuda, 1992). In the case of the migrations of multilingual populations into multilingual host communities, migrants do not only acquire global languages. Their additive multilingualism functions in correspondence with the usefulness of a particular language for

a specific social domain for the migrants' socioeconomic empowerment and social cohesion. This research project could contribute new information from a multilingual context that could potentially challenge existing theories of language maintenance and language shift in current migration situations.

Chapter 2 THEORIES OF LANGUAGE AND MIGRATION

2.1 Introduction

Migration, a process of moving from one geographical space to another, could trigger changes in language dynamics and evolution in the language repertoires of both newcomers and the indigenous people in an environment. When relocating, migrants take their languages and cultures to their new “home” where they have to accommodate their linguistic and cultural belongings, for the new space is someone’s space, and not empty of languages and cultures. The entrance of newcomers to South Africa could change the linguistic landscape of the country (Du Plessis, 2006). The new space becomes not only a land of negotiation and/or renegotiation of the symbolic value of linguistic and cultural goods, but a place of building new identities in lieu of the old which are not compatible with the requirements of the new life (Bhatt, 2010; Blommaert & Dong, 2010). Migrations are, therefore, more than just crossing transnational boundaries, but entering new discursive spaces and socially stratified organisations. Apart from the potential changes to the linguistic landscape as a result of newcomers to a region, speakers in the environment also need to manage their languages repertoires, and they reshuffle their language resources, learn host languages, and change language functions according to the host language market (Vigouroux, 2008:229). Several theories could be proposed to investigate the issue of language contact and its influence on the linguistic landscape and the language repertoires of people. Among them, Blommaert, Fishman, Mufwene, Schneider, Thomason and Kaufman have all proposed ways to explain how language contact influences changes to language repertoires, which is the focus of this study.

2.2 Theories of language and migration

Thomason and Kauffman’s theoretical groundwork claims that the history of a language is a function of the history of its speakers and that maintaining language contact can only be well studied within the social context in which it is embedded. These assumptions are made by Kiparsky (1938:176, cited by Thomason & Kaufman, 1988:35) in a comment on Vocablo’s 1938 paper on mixed languages, specifically with reference to lexical borrowing; and Coteanu (1957:147, cited by Thomason & Kaufman, 1988:36), when he claims that mixed languages do not depend on their grammatical structures but on the social conditions affecting the groups in contact. Moreover, Thomason and Kauffman’s (1988) assumptions

could be viewed as an addition to the structuralist and the genetic background of languages, according to which the linguistic results of language contact in a context leads to a process where new linguistic material is often inherited from another language.

“Language contact [most] often involves face-to-face interactions among groups of speakers in a particular geographical locality” (Thomason, 2001). Sometimes, speakers of two or more languages live together in a single community. This is the case with South African populations. Most often, in language contact situations involving speakers of diverse languages, intense pressure from a dominant group could lead to multilingualism among subordinate groups who speak other languages. This form of asymmetrical multilingualism results in language shift over a short or long period of time, as it has happened among the Native Americans and migrant populations of the United States (Thomason, 2001:9). In the case of socio-economically less powerful migrants, the common three-generation migrant linguistic pattern often holds as migrants are monolingual in the home-country language, their offspring bilingual, and then the third generation becomes monolingual in English (or another dominant language in the environment).

Despite the linguistic outcome of the contact situation, the types of the social conditions related to the language contact between the different groups are the main factors which trigger the change. Thomason (2001) notes that a prolonged contact situation between speakers of different mother-tongues evolves into a hierarchical three-way division from contact-induced language change, extreme language mixture and language death. In this phase, the most common result of language change affecting the languages is the borrowing of words (Thomason, 2001:10). Through the exchange of grammatical forms affecting the structures of languages, in the “most dazzling cases, mixed languages have apparently been created by [multilingual speakers] as a symbol of their emerging ethnic identity” (Thomason, 2001:10). Most often, in several contact situations, the groups in contact do not always learn each other’s languages. In such situations other forms of languages known as pidgins emerge. Pidgins are used strictly as secondary languages that are used for limited purposes. Creoles arise as main languages of the community, also learnt as a home language by speakers in the environment. In the case of the development of a creole, the new language vocabulary derives primarily from the language of the most prominent group in the contact situation. Moreover, the disappearance of one of the languages (the language of the less powerful or prestigious group), through language death and attrition, could be the common outcome of the language contact situation, when speakers abandon their home languages and shift to the most powerful or prestigious language (Thomason, 2001:12).

As noted, Thomason and Kauffman's (1988) work is related to the linguistic outcomes affecting language contact and how the languages in contact evolve as autonomous linguistic entities belonging to the particular groups in contact. Both scholars reflect on how the languages of the migrants and the natives could change when in contact. However, the object of the present study focuses on the contact of languages spoken by multilingual migrants who are in contact with multilingual speakers of South African languages, while investigating how the language repertoires of the migrant populations are affected when in contact with South Africans.

Mufwene's (2001) genetic language evolution theoretical background draws from Darwin's *Theory of Evolution*, which implies that all things are undergoing changes or genetic mutation due to the changing ecology. Darwin claims natural selection as the determinant factor of organic evolution, the process by which organisms change over time as a result of physical and behavioural changes that allow them to fit in their environment and to survive in new environments (Green, 1937). Thus, "natural selection" or the idea of the "survival of the fittest" could be defined as the law of adaptability in changing environmental conditions for the preservation of favourable individual differences and variations, and the destruction of those which are "weak" (Darwin, 1937:64). In this approach it is argued that in a changing environment, individuals must adapt or die. Adaptation comes with variations to preserve the individuals from death. If there are no variations, naturally, those individuals would cease to exist. In this line of argumentation, sociolinguistically, languages are like "linguistics individuals" who could only fit into their new environment through a selection process where ecological conditions favour one variant above others.

Mufwene and Vigouroux (2008:2) state that colonisation and globalisation account for the transformation of the linguistic landscapes of the world. However, colonisation and globalisation do not affect all parts of the world uniformly as the colonial history of Africa and Asia has not been the same as that of North America and Australia. The dynamics of languages in the trade colonisation differ from those of the exploitation colonies, whereas the latter differ from the settlement colonies' language dynamics (Mufwene, 1998, 2001, 2002, 2007, 2010; Mufwene & Vigouroux, 2013). Therefore, different colonisation "styles can be associated with different socioeconomic structures, [and] different interactional and linguistic regimes, which have engendered different dynamics of language competition between the languages in contact" (Mufwene, 2008: 3).

Mufwene (2008:1) attests that the dynamics of language change are affected because of the populations' mobility involving colonisation and globalisation according to the specific

language ecology. Consequences of language contact could range from competition and the selection of specific languages for particular domains of use among coexisting languages; the emergence of new language repertoires; and the differential evolution regarding the vitality of languages. If the language ecology could be understood as the specific conditions which lead to language evolution, the knowledge of the pre-existing ecology of language contacts should be a leading tool to understanding language vitality. The ecological conditions that determine the fate of languages in contact situations could be political, socioeconomic and environmental (Mufwene, 1998:136). According to Vigouroux and Mufwene (2008:27), the spread of European languages and their impact on African indigenous languages in the case of migration and African languages, appears to be strongly correlated with differences in the nature of colonisation. Henceforth, Mufwene (2002:168) distinguishes three different colonial ecologies where language dynamics lead the languages in contact to evolve in different ways. He assumes that European languages have endangered other languages, or driven them to extinction in settlement colonies, but not in exploitation or in trade colonies.

According to Mufwene (2002), there is no significant language attrition or loss observed within trade. In the trade colonies, the contact between European and the indigenous languages led to the emergence and development of new language varieties identified as pidgins, lexified by a European language on the west coast of Africa, for example, and used as lingua francas between the populations in contact (Mufwene, 2002:169; Mufwene, 2008:4). However, trade relations between Europeans and indigenous populations did not last for long. The mighty European partners often end up to subjugate local populations, and to impose the terms of trade upon local people when they continue to exploit the resources of the new country (Mufwene, 2008:228).

The 1885 Berlin Treaty was a turning point in the history of Africa. Instead of equal trade, Europeans started their conquest and exploitation of the continent. With more European administrators, the European colonisers brought new languages to the colonies, which lived side by side with indigenous languages, evolving towards different fates according to their hierarchy in the language market. In that way, colonial languages were not a direct threat to the indigenous African languages but an addition to the local language market. The different functions of languages led to specific social domains of use. The indigenous languages have functioned as vernaculars whereas the colonial languages were used as official languages and lingua francas between European migrants and indigenous populations (Mufwene, 2002). Mufwene (2002:172) assumes that the inhabitants of former exploitation colonies were not pressurised and did not even feel the need to shift to the colonial languages,

because on the one hand, they remained the overwhelming majorities of the people in the territories, and on the other hand, as the vast portion of the population were rural, they were “barely affected by the economic and political transformations undergone by their territories, including the formation of nation-states” (Mufwene, 2002:172).

Thus, the exploitation colonies have been divided into two linguistic dispensations. In one situation, the colonial language has been adopted by the indigenous elite to distinguish themselves from the masses, even when they had no pressure to give up their indigenous languages. In another situation, the elite could make use of the multilingualism of the indigenous elite that was constituted by knowledge of both the colonial and the local vernaculars, to their advantage. As a result, “indigenous lingua francas (such as Wolof, Swahili and Lingala) have gained economic power and prestige, and have gradually displaced (other) ancestral ethnic languages”, allowing the endangerment of several “indigenous languages to the extent that some rural populations have been shifting to the urban vernaculars, abandoning some of their traditional cultural values for those practised in the city” (Mufwene, 2002:172). Moreover, the former exploitation colonies’ indigenous elite had no social pressure to give up their indigenous languages; if they underwent language shift, it was as a result of their own personal attitudes (Mufwene, 2002:172).

The language situation of the settlement colonies differ from the above mentioned colonies. Speakers’ language interactions often led to competition and selection among the languages in the settlement environment for use in a specific domain. This process of competition and selection eventually led to the loss of several of languages. Settlement colonies have produced the emergence of new language varieties lexified by European languages, identified as creoles, and colonial dialects of European lexifiers, such as in the case of American English and Québécois French (Mufwene, 2002). Consequently, settlement colonies have gradually produced local or regional monolingualism, favouring the language of the colonising nation and dooming to extinction the languages used by the indigenous people, who were the first people in the environment (Mufwene, 2002:169).

The power relations between the slaves and their European masters in the settlement colonies, and the changing economic structures of the New World, put more pressure on the indigenous populations’ languages leading them to shift and to speak high status languages for their economic survival. Their gradual assimilation into the mainstream made it less and less necessary for their children to learn their ancestral language or to maintain their traditions (Mufwene, 2002:172).

According to Mufwene (2010:40-41), the difference between exploitation and settlement colonies in the “transmission” of European colonial languages is correlated with a significant difference between the linguistic consequences of European migrations. The prevailing European languages in many of the settlement colonies, which have been used as vernaculars, are tools of extinction not only for most of their European competitors, but also the languages brought over by the slaves and contract settlers, especially in the Americas and Australia. However, in the exploitation colonies, European languages function as official languages and as lingua francas commanded only by minority socioeconomic elites. These languages are not seen as competitors for African vernaculars as most of the indigenous languages continue to be spoken. Therefore, societal and individual multilingualism have been the norm in exploitation colonies; with clear geographical and ethnographic divisions of labour in the usage of indigenous languages as lingua franca, and European languages as official languages imbued with more symbolic capital. From the above realities, most indigenous languages have survived in exploitation colonies which have typically replaced and expanded the former trade colonies in Africa (Mufwene, 2002:170).

In settlement colonies, African and European indentured servant languages were lost not only because of the power of the languages of the main colonisers’ nations, but because they were under more pressure to suddenly give up their languages, regardless of whether or not they were prohibited to speak them. They hardly found speakers to pursue the continual interaction for the survival of their heritage languages (Mufwene, 2008:197). For the African slaves, moving from freedom to slavery, from African rural economy to European capitalist life, within a context of a diverse population where people co-habited an environment where a lot of mixing took place, these particular changing ecologies have triggered the shift towards the dominant colonial language. The competition between several African vernacular languages and the languages of European workers and masters led to the emergence of one language policy which triggered the upgrading of the colonial master’s language to the official, or the dominant language of the settlement.

This explains why after building “small Europes” in the form of colonial enclaves of colonisation settlements, and after trying to maintain their respective languages as vernaculars, one of the colonial languages gradually prevailed as the exclusive language of the citizens of the new polity. Examples of these historical developments are the prevalence of English in the USA and Portuguese in Brazil. As a result, settlement colonies have generally caused the attrition of languages other than the dominant European languages (Mufwene, 2008:229). The hierarchy of the populations in contact pushed the minority European populations to give up their heritage languages under the pressure of an emergent

dominant national socioeconomic system that functions only in one language (Mufwene, 2008:231).

In the light of the ecology of languages approach, one could assume that the language consequences of migrations, in the form of globalisation and colonisation, as the main tool that effected the spread of languages around the world are different in former exploitation and in the former settlement colonies (Mufwene, 2008:212). In the contexts of exploitation colonisation, the indigenous languages were retained, as they were preserved from the predatory powers of their European counterparts. However, the colonial language still carries the prestige of being the official language, the marker of power and upward social mobility in most of the ex-colonial countries, whereas the indigenous languages serve as markers of ethnic identity (Mufwene, 2008:217). On the one hand, European official languages ensured communication between the colonialists and the elite indigenes whereas, on the other hand, the new indigenous lingua francas have been functioning as urban vernaculars to permit communication with the colonised masses. From the above, the language hierarchy did not allow the European languages to directly endanger the indigenous languages, especially when the division of social domains of usage between European and indigenous languages were different and complementary (Mufwene, 2008:233). Settlement colonisation has finally extinct ethnic identities and languages among populations of the new polities, where the need for speaking heritage languages has been reduced to a useless impossible task as the colonial lingua franca remains the most valuable vernacular.

From the discussion so far, it is clear that migrations have been the driving force behind language contact leading to language maintenance and language shift in many contexts over time. When migrants leave their communities, their languages and cultures move with them. In their new homes, migrants have to adjust their language repertoires, their language styles and cultures to fit into the new environment. However, the host country is not an empty space. Filled with speakers of one or more languages of different styles and diverse cultures, the host country is a community of speakers of one or more languages. When each language is associated with a specific culture, the hierarchy of the languages in contact is an important variable of language acquisition.

Language ecology theory is a useful tool in the analysis of the language repertoires, and patterns of language maintenance and language shift in migratory settings. The ecological difference and the changing pre-existing language ecology could influence the language repertoires of migrants and autochthones; according to the prevailing conditions which define the populations' contacts. In the case of South African languages, both the Bantu

language speakers and the Dutch and British settlement into the Khoesan land have caused the loss and death of Khoesan languages (Mufwene & Vigouroux, 2008:3). On the other hand, even when Afrikaners and the English have occupied the same South African land over time, no major shift of Bantu languages speakers to Afrikaans and/or English was noted. The case of the Khoesan and Bantu languages are different. According to the ecology theory, Khoesan populations who were living under settlement occupation conditions were forced to adopt and shift to Dutch, the former master's language; whereas the Bantu population, under Dutch and English rule was not forced to adopt and shift to the former masters' languages as they were living under exploitation occupation colony conditions. The new autochthones and majority Bantu populations kept their heritage languages in the home domains whereas they acquired the masters' languages to communicate in the higher domains of education, politics, military and commerce. However, the South African Indians and the Khoe shifted to English because they were subjected and trained in their masters' (the British colonisers') language, with an oversimplified language shift happening almost a century (four generations) after arrival (Mufwene & Vigouroux, 2008:8).

In this global dispensation, Mufwene (2001:154) notes that the more a population is integrated into another that controls its socioeconomic system, the more likely it is to lose its language. As the new space requires different communication material, migrants and autochthones' language requirements are organised and evaluated according to the market value with regard to spatial dimensions in their new environment (Vigouroux, 2008:241). The power dynamics of languages are related to the value of the languages within the market. Vigouroux (2008:239) acknowledges that the cost of investment and the benefits in language acquisition are weighted and the migrants' choice is generally driven by economic opportunities that a language may provide to them. Therefore, migrants would adopt a language because of the symbolic capital of the group associated with it, as well as the potential social benefits associated with the language. In this regard, Mufwene's (1988) genetics adaptation theory could not explain language maintenance and language loss in migratory settings completely. Again, if the environment is the direct cause of individuals' adaptation, natural selection causes much extinction of weak organisms to the benefit of predators (Green, 1937). In the fight of adaptation, the strongest species will prevail over the weakest according to the environment. Therefore, languages are like species life in the hostile environments where they fight to survive. When "strong" languages are maintained (and survive), "weak" languages are lost (or die).

Mufwene (2002:1) sees languages like "parasitic species whose vitality depends on the communicative behaviours of their speakers, who in turn respond adaptively to changes in

their socio-economic ecologies". Linguistic phenomena such as language maintenance and language shift are direct outcomes of these adaptations where one ecology differs from another; and the dissimilarities in ecologies can account for the difference in the vitality of individual languages. When one pays attention to the factors that have favoured a particular language at the expense of another, factors which lie in the changing socio-economic conditions to which speakers respond adaptively for their survival, language maintenance and language shift could be seen as a consequence of the vitality of the languages in contact, depending on their speakers' assessment of the costs and benefits derived from maintaining or stopping to use a language. In that case, the basic cost-and-benefit considerations have more to do with why speakers need a particular language, or to what extent a particular language facilitates survival in a changing socio-economic ecology. Consequently, the above criterion "determines what particular languages are given up and doomed to attrition and eventual extinction" (Mufwene, 2002:19). According to Mufwene (2002:19), "shifting to a particular language is [definitely] associated with particular benefits to be derived from its usage, especially economic benefits". Otherwise, speakers would prefer to stick to their traditional languages that they have always spoken, although they may learn another language for interaction with outsiders. Accordingly, migrants "to the New World and Australia shifted to the dominant languages because they had emerged as the only languages of the colonies' economic systems and they had something to gain from the shift, or at least they avoided the danger of not being able to compete at all in the new [labour] markets" (Mufwene, 2002:19).

From the above argument, one could state that speakers' language choices depend mostly on the speakers' adaptation to the changing socio-economic ecologies in which their languages are in contact in a multilingual community. Speakers select a particular language among the languages in competition in the same language market in order to meet their day-to-day communicative needs. Language shift, therefore, could be perceived as "one of the outcomes of competition and selection among languages sharing the same" eco-niche where they evolve (Mufwene, 2002:23).

Today, English has spread into a 'universal' language. Thanks to, firstly, the former colonists and their descendants who have retained the language to the present day; and secondly, to the colonised indigenous populations "who have adopted and appropriated the English language for themselves, thus contributing to its diversification and the emergence of new varieties" (Schneider, 2007:1). Thus, English has managed to remain the language used in formal and official functions; it has indigenised and grown local roots (Schneider, 2007:2). In the country of adoption, English has become not only a local language of everyday

communication, but has learnt to coexist with widely spoken strong indigenous languages, creating indigenous forms in the new environments where it spread (Schneider, 2007:12). Thus, the worldwide appropriation of English, its contact with local languages and its transformation into new dialects and national linguistic entities have given local identities to the language.

Schneider's model might not be relevant for the study. In the interest of the completeness it will be considered briefly because it makes assumptions about people that migrate to new contexts and the effect of that migration on their language repertoires. According to Schneider (2003), a Dynamic Model, which suggests that some synchronically observable differences between the varieties of English may be regarded as consecutive stages of development in a diachronic process, could be a coherent framework to understand the emergence of New Englishes. In Schneider's (2003:242) model, the process of identity rewritings is the pivotal social process that drives the development of New Englishes. In the beginning of the colonisation process, settlers "regard themselves as an extension of the 'us' of their country of origin; [juxtaposed] against the 'other' of the indigenous population of their country of destination". Over a period of time, "the former homeland turns into an 'other', while a new, regionally based construction of 'us', gradually including the indigenous population, is developed. Similarly, the experience of the indigenous population typically is such that the erstwhile 'other' reading of the immigrants or occupants is gradually incorporated into the "us" of the permanent residents" (Schneider, 2003:242). By distinguishing the settlers (migrants and owners of English) from the indigenous people (autochthones and owners of the land), the Dynamic Model of the evolution of New Englishes is the combination of Thomason's (2001) theory of the correlation between social and linguistic factors of language contacts and Mufwene's (2001, 2005) theory of the ecology of language evolution in language contacts – which is explored in the next section (Schneider, 2007:21).

The Dynamic Model theory of Schneider (2003) differentiates five stages of language transformation for a transplanted language to indigenise and transform into a "new variety", different to the "settlers'" language, and to its original form. At the foundation phase, the language has been uprooted and relocated during the colonial and postcolonial periods. English has been used regularly in a foreign country that was not English-speaking by a significant group of settlers; coexisting with indigenous languages spoken in this area in a complex contact situation between the different languages involved.

During the exonormative stabilisation phase of the model, the settler populations begin to stabilise politically under the British parental socio-political dominance. “English is now regularly spoken in a new environment, with a resident community of expatriate native speakers providing for most of this stable usage” (Schneider, 2003:245). The transplanted language constitutes the main language of the settlers with their consciousness of being representatives of British culture on foreign soil, whereas adjustments to the local environment start to creep in and gradually modify their English. In contact with local languages, the cultural instance of the autochthones begins to impact the settlers’ culture. Consequently, their spoken language starts to incorporate local language forms as the settlers begin to adopt “local vocabulary, at first predominantly for objects that the settlers encountered for the first time in the new territory” (Schneider, 2003:245). For the indigenous elite, the knowledge of English becomes a fashionable ability – which includes a positive attitude and a process towards the use of English (Schneider, 2003:245-246).

The transplantation of English, its contact with local languages and its acceptance by local populations leads towards the process of the nativisation of the language. According to Schneider (2003, 2007), the nativisation of English is the most important and the most vibrant phase for both cultural and linguistic transformation of the parties involved in the language contact. Both settlers and indigenous populations acknowledge changes in their daily lives. With time, there will be a gradual adoption and acceptance of an indigenous linguistic norm, supported by a new, locally rooted linguistic self-confidence. The newly constructed identity provides a greater prominence to the group’s territory of residence (as their new permanent home), than to historical background and, to some extent, ethnicity. This leads to a new indigenous identity which results in the acceptance of local forms of English as a means of expression of the settlers’ new identity. The new English variety, therefore, has lost its previous victimisation character, and is now positively evaluated, and viewed as the carrier of their new regional identity (Schneider, 2003:251). At the final stage of endonormative stabilisation, the birth of the new variety of English is recorded and remembered in the recent history but largely completed. The newly formed nation has achieved political, cultural and linguistic independence. It is the official birth of a new English variety, which leads to the differentiation phase of the language, a language different to its English piers.

Therefore, the evolution of Post-Colonial “Englishes is understood as a sequence of characteristic stages of identity rewritings and associated linguistic changes affecting the parties involved in a colonial-contact setting. The force behind this process is the reconstruction of group identities as to who constitutes ‘us’ or the ‘other’ by both [the] settlers

and the indigenous residents in a given territory, reflected by associated sociolinguistic and linguistic processes” (Schneider, 2007:29). As Van Rooy (2014:22) notes, the Dynamic Model is a bold attempt at capturing the similarities that exist across different contact settings with local particulars, and could not be to the entire country under discussion. Therefore, the Dynamic Model adopts the simplistic characterisation of an entire country belonging to a category of Kachru’s Inner or Outer circle whereas the process should be applied to the smallest entity in contact situation (Van Rooy, 2014:22).

According to Coetzee-Van Rooy (2014), the central claim of Schneider’s Dynamic Model is that identity constructions and realignments, and subsequent changes are at the heart of the development of postcolonial varieties of English. The identity construction is viewed from both positions of the communities in contact: the English migrant-settlers and the indigenous peoples. From the settlers’ side, there is a gradual process of weaker association with the country of origin which is related to an increasing stronger bond with the country of colonial destination. As the indigenous acceptance of the settlers increases, the migrants’ language becomes part of the repertoires of the indigenous people due to its status. However, when the model emphasises the possibility of language shift and loss of the indigenous languages, due to the pressure of accommodating English, the fundamental assumptions of the Dynamic Model could be challenged in the case of multilingual communities, like South Africa, where English is in contact with many languages and could evolve into several varieties. The Dynamic Model predicts the loss of indigenous languages for a language that will act as the single identity carrier of the new nation: English, in the case of South Africa. History will tell if this prediction will come true. Coetzee-Van Rooy (2014) challenges this notion of the model. Data from studies in the Vaal Triangle region indicate that the home languages are regarded as cultural identity markers by multilingual speakers, and that English is viewed as the language of “modernity” and “education”. In complex linguistic contexts such as those often observed in South Africa, several languages could be added to the repertoires of multilingual people to fulfil communication needs within the community (Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2014:39-41).

However, as Schneider (2003, 2007) points out, the process concerns only the transformation of the colonial English and its evolution into a new variety of English. The researcher can highlight points from this the model to illustrate this focus. Firstly, the new variety of English is different from the variety used by the colonial master (British English in the case of South Africa), mostly at the level of vocabulary. In contact with indigenous languages, English incorporates within its vocabulary new words from the languages and culture in its presence. However, the new language keeps an identical structure to “mother-

English". In several cases, none of the languages in the presence of English are lost. Even when indigenous people shift to English (like in the Americas and Australia), in Africa and Asia, English continues to exist in the presence of the lingua francas spoken by the non-English mother tongue speakers. Consequently, Schneider's model is not entirely relevant to this study as the researcher intends to investigate the possible changes in the language repertoires of multilingual migrants that include English and other languages.

Moreover, in multilingual settings, different languages could be used in different speech acts between speakers. Even in the same family, many languages could be used to communicate as family members switch to different languages when parents speak with each other, or when parents speak to children and vice-versa. In a study of language maintenance and language shift, in contexts where many languages are in contact with each other, one should assume that languages and language varieties "sometimes replace each other, particularly in certain [social domains] of language behaviour, under [the] conditions of intergroup contact" (Fishman, 1964:32). These processes have been described as part of the theory of the social domains of language use. These phenomena (language maintenance, language acquisition and language shift) affect migrant communities when they move into mostly prosperous nations. Generally, migrants from less prosperous and undemocratic countries of the developing world often "let go" of their heritage languages when they realise that these languages could not advance their aspirations. In many cases, people who abandon their native tongue do so because they move elsewhere or take up new jobs and in this new existence they are expected to use a different language or languages. In these cases, migrants could neglect their languages because another language is preferred at school, by public authorities, or in courts of law, and sometimes migrants treat their own language with disdain (De Swaan, 2004).

According to De Swaan (2004), migrants and their families prefer to acquire "a language that they assume will maximise their opportunities in the labour market", and upgrade their social status rather than the minority language that linguists and educationalists so well-meaningly prescribe. In the process, fewer migrants' children learn their parents' language in the next generation. Churchill (2003) concludes that the "vast majority of immigrants and their descendants appear destined to continue the pattern of their predecessors where most lose the heritage language within three generations".

Nowadays intense migrations have altered the face of social, cultural and linguistic diversity over the world replacing the multiculturalism of an earlier era (captured mostly in terms linked to the description of the fates of ethnic minorities) with super-diversity (Vertovec,

2007; Blommaert & Rampton, 2012). According to Blommaert and Rampton (2012), super-diversity is characterised by a tremendous increase in the types of categories of migrants. As a result, the notion of super-diversity has denaturalised the traditional idea of distinct languages and that of proper and pure languages. From this perspective, languages such as Afrikaans, English, French, Lingala or Swahili, are only ideological constructions historically tied to the emergence of the nation-state in the 19th century. Instead of *languages* or even linguistically defined language varieties, sociolinguists must focus primarily on socially loaded linguistic resources, subject to patterns of distribution in society and thus becoming ingredients of the complex repertoires of individual speakers. Thus, language repertoires are made up of ways of speaking, or forms of language use (not of language substance) and the knowledge of their use in social environments, or the implicit norms for context-specific genred discourse production and reception (Blommaert, 2005; Blommaert & Rampton, 2012:10).

The sociolinguistics of globalisation helps frame the notions of translanguaging and transnational literacies. Translanguaging, thus, could be understood as engaging in bilingual or multilingual discourse practices, not in their use of languages but in the observable daily language practices of the people (Blommaert, 2010; Hornberger & Link, 2012:263). Moreover, Blommaert (2010) refers to a “critical sociolinguistics of globalisation” as the current wave of migrations has created new places of culture and language negotiation. From the above, translanguaging becomes the new approach to understanding multilingual speakers’ use of more than one linguistic code in their everyday way of speaking (Blommaert, 2010; Creese & Blackledge, 2010). According to Creese and Blackledge (2010), translanguaging describes the language fluidity and movement between linguistic resources in the minds of multilingual speakers in their daily communication acts, by practicing and using the languages at their disposal. In that sense, “translanguaging includes the full range of linguistic performances of multilingual language users for purposes that transcend the combination of structures, the alternation between systems, the transmission of information and the representation of values, identities and relationships” (Wei, 2011:1222). Thus, for these scholars, languages should not be studied as separated entities but must be viewed in combination with the ways they perform and achieve the communication needs of the speakers.

Moreover, when studying the dynamics of Swahili, Blommaert (2014) restates his views against the uniformity of the spread of a language. The nationwide spread of Swahili in Tanzania is considered by many Tanzanian scholars as a failure and a headache to the country and to the history of the language ideology of one nation, one language. Scholars

like Blommaert (2014) do not believe that the spread of Swahili in Tanzania is a failure. According to Blommaert (2014), the spread of a uniform language is an absurd conception which cannot happen in one space, or in a country conceived of as a geographical sphere with boundaries. Any particular language could be transformed to an almost infinite degree of variability and diversity. Blommaert (2014:1) suggests that once the study of a language begins, this presumed one language will start to disintegrate into different forms of dialects, sociolects, idiolects, jargons, slangs variants, colloquial variants, registers, styles and speech events. Against this view, I agree with Blommaert (2014) that the spread of Swahili in Tanzania is not a failure. Swahili is a unified language with varieties that has become the main language of Tanzania used in most national sectors (Topan 2008); and it is used far beyond the borders of Tanzania as a lingua franca in Africa.

Consequently, whenever we use a language, we generally use a specific form of it. A language, in fact, a definite form of a language becomes part of a language repertoire of a particular speaker of the language (Blommaert, 2014:1). In every single space, speakers reshuffle the symbolic hierarchy of their language varieties in a pyramid of value, placing the national variety (or the academic variety) on top and framing all other varieties as lower varieties. In so far, a speaker's language repertoire could be seen as a configuration of different varieties of, on the one hand the same language, on the other hand, of different languages. According to Blommaert (2014), speakers of a particular language assume that they share a common language whereas they stand in front of overwhelming evidence to the contrary. In Tanzania for example, the generalised "spread of Swahili does not automatically result in [generalised] equality among speakers because Swahili [is used] in many shapes and forms, some of which would carry status while others would be [stigmatised] as 'bad' or 'deficient' Swahili" (Blommaert, 2014:58).

Drawing from the above, the use of the traditional term "language" as a self-contained item becomes problematic and conventionalist because we do not use "traditional" languages anymore. Some sociolinguists assume that we use specific resources drawn from such conventionally understood "languages" such as sounds, words, grammatical patterns and larger "ordered" resource clusters such as styles or genres. Instead, the concept of "register" (defined as a specific part of a repertoire that is associated with particular social practices and with speakers who engage in such practices) is convenient as people "enregister" specific bits of language in their repertoires and other semiotic material, configured, indexically ordered, so as to produce specific meanings. When communicating, speakers exploit such registers adequately, to switch from one register to another, and to rapidly and adequately enregister new resources whenever required. Communicative competence would

be understood as the capacity to deploy such registers adequately by switching from one register to another (or one language to another) to fulfil communication needs according to domains (Blommaert, 2014:110).

Moreover, the researcher concurs with Blommaert (2010:3) that migration, always seen as the relocation of inhabitants of “zones of poverty” into Western societies, has changed the face of multilingualism by creating new and complex markets for linguistic and communicative resources. Such markets naturally include winners and losers, and many people nowadays find their linguistic resources to be devalued in globalised environments. Changing spatial locations force speakers to accommodate their languages to the host society. Furthermore, in relation to Blommaert’s conceptions, in migratory settings, the migrants’ language repertoires are crucially important in understanding the social dynamics of language, as people do not speak conventional languages but acquire specific portions, or specimens of so-called “languages”. The choices of migrants about the “bits of languages” that they choose to acquire and add to their language repertoires, provide a special context within which to observe the hierarchical powers of languages within a specific language ecology or on a specific linguistic market.

Although there is value in rethinking the way that languages are conceptualised (as explained above), the researcher does not fully share this view of seeing in languages just “styles” or “registers” of the same language. The researcher prefers the conventional concept of language as a commonly shared idiom belonging to and spoken by all its speakers; members of one community of speech (Blommaert, 2010:106). Languages are linked to administrative, political and cultural entities that define them. Insofar, they cannot be separated from the same entities that create them. In this study, the researcher therefore notes the new direction to conceptualise languages as styles or registers of individual people. However, the researcher does believe that the social value of languages as markers of group identity is under-valued in this conceptualisation and in the case of migrant populations, the symbolic power of languages as markers of group identity in diaspora cannot be downsized. Migrants are forever aware of their status as foreigners in a new country. In these contexts, one cannot underestimate the value of a language or languages that symbolise the old and new cultural identities of its users.

It is apparent to the researcher that because of the relocation and re-evaluation of languages, migrants may grow up in families where they speak one or many languages they can understand partially as they never learn to speak all the languages in their repertoires adequately or fully. These bits of languages and styles constitute the migrant’s language

repertoire. Nevertheless, according to Dyers (2008a), the heritage language plays an important role in defining who we are, and making us entirely identifiable members of a particular ethnic community. According to Cummins (2005: 586), in the context of North America:

the term heritage language refers to the languages of immigrant, refugee, and indigenous groups. In principle, this includes all languages, including English (native English speakers have a heritage also!), but, in practice, the term is used to refer to all languages other than English. Heritage language speakers are those whose home or ancestral language is other than English, including those whose ancestors lived in this country prior to the establishment of the United States and those who have come in recent years.

In Finocchiaro (2004), for example, the maintenance of Italian among immigrant groups in the USA, Australia and France is studied as an example of a “heritage language” as defined by Cummins (2005) above. A similar definition is used in South Africa where “heritage language” is defined as “Languages not indigenous to a country but brought by immigrants” in the “National Language Policy Framework” (Department of Arts and Culture, 2003: 19). In this study, “heritage language” is used to refer to the languages that the participants in the study bring with them when they migrate to South Africa. Potential heritage languages that one would expect from migrants from the DRC include Kikongo, Tshiluba, Lingala and French.

Any migrants’ family language remains a tool of belonging to a wider ethnic or speech community which links them to their countrymen, or tribesmen, for a specific common identity. In that case, when language shift takes place among the younger members of a minority ethnic community who no longer speak their heritage language (the language of their parents), but prefer to use the dominant majority language of the host nation instead, the heritage language still has a great impact on the migrant children as a marker of personal or group identity. Speaking a language of wider communication does not deprive third generation speakers of the language of their ethnolinguistic distinctiveness; or the cultural value associated with the ethnic languages.

Most often, the migrants’ heritage languages dominate the intimate domains of language use, such as the home and conversations with family, neighbours and close friends (see for example, Dyers’ (2008b:111) work on language use in the intimate domains with internal migrants in a Western Cape context). The host country language, seen as the high variety, or language of high function, does not always strip the heritage language of its rights in its

favourite domains. In fact, there is always a domain division between the heritage and the host community languages. The use of one variety in a particular domain as the main variety often excludes its use in the other domain. However, even when migrants learn a wider communication language, they remain rooted in ethnic identities through their heritage languages by the means of religion and family ties (Churchill, 2003). Where the language of high function does not side-line the heritage language, as long as this heritage language remains the symbol of the solidarity between its speakers for members of the ethnic community, but not learned correctly because of its low status, a truncated multilingualism may occur as only bits of languages are well mastered especially by the younger generations of speakers (Dyers, 2008b:124).

For multilingual subjects, group membership appears as one of the controlling factors in language choice. A government functionary in Brussels, who generally speaks standard French in his office, standard Dutch at his club and a distinctly local variant of Flemish at home, identifies himself with a different group to which he belongs, wants to belong, and from which he seeks acceptance at different instances. Group membership pushes multilingual subjects to speak one language when discussing one topic per sé as a regulator of language use in multilingual settings (Fishman, 1965). It means that the choice of a language to handle one subject in a particular domain between two speakers is related to the common group membership of both speakers and to the domain of the specific topic. The language use by migrants' families is often distinguished for different domains. The accumulated language choices done by the individual speakers over some time become transformed into the processes of language maintenance or language shift (Fishman, 1965:73). According to Fishman (1965:74), in immigrant-host contexts where only the language of the host society is recognised for higher and government functions, and where younger generations constantly leave the immigrant society and enter the host society, fewer domains are required to study the habitual language in the habitual domains.

Current migrations are known for new patterns that are characterised by shorter stays in foreign countries and regular return trips to home countries. It is assumed that these temporary migrations might impact migrants' language repertoires differently as they facilitate the maintenance of the vernacular by the older migrants, as well as the transmission of the vernaculars to the next generation. Even when migrants have acquired the host country languages, they could easily maintain and transmit their heritage language to their children in contexts where families stay in host countries for shorter periods of time and visit their parental home country more regularly (Vigouroux, 2008, 2013).

According to Kerswill (2006:1), the migration of people as an extra linguistic factor leading to language change, has profound sociolinguistic consequences when it affects the demographic balance of the sending and the receiving populations. The arrival of uprooted migrants constitutes a double impact on the people and the environment. On the one hand, migrants become an ethnolinguistic minority in the host community, where they have to relate sociolinguistically to dominant host community languages, while they transform the host community to some extent by contributing new languages to the linguistic landscape. The settlement colonisation context acts as an exception to the pattern when the colonisers do not develop into a linguistic or a cultural minority. In turn, the host community could be transformed by the arrival of migrants. Kerswill (2006) notes that space, time and motivations in migration might have different sociolinguistic consequences on the migrants' language repertoires.

When moving into a new nation-state, migrants' languages are affected by the administrative boundaries of the country. Because each country has its language policies, migrants have to reevaluate their language behaviours and attitudes to settle in their new home. In the new nation-state, migrants' languages are affected differently. On the one hand, short-distance and short-stay migrations might help to preserve heritage languages as long as individuals can maintain links with the community of origin, as the migrant language remains the majority language in the country of origin. However, long-distance and long-stay migrations might hamper ties and commitment with the home community while, at the same time, lead to the establishment of new ties within the host community and changing the language attitudes of the migrants. In so far, migrants who stay longer in the host community and who do not return as often to their country of origin might be committed to invest immensely in the host languages. On the contrary, short-stays and short-distance migrants have the opportunity of transmitting their heritage languages to the next generation. However, they might not have a great host language investment because the motivation of their stay is mostly different to the long-stay and long-distance migrants. Because of the disparities between migratory settings involving space, time, distance and motivation, it could be admitted that language maintenance and language shift are related to the length of time spent in the host community, to the distance between the sending and receiving communities, and the motivations involved. Dustmann (1999) submits that the difference between the time migrants want to spend in the host country labour market could be a possible explanation for the disparate assimilation patterns which are observed among migrant populations of different origins. The researcher thus assumes that time contributes to language acquisition and language maintenance and shift in the new migratory space.

If in migratory settings language acquisition and learning are a result of the speakers' investment, there might be a close relationship between cost and benefit in the acquisition of a particular language. Migrants consider the presumed benefits they would reap from the learning of particular languages. In so far, speakers invest in a language to get, in return, opportunities to access different jobs, business prospects, chances for advanced education and improved legal status. Mufwene (2001, 2002, 2007) states that there are obvious cost-and-benefit considerations which are reflected in the ethnographic aspects of the language choices that speakers make when they choose to add new languages to their repertoires and decline to use certain languages. Therefore, linguists must assess the "costs and benefits that the affected populations have derived from language shift in their particular socio-economic ecologies" (Mufwene, 2002:27). This highlights the fact that the vitality of a language depends mostly on the speakers' needs in terms of cost-and-benefit considerations in the language acquisition process. The ability of languages to facilitate the survival and progress of people in a changing socio-economic ecology determines which particular languages are given up and doomed to attrition and eventual extinction (Mufwene, 2002; Vigouroux, 2008). In this case, language maintenance and language shift greatly depend on the amount of symbolic capital associated with the heritage and the host community languages.

Linguistics is a matter of assessing and analysing the market demand, and of producing and marketing linguistic products (Ohly, 1978, 1982, cited by Blommaert, 2014:75). Within the ecology framework, Mufwene (2008:201) suggests that one could not ignore the market values of the languages in competition, especially with regard to their economic usefulness, because they determine which languages are likely to be given up. Thus, language shift among Native Americans seems to be an adaptive response to changing socioeconomic conditions, under which their indigenous languages have been undervalued and driven to the margins of the European-style world order. Native Americans have recognised the economic or market values of the European colonial languages supported by the new, global economies (Mufwene, 2008:201).

In multilingual settings, there is a pyramid of power which attributes ranks and positions of power within the hierarchy that languages occupy in the constellation. In this case, migrants' language acquisition is an investment in languages according to its status among its speakers in order to gain power and recognition in the host community. Again, like in every market when goods are sold, customers buy products according to the brand and the profit they get from the purchase. Likewise, in migratory multilingual settings, speakers acquire languages in accordance with the supposed profit they will get from it. Sometimes, one

language does not facilitate upward development for migrants. In these cases, the acquisition of several languages becomes the norm. This could be the situation in several African countries where language acquisition is done in accordance to the pyramid of the language's power or the societal rank of languages spoken both by the migrants and the original occupants of the space. As the new space requires different communication material, the language requirements of migrants and autochthones are organised and evaluated according to the market value with regard to the spatial dimension of their new environment (Vigouroux, 2008:241). As Kramsch (2009:18) suggests, learning other languages is often seen as an "asset" in the pursuit of economic profit and material gain. In migration settings, it is important to assess the symbolic capital and the market value (also expressed in terms of the offer and supply of languages) related to the languages one might think to acquire.

2.2.1 Conclusion

From the above discussion, it is clear that scholars who study language contact propose theories for language maintenance, acquisition and shift that are diverse and sometimes contradictory. Each scholar tries to improve the understanding of these complex phenomena (migration and its effects on the language repertoires of people) in the field. In multilingual settings, where multilingual migrants are involved, current theories would be challenged even further. Therefore, in the next section, the researcher advances to a discussion of Bourdieu's (1991) notion of "symbolic power" which could enhance the existing theories related to migration and language repertoires to improve the comprehension of these complex phenomena in the field.

2.3 Linguistic exchanges as commodities

Bourdieu's economic theory of language could be viewed as the theory of language demand and supply in multilingual contexts. Bourdieu (1991:66) states that a linguistic exchange, as a relation of communication between a sender and a receiver, is an economic exchange which is established within a particular symbolic relation of power between a producer, endowed with certain linguistic capital, and a consumer (or a market), and which is capable of procuring a certain material or symbolic profit. Bourdieu (1991) introduces a significant economic focus into discussions about the maintenance, acquisition or decline of languages. In this approach, words are not perceived only as signs to be understood, but also as signs

of wealth (to be evaluated and appreciated), and signs of authority (intended to be believed or obeyed) (Bourdieu, 1991:67). Accordingly, utterances receive their value in their relation to the market, characterised by a particular law of price formation. The value of the utterance depends on the relation of power that is concretely established between the speakers' linguistic competences (Bourdieu, 1991:67).

However in the language market, definitely applicable to multilingual contexts, there is always a relation of power between corresponding languages and groups who speak them. When confronted with a relation of power, languages are symbolically involved in the hierarchy of languages and those who speak them (Bourdieu, 1991:68). Thus, the symbolic relation of power between languages is obtained from the language market, which determines the variations in the price that languages are perceived to have accrued in the view of their speakers. The perceived prices that languages accumulated are allocated via the laws of the language market that determines that more favourable products (in this case languages) are offered by the people who hold the greatest symbolic linguistic power (Bourdieu, 1991:69).

From the above, the laws of the language market create the conditions for a linguistic competition in and through which the legitimate competence in the linguistic market is measured through the knowledge of the legitimate language which holds linguistic capital and produces profit for the speakers of the specific linguistic market (Bourdieu, 1991:55). Since linguistic signs are also goods destined to be given a price by powers capable of providing credit, linguistic goods are inevitably affected by the market sanctions, as all goods are sold according to the laws of the market which produce them (Bourdieu, 1991:77). Thus, the market fixes the price of the linguistic product according to the objective value of the language, or its symbolic power. However, the symbolic power of a language depends on the social position of its speakers, who govern the social market and control the linguistic market.

In a linguistic market, speakers are producers and/or consumers of linguistic exchanges via multiple languages ranked according to their symbolic power in the particular linguistic market, where every linguistic competence functions as linguistic capital capable of giving access to the social market (Bourdieu, 1991:57). Yet in a multilingual context, speakers are part of a linguistic market where different languages that are in competition are used by different people for different purposes. In order to fit in, members of the linguistic market must be able to speak the legitimate language that could bring wealth to the social lives of its speakers. Ignorance of the legitimate language viewed by all as imbued with symbolic power

on the linguistic market, would exclude non-users of the language from the social domains in which linguistic competence in the legitimate language is required. On the one hand, the rules of the linguistic market create the conditions for a linguistic competition where the legitimate language has linguistic capital and produces a profit for the speakers on the specific linguistic market. On the other hand, migrants are forced to choose languages which could allow them to enter into or to be accepted into the specific social domain where the language could produce profit for their socioeconomic empowerment (Bourdieu, 1991:55).

2.3.1 The law of supply and demand

In a market economy, the prices and quantities traded in goods and services are determined by the interaction of demand and supply. Demand and supply are often likened to the two blades of a pair of scissors that interact to determine the equilibrium price and equilibrium quantity in the market (Mohr *et al.*, 2008:123). A market is seen as a group of potential buyers and sellers of a particular good or service. The buyers as a group determine the demand for the product, and the sellers as a group determine the supply of the product (Mankiw & Taylor, 2011:63). The market is a competitive environment where buyers and sellers rank goods and services according to the value they represent to them. Therefore, a given good or service price depends on the value that the good or service represents to the buyers and sellers.

On the one hand, demand represents the willingness of potential buyers to purchase a good or service at a particular price. A demand exists only if the consumer is able and willing to pay for the good or service concerned (Mohr *et al.*, 2008:123-124). Demand, therefore, relates to the amount of product that consumers are willing to purchase at a possible price during a given period of time. On the other hand, when there is demand for a good or service at a high price, the quantity demanded would decrease (Mankiw & Taylor, 2011:65; Mohr *et al.*, 2008:127). The “law of demand” states that when the demand is high and supply stays the same, the price of goods rises because there would be fewer available goods and services on demand. Conversely, if the demand for goods or service falls, and supply stays the same, the price of goods or services falls because there is less demand (Mankiw & Taylor, 2011:65). In this way, the interaction between demand and supply determines the price of goods or services. Thus, the market demand of goods and services would be the sum of all individual demands for a particular good or service and the situation related to the supply of the good or service at that time (Mankiw & Taylor, 2011:67).

In a multilingual context, languages are in competition. Speakers use different languages in different contexts. Like goods, languages offer specific services to potential buyers (or speakers) because the acquisition or use of specific languages hold the potential to facilitate the empowerment or enhancement of the social status of people. For this reason, speakers choose a particular language for a particular function. Given the role of languages seen as goods in social domains, speakers' choices of languages are done according to their perception of what they can "access" or "do" with a particular language. In this line of argumentation migrants would select to add languages to their repertoires because of their "value" on the social market place. In the new host environment, migrants will always ask themselves what value the addition of a chosen language can add to their life, or what they would be able to "access" on the social market if they invested in learning an additional language.

Languages are not equal. The value of a language is the symbolic power that it has in the linguistic market. In other words languages do not "open the same doors" for their speakers. Speakers will therefore value some languages above others. This means that if language A is more valued than language B as a language used in business or in the work sector, speakers will empower themselves to acquire language A in order to gain access to more power in the labour domain. Meanwhile, the symbolic power of a language is the symbolic capital of the group which speaks the language. Generally, there is a group hierarchy among the speakers of different languages who share the same environment. For this reason, in language contacts, the language of the high society, the high group or the language of the most favourable group in terms of economic and/or political influence could be acquired by multilingual migrants. Migrants will add a language to their language repertoires according to its symbolic power in the new linguistic environment.

Every language has its own value in a specific domain according to its symbolic power in that particular domain. A language could potentially hold higher value in an imaginary domain D1, and it could have lower value in imaginary domain D2 (see Figure 1 for a representation of this idea). Also, a language will be maintained according to its symbolic power (or its symbolic value) in the particular domain. Consequently, if the symbolic power of a language decreases in a particular domain, its value for that function in that domain will unfortunately decrease and there is the potential that the language will be replaced by a competitor language in that specific domain. Thus, the symbolic power of a language could be defined as its value on the linguistic market for specific domains and functions. Likewise in a linguistic market, languages with higher "values" in specific domains for specific functions will probably be in higher demand with potential speakers (or buyers). In other

words, the higher the symbolic power or value of a language in a specific domain, the higher its potential demand among language users.

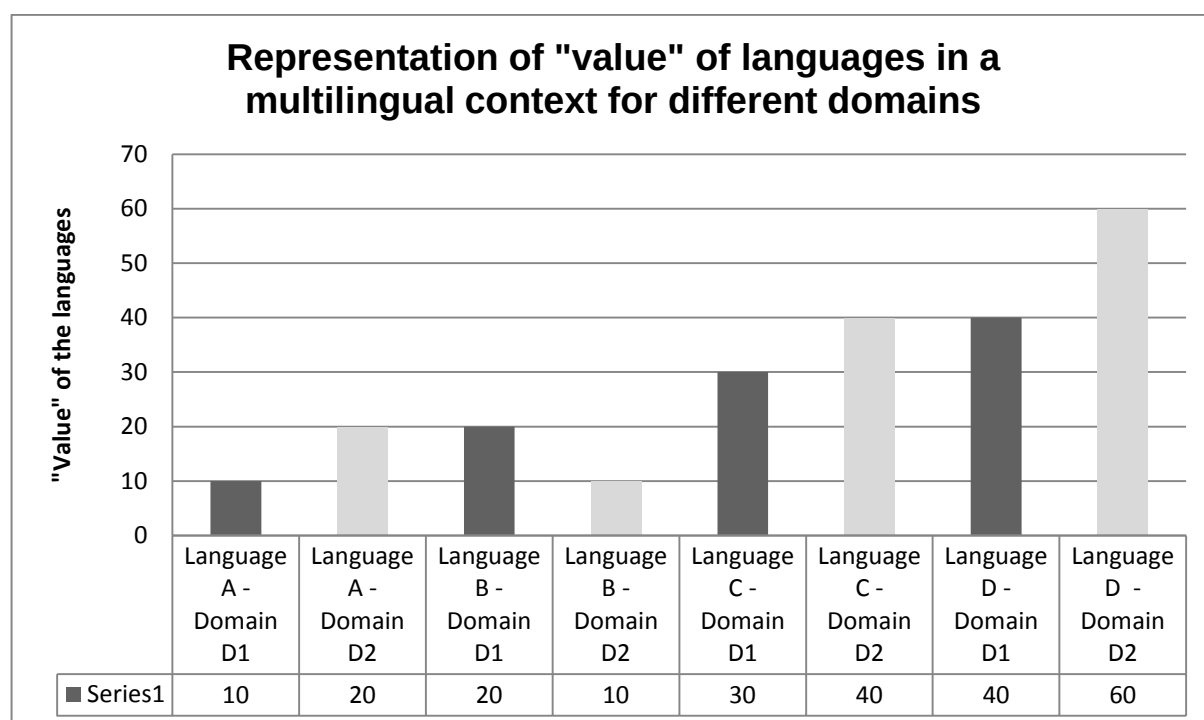


Figure 1: Representation of the “value” of languages in a multilingual context for different domains

Coupled with the economic law of demand, the researcher will argue that the symbolic power of a language could be viewed as the number of domains (and the importance of the domains) that a language could offer to speakers, in relation to the demands of the speakers (or buyers). In Figure 1, as the symbolic power axis increases (numbers), the demand for the specific languages (represented by letters) increases. More speakers will be willing to “buy” the language as long as the given language will empower their lives in their new environment in accord to the domains they need access to. Consequently, we could have the following equation:

$$\text{Language demand} = \text{Symbolic power of a language in a specific domain}$$

Again, the symbolic power of languages could be seen as a “currency”. As in foreign exchange, currencies do not have the same value (or buying power). In the exchange market, consumers and sellers have currency preferences. Goods and service prices are normally made in the strongest currency capable to give more profit to the seller. Accordingly, buyers would prefer to get the particular currency that would enable them to

afford the particular good that they deem necessary for their advancement. Furthermore, the appreciation and depreciation of languages could be compared to the appreciation and depreciation of currencies. When a currency increases in value (also seen as its appreciation) buyers and sellers are willing to have it, whereas when the same currency decreases in value (also seen as its depreciation) buyers and sellers will avoid it. In other words, the stronger a currency is, the higher its demand will be in the market. The social value, as well as the economic value, associated with linguistic products is only placed on them in their relationship to the market where they evolved; and by the objective relationship of competition comparing them to all other linguistic products, in which their distinctive value is determined (Bourdieu, 1977:654). Traders could, therefore, always ask themselves what they can buy with this “currency”, or what its value in this particular market is. Speakers (consumers) could also ask: *What is the value of this language in the linguistic market?*, or *What can I buy, in terms of economic power, and social status with this language?* In other words, *what are the costs and benefits of acquiring this particular language in this language market (or language environment)?*

Thus, it could be argued that the stronger the currency of a language, the stronger its demand in a market place. The weaker the currency of a language, the weaker its demand in a market place. In other words, consumers’ choices are related to the “currency value” of the language. In a multilingual context, migrants are willing to acquire or to appropriate “strong currency languages” that could enable them to get more empowerment in accord with the social domain of their choice. The researcher, as Mufwene (2002:3, 25), argues that in migratory contexts, language choices are affected by the costs and the benefits related to the acquisition of a language in their particular socio-economic ecologies where the languages evolved. In addition, Vigouroux (2008a:239) states that the cost and the benefits of learning a language are carefully weighed and the migrants’ choice is generally driven by the economic opportunities that a language may provide to better their lives. However, on the multilingual market, there is a hierarchy of languages according to which languages are chosen for their symbolic power. Therefore, the costs and benefits and the symbolic power could be regarded as the best tool to determine the motivations for language choices in migration settings. Different themes could be used in analysing the speakers’ choices of languages on multilingual linguistic markets: namely, the symbolic power of a language, or the symbolic capital of a language, the perceived language currency, the language investment made by speakers, and the return on investment and profit and benefit that speakers accrue as a result of the acquisition or maintenance of specific languages.

However, it has been argued that the actual debates about the economic value of languages and culture do not propose an alternative to the conditions as much as a new form of legitimisation for capitalist neo-liberal regimes. In other words, critics of Bourdieu's (1991) approach argue that his theory only emphasises the capitalist economic power which regulates the world (Tsing, 2000). Furthermore, Heller (2013:352-353) acknowledges that a characteristic of the politico-economic changes related to specific forms of capital expansion is the increasing importance of economic rather than political modes of authorisation and legitimisation. She argues that there is a political-economic reason why economic arguments are now more authoritative than political ones". In order to provide a counter-balance to an economic-only approach to issues of language choice in multilingual contexts, it is necessary to monitor how the state and the private sector manage new communication-oriented forms of production in addition to the circulation and value of communicative products.

2.4 Conclusion

Currently, an intensification of the extent and speed of migrations have increased language contact and resulted in what some scholars term, a super-diverse environment (Vertovec, 2007). The super-diverse nature of at least urban spaces today challenges existing theories of language maintenance, acquisition and decline. Current theories for changes in the language repertoires of migrants have been designed for traditional migration patterns where monolingual migrants move to contexts where a dominant language (for example, English) is used in a largely monolingual polity. In this chapter, the different theories of language contact were revisited and its effect on the language repertoires of people were reviewed. Apart from the focus of existing theories on the explanation of changes in the language repertoires of monolingual migrants into monolingual host settings, existing theories offer contradictory and incomplete views of the nature of language repertoires in cases of increased language contact. From previous theories, it is known that when migrants enter into a foreign land, they will adopt the language of the land, as it is done in America, Britain or France (which are traditionally monolingual countries). Therefore, in this study, Bourdieu's (1991) notion of "symbolic power" will be integrated into the main elements of existing theories of language maintenance, acquisition and shift in language contact situations, in an attempt to improve the explanatory power of existing theories in complex contexts where multilingual migrants migrate into multilingual environments. The relevant elements of existing theories that explain the changes in the language repertoires of people, imbued with Bourdieu's (1991) notion of "symbolic power" will be operationalised and used in the analyses of the questionnaire and interview data gathered in this study.

In the context of the current migrations from Africa and the Middle East to more prosperous parts of the world (like the USA, UK and Europe); and the increasing unwillingness of Western communities to accept migrants; understanding the changes in the language repertoires of multilingual migrants to multilingual South Africa could provide insights that are urgently needed to foster social cohesion in an ever-diversifying world. With current developments of far right ideas on migrations, like “Brexit” and French “Front National”, the migrations policies are certainly going to hinder many people from entering in some traditional migrations countries.

Chapter 3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to provide an account of the implementation of the empirical project related to the study. Although the research methodology was briefly outlined in Chapter 1, this chapter will be devoted to a more detailed description of the empirical research design that is suitable to the thesis. The literature review presented in Chapter 2 provided a better understanding of the phenomena of language contact, language maintenance and language shift involved in processes of migration and provided the theoretical background that support the empirical study. As the researcher could adopt different approaches to the realisation of the study, it is important to look at the full range of specific methods of data collection and analysis in order to answer the research questions. Therefore, in this chapter, the methodology will be discussed in detail and related to the research questions and objectives of the study. For this purpose, the research paradigm, the theoretical framework, the empirical research design, the strategy of inquiry, the population and the sampling processes are discussed. The chapter also highlights the data collection tools and methods, the data analysis procedure, the quality criteria and the ethical considerations.

The general aim of the study is to understand potential changes in the language repertoires of the Congolese migrants in the Vaal Triangle region by using concepts such as language maintenance, language shift and language acquisition identified in existing theories of migration and language use. The researcher assumed that the migrants' language repertoires could shrink if they do not practice their ancestral languages. On the other hand, the migrants' language repertoires could expand if they maintain their Congolese languages and add South African languages. As determined in the previous chapter, issues of the symbolic capital of languages present in the migration process will be traced as well.

3.2 Research paradigm

According to Nieuwenhuis (2007:48), "a paradigm is a set of assumptions or beliefs about fundamental aspects of reality which gives rise to a particular world-view". Morrow (2007:212-213) assumes that "a paradigm is a basic set of beliefs that guides action" and may be understood as a "net" containing the researcher's ontological, epistemological, axiological, and methodological assumptions. In that case, "ontology includes one's view of

the nature of reality, and epistemology addresses how that reality is known, as well as the relationship between the knower and the known (or investigator and participants). Axiology has to do with the place of values in one's research. Methodology emerges from the ontology, epistemology, and axiology and addresses the question of how we gain knowledge" (Morrow, 2007:212-213). Thus, as a "worldview", these assumptions may be understood to be the lenses or the organising principles by which the particular reality is interpreted. As for Burton and Bartlett (2009:18) a research paradigm describes models of research that reflect a general agreement on the nature of the world and how to investigate it. Moreover, within a research paradigm, there would be general consensus about the research methods that are appropriate and acceptable for gathering data and those which are not; or at least, a reflection on less acceptable methods in specific paradigms. In the researcher's opinion, a research paradigm could be seen as a body of concepts, assumptions, opinions, values and practices that constitutes the backbone of a field of study.

In this study, a mixed method approach is used. In the process of selecting an appropriate research paradigm for the study, the researcher had to investigate the views and assumptions of existing research paradigms. This section briefly describes the main research paradigms for the broad social sciences. The main principles and motivations for adopting a mixed method approach within the pragmatic research paradigm for the study will be explained in this chapter. The details of the quantitative and qualitative methods used in the study and how the findings from these two types of data gathering instruments will be integrated are also described for the study.

3.2.1 Positivist paradigm

Positivism has been the dominant research paradigm in the world of science for a long time (Mertens, 1998:7). According to Mertens (1998), the positivist paradigm was developed from the ideas proposed by Comte and Spencer in the nineteenth century (Burton & Bartlett, 2009). The underlying assumptions of positivist researchers are that the social world could be studied in the same way as the natural world. Positivists think that experiments in the natural sciences are naturally objective by producing results that are not affected by the researchers' opinions and beliefs (Burton & Bartlett, 2009). Therefore, it is assumed that the approaches of the natural science could be applied without problems in the social sciences because the social world exists in the same manner as the natural world (Burton & Bartlett, 2009:18-19). Moreover, in Creswell's (2009:6) opinion, positivist researchers believe in a deterministic philosophy in which determine effects and outcomes. Their "knowledge is

based on empirical observation and measurement of the objective reality that exists in the world and the world is understood through test and verification” (Creswell, 2009:6).

Thus, a positivist research paradigm describes, explains and makes predictions about realities that are studied. Consequently, knowledge must be objective, measurable, and generalizable when compared to other similar cases (Burton & Bartlett, 2009:20). In this perspective, the researcher adopts an objective position that cannot affect the data collection process. However, there are criticisms against the use of statistics from a positivist paradigm in social research because statistics could indicate trends but could not explain why the participants have done or said certain things. Since statistics could not express detailed accounts of people’s reasons, the meanings obtained from statistical data remain superficial (Burton & Bartlett, 2009:20).

3.2.2 Post-positivist paradigm

According to Nieuwenhuis (2007:65), post-positivist researchers position themselves between positivism and constructivism. Post-positivism is grounded in a “critical realist ontology” with the assumption that knowledge is fallible and that reality exists, but might not be understood, as it is multiple, subjective and constructed by individuals. For this reason, objectivity seems to be too idealistic to be realised. Post-positivist researchers understand that reality cannot be a fixed entity as it is the creation of the individuals involved. Therefore, the positivist objective reality must be accepted with caution because it is only one aspect of the “true reality”. However, there are limitations to post-positivist approaches related to the interactive and participatory nature of quantitative and qualitative methods. These methods are criticised by positivists who see the use of qualitative methods as an assembly of anecdotes and personal impressions which are subjective and deviate from a rigorous research approach.

3.2.3 Interpretivist paradigm

Nieuwenhuis (2007:58-59) notes that interpretivism is rooted in hermeneutics. The interpretivist assumptions are that human life cannot be observed from social external reality but can only be understood within its natural habitat, as the reality is not objectively determined but socially constructed. Therefore, the interpretivism paradigm understands social life by discovering how individuals construct meaning in natural settings. According to Burton and Bartlett (2009:21), the society does not have a fixed structure because the social

world is the result of individuals' interactions. Interpretivist researchers try to demonstrate that choices are made by individuals as actors in social situations. Thus, interpretivism is in contrast to the positivist paradigm. It involves participants directly in the research, and qualitative data are collected by the researcher. Nieuwenhuis (2007:61) states that "the ultimate aim of interpretivist research is to provide a perspective of a situation and to analyse the situation under study to offer insight into the way in which a particular group of people make sense of their situation or the phenomena they encounter". The main criticism levelled against the interpretivist paradigm is its subjectivity and its failure to generalise its findings beyond the situation studied and to similar situations.

3.2.4 Pragmatist paradigm

According to Ivankova, Creswell and Clark (2007:271), pragmatism originated from the ideas of the American scholars John Dewey, Richard Rorty and Donald Davidson. Pragmatic researchers believe that the truth is what works best for the understanding of a particular research problem and, that the research questions are more important than the methods, and their philosophical underpinnings, used. As an alternative paradigm, Feilzer (2010:8) views pragmatism as a research paradigm that avoids the contentious issues of truth and reality when accepting that there are singular and multiple realities that are open to empirical inquiry and orients itself toward solving practical problems in the real world. In that sense, pragmatism empowers the researcher to be free from the methodical constraints imposed by the dichotomy between positivism, post-positivism and interpretivism as well as the distinctive skill sets for quantitative and qualitative research. In that sense, pragmatism claims that knowledge arises out of actions, situations, and consequences rather than antecedent conditions. As a philosophical underpinning for mixed methods studies, pragmatist researchers give more importance to using pluralistic approaches to derive knowledge about the problem (Creswell, 2014:11). In Creswell's (2014:11) opinion, pragmatism is rooted in the following knowledge assumptions:

- Pragmatism is not committed to any one system of philosophy and reality.
- Researchers have the liberty in the selection of the methods, techniques and procedures of research that best suit the research questions of their studies.
- Pragmatists do not accept the unity of the world. Thus, mixed methods researchers use several approaches for data collection and data analyse.

- Truth is what works at the time. Mixed methods researchers use both quantitative and qualitative data because they work to provide the best understanding of a research problem.
- Pragmatist researchers look to the **what** and **how** of research, based on eventual consequences (in other words, what they want to achieve with their research). They must establish the reason for the mixing of methodologies, and the reasons for associating quantitative and qualitative data in the first place.
- Pragmatists accept that research always occurs in different social, historical, political, and other contexts.
- Pragmatists believe that researchers need to avoid asking questions about reality and the laws of nature.

From the above, pragmatism and mixed methods allow the use of multiple methods, different worldviews, and different assumptions, as well as different forms of data collection and analysis in a single study. In this thesis, the researcher is of the opinion that the **why** and **how** of changes in the language repertoires of the participating Congolese migrants could only be totally understood in the combination of multiple research methods that could give insight into the language choices made by the participants.

The study takes place within a context in which there is a heightened awareness of the increase in migrations of people all over the world. In these contexts, traditional concepts of one nation, in which of one culture resides that use one language is challenged. Increasingly, autochthones must learn to live with migrants, because in today's world it seems that the phenomenon of migration is here to stay. The pragmatic paradigm could be a useful tool that helps to solve problems experienced in the world. To some extent, the pragmatic paradigm could contribute to provide some solutions that could assist a changing world to manage migration and increased language contact and understanding how language repertoires respond in these conditions. An applied, pragmatic paradigm might bring insights into matters of migration, language, social cohesion and social integration that could help to transform the world to become a better place where individuals of different languages and culture and social backgrounds could strive for a better life.

3.3 Research design

The nature of the research questions, as well as the nature of the problem to be investigated, motivate the choice of which data should be collected, analysed and reported

Creswell (2009:597). With regard to the research questions and the objectives of the research, multiple strategies could be used to conduct the research. According to Creswell (2009:51), “research designs are the specific procedures involved in the last three steps of the research process: data collection, data analysis, and report writing”. Durrheim (2006) defines a research design as the researcher’s strategic framework for action or the plan to bridge the research questions and the execution or the implementation of the research in particular steps of activities during an iterative process from which valid conclusions can be drawn. Thus, according to Durrheim (2006:34), “a research design should provide the researcher a plan that specifies how the research is going to be executed in such a way that it answers the research question”. Moreover, these research designs are the types of inquiries within the quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods (Creswell, 2014:12). Therefore, three general research designs could be identified according to the nature of the data collected and the data analysis techniques, namely qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods research designs (Creswell, 2009, 2014; Durrheim, 2006; Maree, 2007).

The quantitative research design is a systematic and objective way of using numerical data from only a selected subgroup of a population to draw generalisations of the findings to the population that is being studied (Maree & Pietersen, 2007:145). It is the traditional scientific route to research where the researcher seeks to describe trends in a large population of individuals. Often surveys are used for a large population, whereas questionnaires are administered to a small “sample in order to identify trends in attitudes, opinions, behaviours, or characteristics of a large group of people” (Creswell, 2009:53). In the quantitative research design, information is transformed into numerical data and statistical procedures are used to draw inferences from the data in order to confirm or to disconfirm the hypotheses.

The qualitative research design relies on textual and image data and usually has a set of unique steps for data analysis (Creswell, 2014:183). In the qualitative research design, the researcher describes the lives of individuals or group of individuals’ lives and writes narratives, views, opinions and experiences about a particular situation. Thus, it is then a research design where the researcher develops a naturalistic, inductive study process, and the researcher collects multiple types of thematic data in the form of written or spoken language by spending time with the population of the study.

Mixed methods research designs could be identified as instances where the researcher combines both the quantitative research design, and integrates, in the process, the findings of qualitative research design. As pointed out by Creswell (2005:53), “mixed methods

designs are procedures for collecting, analysing and linking both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study or multiple series of studies”. However, the researcher decides on the emphasis to give to each of the sets of data; which data must be collected first; if the data should be collected in concurrent or sequential frames; and how to mix both kinds of the collected data (Creswell, 2005:53).

As for this study, the researcher decided on using a mixed methods design in which findings from a questionnaire study focused on the migrants’ language repertoires, language choices, language attitudes, language maintenance and language shift patterns, are validated via interviews with the participating migrants. The explanatory sequential mixed methods design was chosen in the thesis (Creswell, 2014:225). This will be explained further in the following section. In Figure 2, the research design for the study is presented in a diagram.

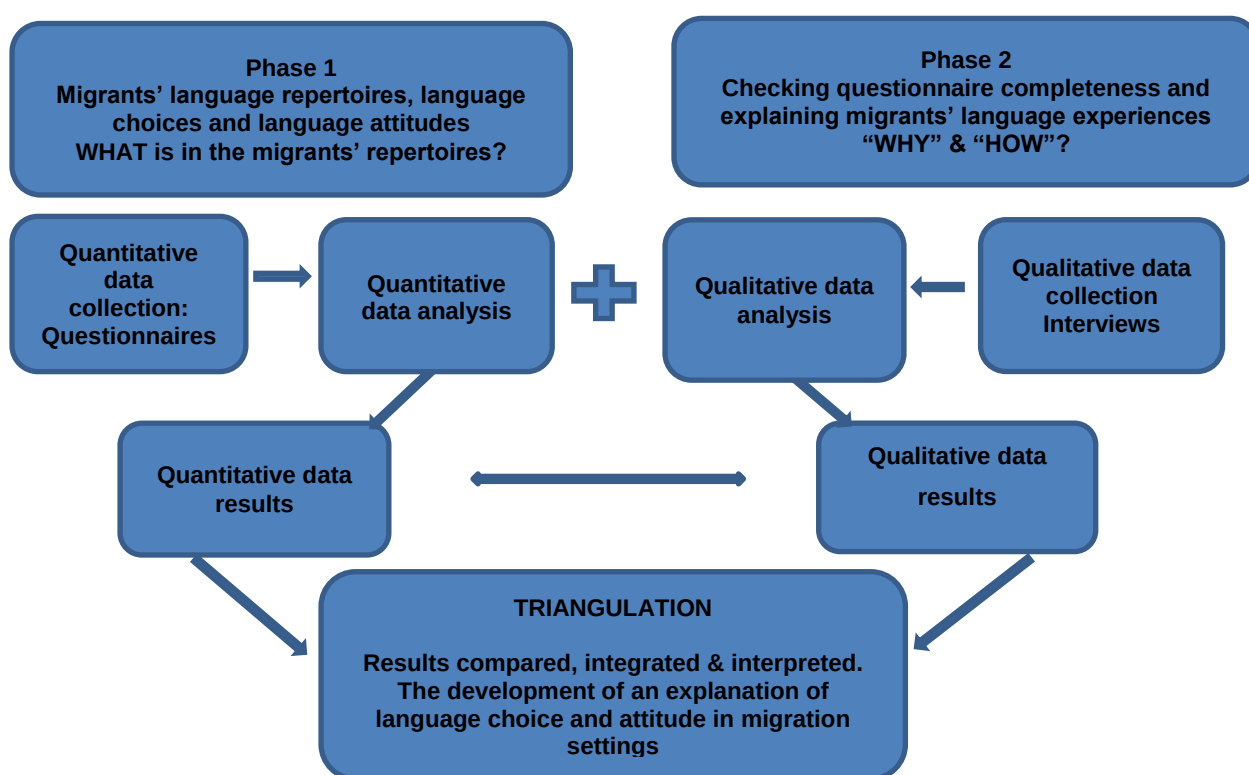


Figure 2: The study research design

3.3.1 Mixed methods

In this section, the mixed methods used in this study will be described.

3.3.1.1 Definition

Mixed methods research approaches have been introduced by Campbell and Fiske (1959) who created the “multimethod” approach and suggested that researchers collect multiple quantitative data and assess it with separate methods to study one psychological construct (Ivankova, Creswell & Clark, 2007:262). According to Ivankova *et al.* (2007:269), mixed methods research could be defined as a procedure for collecting, analysing and “mixing” both quantitative and qualitative data at some stage of the research process within a single study to understand a research problem more completely. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004:17) define mixed methods research as the class of research where the researcher mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative research techniques, methods, approaches, concepts or language into a single study. From these definitions, one could understand that mixed methods research is an attempt to legitimate the use of multiple approaches; or the broadening of research methods to provide more valid and reliable data to answer research questions, instead of restricting or constraining researchers’ choices. Mixed methods research is an expensive (in the case of large samples that require high data capturing costs), creative, pluralistic and complementary form of research which suggests that researchers take an eclectic approach to method selection when conducting research. From the above, one could acknowledge that the researchers of this research paradigm compromise to move beyond the quarrels of quantitative and qualitative purists to create a single research method that takes into account the goodness of both quantitative and qualitative (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004:14).

There are researchers who argued that quantitative and qualitative research methods were perceived to be antagonist and mutually irreconcilable at some point in time (Bryman, 2006; Mertens, 2003; Nieuwenhuis, 2007; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Researchers have been divided between quantitative and qualitative methods. Both quantitative and qualitative researchers advocated the incompatibility of mixing their methods. Quantitative purists claimed that social observations should be treated as entities in the same way that physical scientists treat physical phenomenon. For the qualitative researchers, “it is impossible to differentiate fully causes and effects, that logic flows from specific to general and that knower and known cannot be separated because the subjective knower is the only source of reality” (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004:14). However, it is possible to move beyond the quantitative

versus qualitative arguments by drawing from the best practices from both research methods. Indeed, there is a well-established body of work that support the use of mixed method approaches (when they are appropriate) to the research problem of a study. In this regard, mixed methods could be seen as the junction of both practices where researchers could select the best tools of both methods to strengthen the validity and reliability of the data collected for their research purpose.

Pragmatism has been the fundamental philosophical ground of justification of the use of multiple methods within a single study. Pragmatists acknowledge that the truth is what works best for understanding a particular research problem. Therefore, research questions are considered to be more important than the research methods used which have to follow research questions in a way that offers the best chance to obtain useful answers (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004:16; Ivankova *et al.*, 2007:263). Consequently, when efficiently used, mixed methods research helps researchers to collect multiple data sets using different methods, strategies and approaches in such a manner that the resulting combination has the effect of complementary strengths and non-overlapping weaknesses. A very typical way in which mixed method research is conducted is in the combination of qualitative interviews and quantitative questionnaires or surveys. The idea in the mixed methods approach is that this helps one to examine the issues under investigation and to avoid the limitations of a single method. Thus, in this thesis, as noted by Ivankova *et al.* (2007:269), mixed methods would be the better tool to use in addressing different research problems for a better understanding of trends and patterns, generating and testing the theories of changing language repertoires in migratory settings.

3.3.1.2 Explanatory sequential mixed methods design

Explanatory mixed research design consists of collecting the quantitative data (usually via a questionnaire or survey) first and then using the qualitative data (usually via interviews) to help explain (by confirming or informing) or to elaborate on the validity of quantitative data (Creswell, 2005: 515). The rationale behind this research approach is that the quantitative data and findings will provide a general picture of the research problem, whereas, the qualitative data will help to refine and explain the general picture of the situation (Creswell, 2005:515). Ivankova *et al.* (2007:272) view the explanatory mixed methods design as the most straightforward mixed methods design in which the researcher uses the qualitative findings to clarify the quantitative results.

The term “explanatory” suggests that the qualitative findings are the explanatory component of the research as they help to better understand the quantitative data collected in the first phase in the sequential manner. Creswell (2014:225) notes that “the quantitative results typically inform the types of participants to be purposefully selected for the qualitative phase and the types of questions that will be asked of the participants”. In the next section, the researcher provides the details of the quantitative and qualitative research methodologies used in this study.

3.3.1.3 Quantitative method: The questionnaire

Quantitative research is the type of investigation where the researcher asks specific closed questions, collects numeric (or numbered) data from the participants, analyses these numbers using statistics, and conducts the inquiry in an unbiased, objective manner (Creswell, 2005:39). Quantitative research methods are based on the assumption that reliable research must deal with tangible and quantifiable numerical data that employ mathematic logical rules and operations of addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division (Plowright, 2011:120). Thus, quantitative research methods may be defined as the techniques associated with the gathering, analysis, interpretation, and presentation of numerical information. According to the quantitative research paradigm, social researchers should adopt the approach of modern physicists whose work consists of the rigorous testing of hypotheses by means of numerical data that take the form of quantitative measurements (Teddle & Tashakkori, 2009:5). Consequently, quantitative researchers would be guided by the positivist philosophy and in this paradigm it is believed that knowledge can be “revealed” or “discovered” through the use of the scientific method. The knowledge that is “discovered” enables us to provide possible explanations for the causes of things that happen in the world; often independently of the intentions of the people. This approach emphasises experimentation, observation, control, measurement, reliability and validity in the various processes of research (Nieuwenhuis, 2007:55). In this study, a language repertoire questionnaire was used as the quantitative instrument that gathered some of the data that are required to answer the research questions.

3.3.1.3.1 Instrument: The language repertoire questionnaire

In quantitative research, the researcher uses an instrument to measure the variables in the study that is a tool for measuring, observing or documenting quantitative data. The

instrument contains specific questions and possible responses developed in advance for the study (Creswell, 2005:48). The researcher has chosen the questionnaire as the research tool. Creswell (2005:360) notes that “a questionnaire is a form used in a survey design that participants in the study complete and return to the researcher. The participant chooses answers to questions and supplies basic personal or demographic information”.

In the opinion of Burton and Bartlett (2009:82), the researcher must acknowledge the strengths and the weaknesses of the questionnaires. On the one hand, the questionnaire can gather large amounts of data in a small space of time; responses can be easily be compared between individuals and groups; the data can be statistically computed; and generalisations can be made. On the other hand, participants may find it difficult to respond to some questions, whereas short answers do not always reflect the complexity of the participants’ opinions on the reality.

For this part of the data collection, an accessible language repertoire questionnaire (presented in Annexure A) was used with the goal of eliciting the language history and attitudes towards the languages of the participants. The questionnaire was mainly compiled and adapted from the existing questionnaire used by Coetzee-Van Rooy (2010). This instrument was previously used to study the multilingual repertoires of students on the Vaal Triangle Campus of the North-West University. For the purpose of this study, the questionnaire gathers information about the biographical details of migrants, the time they spent in South Africa and/or in the Vaal Triangle region, and the language repertoire and history of the Congolese migrants that participated in the study. The questionnaire used open-ended and closed-ended questions to gather the perceptions of participants about the languages in their repertoires. The closed-ended questions included Likert scales where participants had to provide their views about a statement and they had to indicate if they, for example, agreed with the statement or not. The questionnaire also included closed-ended questions with predetermined responses (e.g. YES or NO questions; or questions where a few options were given and participants could select the appropriate response in their view).

Section B of Coetzee-Van Rooy’s (2010) instrument was used. Sections A and C from the questionnaire of Coetzee-Van Rooy (2010) were adapted for this study because of the realities of Congolese languages and the DRC education background of migrants. The researcher designed the questions in section A to capture the migrants’ biographic information. This includes the migrant participant’s gender, year and month of their arrival in South Africa, their opinions about staying in South Africa, their age, the educational levels of the participant’s parents, and details about the people that live at home with the participant

as well as the different languages they speak. Section B was assigned to the language history, language experience and language use of the participant. In this section, the researcher wanted to know how many languages are spoken and that are known by the migrant. The researcher asked questions such as the most spoken language at home, all the languages known by the participant, and the order of language acquisition. Section C elucidates more details of the existing languages in the participant's language repertoire. In this section, the researcher explained the concept of "knowing a language" according to the different levels of proficiency often present in the repertoires of multilingual people. The participants were asked about their childhood languages and current strongest languages. Section D⁵ in the questionnaire focuses on questions related to the participant's language attitudes. The participants were asked to choose the preferred South African languages that they use in different linguistic contexts. For example, which languages they use in the community, work place, speaking to South African and Congolese friends, for commerce, government, media and religion. Participants' attitudes towards the South African language(s) that they do not like and the reasons behind those attitudes were also included in this section; as well as the participants' attitudes towards Congolese languages. This section included questions about the participants' opinions about ceasing to use Congolese languages, and which Congolese and South African languages they would like to transmit to their children. These questions provided information about the participants' attitudes towards the phenomenon of intergenerational transmission of Congolese and South African languages in their families.

Before the survey, the questionnaire was piloted and advice from a statistician⁶ was taken into account. According to the DRC language context, Congolese migrants could potentially speak a Congolese local language, a national language and the official language, which is French. Taking into account the situation of South African multilingualism, the present questionnaire tried to find out if the language repertoire of the migrants from the DRC changes with respect to the Congolese and other languages that they carry in their repertoires to multilingual South Africa; and to determine if (and which) South African languages they add to their repertoires.

⁵ The data from these questions were not included in the discussion for the thesis in the end for two reasons. Firstly, the data from the other sections were so fruitful and detailed, that more information was not necessary. Secondly, the data from this set of questions repeated questions already asked in the other questions and did not contribute new information. In future, these questions would probably be deleted from the questionnaire.

⁶ Professor Faans Steyn from the North West University statistical consultation services on the Potchefstroom Campus.

3.3.1.3.2 Participants and sampling

As explained in Chapter 1, sampling refers to the process used to select a portion of the population to participate in the study. In this study, snowball sampling (also called chain-referral sampling) was used. Snowball sampling is defined as “contacting one participant via the other” (Valentine, 1993:114). Snowball sampling was used because there is no consolidated list of all the Congolese migrants in the Vaal Triangle region. If such a list existed and was accessible to the researcher, other forms of sampling could have been considered. In the absence of this list, it was important to get access to the population in a sustainable way. The Congolese migrant population in the Vaal Triangle region is difficult to penetrate because of suspicions among the members about South Africa’s migration control acts (Ridings, Gefenb and Arinzec, 2002; Palomares & Quiminal, 2012; Spring, 2003). The mere fact that the research involved a questionnaire and later on, an interview, would have added more suspicion about the study’s potential link with migration control authorities – although the suspicion is completely unfounded. The researcher’s own status as a migrant from the DRC ensured trust by enough participants so that they gave informed consent to participate in the study.

Currently, “South Africa is host to a truly pan-African and global constituency of legal and undocumented migrants” (Crush & Macdonald, 2002:4). Moreover, several Congolese migrants live in the Vaal Triangle region, in the southern part of the Gauteng Province. Migrants from the DRC to the Vaal Triangle region are the population of study. The Home Affairs Department could not provide accurate numbers of Congolese migrants in South Africa. According to Statistics South Africa (Census, 2011), following citizens from Zimbabwe, Nigeria and Lesotho, DRC nationals are the fourth largest group of citizens from Africa with temporary residence permits in the country (Census, 2011:24, 36). In addition to temporary residence, DRC expatriates constitute the second largest group of citizens that hold residence permits (second only to Zimbabweans) and their numbers are steadily increasing (Census, 2011:49).

Quantitative researchers collect data from a small subset of the population – known as a sample – and use this data to infer things about the population as a whole (Field, 2009:34). The sampling process used in this study is that of snowball sampling. The sampling approach is discussed in detail in the next section of the chapter. The sample of participants that participated in the study consists of a total of 54 participants. Twenty women and 34 men took part in the research. The mean age of the participants in the study was 17 years and the median is 29 years. Thus, 37 of the participants may be classified as “young

Congolese” (they are less than 29 years old); and 17 of the participants may be classified as “older Congolese” (they are above 29 years old). The sample comprises four Congolese participants born in South Africa and 11 who came to South Africa before the age of 20. It is suspected that the experiences and the repertoires of the Congolese participants who were born in South Africa and the migrants who came before the age of 20 would be different from the experiences and language repertoires of the participants who came to the country after their 20’s. The migrants who came to South Africa before the age of 20 are likely to complete their primary and secondary schooling in South Africa. Their linguistic needs might be different to the migrants who entered into South Africa after the age of 20 – as the later migrants’ linguistic needs could be more orientated to their studies or job requirements; and would obviously reflect their educational experiences with the languages of education as they are used in the DRC. In the selection process from the population, particular attention was given to include speakers from different generations. This sampling focus enabled the researcher to observe potential patterns of intergenerational language transmission. Therefore it is important that there are an almost equal number of participants from the younger and older generations of Congolese migrants that participated in the study.

3.3.1.3.3 Data gathering

As described above, snowball sampling was used in this study. In practice, the researcher approached participants 12 and 13 first. They are a Congolese couple. The researcher approached them first because they own a small business where they sell Congolese products and, they are active members of a Congolese church. Participant 42 is a taxi driver who takes Congolese students to school. As a highly connected person, he helped the researcher to meet more migrants. These migrants connected with other Congolese migrants. Participant 28 was a student at the North-West University, Vaal Triangle Campus. She opened the way for the researcher to engage with her fellow students. From there on, the researcher approached potential participants based on the referral of participants who agreed to participate in the study. This held a big advantage because other participants deemed the researcher trustworthy and was referred by a fellow student. In other words, during the data collection, the participants who could meaningfully contribute to the realisation of the study were selected according to their social networks. In the process, the first participants referred other participants to the researcher. Moreover, Nieuwenhuis (2007:80) notes that snowball sampling could be a useful tool of collecting vital data from the potential participants who are not directly accessible to researchers through other sampling

strategies. Consequently, snowball sampling helped to reach the participants of different groups of the Congolese population in the Vaal Triangle region.

During the data gathering, a door-to-door process was implemented. The researcher went to see the participants at their homes. First, the purpose of the visit was explained to the host. Secondly, the questionnaire was handed to the participant who was given time to read the questionnaire under the supervision of the researcher. Thirdly, the participant was allowed to think if he/she was ready to participate in the study. If yes, the participant was permitted to complete the questionnaire under the supervision of the researcher to ensure that all items in the questionnaire were understood well. In some cases, some participants wanted more autonomy with the completion of the questionnaire. This category of participants – who thought that they could complete the questionnaire without the researcher's support – requested the researcher to come back to their homes after some days to collect the questionnaire.

After the collection, the researcher checked and read the questionnaire to see if it was completed correctly and comprehensively. When some mistakes were found in the answering of the questionnaire, another appointment was made between the researcher and the participant. The researcher went back to the participant to correct possible faulty completion of the questionnaire to ensure that the data that were gathered were correct. After completion and quality assurance of the correctness and comprehensiveness of the data in the questionnaire, the researcher captured the data in an Excel spreadsheet.

The Congolese migrant community, like other communities, must work to survive. Therefore, it was very difficult to meet participants during the week. Saturday and Sunday evenings were the best days to meet the participants. Thus, most of the participants were difficult to meet because of their busy schedule. In addition, the potential participants obviously wanted to rest over Saturdays and Sundays and this made the gathering of data even more difficult. The researcher took care never to coerce participants who did not want to participate as it is their right to decide if they want to spend time to participate in the study or not. The researcher also experienced difficulties in getting access to the homes of Congolese participants, because this community (possibly like many other communities) do not like to open their home to strangers, even to other Congolese. The data gathering was done from April 2015 to December 2015.

3.3.1.3.4 Data analysis

According to Nieuwenhuis (2007:55), positivist researchers believe that a rigorous scientific method could reveal knowledge to the researcher. Then, the 'discovered' knowledge could enable the provision of possible explanations of causes of things that happen in the world independently of the intentions of the researcher and the participants. Therefore, after the data collection, it is important to read, find and understand the hidden message of the data. According to the traditional quantitative approach to research, the use of mathematical and statistical analyses proves to be the best way forward (Plowright, 2011:18). Moreover, Plowright (2011:23) states that "the language of positivism is a numeric one and the [goal] is a series of [statistical] equations that explain and predict human behaviour. It is argued that a commitment to quantitative precision and an accumulation of facts is the way in which to build a close approximation to a reality that exists independently of human perception". Because quantitative research methods could mostly be portrayed as the techniques associated with the data gathering, analysis, interpretation, and presentation of numerical information, researchers from the positivist paradigm believe in a form of social research that should adopt scientific methods that are exemplified in the work of modern physicists. These researchers believe that science consists of the rigorous testing of hypotheses by means of data that take the form of quantitative measurements (Mertens, 2003:5).

In other words, the researcher could be deemed invalid if the data do not provide solid numerical information presented as a form of descriptive statistics. This numerical information is useful to report as the main tendencies of the discovered data and they provide summaries of group performance. After collecting data from the population, the researcher needed to get a summary that provides general patterns within the scores collected in order to get a clear idea of what the main findings were. Therefore, it was important to calculate frequencies and to draw graphs to understand how many times each score occurs as part of frequency distributions (Field & Hole, 2003). The meaningful information collected are presented by means of tables, graphs, and frequencies to represent the details of the participating Congolese participants' language repertoires, language attitudes, and the realities of language shift and language maintenance among the participants. Inferential statistics were not extensively used for the simple reason that the sample of participants was small and did not render the data pool sufficiently big enough for the calculations to be made during the course of inferential statistics.

One exception was the use of correspondence analysis to investigate the homogeneity of the participants as a group with respect to their demographic details. The selection and use of this statistical method was advised by the statistical consultant and will be explained in detail where the findings are presented in the next chapter. The correspondence analysis enabled the discussion of the differences in the experiences of the younger participants and the older participants in the study. The findings of the correspondence analysis are discussed and interpreted keeping the differences in the experiences of the older and younger participants in mind throughout the thesis.

As seen so far, quantitative researchers imitate the ways in which natural sciences researchers go about their work. However, depending on what you want to study, imitating the hard sciences is not always the best approach (Plowright, 2011:19). Consequently, a complementary qualitative research methodology was added to avoid the known biases of the quantitative research methodology.

3.3.1.4 Qualitative methods: Interview

For the first phase of the research, questionnaires were used to gather numerical information on the different language repertoires of the participants. This information focused on the language use and attitudes of the participants towards the Congolese and the South African languages that are included in their repertoires. However, the questionnaires could not provide answers to, for example, **why** migrants learnt certain languages included in their repertoires, and not others; and **how** they learnt those particular languages. Therefore, another research methodology was needed to comprehend perceptions of the symbolic power related to languages and to the people who speak them. As part of this phase, the researcher would like to explain the philosophical underpinning, and the importance, of the qualitative research methodology as a supplementary research methodology in this study to understand issues related to the migrant participants and their language repertoires

Qualitative research methodology is oriented to the constructivism paradigm. According to Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009:6), qualitative methods could be defined as the techniques associated with the gathering, analysis, interpretation, and presentation of narrative information. The qualitative research paradigm – or thematic data analysis – is a narrative data analysis that uses a variety of different inductive and iterative techniques, including categorical strategies and contextualising strategies. The techniques and the strategies used in qualitative techniques result in the extraction of themes, therefore, qualitative data

analysis is also referred to as thematic analysis. Thus, qualitative researchers believe in a world which is made up of people with their own assumptions, intentions, attitudes, beliefs and values. When one accepts that people are different, one also needs to accept that reality can only be known by exploring the experiences of a specific phenomenon – by asking a variety of people questions. These techniques aid in the understanding of how others have constructed that particular reality. Insofar, the qualitative research paradigm therefore acknowledges an interactive relationship between the researcher and participants as well as between the participants and their own experiences and how they have constructed reality based on those experiences. The participants' stories, experiences and voices are the mediums through which researchers explore and understand the reality (Nieuwenhuis, 2007: 55).

Precise, systematic and theoretical answers to complex human problems do not exist. Therefore, qualitative researchers argue that each cultural and historical event should be different and unique and should require an appropriate and a unique analysis according to the specific contexts in which it is embedded (Nieuwenhuis, 2007:56). Moreover, Plowright (2011: 27) states that interpretive constructionist researchers think that how people view an object or event and the meaning that they attribute to it, matters. Constructionists expect people to see somewhat different things, examine them through distinct lenses, and come to somewhat different conclusions. In this sense, multiple and even conflicting versions of the same event or object can be true at the same time. Consequently, those different lenses and conflicting views could shed light on the phenomenon that is the focus of the research.

3.3.1.4.1 Instruments

The main qualitative instrument of data collection was an interview. The researcher conducted interviews with ordinary turn-taking conventions⁷ (Dörnyei, 2007:134). Qualitative interviews and normal conversations have much in common. In a normal conversation, questions and answers follow each other in an ordinary process of turn-taking between the researcher and the participant. Thus, the interviews were scheduled with a sample of parents and children who were invited to express themselves on the use of Congolese and South African languages at home, at work, with the family and with friends. For decades, interviews have been important tools of data gathering in the ambit of qualitative research.

⁷ A copy of the protocol for the interview questions is presented in Annexure B.

Thus, sociolinguistic researchers are expected to conduct interviews to supplement the numerical data acquired with the use of questionnaires.

According to Nieuwenhuis (2007:87), the open-ended interview often takes the form of a conversation with the intention that the researcher explores with the participant her or his views, ideas, beliefs and attitudes about certain events or phenomena. In that sense, the semi-structured interview is commonly used in research projects to corroborate data emerging from other data sources or phenomena which require the participants to answer a set of predetermined questions. During the interviews, a set of prepared questions were asked, which formed the basic structure of the interview. The interviews were structured fairly loosely, allowing a low level of predictability over the data that could be collected, but opening up as many opportunities as possible for participants to share their views. In other words, the use of a semi-structured interview with open-ended questions for the data collection helps to avoid predetermined responses.

These questions allowed participants to provide answers from a wide range of personal choices that express their individual views, perceptions and experiences. With this set of broadly based questions, the participants would also have more control over the direction of the discussion and what information will be disclosed to the researcher. The researcher proposes that in this way, the data that emerge are hopefully closer to the experiences of the participants, because from this position, the researcher has a relatively low level of control over the information that is collected. However, the researcher will have more choice over how that data are managed and analysed, due to the lack of structure of the data collected as open-ended questions allow participants a greater choice about what to write or say (Plowright, 2011:55).

Alongside the pre-structured questions (see Annexure B) of the interviews, the utterances of both the researcher and the participant were recorded. During the interviews, narrative material from the participant was regarded as the data that could be used to investigate the matters which are at the heart of this study.

3.3.1.4.2 Participants

Because sampling in qualitative research methodology means the process of selecting a portion of the population for study, it is generally based on non-probability and purposive sampling. Thus, participants were selected because of what defines them as the holders of

the data needed for the study (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). The qualitative researcher believes that the reality to be studied consists of people's subjective experiences of the external world; he/she may adopt an intersubjective or interactional epistemological stance toward that reality and use methodologies, such as interviewing or participant observation, that rely on a subjective relationship between researcher and participant. This is characteristic of the interpretative reasons and meanings that lie behind social action (Terre Blanche, & Durrheim, 2006:3).

In this study, the participants that were invited to interviews in phase 2 were the same as those who participated in the quantitative research investigation. The importance of the participant was regarded in relation to his/her attitude and contribution made during the data gathered via the questionnaire. Moreover, the qualitative research methodology required a second round of the selection of participants. They were selected, first, according to the interest they have manifested in the research project. In this regard, participants who were more vocal during our introduction and who manifested an important desire to talk about the fate of the Congolese languages were selected for further contacts. However, they could be viewed as the biased population: those people who had something to say and who were willing to say it. This should be acknowledged and managed in data interpretation. Secondly, certain participants have closed their doors to further contact as they feared that their responses could be misinterpreted and cause them trouble. This is a pity, but not extraordinary in research contexts where participants could hold a variety of status in host communities (Castles, 2002; Levitt, 2003:869). Therefore, it is especially important to consider the data contributed by youngsters who were willing to participate in the discussions, as they provide information from the next generation that should be viewed contingent with the data contributed by the more willing and numerous older participants. The participation of the younger participants is therefore valuable in this project.

Thirteen participants were selected for interviews. Their willingness to participate in the interview was the starting point for selection. The researcher compiled a list of potential interview participants based on his ability to judge if they would be willing in the first place to participate. Based on the researcher's observation, they were really motivated to take part to the interviews and to say more about their feelings about their language experiences and the importance of Congolese and South African languages. As stated before, this could be regarded as the selection of a biased population, and the data from the interviews will have to be interpreted with caution. The participants are divided into two groups: the parents and the children. Sometimes, parents and children place themselves into two opposing sides with different views expressed in terms of their priorities and language needs. Thus,

acquiring parents' opinions separately from children's opinions should provide more insight into the importance of either Congolese languages or South African languages in their homes, schools, the workplace and, their lives in general. In this regard, five parents and eight children participated in the interview phase of the study. Three men and two women comprised the parent group. Among the children, three boys and five girls were selected. All parents are working either in the formal sector or in the informal sector. The children are all students in different levels of the South African education system (two are primary school learners, two are high school learners, and four are university students).

3.3.1.4.3 Data gathering

The researcher contacted the participants to confirm a meeting. If the participant did not respond, the researcher had to speak to the person who referred the participant to ask him/her politely if he/she wishes (or does not wish) to participate in the project. For the participants who were interested to continue with the interviews, an interview date and time and venue were scheduled. A sample of parents and children were invited for interviews on the Congolese and South African languages they use at home, at work, with the family and with friends. These interviews took place in the participants' home. This was meant to give them more freedom and to build more confidence during the encounter. In qualitative research, spoken questions can be asked when the researcher is face-to-face in one-on-one interviews. Paper-based spoken questions can also be used in the same situations (Plowright, 2011:83). In order to allow the participants to be free in expressing their views and beliefs, pre-structured questions were shown to the participants so that they could think in advance about their responses to the kind of questions that will be asked. However, as said before, the interviews followed the conversation structure as much as possible, allowing participants to introduce topics they found relevant. In these cases, the interviewer did not rigidly stick to the pre-designed questions of the interview protocol as more questions derived from the interviewee's answers.

Upon arrival at the participant's home, the researcher asked him/her if he/she was ready to participate in the interview on that day. If the participant was not ready, the researcher re-scheduled the interview. If the participant was ready for the interview, the participant and the researcher agreed to find a quiet place in the home of the participant where they could sit and proceed with the interview. Once more, the interviewer reminded the participant about the purpose of the meeting and that they could decide to withdraw at any moment. The recorder was presented to the participant to explain to him/her that the discussion will be

recorded for the purpose of the study. Before starting the conversation, the researcher ensured the participant that the recordings will be kept anonymously, they will be preserved and they could be used anonymously in publications like the thesis, at academic conferences and in academic articles. The interview then started in a spirit of mutual understanding and respect from both the researcher and the participant.

Qualitative researchers desire to hear and to understand the meaning of what interviewees share with them. When they cannot determine that meaning, they ask follow-up questions to gain clarity and precision. In doing that, the interviewee describes a typical day or ordinary occurrence, allowing the conversational partners plenty of room to portray what is important to them (Plowright, 2011). Moreover, the researcher gives more time for the participant to open up and to say everything he/she knows about the matter in question. In turn taking, the researcher allows the participant to empty his/her mind with the knowledge of the problem/matter on the table without interrupting the participant. The researcher asks questions to clarify his understanding and to make sure that the participant shares her/his knowledge about the topics relevant to the study. In the entire process, turn-taking procedures were consciously respected and the interviews were recorded for the benefit of the project.

After the interviews were recorded, the researcher transcribed the interview data. The quality of the transcription data was assured by checking for the correctness of transcriptions via another researcher who did some proofreading. In total, 13 interviews were conducted between 24 March 2014 and 21 August 2015. A total of 164.25 minutes of interview time and 23741 words of the transcriptions were available for analysis.

3.3.1.4.4 Data analysis

Nieuwenhuis (2007:99) notes that qualitative data analysis is often based on an interpretative philosophy that examines meaningful and symbolic content of qualitative data. In qualitative research analysis, narrative data are the material. Narrative data in the case of this study drew on conventional codes of meaning that were based on the use of language or visual or auditory imagery, with all its ordinary complexities and ambiguities. In other words, with narrative data, the researcher deals with words and other types of texts. Because of the fluidity and the ambiguous nature of the data, the meanings might sometimes be contentious, allowing opportunities for different interpretations. Thus, the interpretation of the data could be open to negotiation and could involve the subjectivity and the interpretation of the researcher to a greater extent than in the analysis of other types of data (Plowright, 2011:120).

Qualitative research analysis is based on content analysis. This is a systematic approach in which the content of the narrative under investigation is identified and summarised. The concept refers to the analysis of narrative data such as books, brochures, written documents, transcripts, news reports and visual media. In this process, the researcher examines the data from different angles with a view of identifying key themes in the text that provides a better understanding and interpretation of the raw data (Nieuwenhuis, 2007:101). Thus, the data analysis examines meaningful and symbolic content from the transcripts until the frequent, dominant and meaningful themes emerge from the text. Then, the themes are coded.

There are different ways to approach the coding of interview data. One approach is referred to as the *bottom up* approach. This means that the researcher allows, in an inductive analysis, research findings to emerge from the frequent, dominant and significant themes inherent in the data without the restraints imposed by the theoretical framework (Nieuwenhuis, 2007:99). The second approach is of a more *top down* nature. This means that the researcher uses a deductive approach where the a priori themes formulated from the literature review are developed and tested and applied to the raw data (Nieuwenhuis, 2007:107). In this study, a more top down approach was deemed appropriate as the research questions were clear: the goal for conducting the interviews with selected participants was to get more insight into the phenomenon defined as the symbolic power of the languages and language experiences of the participants. The specific focus of the interviews was to find out why and how the participants learnt the languages in their repertoires; or why and how they maintained languages in their repertoires; or why some languages are not maintained and how these languages decline until they might disappear from the participants' repertoire. Within the theoretical framework adopted in the study, a clear set of codes could be formulated. Thus, the codes and themes were adopted in relation to Bourdieu's (1991) theoretical framework of symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1991: 66; Kramsch, 2009) or symbolic capital (Coupland, 2010:15).

Linguistic exchanges could express relations of the symbolic power between speakers and their respective groups where speakers of a given language draw a symbolic profit from the cultural capital of their group or the group that speaks the language (Bourdieu, 1991:41, 72). Thus, interview data analysis started with transcribing interview data into texts typed in word processing documents (Henning *et al.*, 2004:127). In this study, after the data collection and transcription, a process of data coding was followed. All transcriptions were read to select the quotations of recurring themes related to concepts of symbolic power, language currency, language investment, and return on investment. Motivations for the learning of

languages and the methods with which languages were learnt were also noted. Once a set of themes and quotations had been determined, all interviews were coded and all themes and quotations were reviewed to see if they should be clustered into more meaningful interpretations of the data. The main purpose of the analysis of the interview data is to use the qualitative data to support and explain elements that the quantitative data could not clarify.

The *Atlas.Ti7* (version 2016) software was used for the coding process. The coding process for this study was conducted as follows: the researcher read the transcripts line by line in order to reveal meaningful analytical units. Care was taken to review the set of pre-defined codes from the Bourdieu framework of the study in this first screening of the interview data. When meaningful segments of codes were located, they were coded into descriptive names or labels, considering the pre-defined code list. The process enabled the researcher to easily retrieve and collect all meaningful data associated with the same theme. The different codes were assembled, examined and compared to study their validity in relation to the principal themes in the study. In the coding process, the researcher assembled a set of codes with their definitions (comments). The codes were sent to the promoter for discussion. After the discussion, some codes were re-defined and used to analyse the first interview. The analysed interview was sent to the promoter who also coded the interview with the same set of codes provided by the researcher. The final discussion of these two individual coding processes was helpful to raise the trustworthiness of the coding process and ultimately the findings based on the codes. From the *Atlas.Ti7* analysis, a list of codes with definitions, a list of codes with quotations and code networks were produced (see Annexure C for the code list with definitions used in the data analysis process).

In the additional phases of the analysis of the interview data, the identified codes with all quotations were investigated to study similar ideas across the interview data sets. Instances of the same idea were compared until the researcher was confident that a consistent understanding of the meaning of each code and each theme had been achieved. The codes were given clear and consistent definitions that could be used throughout the analysis of all interview transcripts. The themes were recorded on a coding list which was used to analyse the transcribed texts. In this regard, content analysis helps to understand core concepts and to discover themes that describe the world that the researcher has examined (Plowright, 2011). Once a set of codes and themes were adopted, the researcher coded the interviews. All codes were re-examined by finding and extracting them from the interviews. The excerpts from the transcripts were used as examples to confirm the validity of the main codes and themes extracted from the transcripts.

3.2 Ethics

Apart from the information provided in Chapter 1, each participant received an information letter and a consent form that informed them in detail about the aim of the research project. In the case of the children, the information consent form was given to their parents who could decide to refuse or allow their children to participate in the study. Despite the permission of parents, children were also independently asked if they were willing to participate. Generally, the parents and their children were very kind to participate in the study. Moreover, the participants were informed about their right to stop their participation at any time if they became uncomfortable with the project. This study was registered as a sub-project with ethics clearance under the supervision of Professor Susan Coetzee-Van Rooy.

3.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, an account of the different methodological steps followed by the researcher in order to reach to valid and trustworthy findings were reported. The study involved mixed methods where quantitative and qualitative research methods are combined to investigate the Congolese migrants' language repertoires and their attitudes towards Congolese and South African languages. A pragmatic paradigm was used to solve a specific problem in understanding the experiences of Congolese migrants in the Vaal Triangle region and the maintenance, acquisition and decline in use of the languages in their repertoires. For the quantitative method, a Likert scale questionnaire was used as an investigating instrument whereas the interview was used as an additional tool to supplement the missing information that the researcher could not get if only the questionnaire was used. Both the questionnaire and the interview results were triangulated for the better understanding of the phenomenon of multilingual speakers living in multilingual countries. The researcher will present the data in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4 FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

The findings from the questionnaire and the interviews are presented in this chapter. The aim of the chapter is to present the findings that provide information to address the relevant research questions in the study. The chapter contains three sections. In section one, the questionnaire data are reported and in section two, the interview data are reported. In section three, the findings of the questionnaire and interview data are related to the research questions.

4.2 Section 1: Questionnaire study

In this section, the questionnaire data are presented. The section has three divisions. In division one the demographic data of the participants of the questionnaire study are presented. In division two, a correspondence analysis is presented to investigate the homogeneity of the nature of the language repertoires and associations with the demographic data of the participants. In division three, data related to the language repertoires of the questionnaire participants are presented; taking account of the results of the correspondence analysis.

4.2.1 Demographic data of the questionnaire participants

The questionnaire was completed by 54 participants that were identified via snowball sampling. The main demographic features of the questionnaire participants are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Demographic data of the questionnaire participants (N=54)

Gender	Female			Male		
	20			34		
Age	20 years or younger	30 years or younger	40 years or younger	50 years or younger	60 years or younger	61 years or older
	12	25	10	6	1	0
Highest qualification of father	No father	<i>École primaire</i> ⁸	<i>Cycle d'orientation</i> ⁹	<i>École moyenne</i> ¹⁰	<i>Diplôme d'Etat</i> ¹¹	Qualification at university / college
	1	4	1	1	13	34
Highest qualification of mother	No mother	<i>École primaire</i>	<i>Cycle d'orientation</i>	<i>École moyenne</i>	<i>Diplôme d'Etat</i>	Qualification at university / college
	3	7	3	3	19	19
Highest qualification of participant	I did not study	<i>École primaire</i>	<i>Cycle d'orientation</i>	<i>École moyenne</i>	<i>Diplôme d'Etat</i>	Qualification at university / college
	0	9	1	1	17	26

The above table portrays an interesting view of the composition of the Congolese participants of this study in the Vaal Triangle region. The demographic findings show that a sizable proportion of female (37%) and male (63%) Congolese migrants participated in this study. The participants are a young population where 47 out of the 54 participants (87%) are 40 years or younger. From the demographic data, one can infer that the participants are fairly well-educated: 43 out of the 54 participants (80%) completed a *Diplôme d'Etat* or a

⁸ *Ecole primaire* is equivalent to grade 8 in the South African education system.

⁹ *Cycle d'orientation* is equivalent to grade 8 in the South African education system.

¹⁰ *Ecole moyenne* is equivalent to grade 10 (teaching diploma) in the South African education system.

¹¹ *Diplôme d'Etat* is equivalent to grade 12 in the South African education system.

post-school qualification at a university or college. Furthermore, they come from well-educated families where 47 out of the 53¹² fathers of the participants (89%) completed a *Diplôme d'Etat* or a post-school qualification at a university or college; and 38 out of the 51¹³ mothers of the participants (75%) completed a *Diplôme d'Etat* or a post-school qualification at a university or college.

It is also relevant to the study to document when the participants arrived in South Africa and if they planned to stay in South Africa. The data are important to determine if the participants could be viewed as knowledgeable about South Africa; i.e. one would hope that at the time of participation in the study, they were living in South Africa for at least three years as suggested in the assumptions about immigrant acculturation and adaption to the host country over time in Laufer (2003) and Antonova-Ünlü *et al.* (2015). It is also important to note if the participants plan to stay in South Africa as this might influence their knowledge and attitudes towards learning South African languages¹⁴ and maintaining Congolese languages.¹⁵ The information from the questionnaire related to these two issues is presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Participants' number of years in South African and an indication of their intention to stay in South Africa (N=54, Mean=9.48 years, Minimum=2 years, Maximum=24 years, Standard Deviation=6.04 years)

Number of years in South Africa	2 – 5 years	6-10 years	11-15 years	16-20 years	21-25 years
	18	21	5	5	5
Intention to stay in South Africa	Yes		No		
	32		22		

¹² One participant did not have a father or did not know his father.

¹³ Three participants reported to not have a mother or to not know their mothers.

¹⁴ In this study, South African languages include the 11 official languages of the country: Afrikaans, English, Ndebele, Northern Sotho, Sotho, Swazi, Tsonga, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu. English holds a dual position as a South African language and as a global lingua franca. The dual roles of English will be referred to specifically when relevant in the study.

¹⁵ In this study, the concept "Congolese languages" refers to the official language and the national languages in the DRC. French is the official language of the DRC and Kikongo, Lingala, Swahili and Tshiluba are the national languages of the DRC.

According to Table 2, 18 out of the 54 participants (33%) stayed in South Africa between 2-5 years; 39% of the participants (21 out of 54) stayed in South Africa between 6-10 years; and 28% of the participants (15 out of 54) stayed in South Africa between 11-25 years. The group of Congolese participants in this study therefore provide a spread of recent, mid-term and long-term migration to South Africa with an average number of 9.48 years spent in the country. One can therefore assume that the majority of the participants (67%) had ample time to adjust to and acculturate in South Africa, because they stayed in the country for 6 years or more years (Antonova-Ünlü *et al.*, 2015:392). Sixty percent (32 out of 54) of the participants in the study indicated that they intended to stay in South Africa and 22 out of 54 (40%) indicated that they hoped to leave South Africa at some point in time. The majority of the participants in this study indicated an intention to stay in South Africa. In addition to this data, it is important to note that four of the participants were born in South Africa. They are respectively 15, 18, 20 and 21 years of age.

4.2.2 Correspondence analysis investigating the association between the nature of the languages repertoires and the demographic details of questionnaire participants

For the purpose of the rest of the chapter, it is important to reflect on the potential influence of demographic variables on the findings of the study. A small group of participants, as is natural for snowball sampling of this nature as is seen in, for example, Antonova-Ünlü *et al.* (2015) make up the data set for this study. It is not ideal to conduct intricate inferential statistics with such a small group of participants. However, one would need to determine if the language repertoires of the participants do not differ substantially in terms of demographic variables like gender, age and length of period in South Africa. If there are significant differences in the nature of the repertoires of the participants based on these demographic variables, then the findings cannot be reported for the combined group, but should be split to reflect the potential differences in language repertoires. In order to investigate this issue, the researcher compared the nature of the language repertoires of the participants according to their gender, age groups and their length of stay in South Africa.

In a qualitative study of this nature, one needs to consider the homogeneity of the language repertoires that form the units of analysis. Although one needs to be sensitive to not make assumptions about the homogeneity of the language repertoires of the participants. In other words, before one can report results about, for example, the perceptions of reading proficiency of the participants, one needs to explore the similarities or differences of the

language repertoires of participants. In the case of this study, where a small group of participants was approached via the painstaking manner of snowball sampling, one would ideally not want to divide the data reporting into too many small categories. Although, one needs to be sensitive to not make assumptions about the homogeneity of the language repertoires of the participants.

For the purpose of this study, the researcher was advised¹⁶ to use correspondence analysis to investigate the potential differences and similarities of the language repertoires of the participants. The main social categories used in linguistics, namely gender and age (Schmied, 1990:261) as well as 'time spent in South Africa' and 'intention to stay in South Africa' were added to the analysis. It is these potential differences or similarities between these ordinary social variables and the nature of the language repertoires of the participants that need to be noted when the results of the study are reported and interpreted.

Correspondence analysis is the appropriate statistical procedure to apply in this case, because it enables one "to explore the structure of categorical variables included in [a] table" (Hill & Lewicki, 2006:127). Variables like gender, age, time spent in South Africa and intention to stay in South Africa are all categorical variables captured via the questionnaire in this study. One can also refer to a correspondence analysis as a "homogeneity analysis" (Hill & Lewicki, 2006:127). In other words, by conducting a correspondence analysis that relates the nature of the language repertoires of the participants to differences or similarities in respect of the aforementioned categorical variables, one gets an indication of the homogeneity of the participants for these variables. This would enable a much more nuanced interpretation of the results of the study.

For the purpose of the correspondence analysis, the nature of the language repertoires of the participants was conceptualised as the total of all the languages that are present in their language repertoires. In other words, for the purpose of the correspondence analysis, the languages reported, which form part of the language repertoires of the participants, as strongest, second strongest, third strongest, fourth strongest and fifth strongest were summarised in a table that included frequencies for all observations of each of the languages. In this way, a frequency table was created that indicated the total number of observations of each language across the repertoires of the participants (irrespective of

¹⁶ The advice to use correspondence analysis for the investigation of the homogeneity of the participants was made by the statistical consultant for the study, Professor H.S. Steyn. The correspondence analysis was conducted by the researcher and promoter, based on the example of one analysis provided by the statistical consultant.

whether or not the language was observed as strongest or third or fifth strongest languages). This table provides an impression of the languages that make up or form the language repertoires of the participants. The data that were used to prepare this table are presented in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Frequencies of languages included in the repertoires of participants (N=54)

	Strongest language	Second strongest language	Third strongest language	Fourth strongest language	Fifth strongest language	Totals
French	20	26	3	1	1	51
English	18	10	9	8	5	50
Lingala	10	7	14	12	5	48
Swahili	4	6	11	10	3	34
Tshiluba	1	3	4	5	8	21
Afrikaans	0	1	7	3	5	16
Sotho	0	1	4	6	0	11
Other	1	0	2	2	5	10
Totals	54	54	54	47	32	241

The data presented in the shaded *totals* column in Table 3 was used in the correspondence analysis. In other words, in the rest of the correspondence analysis, the researchers aims to investigate if the language repertoires of the participants (represented by the total number of observations for languages as reported in the questionnaire) are similar or different with respect to categorical variables used in this study. The results of the correspondence analysis would enable the researcher to interpret the rest of the findings in a more nuanced way, without splitting up the already small group of participants into smaller categories based on types of language repertoires.

The cross-tabulation used in the correspondence analysis for languages in the repertoires of the participants and gender is presented in Table 4.

Table 4: Cross-tabulation for languages in the repertoire of the participants and gender used in correspondence analysis (N=54)

Languages in repertoire	Observations of languages in repertoires for females	Observations of languages in repertoires for males
French	19	32
English	18	32
Lingala	16	32
Swahili	13	21
Tshiluba	7	14
Afrikaans	7	9
Sotho	5	6

The results of the correspondence analysis exploring the similarities between languages in the repertoires of the participants and gender are presented in Figure 3.

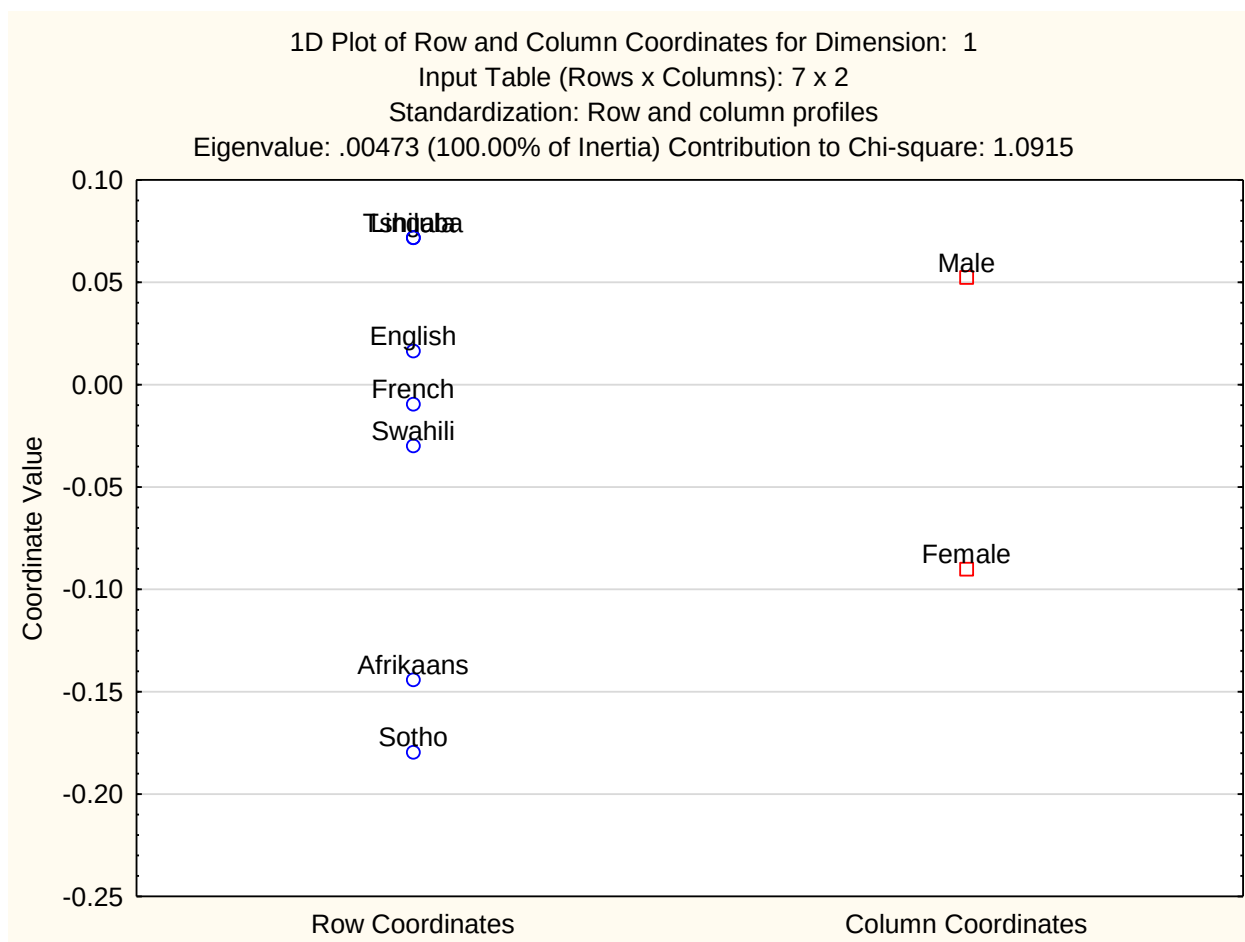


Figure 3: 1D plot of languages in the repertoires of participants and gender (N=54)

From the plot it is clear that male and female participants are different in the study: they are represented on different sides of the axis. Similarly, Afrikaans and Sotho are represented differently from Swahili, French, English, Lingala and Tshiluba in the data set because they also appear on different sides of the axis. In this data set, there are relatively fewer females and they include Afrikaans and Sotho in their repertoires, when compared to the more frequent inclusion of French, English, Lingala and Swahili in their repertoires (see Table 4). However, more females than males include Afrikaans and Sotho in their repertoires. The male participants also include mainly French, English and Lingala in their repertoires (like the female participants), but Swahili and Tshiluba are included more frequently in the male language repertoires than in the repertoires of female participants. When data related to Afrikaans and Sotho are considered in the rest of the chapter, one needs to keep in mind that these languages were included more frequently in female repertoires; and that Swahili and Tshiluba were included more frequently in male repertoires.

The cross-tabulation for languages in the repertoire of the participants and their ages at the time of participation is presented in Table 5. The participants reported their age in years and the data were re-coded in periods of 10 years (except for the group from 17-20 years) for the correspondence analysis.

Table 5: Cross-tabulation for languages in the repertoire of the participants and re-coded categories for age at the time of participation (N=54)

Languages in repertoires	Total observations for the age group 17-20 years old	Total observations for the age group 21-29 years old	Total observations for the age group 30-39 years old	Total observations for the age group 40-49 years old	Total observations for the age group 50-59 years old
French	11	30	10	5	1
English	12	21	10	6	1
Lingala	8	18	9	6	1
Swahili	2	19	8	3	1
Tshiluba	1	8	6	5	1
Afrikaans	11	4	1	0	0
Sotho	9	1	1	0	0

The results of the correspondence analysis exploring the similarities between languages in the repertoires of the participants and age at the time of participation are presented in Figure 4.

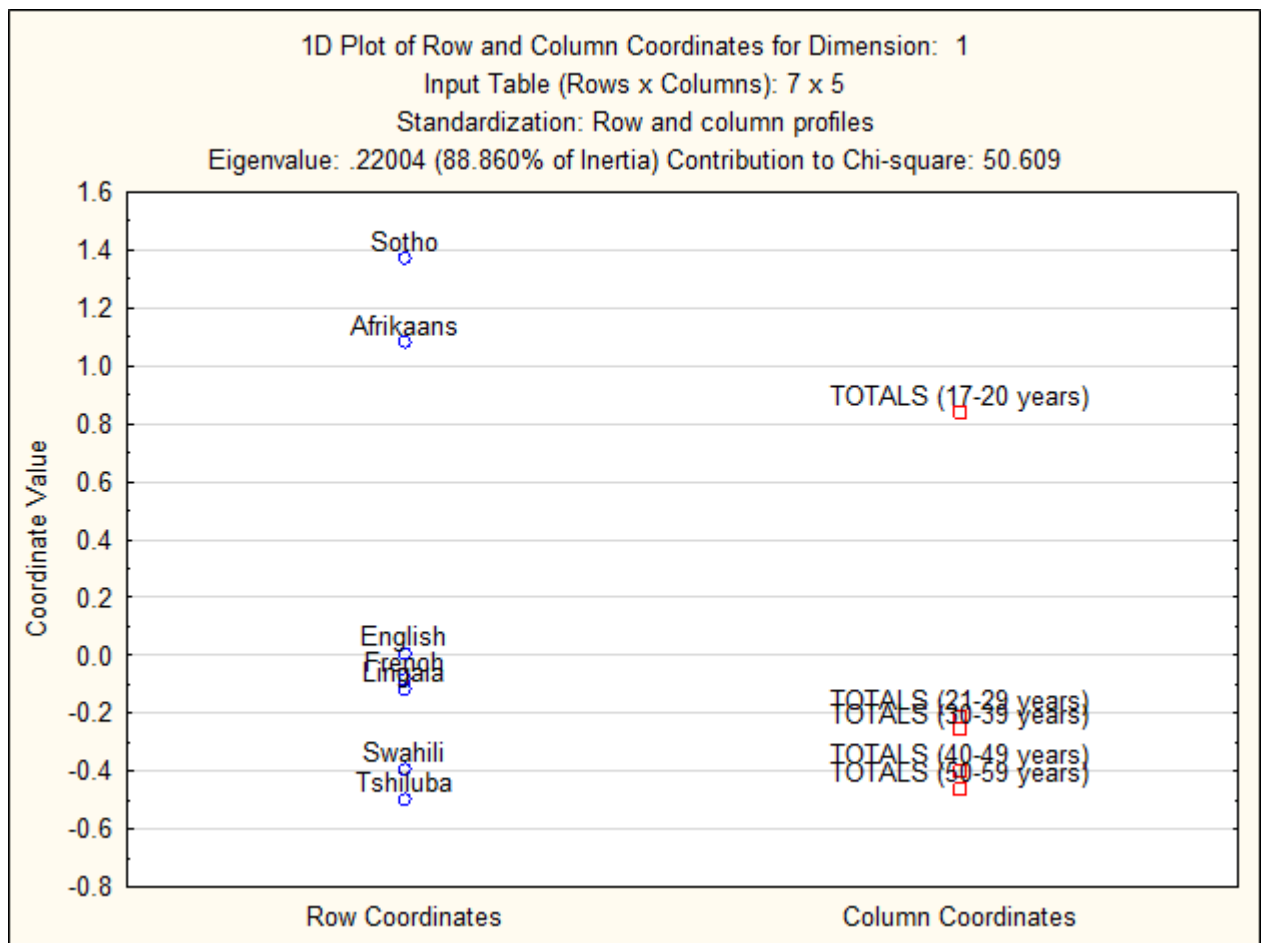


Figure 4: 1D plot of languages in the repertoires of participants and their ages at the time of participation (N=54)

From the plot in figure 4 it is clear that the younger participants in the group, 17-20 years, are different from the older participants in the groups of 20 years and older. It is also clear that Afrikaans and Sotho are different from English, French, Lingala, Swahili and Tshiluba. Afrikaans and Sotho are included more often in the language repertoires of the younger participants. This seems logical, because they attended school in South Africa and therefore had the opportunity to learn Afrikaans and Sotho as part of their school career. Languages like Lingala, Swahili and Tshiluba are included more frequently in the repertoires of the older generation, who learnt these languages when they grew up in the DRC.

Time spent in South Africa was reported in years. The data were recoded into three categories that represent 10 years per category; see Table 6.

Table 6: Cross-tabulation for languages in the repertoire of the participants and re-coded categories for time spent in South Africa (N=54)

Languages in repertoire	2-10 years in South Africa at time of participation	11-20 years in South Africa at time of participation	20+ years in South Africa at time of participation
English	36	7	7
French	37	7	7
Lingala	39	4	5
Swahili	24	6	4
Tshiluba	18	0	3
Afrikaans	7	6	3
Southern Sotho	8	2	1

The results of the correspondence analysis exploring the similarities between languages in the repertoires of the participants and time spent in South Africa at the time of participation are presented in Figure 5.

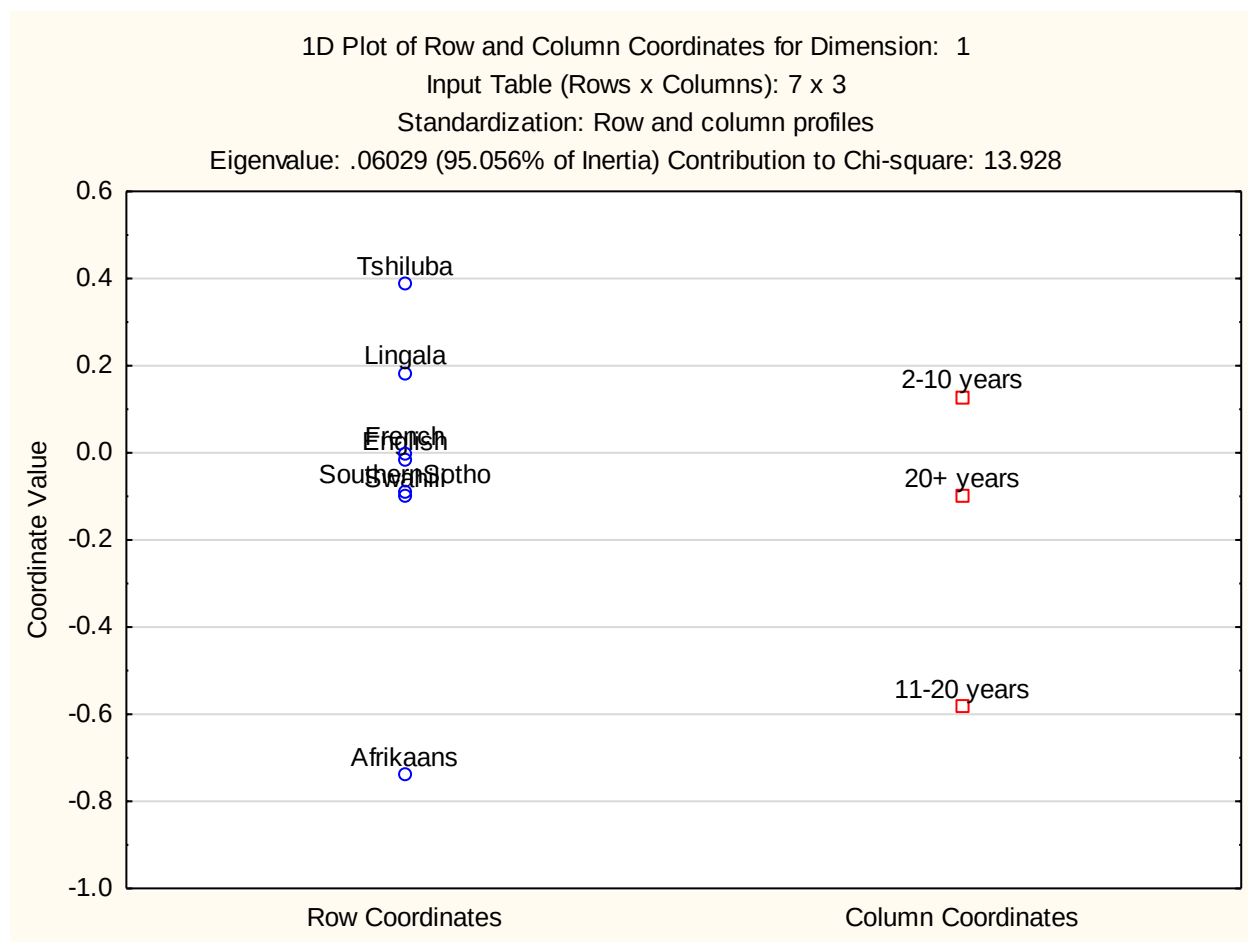


Figure 5: 1D plot of languages in the repertoires of participants and time spent in South Africa at the time of participation (N=54)

From the plot in Figure 5 it is clear that Afrikaans is different from Sotho, Swahili, English, French, Lingala and Tshiluba. The group who spent 11-20 years in South Africa at the time of participation is different from the groups who spent between 2 and 10 years; and more than 20 years in South Africa at the time of participation respectively. In comparison with the languages included in the repertoires of the group who lived in South African between 11 and 20 years at the time of participation, Afrikaans was included relatively more frequently than the other languages. It seems that younger people who lived in South Africa between 11 and 20 years at the time of participation included Afrikaans more often in their repertoires compared to older people who lived in South Africa for more than 20 years at the time of participation; or older people who arrived more recently.

The cross-tabulation for languages included in the repertoires of the participants and their perceptions of their intentions to stay or not to stay in South Africa is presented in Table 7.

Table 7: Cross-tabulation for languages in the repertoire of the participants and frequencies related to the participants' intentions to stay or not to stay in South Africa at the time of participation (N=54)

Languages in repertoire	YES or expressed an intention to stay in SA at the time of participation	NO or expressed an intention to not stay in SA at the time of participation
French	29	22
English	30	20
Lingala	29	19
Swahili	22	12
Tshiluba	17	4
Afrikaans	7	9
Sotho	5	6
Total observations	139	92

The results of the correspondence analysis exploring the similarities between languages in the repertoires of the participants and their intention to stay in South African at the time of participation are presented in Figure 6.

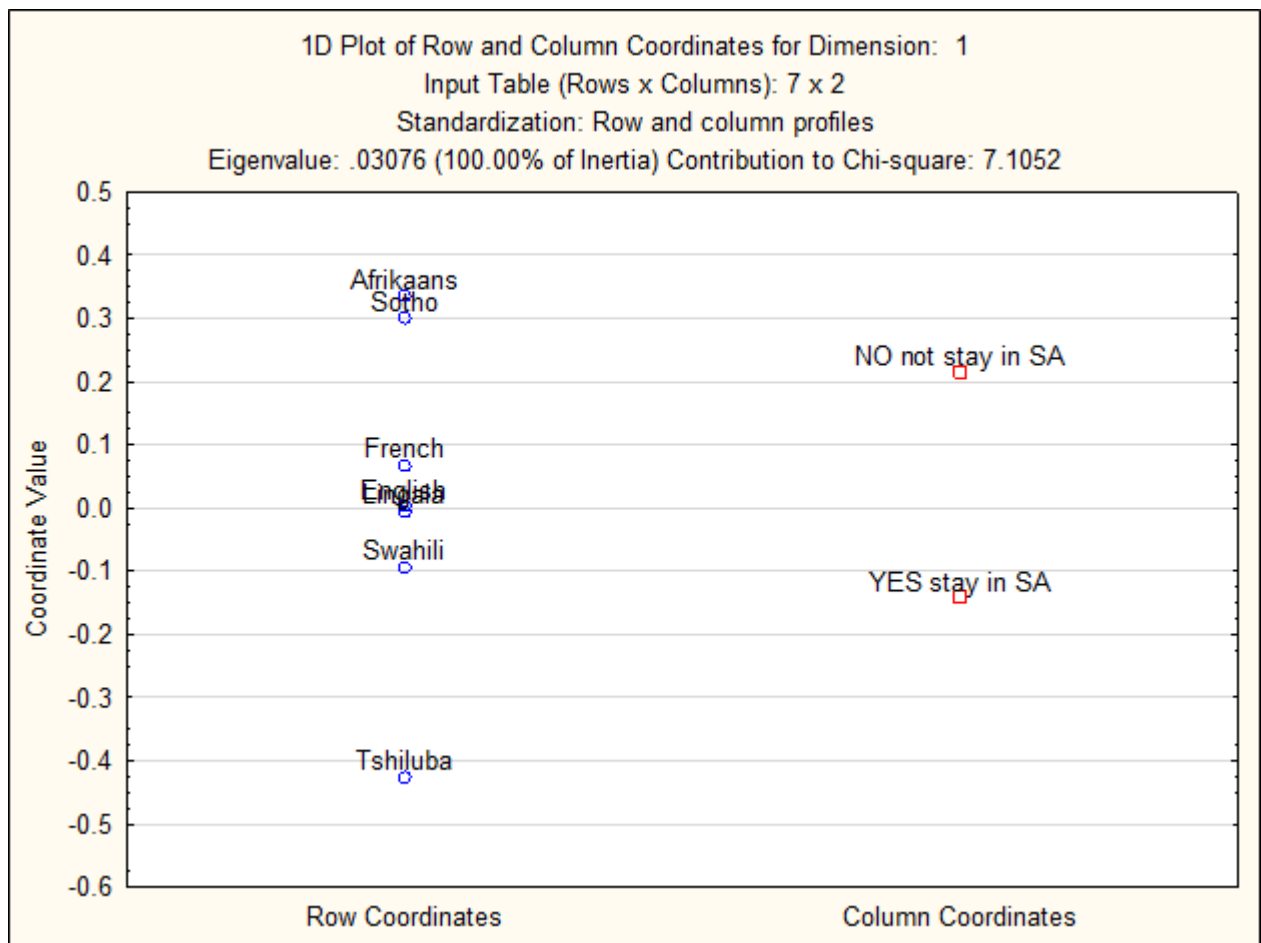


Figure 6: 1D plot of languages in the repertoires of participants and intention to stay in South Africa at the time of participation (N=54)

The participants who indicated that they have no intention to stay in South Africa included Afrikaans more frequently in their repertoires and Tshiluba less frequently than the participants who indicated that they intended to stay in South Africa. This could be explained by the age of the participants. The younger participants who lived in South African between 11 and 20 years at the time of participation in the study, learnt Afrikaans and Sotho at school. The older participants, who lived in South Africa for more than 20 years or who arrived more recently and lived in South Africa between 2 and 20 years, did not get opportunities to learn Afrikaans or Sotho at school. The older participants therefore maintain more of the official languages from the DRC that they learnt as children. A correspondence analysis to explore the homogeneity of between the ages of participants and their intention to stay assists in interpreting this finding.

The cross-tabulation for ages of participants and their intention to stay or not to stay in South Africa is presented in Table 8.

Table 8: Cross-tabulation for the ages of participants and their intentions to stay or not to stay in South Africa at the time of participation (N=54)

Recoded age categories of participants	YES, intend to stay in South Africa	NO, do not plan to stay in South Africa	TOTAL observation
25-29 years	8	6	14
21-24 years	4	8	12
17 years or younger	4	5	9
30-34 years	5	0	5
35-39 years	4	0	4
18-20 years	0	3	3
40-44 years	3	0	3
45-49 years	3	0	3
50-54 years	1	0	1
TOTAL observations	32	22	54

The results of the correspondence analysis exploring the similarities between ages of the participants and their intention to stay in South African at the time of participation are presented in Figure 7.

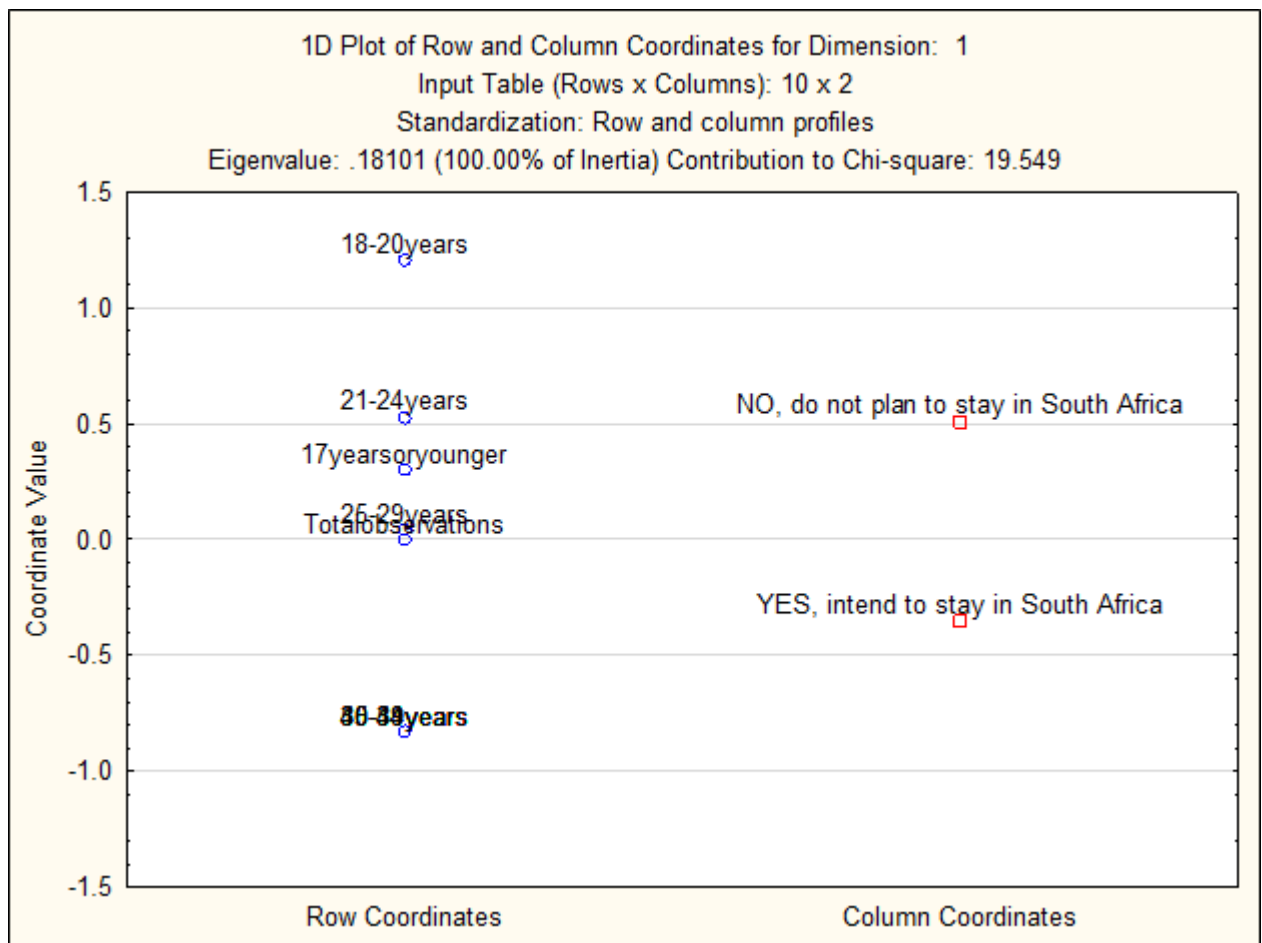


Figure 7: 1D plot of the ages of participants and their intention to stay in South Africa at the time of participation (N=54)

From the plot it is clear that the older participants (the groups including those who were 30 years or older at the time of participation), are different from the younger participants (between 17 and 29 years). More of the younger participants indicate their intention not to stay in South Africa. The younger participants did not acquire Congolese languages like Tshiluba and they learn Afrikaans as a language when they attend South African schools.

The overall impression from the correspondence analyses therefore emphasises the importance of the age of the participants. More of the younger participants indicate that they do not want to stay in South Africa; the younger participants include Afrikaans and Sotho more often in their repertoires (because they attend schools as children in South Africa); more of the younger participants are female and therefore Afrikaans and Sotho are included more often in the repertoires of female participants. The older participants indicated that they want to stay in South Africa; they include languages like Swahili and Tshiluba which they

learnt in the DRC as children in their repertoires more of the time; more of the older participants are male. These trends in the small set of data should be kept in mind when the questionnaire findings of the group are reported in the rest of the chapter.

4.2.3 The language repertoire data of the questionnaire study participants

The questionnaire data included a lot of details about the language repertoires of the participants. The nature of questionnaire studies enables one to document details about the languages known by participants with ease. In other words, the questionnaire data present answers to questions such as which languages are known by the participants and how many languages they know. Concerning the language repertoires of the participants in the questionnaire study, it is important to note their perceived home language, to consider the number of languages known by the participants and the order in which languages were learnt. The home language distribution of the questionnaire participants is presented in Table 9.

Table 9: Home languages of questionnaire participants (N=54)

Home language	Number	Frequencies (%)
French	28	52%
Lingala	12	22%
English	9	17%
Swahili	3	5%
Tshiluba	2	4%
Total	54	100 %

The above table gives a picture of perceived home languages used by the Congolese participants in the study. According to the table, French is the most prominent home language among participants; Lingala is the second most prominent home language; and English is the third most prominent home language. English is not regarded as a Congolese language in this study because it does not form part of the list of national or regional

languages with official status in the DRC. The fact that English is used as home language by 9% of the Congolese participants in the study, above languages like Tshiluba and Swahili (which are Congolese languages), is an important indicator of the status of English as “international” and “cross-border” language (Crystal, 2003; Nunan, 2001; Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996; Swaan, 2001). Potentially, English is a very useful language to include in the repertoires of migrant people. Another observation is that none of the participants indicate Kikongo (the fifth official language in the DRC) as a home language. This could mean that fewer Kikongo home language citizens from the DRC migrate to South Africa in general, or it could be an indication of the loss of Kikongo in migration. This finding will be investigated further in the study. It should be noted that in this study, English is regarded as an important official language of South Africa (Beukes, 2009; Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2012; Mesthrie, 2008; Webb, 1999), whereas Swahili forms part of the list of national or regional languages with official status in the DRC (Bokamba, 1984, 2008; Mputubwele, 2003). As stated above, English is also viewed as a cross-border language. In the context of Congolese languages related to the study, one should note that the DRC elevated French as its official language. Its national languages are Kikongo, Lingala, Swahili and Tshiluba. The DRC government promotes all local languages of the country as part of the Congolese cultural heritage (Bokamba, 1984, 2008; Mputubwele, 2003).

The participants in the questionnaire study know an average of four languages. The details of the number of languages known by the questionnaire participants are reported in Table 10.

Table 10: Number of languages known by the questionnaire participants (N=54; mean=4)

Number of languages in the repertoire of participants	Number	Frequencies (%)
One language	0	0%
Two languages	0	0%
Three languages	54	100%
Four languages	48	89%
Five languages	34	63%
Six languages	8	15%
Seven languages	3	5%
Eight languages	2	4%
Nine languages	1	1%
Ten languages	1	1%
Did not answer the question	0	0%

The languages included in the repertoires are in alphabetical order Afrikaans, English, French, Kikongo, Lingala, Portuguese, Sotho, Spanish, Swahili, Tshiluba, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu. A total of 14 languages are spoken among the Congolese participants and most of the participants speak an average of three to four languages. From Table 10 it is clear that the participants in the study hold high levels of individual multilingualism: 100% of the participants know three languages; 89% of the participants know four languages; and 63% know five languages. However, among the 14 languages, the table shows that five Congolese languages are spoken by the participants. The languages include French (the official language in the DRC), Kikongo, Lingala, Swahili and Tshiluba (the four national languages). None of the Congolese local languages appears in the repertoires of the participants in this study.

The order of the languages learnt, that are included in the repertoires of the questionnaire participants, is presented in Table 11 (1st language learnt), Table 12 (2nd language learnt), Table 13 (3rd language learnt), Table 14 (4th language learnt), and Table 15 (5th language learnt).

Table 11: First language learnt in the order of languages learnt as reported by the questionnaire participants (N=54)

1st language learnt	French	Lingala	Swahili	Tshiluba	Kikongo	English
Frequency (%)	29 (54%)	9 (17%)	9 (17%)	5 (9%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)

Congolese languages are the most prominent in the context of languages learnt first, with French reported by the majority of the participants (see Table 11). The report by a participant that he/she learnt Kikongo first should be noted. Despite learning this language first, this participant does not report Kikongo as a home language. This difference between the languages learnt first and the report that Kikongo is not a home language could be viewed as an indicator of language shift, away from Kikongo (Deumert, 2010). English is the only South African language that is learnt by one of the participants first.¹⁷

Table 12: Second language learnt in the order of languages learnt as reported by the questionnaire participants (N=54)

2nd language learnt	French	English	Swahili	Lingala	Tshiluba	Spanish
Frequency (%)	23 (43%)	10 (18%)	10 (18%)	8 (15%)	2 (4%)	1 (2%)

¹⁷ This information is reported by all participants when they respond to the questions about their home language and the list of languages in the order that they learnt them.

French remains the most prominent second language learnt by the participants and English takes the next most prominent position as it is learnt by 18% of the participants (see Table 12). Spanish (an important world language) learnt as a second language is a surprising finding because Spanish is not a typical language used in Africa which is the migratory context for the participants in this study. It could be possible that the participant completed this question incorrectly. If this answer is a correct answer, this finding expresses the importance of the biographic element of individual language repertoires related to migration or life histories in that one could find unexpected languages in some repertoires (Blommaert and Backus, 2012). However, for the purpose of this study, the researcher will assume that the participant did not answer this question correctly. No further inferences about this matter will be made by the researcher, because there is no information available that could assist in confirming whether or not this was a mistake on the part of the participant.

Table 13: Third language learnt in the order of languages learnt as reported by the questionnaire participants (N=53)

3rd language learnt	Lingala	English	Swahili	Tshiluba	Afrikaans	French	Sotho	Kikongo	Portuguese
Frequency (%)	14 (26%)	10 (19%)	8 (15%)	6 (11%)	6 (11%)	3 (6%)	3 (6%)	2 (4%)	1 (2%)

In the context of third languages learnt, English, Afrikaans and Sotho are the South African languages that are reported; but Congolese languages (Lingala, Swahili, Tshiluba, French and Kikongo) continue to be the most prominent languages learnt as third languages (they account for 62% of all languages learnt thirdly by participants, in Table 13). In this study, Portuguese is referred to as a world language¹⁸ and it is not a surprising addition to the repertoires of some of the participants (see tables 13, 14 and 15).

¹⁸ Portuguese could have been learnt by migrants who stayed in Angola or Mozambique (for example) for a period of time. Yet, there is no evidence in the data gathered (via the questionnaires and interviews) for the study that any of the participants migrated to Angola

Table 14: Fourth language learnt in the order of languages learnt as reported by the questionnaire participants (N=46)

4 th language learnt	English	Lingala	Afrikaans	Sotho	Tshiluba	Swahili	French	Portuguese
Frequency (%)	16 (35%)	11 (24%)	5 (11%)	5 (11%)	5 (11%)	2 (4%)	1 (2%)	1 (2%)

The most prominent languages learnt by the participants in the fourth position, are English and Lingala.

Table 15: Fifth language learnt in the order of languages learnt as reported by the questionnaire participants (N=31)

5 th language learnt	English	Tshiluba	Lingala	Afrikaans	Zulu	Sotho	Kikongo	Portuguese	Swahili
Frequency (%)	8 (26)	7 (23%)	6 (20%)	3 (10%)	2 (6%)	2 (6%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)

The most prominent fifth languages learnt include English, Tshiluba and Lingala. The participating Congolese migrants in this study have learnt many languages. Several of the participants have learnt up to five languages during their childhood. The language repertoires of the participants include Congolese languages, South African languages as well as some world languages (maybe Spanish and Portuguese). The participants learn Congolese languages (French, Lingala and Swahili) first. French is learnt by more than 50%

or Mozambique at some stage in their lives. That is what in this study, the status of Portuguese is seen as that of a big and important “world” language.

of the participants in this study as the first language; and 43% of the participants learnt it secondly. Fifty-two percent of the participants learnt Congolese national languages (Lingala, Swahili, Tshiluba) thirdly; and 19% of the participants learnt English thirdly. The most prominent languages learnt fourthly are English and Lingala (learnt by 59% of the participants); and 69% of the participants learnt English, Tshiluba and Lingala fifthly. The participants learnt South African languages (Afrikaans, Sotho and Zulu) mostly thirdly, fourthly or fifthly.

In addition to the information related to the participants' home languages from the questionnaire, the number of languages known and the order in which languages were learnt, the participants also indicated which languages they knew as children. Participants were asked to rank the languages that they knew as children from their perceived strongest languages to their perceived weakest languages. They were also asked to rank the languages that they know at the time of participation in order of the perceived "strength" of the languages in their repertoires.¹⁹

The languages known by the participants as children (ranked in order of perceived strength) are presented in tables 16 to 21. Note that some participants indicate a sixth language as well.

Table 16: Perceived first strongest languages in the repertoires of the questionnaire participants when they were children (N=54)

Perceived strongest language	French	English	Lingala	Swahili	Tshiluba	Kikongo
Frequency (%)	22 (41%)	12 (22%)	8 (15%)	7 (13%)	4 (7%)	1 (2%)

¹⁹ In the questionnaire, one's "strength" of languages was defined as the participant's perception of the language that is the easiest for them to use to express themselves in; and their perception that people who know their strongest language understand what they want to communicate with ease in this language (see Annexure A).

Table 17: Perceived second strongest languages in the repertoires of the questionnaire participants when they were children (N=54)

Perceived 2nd strongest language	French	Lingala	Swahili	English	Afrikaans	Tshiluba
Frequency (%)	28 (52%)	10 (19%)	9 (16%)	4 (7%)	2 (4%)	1 (2%)

Table 18: Perceived third strongest languages in the repertoires of the questionnaire participants when they were children (N=44)

Perceived 3rd strongest language	Lingala	Tshiluba	English	Afrikaans	Sotho	Swahili	French	Kikongo	Portuguese	Spanish
Frequency (%)	10 (23%)	8 (18%)	7 (16%)	5 (11%)	4 (9%)	3 (6%)	3 (6%)	2 (5%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)

Table 19: Perceived fourth strongest languages in the repertoires of the questionnaire participants when they were children (N=33)

Perceived 4th strongest language	Lingala	French	Swahili	Tshiluba	English	Sotho	Afrikaans
Frequency (%)	9 (27%)	6 (18%)	6 (18%)	4 (12%)	3 (9%)	3 (9%)	2 (6%)

Table 20: Perceived fifth strongest languages in the repertoires of the questionnaire participants when they were children (N=17)

Perceived 5th strongest language	Lingala	Sotho	Afrikaans	English	German	Tshiluba	Zulu
Frequency (%)	4 (24%)	3 (17%)	3 (17%)	2 (12%)	2 (12%)	2 (12%)	1 (6%)

Table 21: Perceived sixth strongest languages in the repertoires of the questionnaire participants when they were children (N=3)

Perceived 6th strongest language	Kikongo	Lingala	Tshiluba
Frequency (%)	1 (33%)	1 (33%)	1 (33%)

When the participants reflect on their strongest languages when they were children, it is clear that French, English and Lingala emerged as the perceived most prominent first or second strongest languages. Lingala, Tshiluba, English and Afrikaans are viewed as the perceived third strongest languages in the childhood of the participants. The perceived fourth strongest languages of the participants during their childhood are Lingala, French, Swahili and Tshiluba; and the perceived fifth strongest languages in the childhoods of the participants are Lingala, Sotho and Afrikaans. Three of the participants also indicate perceived sixth strongest languages in their childhoods: Kikongo, Lingala and Tshiluba.

From the data in tables 16 to 21 it is clear that Congolese languages (French and Lingala) are perceived as the strongest childhood languages by the participants; and that English is perceived as strongest childhood languages by a smaller group of participants. A mixture of Congolese languages (French, Lingala, Swahili and Tshiluba), English, Afrikaans and Sotho are perceived as third, fourth and fifth strongest childhood languages by the participants.

Kikongo only emerges as the perceived sixth strongest childhood language for one participant.

When the reported data for perceptions of current strongest languages (tables 16, 17, 18, 19, 20) and strongest languages in the childhood of participants are taken into account (tables 16-21), it is clear that the most prominent languages in the current and past repertoires of the participants include French, English, Lingala, Swahili, Afrikaans and Sotho.

Questions 14 to 18 formed the main part of the questionnaire (see Annexure A), in which the participants were asked to think about their strongest, second strongest, third strongest, fourth strongest and fifth strongest languages. Participants were asked to answer the same set of questions about the five strongest languages in their repertoires. The questions focused the participants' attention on the following issues: how proficient do they think they are in the languages they know; what are their reading and writing habits and proficiency in reading and writing for the languages they know; which factors contributed to their learning and current use of the languages they know; the participants' views about the transfer of the languages they know to their children and a set of language attitude questions. In this study, the information about the language repertoires of the participants will be used to answer two broad questions: *Do Congolese participants maintain or loose the Congolese languages in their repertoires?* and, *Do Congolese participants add South African languages to their repertoires?* The findings related to the perceived strongest languages in the language repertoires of the questionnaire participants are presented in Table 22.

Table 22: Perceived strongest²⁰ languages of the questionnaire participants (N=54)

Perceived strongest language	Number	Frequency (%)
French	20	37%
English	18	33%
Lingala	10	19%
Swahili	4	7%

²⁰ These languages are perceived as the strongest languages at the time of participation in the study.

Tshiluba	2	4%
Total	54	100%

French, English and Lingala are perceived as the strongest languages of most of the participants. English and French could be perceived as the languages of formal education in South Africa and in the Congo (Gardner 2006:4; Mputubwele, 2003; Vigouroux & Mufwene, 2008). The perception that English and French are the strongest languages of 70% of the participants at the time of participation could be explained by the position of these languages as media of instruction in the DRC and in South Africa. Lingala is not an ethnic language (Bokamba, 2009:50) and there is widespread acknowledgement of its spread beyond the DRC as “one of the major LWCs [Languages of Wider Communication] in Africa” (Bokamba, 2009:50). Furthermore, it is acknowledged that “Lingala is also spoken in a variety of Congolese enclaves throughout Africa, Europe, and the Americas where Congolese popular music, the ‘soukous’ or ‘Congolese rumba’ is the music of choice that makes everyone dance” (Bokamba, 2009:51) (see also the discussion of the importance of Lingala in Congolese music in Bokamba, 2009:63-64). “Lingala has been recognized by researchers of Congolese languages as not only the most important of the four national languages of DRC and Congo-Brazzaville, but also arguably the most important lingua franca of Central Africa both in terms of its estimated demographics and known prestige” (Bokamba, 2009:58-59). The data reported by the Congolese migrants who participated in this study confirm that the special functional role of Lingala in the diaspora is also true for DRC migrants to South Africa (Meeuwis, 2002).

The participants’ perceptions of their proficiency in their strongest languages are presented in Table 23.

Table 23: Questionnaire participants’ perceptions of the their proficiency in their strongest languages (English = 20, French = 18, Lingala = 10)

Language skills	French perceived as strongest language (N=20)					
	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
Speaking	0	0	0	1	19	20

Listening	0	0	0	1	19	20
Reading	0	1	1	6	12	20
Writing	0	1	1	6	12	20
language skills	English perceived as strongest language (N=18)					
	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
Speaking	0	0	0	5	13	18
Listening	0	0	0	5	13	18
Reading	0	0	0	4	14	18
Writing	0	0	0	5	13	18
Language skills	Lingala perceived as strongest language (N=10)					
	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
Speaking	0	0	0	5	5	10
Listening	0	0	0	4	6	10
Reading	0	0	0	5	5	10
Writing	0	0	0	5	5	10

The participants' perceptions of their proficiency in their strongest languages (French, English and Lingala) are very high. On a scale of 1 to 5, where 5 reflected a perception that the language user is "very good" at this skill for the relevant language, the majority of the participants indicate that they are "good" or "very good" at all the skills in their strongest languages. Even in the case of Lingala – which is not perceived widely as a language of literacy (Gardner, 2006:17; Vigouroux & Mufwene, 2008) – participants have a high perception of their reading and writing skills. This finding contradicts the popular opinion of

African Congolese languages viewed primarily as non-literacy languages (Bokamba, 2009:59-60; Gardner, 2006:17).

The participants' perceptions of the frequency and proficiency of using their strongest languages for different types of reading tasks are presented in Table 24.

Table 24: Perceptions of questionnaire participants' frequency of use and proficiency in conducting different reading tasks in their strongest languages

	French as strongest language (N=20)											
	Perception of frequency of performing reading tasks						Perception of proficiency in performing reading task					
	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Total	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
Magazines	5	5	8	2	0	20	1	1	2	5	11	20
Newspapers	6	6	7	1	0	20	2	0	5	4	9	20
Books	2	2	3	5	8	20	1	0	0	6	13	20
Bible	2	2	3	5	8	20	1	0	0	6	13	20
Email	2	2	4	8	4	20	1	0	2	4	13	20
Phone texts	0	0	4	6	10	20	0	0	0	3	17	20
Internet	2	0	1	12	5	20	1	0	0	9	10	20
Other ²¹ (novel)	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
	English as strongest language (N=18)											
	Perception of frequency of						Perception of proficiency in					

²¹ Not included in the analysis.

	performing reading tasks						performing reading task					
	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Total	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
Magazines	2	5	9	1	1	18	0	0	2	5	11	18
Newspapers	3	4	5	3	3	18	3	4	5	3	3	18
Books	0	3	2	5	8	18	0	0	2	5	11	18
Bible	0	1	1	6	10	18	0	0	2	3	13	18
Email	2	1	3	6	6	18	0	0	2	3	13	18
Phone texts	2	0	1	1	14	18	0	0	2	2	14	18
Internet	1	0	3	4	10	18	0	1	0	6	11	18
Other ²² (adverts, signs...)	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Lingala as strongest language (N=10)											
	Perception of frequency of performing reading tasks						Perception of proficiency in performing reading tasks					
	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Total	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
Magazines	7	0	2	0	1	10	0	1	1	4	4	10
Newspapers	8	1	0	0	1	10	0	2	1	4	3	10
Books	6	2	1	0	1	10	0	1	1	6	2	10

²² Not included in the analysis.

Bible	6	1	1	0	2	10	0	1	1	5	3	10
Email	3	1	2	3	1	10	0	1	0	5	5	10
Phone texts	0	1	2	2	5	10	0	0	1	4	5	10
Internet	3	1	2	3	1	10	0	1	0	5	4	10
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

The participants' perceptions of their reading proficiency in their strongest languages are very high in general. The roles of French and English as the languages of education of the Congolese migrants' population (French for the older generation in the DRC and English for the younger generation in South Africa) explain these perceptions. Lingala also has a history as a language of education in religious contexts and this could explain the participants' perceptions of high proficiency for reading in Lingala.

In terms of the frequency of reading, French and English are often used for the reading of books, religious material, emails, Internet and phone text messages. In the case of Lingala, participants read phone messages more frequently than any other type of text. The potential of Lingala used as a lingua franca among Congolese migrants in diaspora (also applicable to the participants in this study) could explain the frequency of the use of Lingala for phone text messages.

The questionnaire participants' perceptions of the frequency and proficiency in performing specific writing tasks in their strongest languages are reported in Table 25.

Table 25: Questionnaire participants' perceptions of the frequency and proficiency with which they perform writing tasks in their strongest languages

	French as strongest language (N=20)											
	Perception of frequency of performing writing tasks						Perception of proficiency in performing writing tasks					
	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Total	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
Email	1	2	5	5	7	20	0	1	0	8	11	20
Phone texts	0	2	3	5	10	20	0	0	1	6	13	20
Lists	3	1	3	6	7	20	0	0	0	8	12	20
Notes	10	3	2	0	5	20	0	0	0	10	10	20
Longer doc's ²³ for work	8	1	2	2	7	20	0	0	1	9	10	20
Longer doc's for study	7	1	1	4	7	20	0	0	3	8	9	20
Longer doc's for personal use	4	1	5	4	6	20	0	0	2	8	10	20

²³ "Doc's" is used for "documents" in the table for formatting purposes.

Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	English as strongest language (N=18)											
	Perception of frequency of performing writing tasks						Perception of proficiency in performing writing tasks					
	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Total	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
Email	3	2	4	5	4	18	0	0	1	7	10	18
Phone texts	2	0	1	3	12	18	0	0	2	3	13	18
Lists	3	3	6	5	1	18	1	0	3	4	10	18
Notes	7	3	4	0	4	18	1	0	2	3	12	18
Longer doc's for work	9	0	2	5	2	18	0	0	5	6	7	18
Longer doc's for study	1	0	3	6	8	18	0	0	1	6	11	18
Longer doc's for personal use	2	3	4	4	5	18	0	0	1	6	11	18
Other ²⁴ (bank	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	5	5

²⁴ Not taken into account in the analysis.

and school notes)												
	Lingala as strongest language (N=10)											
	Perception of frequency of performing writing tasks						Perception of proficiency in performing writing tasks					
	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Total	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
Email	4	0	3	2	1	10	0	0	1	6	3	10
Phone texts	0	0	2	2	6	10	0	0	0	4	6	10
Lists	1	3	5	0	1	10	0	0	1	5	4	10
Notes	8	1	0	0	1	10	0	2	2	4	2	10
Longer doc's for work	8	0	1	0	1	10	0	1	2	5	2	10
Longer doc's for study	8	0	1	0	1	10	0	1	2	5	2	10
Longer doc's for personal use	7	0	2	0	1	10	0	0	4	4	2	10
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

From the table, it could be perceived that, as the strongest language, French is used very often or often by the majority of the participants (10+ out of 20 participants reported that they performed this writing task very often in French) for the writing of phone texts, lists and emails. The majority of the participants report that they never use or seldom use French for the writing of notes. About an equal number of participants state that they never and very often use French to write longer documents for work and longer documents for personal use.

The majority of the participants who indicated that English is their strongest language report that they very often or often write phone texts and longer documents for study purposes in English. If one aggregates frequencies for seldom, often and very often, the majority of the participants indicate that they use English for phone texts, email messages, longer texts for personal use and for the writing of lists. English is used never or seldom or sometimes by the majority of the participants for lists, notes and longer documents for work. As for Lingala, the majority of the participants use Lingala for phone texts. The majority of the participants do not use Lingala for notes, longer documents for work, longer documents for study or longer documents for personal use.

Questionnaire participants were also asked to reflect on how strongly particular factors contributed to them *learning* their strongest languages in the first place. The findings are reported in Table 26.

Table 26: Perceptions of questionnaire participants about the contribution of factors towards the *learning* of their strongest languages

	French perceived as strongest language (N=20)				
	Did not contribute at all	Small contribution	Medium contribution	Large contribution	Total
Friends	1	0	6	13	20
Family	0	0	5	15	20
Reading	1	0	1	18	20
CDs / DVDs	3	6	5	6	20

TV	0	5	5	10	20
Radio	0	4	6	10	20
Education / School	0	0	1	19	20
	English perceived as strongest language (N=18)				
	Did not contribute at all	Small contribution	Medium contribution	Large contribution	Total
Friends	0	0	3	13	18
Family	2	4	4	8	18
Reading	0	1	5	12	18
CDs / DVDs	6	2	2	8	18
TV	0	3	5	10	18
Radio	0	7	5	6	18
Education / School	0	1	1	16	18
	Lingala perceived as strongest language (N=10)				
	Did not contribute at all	Small contribution	Medium contribution	Large contribution	Total
Friends	1	1	1	7	10
Family	1	2	1	6	10
Reading	2	2	2	4	10
CDs / DVDs	6	1	0	3	10
TV	1	0	1	8	10

Radio	0	1	2	7	10
Education / School	4	3	2	1	10

Different factors contributed to the *learning* of the participants' strongest languages. According to the findings, French is mostly learnt through the education system (the majority of the participants indicated that education or school had a large contribution to their learning of French, see Table 26). Participants learnt French at school and the majority of the participants indicate that reading in French contributed largely to their learning of French. The majority of the participants also indicated that using French with friends and the family also contributed largely to their French language acquisition. If one combines the frequencies for medium contribution and large contribution, then the majority of participants also believed that watching television and listening to the radio contributed to their learning of French. Watching CDs or DVDs is perceived to have had a small or no contribution to their learning of French.

The majority of the participants that regard English as their strongest language are of the opinion that education or school and use with friends contributed largely to their learning of English. In the case of English, participants believe that watching television, communication with friends, listening to the radio and watching CDs or DVDs had a medium to large contribution to their learning of English.

For the majority of the participants who regard Lingala as their strongest language, television, radio, friends and family contributed largely to their learning of Lingala. Reading had a medium to large contribution to their learning of Lingala; and education or school and watching CDs or DVDs in Lingala made no or a small contribution to their learning of the language.

From the above analysis, one can conclude that several factors have contributed to the learning of the participants' strongest Congolese languages. School or education is perceived to have a large contribution to the learning of French and English as strongest languages; however, school or education is perceived to have a small contribution or to not contribute at all to the learning of Lingala as strongest language.

Questionnaire participants were also asked to reflect on how strongly particular factors contributed to their *current* use of strongest languages. The findings are reported in Table 27.

Table 27: Perceptions of questionnaire participants about the contribution of factors towards the current use of their strongest languages

	French perceived as strongest language (N=20)				
	Did not contribute at all	Small contribution	Medium contribution	Large contribution	Total
Friends	0	2	5	13	20
Family	0	2	5	13	20
Reading	0	3	9	8	20
CDs / DVDs	3	7	5	5	20
TV	3	5	4	8	20
Radio	3	2	7	8	20
Education / School	6	3	2	9	20
	English perceived as strongest language (N=18)				
	Did not contribute at all	Small contribution	Medium contribution	Large contribution	Total
Friends	0	2	4	14	18
Family	2	2	5	9	18
Reading	0	1	3	14	18
CDs /	4	2	2	10	18

DVDs					
TV	0	0	5	13	18
Radio	0	3	4	11	18
Education / school	0	1	1	16	18
	Lingala perceived as strongest language (N=10)				
	Did not contribute at all	Small contribution	Medium contribution	Large contribution	Total
Friends	0	2	0	8	10
Family	0	0	1	9	10
Reading	4	1	2	3	10
CDs / DVDs	4	1	2	3	10
TV	3	2	2	3	10
Radio	2	2	3	3	10
Education / school	5	2	1	2	10

The findings reveal that several factors are contributing to the *current* use of the participants' strongest languages. For the majority of participants who regard French as their strongest language, using the language with friends and family contribute largely to their current use of the language. Reading in French, listening to French on the radio, watching television in French and education and school make a medium to large contribution to their current use of the language. The majority of the participants believe that education or school, friends, reading, and watching television make a large contribution to their current use of English. Listening to the radio, communicating with family and watching CDs and DVDs in English make a medium to large contribution to the current use of English for the majority of the

participants. Communication with friends and family made the largest contribution to the current use of Lingala for the majority of the participants who regard the language as their strongest language. Radio made a medium to large contribution towards the use of Lingala as strongest language for the majority of the participants. Education makes a medium to large contribution towards the current use of Lingala for the majority of the participants. The majority of the participants believe that reading, CDs or DVDs and television make no, a small or a medium contribution to their current use of Lingala as strongest language.

From the analysis presented above, one could understand that the current use of French is largely ascribed to use in the family and with friends. The current use of French as strongest language for the participants is supported by its function as language used in the family and with friends. The current use of English as strongest language is supported by its use as the language of education, with friends and with reading. For the participants in this study who regard English as their strongest language, the data indicate that the current use of English is not supported by use in the family domain. This finding seems to be contradicted by the interview findings which will be discussed below. In the interview discussions, it emerged that English is the home language for many of the interview participants. The current use of Lingala as strongest language, is perceived as being supported by its use in the family and with friends.

The questionnaire participants were also asked to indicate if they believe that they would transfer their strongest perceived language to their children one day. The findings are reported in Table 28.

Table 28: Participants' perceptions about the transfer of their perceived strongest language to their children one day

	French as strongest language (N=20)	English as strongest language (N=18)	Lingala as strongest language (N=10)
Yes	19	16	9
No	1	2	1

The majority of all the participants that responded to this question indicated that they would like to transmit their perceived strongest languages to their children. This study did not focus on whether or not this perception is implemented by parents. However, one can infer from this finding that the notion of transmission of their perceived strongest languages seem to be important to all the participants in this study. This finding is contradicted by the interview results that will be discussed below. From the interview data, the lack of intergenerational transfer of the Congolese languages emerged as an important finding.

Finally, respondents were asked to respond to a set of attitude questions towards their strongest languages. The findings are presented in Table 29.

Table 29: Participants' attitudes toward their strongest languages

	French as strongest language (N=20)					
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
I like to speak this language	0	0	3	1	16	20
I feel confident using this language	0	0	1	3	16	20
I think it is important to be good at this language	0	0	2	6	12	20
This language forms part of who I am (my identity)	0	1	3	1	15	20
	English as strongest language (N=18)					
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Total

I like to speak this language	0	0	2	2	14	18
I feel confident using this language	0	0	2	1	15	18
I think it is important to be good at this language	0	0	1	2	15	18
This language forms part of who I am (my identity)	3	1	2	5	7	18
	Lingala as strongest language (N=10)					
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
I like to speak this language	0	2	0	2	6	10
I feel confident using this language	0	1	0	2	7	10
I think it is important to be good at this language	0	1	3	3	3	10
This language forms part of who I am (my identity)	0	0	3	2	5	10

The majority of all the participants (irrespective of their perceived strongest language) indicate that they like to speak their strongest language and they feel confident in using their strongest language. The majority of the participants who indicated that French or English is their perceived strongest language, indicate that they believe that it is important to be good at these languages. The participants who perceive that Lingala is their strongest language, is divided on this matter. A third of the participants are neutral towards this statement, a third agree with the statement and a third agree strongly with the statement. The small number of participants (N=10) makes it impossible to present a strong conclusion on this matter and this issue should clearly be investigated further with a bigger sample of people in future studies. However, for the purpose of this study, one can infer that the majority of the participants who believe that Lingala is their strongest language do not strongly agree with the statement that it is important to be good at Lingala. The implications of this perception for language maintenance should be discussed. The symbolic value of Lingala as an indicator of the cultural identity of the Congolese participants in this study that emerged from the interview data could possibly explain this attitude. For Lingala to act as a symbol of the cultural identity of Congolese people in the diaspora, one does not need to know the language fully or be proficient in it. Knowledge of a bit of Lingala would be enough to indicate one's cultural identity as a Congolese person.

The majority of the participants who believe that French is their strongest language indicate that they strongly agree with the statement that French forms part of their identity. This is not the case for the majority of the participants who believe that English and Lingala are their strongest languages. The majority of the participants who believe English and Lingala are their strongest languages agree or strongly agree with the statement. This is a matter that should be investigated further.

A summary of the general trends in the findings related to French as the participants' strongest language is as follows:

- Phone texts are frequently read by most participants; participants perceive their reading of phone texts as highly proficient.
- Phone texts are frequently written by most participants; participants perceive their writing of phone texts as highly proficient.
- Education largely contributes to the learning of French; friends and family contribute to the current use of French.

- The participants like to use French, are confident to use French, find it important to be good at French, and believe that French is part of their identity.

French as strongest language is used mostly in family and friendship domains and the participants believe that they are very proficient in French for the types of reading and writing tasks that they perform in French.

For English, as the perceived as strongest language, the participants believe that:

- They frequently read phone texts in English; and that they are highly proficient in the reading of phone texts in English.
- Phone texts in English are frequently written by most participants; participants perceive their writing of phone texts in English as highly proficient.
- Education contributes to the learning of English; and the school and friendships contribute to their current use of English as a strongest language.
- The participants like to use English, they are confident when they use English, they believe that it is important to be good at English, and that English is very important for their identity.

English as the strongest language is used mostly in education, as well as in the domains of reading and friendship. In these domains, and for the specific functions reported above, the participants in general believe that they hold high levels of English proficiency.

A summary of the general trends in the findings related to Lingala being perceived as the participants' strongest languages reveal that:

- Lingala phone texts are frequently read by most participants; and participants perceive their reading of phone texts in Lingala as highly proficient.
- Lingala phone texts are frequently written by most participants; and participants perceive their writing of Lingala phone texts as highly proficient.
- TV contributes to the learning of Lingala; and the family contributes to the current use of Lingala.
- Participants like to use Lingala, are confident when they use Lingala, find that it is important to be good at Lingala, and Lingala is important for their identity.

Lingala as strongest language is used mostly in family and friendship domains. In general, for the types of proficiency required in specific domains, the participants believe that they are very proficient in Lingala.

The findings related to the perceived second strongest languages in language repertoires of the questionnaire participants are presented in Table 30.

Table 30: Perceived second strongest languages of the questionnaire participants (N=54)

Perceived second strongest language	Number	Frequency (%)
French	26	48%
English	10	18%
Lingala	7	13%
Swahili	6	11%
Tshiluba	3	6%
Afrikaans	1	2%
Sotho	1	2%

The perceptions of the participants' perceived second strongest languages are not very different from their perceptions of their perceived strongest languages. French, English and Lingala are also selected as the most prominent second strongest languages of the participants. However, in the position of perceived second strongest languages, Swahili is indicated by more participants as a perceived second strongest language compared to strongest languages. The prominence of the Congolese languages (French, Lingala and Swahili) as perceived second strongest languages could be ascribed to their status as official languages in the DRC. The prominence of Swahili as the perceived second strongest language could also be supported by its role as a "cross-border" language, or lingua franca in Africa (Habwe, 2009:2; Ndhlovu, 2013:20). The prominence of English as a perceived second strongest language is explained by its official status in South Africa, as well as its role as a global lingua franca (Kasanga, 2012:48).

The participants' perceptions of their proficiency in their second strongest languages are presented in Table 31.

Table 31: Questionnaire participants' perceptions of the their proficiency in their second strongest languages (French = 26, English = 10, Lingala = 7)

	French perceived as second strongest language (N=26)					
	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
Speaking	0	0	5	14	7	26
Listening	0	0	2	11	13	26
Reading	1	4	4	8	9	26
Writing	5	3	3	9	6	26
	English perceived as strongest language (N=10)					
	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
Speaking	0	0	1	6	3	10
Listening	0	0	2	5	3	10
Reading	0	0	2	3	5	10
Writing	0	0	2	5	3	10
	Lingala perceived as strongest language (N=7)					
	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
Speaking	0	0	0	2	5	7
Listening	0	0	0	2	5	7

Reading	0	0	0	3	4	7
Writing	0	0	1	1	5	7

Participants' perceptions of proficiency in the four language skills of their second strongest languages (speaking, listening, reading and writing) are very high as they mostly select the good (4) or very good (5) categories in the questionnaire. From the data presented in Table 31, one could infer that the participants perceived their literacy skills in their second strongest languages as good in general. This is also true in the case of Lingala, which contradicts findings from other studies and views that it is not a widely used language of literacy (Bokamba, 2009; Gardner, 2006:17; Leitch, 2005). However, as noted above, it should be remembered that the participants of the study are highly educated in general. The perception of high literacy levels in Lingala could therefore be a product of their general high levels of education; which extends to them transferring literacy skills into languages included in their repertoires. Their individual literacy experiences might not be akin to the general or typical literacy levels one would observe for Lingala in the broader DRC community.

The participants' perceptions of the frequency and proficiency of using their second strongest languages for different types of reading tasks are presented in Table 32.

Table 32: Perceptions of questionnaire participants' frequency of use and proficiency in conducting different reading tasks in their second strongest languages

	French as second strongest language (N=26)											
	Perception of frequency of performing reading tasks						Perception of proficiency in performing reading task					
	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Total	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
Magazines	11	3	6	2	4	26	1	1	9	6	9	26
Newspapers	8	6	6	2	4	26	1	1	7	8	9	26

Books	3	6	6	4	7	26	0	2	6	8	10	26
Bible	2	3	9	3	9	26	1	1	7	6	11	26
Email	5	3	8	5	5	26	1	1	8	7	9	26
Phone texts	3	3	5	8	7	26	1	2	7	7	10	26
Internet	3	3	8	6	6	26	1	2	6	8	9	26
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	English as second strongest language (N=10)											
	Perception of frequency of performing reading tasks						Perception of proficiency in performing reading task					
	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Total	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
Magazines	1	2	3	1	3	10	0	0	0	5	5	10
Newspapers	0	2	3	2	3	10	0	0	0	5	5	10
Books	0	1	2	1	6	10	0	0	1	4	5	10
Bible	0	0	1	3	6	10	0	0	1	3	6	10
Email	0	0	3	3	4	10	0	0	2	3	5	10
Phone texts	0	0	0	1	9	10	0	0	0	4	6	10
Internet	0	0	0	4	6	10	0	0	1	4	5	10
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Lingala as strongest language (N=7)											
	Perception of frequency of performing reading tasks						Perception of proficiency in performing reading tasks					

	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Total	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
Magazines	4	1	1	0	1	7	0	0	1	3	3	7
Newspapers	4	1	1	0	1	7	0	0	2	2	3	7
Books	4	1	1	0	1	7	0	0	2	2	3	7
Bible	3	2	0	0	2	7	0	0	3	1	3	7
Email	4	0	1	0	2	7	0	0	3	2	2	7
Phone texts	2	1	1	1	2	7	0	0	2	2	3	7
Internet	4	1	0	0	2	7	0	0	3	1	3	7
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

According to the findings, the participants' perceptions of the frequency of performing reading tasks in their second strongest languages are more confident when English is the perceived second strongest language, as opposed to that of Congolese languages (French and Lingala), which are perceived as second strongest languages. However, the overall perceptions of proficiency in the second strongest languages related to reading remain high. It could be noted that participants do not often read in Lingala as Lingala literary materials are not common even in the DRC (Gardner, 2006:17).

The questionnaire participants' perceptions of the frequency and proficiency in performing specific writing tasks in their second strongest language are reported in Table 33.

Table 33: Questionnaire participants' perceptions of the frequency and proficiency with which they perform writing tasks in their second strongest languages

	French as second strongest language (N=26)											
	Perception of frequency of performing writing tasks						Perception of proficiency in performing writing task					
	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Total	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
Email	6	2	9	5	4	26	3	1	6	8	8	26
Phone texts	4	1	8	7	6	26	3	1	4	8	10	26
Lists	6	5	4	4	7	26	2	2	5	8	9	26
Notes	10	2	5	1	6	26	3	3	4	7	9	26
Longer doc's for work	12	4	5	1	6	26	4	1	5	8	8	26
Longer doc's for study	11	4	5	1	5	26	3	2	6	6	9	26
Longer doc's for personal use	8	5	7	1	5	26	3	2	4	9	8	26
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	English as second strongest language (N=10)											
	Perception of frequency of performing writing tasks						Perception of proficiency in performing writing task					
	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Total	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total

	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Total	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
Email	0	1	3	2	4	10	0	0	1	7	2	10
Phone texts	0	0	0	2	8	10	0	0	0	5	5	10
Lists	1	1	3	2	3	10	1	0	2	4	3	10
Notes	4	0	2	1	3	10	0	0	1	5	4	10
Longer doc's for work	2	0	1	4	3	10	0	0	3	5	2	10
Longer doc's for study	1	0	0	3	6	10	0	0	2	6	2	10
Longer doc's for personal use	0	0	1	2	7	10	0	0	1	6	3	10
Other (speech)	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Lingala as second strongest language (N=7)											
	Perception of frequency of performing writing tasks						Perception of proficiency in performing writing task					
	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Total	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
Email	4	1	0	1	1	7	0	1	3	0	3	7

Phone texts	0	2	2	0	3	7	0	1	0	3	3	7
Lists	4	1	0	1	1	7	0	1	3	1	2	7
Notes	5	1	0	0	1	7	0	2	2	1	2	7
Longer doc's for work	6	0	0	0	1	7	1	2	2	0	2	7
Longer doc's for study	6	0	0	0	1	7	1	2	2	0	2	7
Longer doc's for personal use	5	0	0	0	2	7	0	3	2	0	2	7
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

From the findings, participants who use French as their second strongest language use it mostly for phone texts, lists and emails. They seldom use French to write longer documents for work, study or personal use. This must be seen in the light of language shift because French is the formal language of education in the Congo, at least for the older participants. Moreover the scarcity of opportunities for using French may explain the situation. In South Africa, English and Afrikaans are mostly used as mediums of education, for the younger participants.

English as the second strongest language of the participants is mostly used in education and in the friendship domain. Currently, participants mostly use English to write phone texts, longer documents for work, study and personal use. Lingala is mostly used for the writing of phone texts. The findings reveal that English has become the language of literacy in South Africa. In many cases, English has replaced French in the literacy domains. Reading and writing long documents are mostly done in English as reported by the participants.

Participants who use Lingala as their second strongest language use the language in the family and in the friendship domains. Lingala is barely used for highly skilled writing tasks such as longer documents for work, study and personal use. These tasks were not performed in Lingala, even in the Congo.

Questionnaire participants were also asked to reflect on how strongly particular factors contributed to them learning their second strongest languages. The findings are reported in Table 34.

Table 34: Perceptions of questionnaire participants about the contribution of factors towards the learning of their strongest languages

	French perceived as second strongest language (N=26)				
	Did not contribute at all	Small contribution	Medium contribution	Large contribution	Total
Friends	3	1	7	15	26
Family	1	2	5	18	26
Reading	3	4	5	14	26
CDs / DVDs	6	3	11	6	26
TV	4	3	6	13	26
Radio	3	7	3	13	26
Education / School	6	2	2	16	26
	English perceived as second strongest language (N=10)				
	Did not contribute at all	Small contribution	Medium contribution	Large contribution	Total

Friends	0	2	2	6	10
Family	0	1	4	5	10
Reading	0	1	2	7	10
CDs / DVDs	0	1	3	6	10
TV	0	2	3	5	10
Radio	1	1	3	5	10
Education / School	0	0	1	9	10
	Lingala perceived as second strongest language (N=7)				
	Did not contribute at all	Small contribution	Medium contribution	Large contribution	Total
Friends	1	0	3	3	7
Family	0	0	1	6	7
Reading	2	1	1	3	7
CDs / DVDs	3	0	1	3	7
TV	2	0	2	3	7
Radio	2	2	0	3	7
Education / school	4	0	1	2	7

In the case of French perceived as a second strongest language, the participants believe that the family and education contributed the most towards their learning of French. For

English perceived as a second strongest language, reading and education contributed the most towards learning the language. The family as domain contributed the most towards the learning of Lingala as a second strongest language in the lives of the participants.

Questionnaire participants were also asked to reflect on how strongly particular factors contributed to their current use of their second strongest languages. The findings are reported in Table 35.

Table 35: Perceptions of questionnaire participants about the contribution of factors towards the current use of their second strongest languages

	French perceived as second strongest language (N=26)				
	Did not contribute at all	Small contribution	Medium contribution	Large contribution	Total
Friends	1	7	5	13	26
Family	0	2	8	16	26
Reading	1	12	6	7	26
CDs / DVDs	9	5	7	5	26
TV	3	10	6	7	26
Radio	5	7	8	6	26
Education / school	12	2	1	11	26
	English perceived as second strongest language (N=10)				
	Did not contribute at all	Small contribution	Medium contribution	Large contribution	Total
Friends	0	1	4	5	10

Family	0	1	4	5	10
Reading	0	1	3	6	10
CDs / DVDs	1	0	5	4	10
TV	0	1	4	5	10
Radio	1	1	3	5	10
Education / school	0	0	2	8	10
	Lingala perceived as second strongest language (N=7)				
	Did not contribute at all	Small contribution	Medium contribution	Large contribution	Total
Friends	0	2	2	3	7
Family	0	2	1	4	7
Reading	3	1	0	4	7
CDs / DVDs	4	1	0	2	7
TV	3	1	2	1	7
Radio	3	2	1	1	7
Education / school	6	0	0	1	7

The use of French with family and with friends plays a large role in the current use of French as a second strongest language in the lives of the participants. The position of French as a language of education is complex when one considers the data reported in Table 35. For the

older participants, French as a second strongest language was acquired via the education system; for the younger participants, French as a second strongest language has lost its power in education. According to the participants who use French as their second strongest language, reading still has a medium contribution to the current use of the language; and the use of French to listen to CDs, watch TV and listen to the radio continue to make a small contribution to the current use of French.

For the participants who use English as their second strongest language, the school and reading domains have largely contributed to its current use. The findings also reveal that while English is mostly acquired through the education system, the family and friendship domains also play an important role in the acquisition of English. Reading plays a major role in the current use of English, probably because of its connection to the education system.

For participants who use Lingala as their second strongest language, reading and the family are the major contributors to the current use of the language. Reading in Lingala may seem like a surprise. However, the participants indicate that they use Lingala frequently for the reading and writing of phone texts. In this context, it is possible that the reading of phone texts contributes to the use of Lingala in their lives. It seems that the level of literacy required for the reading and writing of phone texts, is sufficiently present in the repertoires of the participants who regard Lingala as a second strongest language.

The questionnaire participants were also asked to indicate if they believe that they would transfer their second strongest language to their children one day. The findings are reported in Table 36.

Table 36: Participants' perceptions about the transfer of their second strongest language to their children one day

	French as second strongest language (N=26)	English as strongest language (N=10)	Lingala as strongest language (N=7)
Yes	26	10	6
No	0	0	1

The participants indicate that they want to transfer their perceived second strongest languages (French, English and Lingala) to their children. The data from the interviews – especially with child participants – should provide some information about the actual implementation of this perceived willingness and desire to transfer languages to the children of the participants in the study.

Finally, respondents were asked to respond to a set of attitude questions towards their second strongest languages. The findings are presented in Table 37.

Table 37: Participants' attitudes toward their second strongest languages

	French as second strongest language (N=26)					
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
I like to speak this language	0	0	2	7	17	26
I feel confident using this language	0	2	5	7	12	26
I think it is important to be good at this	0	0	1	11	14	26
This language forms part of who I am	1	0	4	6	15	26
	English as second strongest language (N=10)					
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Total

I like to speak this language	0	0	0	5	5	10
I feel confident using this language	0	0	3	4	3	10
I think it is important to be good at this	0	0	0	0	10	10
This language forms part of who I am	0	1	2	3	4	10
	Lingala as second strongest language (N=7)					
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
I like to speak this language	0	0	1	2	4	7
I feel confident using this language	0	1	0	1	5	7
I think it is important to be good at this	0	0	2	0	5	7
This language forms part of who I am	0	1	0	1	5	7

There is a general agreement that French users who perceive French to be their second strongest language like to speak the language. They feel confident when they use French as second strongest language, and they think that it is important to be good at French. The vast majority of the participants strongly agree that French forms part of their identity. Participants who use English as a second strongest language strongly agree that they like to speak the language; that they feel confident in using English; that it is very important to be good at English and that the language is part their identity. Participants who use Lingala as a second strongest language equally like the language; are confident in using it; think that it is important to be good in the language and they believe that Lingala forms part of their identity.

A summary of the general trends in the findings related to French as the participants' perceived second strongest languages are presented as follows:

- French is used frequently for the reading of religious materials and phone texts; participants perceive their reading of phone texts in French as highly proficient.
- Lists, notes, phone texts and longer documents for work are frequently written in French by most participants; participants perceive their writing of phone texts in French as highly proficient.
- The family as domain largely contribute to the learning of French; the domains of friendship and family contribute to the current use of French.
- The participants like to use French as a second strongest language, they are confident when they use French, they believe that it is important to be good at French, and they believe that French contributes to their identity.

French, perceived as a second strongest language, is used mostly in the family and friendship domains and participants believe that they are very proficient in the language skills required for these domains.

English perceived as a second strongest language is:

- Used to read phone texts frequently by most participants; participants perceive their reading of English phone texts as highly proficient.
- Lists and phone texts in English are written frequently by most participants; participants perceive their writing of English phone texts as highly proficient.

- Education contributes to the learning of English as a second strongest language; the school and friendship domains contribute to the current use of English as second strongest language.
- Experienced as a language that the participants like to use; feel confident to use; believe that it is important to be good at and it is a language that they believe contribute to their identity.

English as second strongest language is used mostly in education, for reading and the friendship domain. Participants believe that their proficiency in the language skills in English as a second strongest language is very high.

Participants who perceive Lingala as a second strongest language believe that:

- They read Lingala phone texts frequently; and they are highly proficient in reading Lingala phone texts.
- They write Lingala phone texts frequently; and they are highly proficient in writing Lingala phone texts.

The findings related to the perceived third strongest languages in language repertoires of the questionnaire participants are presented in Table 38.

Table 38: Perceived third strongest languages of the questionnaire participants (N=54)

Perceived third strongest language	Number	Frequency (%)
Lingala	14	26%
Swahili	11	20%
English	9	17%
Afrikaans	7	13%
Sotho	4	7%
Tshiluba	4	7%
French	3	6%

Portuguese	1	2%
Spanish	1	2%

Participants' perceptions of their third strongest languages include the view that Lingala, Swahili, English and Afrikaans are prominent third strongest languages. Congolese languages (Lingala n=14 and Swahili n=11) are the most prominent third strongest languages, followed by the identification of South African languages like English and Afrikaans (English n=9, Afrikaans n=7). In the rest of the section, the views of the participants for Lingala and Swahili perceived as third strongest languages will be discussed because of the importance of Congolese national languages in the migrants' lives. These languages are not perceived as the strongest languages for the majority of the participants. Moreover, English was identified by some participants as the strongest language in their repertoires; and Afrikaans is viewed as a third, fourth or fifth strongest language in some of the participants' repertoires, indicating its importance as a language spoken by the participating children who attended South African schools. In this section, views about Afrikaans and English will not be the focus, because the views of these participants are discussed in relation to perceptions of English as strongest and Afrikaans as third, fourth or fifth strongest language in the repertoires of the participants.

The participants' perceptions of their proficiency in their third strongest languages are presented in Table 39.

Table 39: Questionnaire participants' perceptions of their proficiency in their third strongest languages (Lingala = 14; Swahili = 11)

	Lingala perceived as third strongest language (N=14)					
	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
Speaking	0	0	1	8	5	14
Listening	0	0	1	6	7	14
Reading	0	0	6	3	5	14

Writing	0	0	5	5	4	14
	Swahili perceived as third strongest language (N=11)					
	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
Speaking	0	0	2	6	3	11
Listening	0	0	4	6	4	11
Reading	0	2	3	1	4	11
Writing	1	1	5	1	3	11

From the findings, the majority of the participants express the views that they are good or very good at speaking in and listening to their third strongest languages. They believe that their abilities to read and write these languages are average. There is some evidence from this data that the third strongest languages are used more for verbal communication than for literacy; although the participants indicate that they believe that they hold average skills at the reading and writing of their third strongest languages.

The participants' perceptions of the frequency and proficiency of using their third strongest languages for different types of reading tasks are presented in Table 40.

Table 40: Perceptions of questionnaire participants' frequency of use and proficiency in conducting different reading tasks in their third strongest languages

	Lingala as third strongest language (N=14)										
	Perception of frequency of performing reading tasks						Perception of proficiency in performing reading task				
	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Total	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good

Magazines	8	1	3	0	2	14	2	1	5	3	3	14
Newspapers	10	1	2	0	1	14	2	3	4	2	3	14
Books	7	2	4	0	1	14	1	4	4	2	3	14
Bible	1	2	6	2	3	14	0	0	4	4	5	14
Email	5	7	0	1	1	14	0	5	3	2	4	14
Phone texts	1	2	6	2	3	14	0	0	4	4	6	14
Internet	5	7	0	1	1	14	0	5	3	2	4	14
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Swahili as third strongest language (N=11)											
	Perception of frequency of performing reading tasks						Perception of proficiency in performing reading task					
	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Total	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
Magazines	8	2	0	0	1	11	3	2	2	3	1	11
Newspapers	8	2	0	0	1	11	4	1	2	3	1	11
Books	8	1	1	0	1	11	3	2	3	2	1	11
Bible	9	1	0	0	1	11	3	2	2	2	2	11
Email	6	2	2	0	1	11	2	3	2	3	1	11
Phone texts	3	1	5	1	1	11	2	2	3	2	2	11
Internet	8	2	0	0	1	11	3	2	3	2	1	11
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

The findings reveal that the majority of the participants sometimes, often and very often read the Bible and phone texts in Lingala; and they believe that they are average, good or very good at these tasks. The majority of the participants use Swahili only for the reading of phone texts which they believe that they are average, good or very good at. The majority of the participants reveal that they never or seldom use Swahili, perceived as a third strongest language, for the reading of magazines, newspapers, books, the Bible and the Internet in South Africa.

The questionnaire participants' perceptions of the frequency and proficiency in performing specific writing tasks in their third strongest language are reported in Table 41.

Table 41: Questionnaire participants' perceptions of the frequency and proficiency with which they perform writing tasks in their third strongest languages

	Lingala as third strongest language (N=14)											
	Perception of frequency of performing writing tasks						Perception of proficiency in performing writing tasks					
	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Total	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
Email	6	4	3	1	0	14	1	4	3	4	2	14
Phone texts	2	1	7	3	1	14	0	0	7	4	3	14
Lists	6	5	1	1	1	14	1	4	3	3	3	14
Notes	12	1	1	0	0	14	2	2	5	2	3	14
Longer doc's for work	12	0	2	0	0	14	3	3	4	2	2	14
Longer doc's for	12	1	1	0	0	14	5	2	3	2	2	14

study												
Longer doc's for personal use	12	1	1	0	0	14	4	3	3	2	2	14
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Swahili as third strongest language (N=11)											
	Perception of frequency of performing writing tasks						Perception of proficiency in performing writing tasks					
	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Total	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
Email	8	1	1	0	1	11	2	4	3	1	1	11
Phone texts	4	1	4	1	1	11	1	3	3	2	2	11
Lists	6	2	2	0	1	11	2	3	4	1	1	11
Notes	9	1	0	0	1	11	3	3	3	1	1	11
Longer doc's for work	10	0	0	0	1	11	2	5	2	1	0	11
Longer doc's for study	9	1	0	0	1	11	2	4	2	2	1	11
Longer doc's for personal use	10	0	0	0	1	11	2	4	3	1	1	11

Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

The majority of the participants write phone texts in Lingala and Swahili; and they believe that they are average, good or very good at this writing task. The majority of the participants never or seldom perform longer writing tasks in Lingala or Swahili, for example, longer documents for work, study and personal use. According to scholars, these longer writing tasks are not performed in these languages in the DRC either (Mputubwele, 2003). It is, therefore, not surprising that the participating migrants do not use Lingala or Swahili perceived as third strongest languages when they migrate to South Africa. However, there are some literacy levels in Lingala and Swahili in the repertoires of the participants, which are connected to the writing of phone texts. From the questionnaire data reported on so far, it is clear that the main literacy tasks are performed in the strongest languages of the participants.

Questionnaire participants were also asked to reflect on how strongly particular factors contributed to them *learning* their third strongest languages. The findings are reported in Table 42.

Table 42: Perceptions of questionnaire participants about the contribution of factors towards the learning of their third languages.

	Lingala perceived as third strongest language (N=14)				
	Did not contribute at all	Small contribution	Medium contribution	Large contribution	Total
Friends	0	3	2	9	14
Family	1	3	1	9	14
Reading	3	3	3	5	14
CDs / DVDs	5	4	2	3	14
TV	3	3	3	5	14

Radio	4	0	3	7	14
Education / School	8	1	3	2	14
	Swahili perceived as third strongest language (N=11)				
	Did not contribute at all	Small contribution	Medium contribution	Large contribution	Total
Friends	1	4	1	5	11
Family	3	2	2	4	11
Reading	4	3	2	2	11
CDs / DVDs	8	1	0	2	11
TV	6	2	1	2	11
Radio	5	2	1	3	11
Education / School	7	0	1	3	11

The majority of the participants who use Lingala as their third strongest language believe that friends and family contributed a lot towards their learning of Lingala. The majority of the participants believe that watching TV, listening to the radio and reading had a medium or large contribution to their learning of Lingala. The majority of the participants believe that the school did not contribute to their learning of Lingala at all. The type of literacy in Lingala is focused on the writing and reading of phone texts (see previous discussion) and not literacy for academic purposes in school.

The same pattern is observed in the frequency data for perceptions about Swahili as a third strongest language. The majority of the participants believe that interactions with the family and friends are the main contributing factors towards their learning of Swahili. It is also clear

that for these participants, education or the school did not contribute to the learning of Swahili at all.

Questionnaire participants were also asked to reflect on how strongly particular factors contributed to their *current* use of their third strongest languages. The findings are reported in Table 43.

Table 43: Perceptions of questionnaire participants about the contribution of factors towards the current use of their third strongest languages

	Lingala perceived as third strongest language (N=14)				
	Did not contribute at all	Small contribution	Medium contribution	Large contribution	Total
Friends	1	3	4	6	14
Family	1	1	5	7	14
Reading	5	4	2	3	14
CDs / DVDs	4	3	3	4	14
TV	3	4	3	4	14
Radio	4	2	4	4	14
Education / School	8	1	4	1	14
	Swahili perceived as third strongest language (N=11)				
	Did not contribute at all	Small contribution	Medium contribution	Large contribution	Total
Friends	1	4	4	2	11
Family	2	5	2	2	11

Reading	7	1	1	2	11
CDs / DVDs	8	0	1	2	11
TV	7	1	1	2	11
Radio	5	3	1	2	11
Education / school	6	1	2	2	11

From the data, it appears that friends and family are perceived as having a medium to large contribution to the current use of Lingala as a third strongest language; and education or school is viewed as not contributing to the current use of Lingala at all. The perception among the majority of the participants that CD's/DVD's, radio and TV have a medium to large contribution to the current use of Lingala, is explained by the reports of the symbolic power of Lingala as a cultural identity marker for being Congolese in the diaspora (Meeuwis and Blommaert, 1998). It is generally accepted that Lingala is used as a cultural language that expresses the broader Congolese culture. In that sense, many CDs/DVDs of music and Congolese popular theatre are produced in Lingala and bought by the members of the diaspora. In the case of Swahili, current use with friends is perceived as making a medium to large contribution to the continued role of Swahili perceived as third strongest language by some participants. Similar to Lingala, the majority of the participants are adamant that education or school do not contribute to their current use of Swahili at all. The lack of use of Swahili in the South African education system where it is not used as a medium of education obviously also influences this view.

The questionnaire participants were also asked to indicate if they believe that they would transfer their third strongest language to their children one day. The findings are reported in Table 44.

Table 44: Participants' perceptions about the transfer of their second strongest language to their children one day

	Lingala as third strongest language (N=14)	Swahili as third strongest language (N=11)
Yes	13	8
No	1	3

According to the questionnaire data reported, the majority of the participants believe that they will transfer Lingala and Swahili to their children. If the questionnaire data were the only data sources for the study, one would be led to believe that the participating Congolese migrants in this study will definitely transfer Lingala and Swahili to their children; and one could expect that Lingala and Swahili will surely remain in the migrants' language repertoires because the parents wish to transfer these languages to their children. One could think that the small number of the participants who indicate that they would not transfer these languages to their children do not feel any attachment to the ancestral languages from the DRC; and that in these cases, not transferring the languages to their children could be interpreted as a future signal of language shift. For the minority of the participants who perceive Lingala and Swahili as third strongest languages, one could infer from the questionnaire data that these languages could inherit the same fate as the Khoisan indigenous languages, and the largely disappeared Indian languages brought to the country by indentured labourers (Deumert, 2010; Mesthrie 2002). The discrepancy between the views expressed about the transfer of languages like Lingala and Swahili to the participating children in the study as expressed in the interview data warrants some discussion in further sections of the thesis.

Finally, respondents were asked to respond to a set of attitude questions towards their third strongest languages. The findings are presented in Table 45.

Table 45: Participants' attitudes toward their third strongest languages

	Lingala as third strongest language (N=14)					
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
I like to speak this language	0	0	2	5	7	14
I feel confident using this language	0	1	4	4	5	14
I think it is important to be good at this language	1	1	3	3	6	14
This language forms part of who I am (my identity)	2	0	3	2	7	14
	Swahili as third strongest language (N=11)					
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
I like to speak this language	0	0	5	3	3	11
I feel confident using this language	1	1	5	1	3	11
I think it is important to be good at this language	0	1	5	1	4	11
This language forms part of who I am (my identity)	0	2	3	3	3	11

The majority of the participants who perceive Lingala as their third strongest language agree or strongly agree that they like to speak the language; are confident in using it; feel that it is important to be good at it and that it forms part of their identity. The majority of the participants who perceive Swahili as third strongest language agree or strongly agree that

they like to speak Swahili and that it forms part of their identity. In the case of Swahili, the participants do not believe that it is important to be good at this language. The perception among the participants that Lingala and Swahili form part of their identities should be noted, because it could motivate users to maintain the languages (or some proficiency in the languages) in the repertoires of the participants. This finding should be viewed in the context of the interview data as well. If this finding is supported by clear evidence of the transfer of these languages to the children of the participants, it could indicate potential for the maintenance of these languages in the language repertoires of the participants and their children.

A summary of the general trends in the findings related to Lingala and Swahili as the participants' third strongest languages are presented as follows:

- Reading is basically linked to phone texts; and the participants perceive their reading of phone texts in Lingala and Swahili as highly proficient.
- Writing in Lingala and Swahili mainly occurs in phone texts; and the participants perceive their writing of phone texts in these languages as proficient.
- The family and friendship domains emerge as mainly contributing to the learning of Lingala and Swahili; and these domains also contribute to the current use of these languages. In the case of Lingala, the additional domains of entertainment (for example via listening to music, CD's and watching TV and DVD's) also contribute to the learning and current use of Lingala.
- The participants like to use Lingala as a third strongest language; they are confident when they use Lingala; they believe that it is important to be good at Lingala, and they believe that Lingala contributes to their identity. In the case of Swahili, the participants like to speak the language and they believe that it forms part of their identity.

Lingala and Swahili perceived as third strongest languages are mostly regarded as useful in the family and friendship domains (and in the entertainment domain in the case of Lingala); and literacy in these languages are present in the active use for the reading and writing of phone texts.

The findings related to the perceived fourth strongest languages in language repertoires of the questionnaire participants are presented in Table 46.

Table 46: Perceived fourth strongest languages of the questionnaire participants (N=46)

Perceived fourth strongest language	Number	Frequency (%)
Lingala	12	26%
Swahili	10	22%
English	8	17%
Sotho	5	11%
Tshiluba	5	11%
Afrikaans	3	7%
French	1	2%
German	1	2%
Spanish	1	2%

The participants reported to use nine languages as fourth strongest languages. The Congolese languages perceived as fourth strongest languages include Lingala, Swahili, Tshiluba and French. The South African languages viewed as fourth strongest languages include English, Sotho and Afrikaans. Moreover, unexpected languages like German and Spanish are reported as fourth strongest languages in the repertoires of two participants. If the reports about German and Spanish are accepted as accurate reports, the presence of German and Spanish in the language repertoires of these two participants could be understood in the broader context of the migration history of participants. Twenty-two (48%) of the participants reported Lingala and Swahili as perceived fourth strongest languages and 16 (35%) of the participants reported that they view English, Sotho and Afrikaans as their fourth strongest languages. For the purpose of this discussion, the views of the participants towards Lingala and Swahili perceived as fourth strongest languages are reported, because these languages were indicated by most of the participants as fourth strongest languages. The perceptions of the proficiency in Lingala and Swahili are reported in Table 47.

Table 47: Questionnaire participants' perceptions of the their proficiency in their fourth strongest languages (Lingala n = 12; Swahili n = 10)

	Lingala perceived as fourth strongest language (N=12)					
	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
Speaking	0	2	6	2	2	12
Listening	0	0	2	7	3	12
Reading	3	3	2	2	2	12
Writing	4	3	1	2	2	12
	Swahili perceived as fourth strongest language (N=10)					
	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
Speaking	1	4	1	3	1	10
Listening	0	0	4	5	1	10
Reading	2	2	4	1	1	10
Writing	4	2	2	1	1	10

The majority of the participants who use Lingala and Swahili as their fourth strongest languages perceive that they have good or very good listening skills in these languages; and they have average, good or very good skills in speaking these language. The participants do not claim to have good or very good reading or writing skills in Lingala and Swahili.

The participants' perceptions of the frequency and proficiency of using their fourth strongest languages for different types of reading tasks are presented in Table 48.

Table 48: Perceptions of questionnaire participants' frequency of use and proficiency in conducting different reading tasks in their fourth strongest languages

	Lingala as fourth strongest language (N=12)											
	Perception of frequency of performing reading tasks						Perception of proficiency in performing reading task					
	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Total	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
Magazines	7	2	1	1	1	12	3	4	2	1	2	12
Newspapers	8	2	0	1	1	12	3	3	4	0	2	12
Books	8	1	0	2	1	12	4	4	1	2	1	12
Bible	9	0	0	0	3	12	5	4	1	0	2	12
Email	7	2	1	0	2	12	3	4	2	2	1	12
Phone texts	5	2	3	2	1	12	2	5	4	0	1	12
Internet	7	1	1	2	1	12	3	3	3	1	2	12
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Swahili as fourth strongest language (N=10)											
	Perception of frequency of performing reading tasks						Perception of proficiency in performing reading task					
	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Total	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
Magazines	8	1	0	1	0	10	1	4	2	2	1	10
Newspapers	8	1	0	1	0	10	1	4	2	2	1	10

Books	7	2	1	0	0	10	1	5	3	0	1	10
Bible	6	3	0	0	1	10	1	4	4	0	1	10
Email	7	1	1	0	1	10	1	4	2	3	0	10
Phone texts	6	1	2	0	1	10	1	4	2	2	1	10
Internet	7	1	0	1	1	10	1	4	3	2	0	10
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

The majority of the participants who perceive Lingala and Swahili as their fourth strongest languages never or seldom read in these languages and they believe that their reading proficiency in these languages are average, poor or very poor. This is not a strange finding because it is well-known that multilingual people do not acquire the languages in their repertoires for the same functions or at the same proficiency levels (Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2014:133). One can therefore expect that fourth strongest languages in the repertoires of the participants will not necessarily carry literacy functions.

The questionnaire participants' perceptions of the frequency and proficiency in performing specific writing tasks in their fourth strongest language are reported in Table 49.

Table 49: Questionnaire participants' perceptions of the frequency and proficiency with which they perform writing tasks in their fourth strongest languages

	Lingala as fourth strongest language (N=12)											
	Perception of frequency of performing writing tasks						Perception of proficiency in performing writing tasks					
	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Total	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
Email	6	4	0	1	1	12	3	4	2	1	2	12

Phone texts	6	2	3	0	1	12	2	5	3	0	2	12
Lists	10	0	0	1	1	12	5	5	0	1	1	12
Notes	10	1	0	0	1	12	6	4	0	1	1	12
Longer doc's for work	9	2	0	0	1	12	6	4	0	1	1	12
Longer doc's for study	9	0	0	2	1	12	5	4	0	1	2	12
Longer doc's for personal use	8	1	1	0	2	12	5	4	0	1	2	12
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Swahili as fourth strongest language (N=10)											
	Perception of frequency of performing writing tasks						Perception of proficiency in performing writing tasks					
	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Total	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
Email	6	2	0	1	1	10	1	5	2	1	1	10
Phone texts	5	4	0	1	0	10	1	4	3	1	1	10
Lists	7	2	0	1	0	10	1	7	1	0	1	10
Notes	7	2	0	1	0	10	1	6	2	0	1	10

Longer doc's for work	7	1	2	0	0	10	1	7	1	0	1	10
Longer doc's for study	7	2	1	0	0	10	2	5	2	0	1	10
Longer doc's for personal use	8	1	1	0	0	10	2	6	1	1	0	10
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

The participants' perceptions of writing tasks in their fourth strongest languages indicate that they seldom or never use these language for writing; and that they believe that they are poor or very poor at writing in these languages. Again, this is not strange in the case of a fourth strongest language added to the repertoires of multilingual people. Not all languages in the repertoires of multilinguals are learnt to the same extent or for the same purposes.

Questionnaire participants were also asked to reflect on how strongly particular factors contributed to them *learning* their fourth strongest languages. The findings are reported in Table 50.

Table 50: Perceptions of questionnaire participants about the contribution of factors towards the *learning* of their fourth languages

	Lingala perceived as fourth strongest language (N=12)				
	Did not contribute at all	Small contribution	Medium contribution	Large contribution	Total
Friends	1	5	2	4	12
Family	0	4	3	5	12

Reading	6	2	1	3	12
CDs / DVDs	5	1	2	4	12
TV	2	3	2	5	12
Radio	4	2	2	4	12
Education / School	8	1	0	3	12
Swahili perceived as fourth strongest language (N=10)					
	Did not contribute at all	Small contribution	Medium contribution	Large contribution	Total
Friends	2	1	4	3	10
Family	0	1	3	6	10
Reading	5	2	1	2	10
CDs / DVDs	6	0	2	2	10
TV	5	2	1	2	10
Radio	5	1	2	2	10
Education / School	8	0	1	1	10

From the findings, it is clear that for the majority of the participants, Lingala and Swahili are learnt to communicate with friends and family. In the case of Lingala, the language also seems to function in the entertainment sphere where participants indicate that CD's, DVD's, TV and the radio contributed to a medium or large extent to them learning Lingala. For the

majority of the participants, education or the school did not contribute at all in the learning of Lingala or Swahili.

Questionnaire participants were also asked to reflect on how strongly particular factors contributed to their *current* use of their fourth strongest languages. The findings are reported in Table 51.

Table 51: Perceptions of questionnaire participants about the contribution of factors towards the *current* use of their fourth strongest languages

	Lingala perceived as fourth strongest language (N=12)				
	Did not contribute at all	Small contribution	Medium contribution	Large contribution	Total
Friends	2	4	2	4	12
Family	0	5	4	3	12
Reading	8	1	0	3	12
CDs / DVDs	6	1	3	2	12
TV	5	1	1	4	12
Radio	6	1	2	3	12
Education / School	9	0	1	2	12
	Swahili perceived as fourth strongest language (N=10)				
	Did not contribute at all	Small contribution	Medium contribution	Large contribution	Total
Friends	1	2	5	2	10

Family	1	0	4	5	10
Reading	7	0	1	2	10
CDs / DVDs	6	0	2	2	10
TV	6	1	1	2	10
Radio	5	0	3	2	10
Education / School	8	0	1	1	10

From the data presented in Table 50, it is clear that friends and family have a medium or large contribution to the current use of Lingala and Swahili for the majority of the participants. From the data related to third and fourth strongest languages for the participants in this study, Lingala and Swahili emerge as community languages that are mostly spoken between friends and family members in the Congolese society in South Africa. In the context of the fourth strongest languages, Lingala's role as language of entertainment also diminishes for the participants.

The questionnaire participants were also asked to indicate if they believe that they would transfer their fourth strongest language to their children one day. The findings are reported in Table 52.

Table 52: Participants' perceptions about the transfer of their fourth language to their children one day

	Lingala as fourth strongest language (N=12)	Swahili as fourth strongest language (N=10)
Yes	9	7
No	3	3

Consistent with previous answers provided by the participants for this question in the contexts of strongest, second and third strongest languages, the majority of the participants believe that they want to transfer their fourth strongest languages to their children. Once again, one would have to compare this finding with the interview data to see if this wish or desire is realised.

Finally, respondents were asked to respond to a set of attitude questions towards their fourth strongest languages. The findings are presented in Table 53.

Table 53: Participants' attitudes toward their fourth strongest languages

	Lingala as fourth strongest language (N=12)					
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
I like to speak this language	0	3	4	2	3	12
I feel confident using this language	1	2	4	3	2	12
I think it is important to be good at this language	0	3	4	3	2	12
This language forms part of who I am (my identity)	0	4	2	5	1	12
	Swahili as fourth strongest language (N=10)					
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
I like to speak this language	1	1	2	2	4	10
I feel confident using this language	2	3	0	2	3	10

I think it is important to be good at this language	2	0	1	3	4	10
This language forms part of who I am (my identity)	2	0	3	0	5	10

From the findings in Table 52, the majority of the participants believe that Lingala forms part of their identity; and the majority of the participants like to speak Swahili and believe that it is important to be good at the language. The majority of the participants neither agree nor strongly agree that they feel confident to use Lingala or Swahili. Again, this is not a strange finding in the case of fourth strongest languages in the repertoires of the participants. The positive attitudes towards the contribution of Lingala as fourth strongest language towards the identity of the majority of the participants and the findings that the majority of the participants like to speak Swahili and believe that it is important to be good at Swahili are viewed as evidence of the overall usefulness of these languages in the repertoires of these participants.

A summary of the general trends in the findings related to Lingala and Swahili as the participants' fourth strongest languages are presented below:

- The majority of the participants do not report any literacy skills and proficiency in reading and writing of Lingala and Swahili as fourth strongest languages.
- The family and friendship domains emerge as the domains that mainly contribute to the learning of Lingala and Swahili; and these domains also contribute to the current use of these languages.
- In the context of fourth strongest language, the entertainment industry does not provide additional energy that drives the learning and current use of Lingala anymore.
- To a small extent, Lingala and Swahili retain some positive attitudes related to identity (in the case of Lingala) in addition to perceptions that the participants like to speak Swahili and that it is important to be good at Swahili.

Lingala and Swahili perceived as fourth strongest languages are mostly regarded as useful in the family and friendship domains; and the participants do not report any literacy skills in these languages.

The findings related to the perceived fifth strongest language in languages repertoires of the questionnaire participants are presented in Table 54.

Table 54: Perceived fifth strongest languages of the questionnaire participants (N=32)

Perceived fifth strongest language	Number	Frequency (%)
Tshiluba	8	25%
Afrikaans	5	16%
English	5	16%
Lingala	5	16%
Swahili	3	9%
Zulu	2	6%
Kikongo	2	6%
Portuguese	1	3%
French	1	3%

From the findings reported in the table, it is clear that Tshiluba, Afrikaans, English and Lingala are reported as most prominent fifth strongest languages in the repertoires of the participants. In this section, the focus of the discussion is on the perceptions related to Tshiluba and Afrikaans as perceived fifth strongest languages, because these languages initially emerged as the more prominent languages in the repertoires of the participants in this context.

For the purpose of this discussion, the researcher wants to consider the overall position of Tshiluba in the language repertoires of the participants across all relevant data sets. This overview will provide a clearer view of the general status of Tshiluba in the repertoires of the participants. Two sets of data are discussed: the ranking of Tshiluba in the order of

languages learnt by the participants; and the ranking of Tshiluba in the list of strongest, second strongest, third strongest, fourth strongest and fifth strongest languages.

Overall, Tshiluba was learnt by 25 participants in total. For five participants, it was indicated as the first language learnt; two participants learnt it secondly; six participants learnt it thirdly; five participants learnt it fourthly and seven participants learnt it in the fifth place (see tables 11 to 15). In general, Tshiluba was not learnt as a first language (in the context of the order in which languages were learnt by the participants) by many of the participants. It was mainly learnt in the third, fourth and fifth position. When one considers the position of Tshiluba in the context of strongest languages in the repertoires of the participants, it is reported as the strongest language by four participants; as the second strongest language by one participant, as the third strongest language by eight participants; as the fourth strongest language by four participants; and as the fifth strongest language by one participant (see tables 16 to 20). In general, Tshiluba is not reported as a prominent language for many of the participants; yet it remains part of the repertoires of the participants in this study. The potential cultural value of Tshiluba should be explored further in the interview data, as a possible explanation of the presence of Tshiluba in the repertoires of the participants.

Afrikaans emerges as the second most prominent fifth strongest language (with English and Lingala) for the participants. Afrikaans is a big language in South Africa (with almost 6,8 million home speakers according to Census 2011 findings) and it is a prominent language in the Vaal Triangle region (Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2012, 2013). It is therefore not surprising that Afrikaans emerged as a language of some importance in the repertoires of the participants; despite the potential negative views and stereotypes that are often levelled against Afrikaans as a the language of apartheid. The views of the Congolese migrants that participated in this study provide an interesting outsider perspective on the potential of Afrikaans to remain vital in post-1994 South Africa. If this language is added to the repertoires of Congolese migrants, it might provide additional evidence that the attitudes towards Afrikaans in post-apartheid South Africa are changing.

The participants' perceptions of their proficiency in their fifth strongest language are presented in Table 55.

Table 55: Questionnaire participants' perceptions of the their proficiency in their fifth strongest language (Tshiluba n = 8; Afrikaans n = 5)

	Tshiluba perceived as fifth strongest language (N=8)					
	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
Speaking	2	0	4	1	1	8
Listening	2	1	1	3	1	8
Reading	1	3	2	1	1	8
Writing	1	4	1	1	1	8
	Afrikaans perceived as fifth strongest language (N=5)					
	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
Speaking	0	2	3	0	0	5
Listening	0	0	3	2	0	5
Reading	0	0	4	1	0	5
Writing	0	0	3	1	1	5

It is important to note that this is a small data set. Tshiluba is reported by eight participants as being their fifth strongest language. For the migrants, Tshiluba is very important ethnic language. The few proportion of eight participants who use the language as their fifth strongest, proves that the language has declined in the Vaal Triangle. The poor ratings on writing in Tshiluba shows that the language is not used for literacy purposes. Also, their speaking, listening and reading skills are average which indicates that the language was certainly not often used at school.

Similarly to the Tshiluba data reported above, one cannot make confident claims based on the views of only five participants in the case of Afrikaans indicated as perceived fifth

strongest language of the participants. However, the views of the participants about Afrikaans contribute to a better understanding of the perceptions of the Congolese participants in this study towards this language. From Table 55, it is clear that the majority of the participants view their proficiency in reading and writing in Afrikaans as average, good or very good; listening to Afrikaans as average or good and that they have the least confidence in their abilities to speak Afrikaans. In South Africa, Afrikaans is a high-status language, as it is the language of academia (next to English) and it is also prominently used as a language of business in some regions (like the Vaal Triangle region). Historically, Afrikaans also performed a lingua franca role in South Africa. The position of Afrikaans perceived as one of the more prominent fifth strongest language for some of the Congolese participants in this study indicates that Afrikaans plays an important role. The perception of literacy in Afrikaans should be understood in the context of the participating children who learn and use Afrikaans as a school language subject.

The participants' perceptions of the frequency and proficiency of using their fifth strongest language for different types of reading tasks are presented in Table 56.

Table 56: Perceptions of questionnaire participants' frequency of use and proficiency in conducting different *reading* tasks in their fifth strongest language

	Tshiluba as fifth strongest language (N=8)											
	Perception of frequency of performing reading tasks						Perception of proficiency in performing reading task					
	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Total	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
Magazines	6	1	0	1	0	8	3	1	2	1	1	8
Newspapers	6	1	0	0	1	8	3	1	2	1	1	8
Books	3	3	1	0	1	8	2	2	2	1	1	8
Bible	6	1	0	0	1	8	2	3	1	1	1	8
Email	4	2	0	0	2	8	2	3	1	1	1	8

Phone texts	3	2	1	0	2	8	2	3	1	1	1	8
Internet	4	2	0	0	2	8	3	2	1	1	1	8
Other (business)	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1
	Afrikaans as fifth strongest language (N=5)											
	Perception of frequency of performing reading tasks						Perception of proficiency in performing reading task					
	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Total	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
Magazines	2	1	2	0	0	5	0	1	3	0	1	5
Newspapers	2	1	3	0	0	5	0	1	3	0	1	5
Books	0	2	1	2	0	5	1	0	3	0	1	5
Bible	3	0	1	0	1	5	2	0	2	0	1	5
Email	3	0	1	1	0	5	2	0	2	1	0	5
Phone texts	3	0	2	0	0	5	2	0	3	0	0	5
Internet	3	0	1	0	1	5	2	0	2	1	0	5
Other (bank statements)	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1

Afrikaans is used in a variety of reading tasks in the lives of the participants. It is assumed that the reports by two participants that they often read Afrikaans books are related to younger participants who use Afrikaans at school. In general, the participants infrequently read many types of text in Afrikaans and they do not perceive of their abilities to read in Afrikaans as good. As for Tshiluba, the language is used in several reading tasks. Participants do not often read magazines, newspapers or religious material. They sometimes

read phone text messages, email and Internet sites where their proficiency is average. Only two participants read Tshiluba texts very often. For these participants, their proficiency is perceived as very good.

The questionnaire participants' perceptions of the frequency and proficiency in performing specific writing tasks in their fifth strongest language are reported in Table 57.

Table 57: Questionnaire participants' perceptions of the frequency and proficiency with which they perform *writing* tasks in their fifth strongest language

	Tshiluba as fifth strongest language (N=8)											
	Perception of frequency of performing writing tasks						Perception of proficiency in performing writing tasks					
	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Total	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
Email	4	3	0	0	1	8	1	4	2	0	1	8
Phone texts	3	2	2	0	1	8	1	4	2	0	1	8
Lists	6	1	0	0	1	8	2	4	1	0	1	8
Notes	6	1	0	0	1	8	2	4	1	0	1	5
Longer doc's for work	6	0	1	0	1	8	2	2	5	0	1	8
Longer doc's for study	6	1	0	0	1	8	2	4	1	0	1	8
Longer doc's for personal	6	0	1	0	1	8	2	5	0	0	1	8

use												
	Afrikaans as fifth strongest language (N=5)											
	Perception of frequency of performing writing tasks						Perception of proficiency in performing writing tasks					
	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Total	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
Email	3	1	1	0	0	5	1	2	1	0	1	5
Phone texts	4	0	1	0	0	5	0	1	2	0	1	5
Lists	5	0	0	0	0	5	1	1	1	1	1	5
Notes	5	0	0	0	0	5	2	1	1	1	0	5
Longer doc's for work	5	0	0	0	0	5	2	1	2	0	0	5
Longer doc's for study	5	0	0	0	0	5	2	1	2	0	0	5
Longer doc's for personal use	4	0	0	1	0	5	1	1	3	0	0	5
Other (bank statements)	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1

From the data, it is revealed that Tshiluba does not appear as a language of literacy for these participants. Most of them never write in Tshiluba, and when they write, their proficiency level is poor. Only one participant indicates to be very good in writing. Certainly, he had the language at school and could perform writing tasks in the language. For most the participants, Tshiluba seems more spoken than a written language.

According to the findings, the Afrikaans language is used for some writing tasks, but not very often and the participants perceive of their writing skills in Afrikaans as poor or very poor in general. The one participant that reports very good writing skills for emails, phone texts and lists is assumed to be a younger participant who would also use Afrikaans at school to write essays, for example.

Questionnaire participants were also asked to reflect on how strongly particular factors contributed to them learning their fifth strongest language. The findings are reported in Table 58.

Table 58: Perceptions of questionnaire participants about the contribution of factors towards the *learning* of their fifth language

	Tshiluba perceived as fifth strongest language (N=8)				
	Did not contribute at all	Small contribution	Medium contribution	Large contribution	Total
Friends	0	1	3	4	8
Family	4	2	0	2	8
Reading	4	1	0	3	8
CDs / DVDs	4	2	1	0	8
TV	3	2	1	2	8
Radio	2	3	1	2	8

Education / School	5	0	1	2	8
	Afrikaans perceived as fifth strongest language (N=5)				
	Did not contribute at all	Small contribution	Medium contribution	Large contribution	Total
Friends	0	2	2	1	5
Family	4	0	0	1	5
Reading	0	2	1	2	5
CDs / DVDs	2	2	1	0	5
TV	0	2	2	1	5
Radio	3	1	1	0	5
Education / School	0	0	4	1	5

As for the learning of Tshiluba, different factors have contributed to the achievement thereof. The friendship and reading domains have contributed the most. It is surprising that participants do not often perform reading tasks despite that fact reading has mostly contributed to their learning of Tshiluba. Moreover, the family has made a small contribution towards the acquisition of Tshiluba as the fifth language learnt. As an ethnic language, one would think that the family should have a large contribution. This may be because the language is not a common home language.

As a fifth language, different factors have contributed in the learning of Afrikaans in the lives of the participants. It seems that friends have a medium contribution in the learning of Afrikaans; and school or education, reading and entertainment (for example radio and TV) are perceived as making a large contribution to the learning of Afrikaans. Reading, as part of the education programme, makes an important contribution towards the acquisition of

Afrikaans among the younger participants. A surprising finding is the report by one participant that the family contributed to a large extent in the acquisition of Afrikaans. From the interview data, it becomes clear that Afrikaans plays a special role or performs a special function in the family domain that forms an important part of the lives of the participating children. This will be discussed more fully as part of the interview data. Perhaps this participant's brother or sister taught him/her Afrikaans. However, the education system remains the greatest contributor to the learning of Afrikaans as reported by the participants.

Questionnaire participants were also asked to reflect on how strongly particular factors contributed to their current use of their fifth strongest language. The findings are reported in Table 59.

Table 59: Perceptions of questionnaire participants about the contribution of factors towards the *current* use of their fifth strongest language

	Tshiluba perceived as fifth strongest language (N=5)				
	Did not contribute at all	Small contribution	Medium contribution	Large contribution	Total
Friends	1	2	2	3	8
Family	4	1	1	2	8
Reading	3	2	1	2	8
CDs / DVDs	4	1	0	3	8
TV	3	2	0	3	8
Radio	3	1	1	4	8
Education / School	5	1	0	2	8
	Afrikaans perceived as fifth strongest language (N=5)				
	Did not contribute at all	Small contribution	Medium contribution	Large contribution	Total

Friends	0	2	2	1	5
Family	3	0	1	1	5
Reading	0	1	3	1	5
CDs / DVDs	2	2	1	0	5
TV	0	2	3	0	5
Radio	2	1	1	1	5
Education / School	0	0	4	1	5

For the current use of Tshiluba as their fifth strongest language, participants indicate that friends and radio largely contribute. Reading, TV and the family have a small contribution. Education does not contribute to the current use of the language. It is not surprising that the school does not contribute because South Africa does not use Tshiluba as subject or medium of instruction. These are facts proving that the current use of Tshiluba is low as the language is not perceived as a main medium of communication among Congolese migrants in the Vaal Triangle.

The school is a large contributor towards the current use of Afrikaans in the repertoires of the participants. The majority of participants indicate that the school is an important terrain where their current use and further development of Afrikaans is facilitated. In that sense, school or literary activities, such as reading, largely contribute to the current use of Afrikaans. Furthermore, Afrikaans has a place in the social life of the Congolese participants in this study. The majority of the participants report that communication with friends provides a medium large contribution to their current use of Afrikaans; and in the case of two participants, the family provides a medium or large contribution to the use of Afrikaans. Moreover, Afrikaans is perceived as prominent in the entertainment domains (CD's, DVD's, TV and radio) and the participants believe that the use of Afrikaans in these domains has a medium contribution to their current use of the language.

The questionnaire participants were also asked to indicate if they believe that they would transfer their fifth strongest language to their children one day. The findings are reported in Table 60.

Table 60: Participants' perceptions about the transfer of their fifth strongest language to their children one day

	Tshiluba as fifth strongest language (N=8)
Yes	6
No	2
	Afrikaans as fifth strongest language (N=5)
Yes	1
No	4

For Tshiluba, the majority of the participants believe that they will transfer the language to their children one day. This could explain parents' attitude towards their ethnic languages as reminder of their origins. For the participants, the children's knowledge of the language could link them to their roots – to their country of origin.

The majority of the participants do not believe that they will transfer Afrikaans to their children one day. This attitude could be explained by the knowledge that Afrikaans is acquired mainly through the education system in the lives of the participants. There does, however, seem to be potential for the transfer of Afrikaans via the family (based on the data reported above), but one cannot make large claims based on this small data set.

Finally, participants were asked to respond to a set of attitude questions towards their fifth strongest language. The findings are presented in Table 61.

Table 61: Participants' *attitudes* toward their fifth strongest language

	Tshiluba as fifth strongest language (N=5)					
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
I like to speak this language	0	1	1	2	4	8
I feel confident using this language	0	2	2	2	2	8
I think it is important to be good at this language	0	2	1	1	4	8
This language forms part of who I am (my identity)	0	1	2	1	4	8
	Afrikaans as fifth strongest language (N=5)					
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
I like to speak this language	0	1	3	1	0	5
I feel confident using this language	0	1	4	0	0	5
I think it is important to be good at this language	1	2	1	1	0	5
This language forms part of who I am (my identity)	3	1	1	0	0	5

For the participants that use Tshiluba as their fifth strongest language, a strong view that the language is part of their identity is held. They think that it is very important to be fluent in the language. They like speaking the language but their confidence level is neutral.

The majority of the participants hold neutral views towards Afrikaans in the context of liking to speak the language and feeling confident to use it. The majority of the participants do not

think that it is important to be good at this language and it also does not form part of their identity. These are not surprising findings in the context of the complex identities that the participants in this study display. Afrikaans is a South African language that they add if they attend school in the country. They note its usefulness in the region and it seems to creep into the family lives of one of the participants.

A summary of the general trends in the findings related to Tshiluba and Afrikaans as the participants' fifth strongest languages are presented as follows:

- The majority of the participants do not report any literacy skills or proficiency in reading and writing of Tshiluba and Afrikaans as fifth strongest languages.
- Reading and friendships emerged as the main factors that contribute to the learning and current use of Tshiluba. The school emerged as the main factor that contributes to the learning and current use of Afrikaans; domains such as the family and the entertainment industry seems to have medium contributions in the learning and use of Afrikaans for a small group of the participants.
- The participants' attitudes towards Tshiluba are positive as the majority of participants think that the language is part of their identity. The participants do not hold particularly strong views about Afrikaans when the attitude questions are taken into account.

Tshiluba perceived as fifth strongest language is mostly regarded as useful in the friendship domain; and Afrikaans is useful in the school and to a small extent in the family domains; and the participants do not report any literacy skills in either of these languages.

In conclusion, it is important to note that the data extracted from questions 19-27 in the questionnaire are not reported in the thesis because these questions were repetitions of questions already reported in the thesis so far. The answers to these questions did not add new data. In future, these questions will not be included in the questionnaire as they were unnecessary.

4.2.3.1 Summary of questionnaire findings

The questionnaire data provided a plethora of detailed information about the language repertoires of Congolese migrants in the Vaal Triangle region that participated in this study. From the findings, one can understand that the participating Congolese migrants are users

of both Congolese and South African languages. As strongest languages, the Congolese participants use French, English, Lingala, Swahili, Tshiluba and Kikongo. In this context, French is the official language of the Congo and the main language of education of especially the older participants. English is one of the 11 official languages of South Africa. Moreover, it is one of the major mediums of education in South Africa. From the questionnaire data one can infer that Congolese national languages are valuable tools of communication used as strongest languages; and South African language like English are also regarded as important as strongest languages.

The correspondence analysis demonstrates that there is a difference in terms of language acquisition, maintenance and use between the older generation and the youth that participated in this study. The younger participants mostly learnt Afrikaans and Sotho at school. The older participants did not get opportunities to learn Afrikaans or Sotho at school. The older participants therefore maintain more of the official and the national languages from the Congo that they learnt as children in the home country. In this case, South Africa is a perfect field of study for the maintenance and loss of migrants' languages in multilingual settings; and the decisions migrants to South Africa make about acquiring South African languages. The interview data that will be discussed in the next section of the thesis will provide more insight into the repertoires of the Congolese migrants and the motivations behind the maintenance, acquisition and potential loss of languages in the repertoires of these participants.

4.2 Findings from the interview data

Multilingual speakers use relevant linguistic resources (languages or bits of languages known by the speakers) to communicate appropriately in the diverse situations in their lives. The choices that language users make when they select a specific language to communicate in a specific situation indicate that speakers are keenly aware of the status of languages in specific situations. Speakers know which languages have legitimacy (or are accepted in the community) and are regarded as important by other people when they communicate in that situation (Pütz, 1997; Coulmas, 2013).

This is one of the issues which is explored via interviews with the Congolese migrants to the Vaal Triangle region that participated in the study. In this section of the thesis, the findings that emerged from the analysis of the interview data are presented. An important category of the interview analysis focuses on the language choices that the participants make when they

communicate in different situations or domains. From the interview data gathered and analysed in this study, it is clear that languages hold specific symbolic power in particular domains. These language choices are made according to very specific principles in migratory settings, where the status of the language in the host country may trigger the decline in use of a language in its habitual (or traditional) social domain (Fishman 1966:424; Fishman 1966:424; Fishman, 1972, 2001).

For the analysis, the researcher focused on clearly keeping the research questions of the study in mind: *which Congolese languages are maintained or used less frequently by the participants?*; and *which South African languages are acquired by the participants?* As will become clear from the analysis, interviews afford one a detailed view of the *how* and *why* aspects of these phenomena. In other words, from the interview data, the researcher could explore the participants' views about *how* and *why* they maintained or ceased to use specific Congolese languages and *how* and *why* they chose to acquire specific South African languages. The main codes used to analyse the interview data therefore relate to the issues of language maintenance, language shift (or decline) and language acquisition in this particular setting. Several codes that relate to the aforementioned language issues emerged in the analysis. One example of a related code is the status of specific languages. In other words, apart from noting that specific languages are maintained in specific settings in the lives of the participants, the participants also indicated that these languages were maintained or acquired because they have high status in the particular settings. The most prominent codes that emerged from the analysis are presented in Table 62.

Table 62: Most prominent codes that emerged in the analysis of the interview data for participants in the study

CODES	TOTAL NUMBER OF OBSERVATIONS
Intergenerational transfer	90
Status of English	77
Home languages	63
Depreciation	54

Currency / economic value	53
Cultural identity	52
Migrant children's multilingualism	47
Status of French	46
Migration and languages	45
Perceptions of proficiency	45
Appreciation	44
Status of South African Bantu languages	43
Congolese languages	42
Language ideology	37
Language in domains	34
Decline	32
South African languages	32
Investment	31
Afrikaans secret code for children	30
Return on investment / profit	30
Willingness to acquire	29
Linguistic marketplace	28
Cultural capital	26
Status of Swahili	26

In the analysis of these findings, the researcher interpreted the most prominent codes that emerged from the coding of the interview data (presented in table 62²⁵) by clustering the most prominent themes in such a way that the research questions could be directly addressed. From this interpretation process, the codes and newly developed clusters of codes that emerged as important are discussed in the rest of the section.

The first cluster of codes that emerged as prominent in the analysis is the issue of the status of various languages. As is clear from Table 62, the participants in the study made continuous references to the status of specific languages in their repertoires during the interviews. The participants' references to the statuses of the languages in their repertoires and in the society where they live provide an answer to the research question related to *why* specific languages are maintained, acquired or used less in this setting. The second cluster of codes that emerged, is the keen awareness of participants that specific languages are used most productively in specific domains. The participants' views of their language choices for specific domains provide a perspective on *why* (this language is useful in this domain) and *how* (this language is used in this domain and therefore participants believe that it is important to learn these languages it) languages are maintained, acquired or used less in this context. The third cluster of codes that emerged from the interview data are linked to the decisions of parents in the study about home languages. This choice by parents about which languages to transfer or transmit to their children because of their prominence in the home, is connected firmly with the notion of the importance of intergenerational transfer in Fishman's view of language maintenance and revival. The fourth cluster of themes that emerged from the interview analysis relates to the relationship between languages in the repertoires of the participants and elements of their cultural identity. From the interview data it is clear that specific Congolese languages are maintained because of their importance in the cultural identity of the participants; and similarly, certain Congolese languages are used less because of their lack of importance in the cultural identity of the participants in their new setting. The fifth cluster of themes that emerged are linked to issues of language and power. A set of codes is connected to the issue of the currency of specific languages in the context of the participants. In the rest of this section, each of the themes and clusters of themes that emerged from the interview data will be discussed and examples from the data will be provided to illustrate the interpretation.

²⁵ The table represents bigger codes of 25 occurrences and above. A complete table will be presented in Annexure D.

4.2.1 Language status

Speakers ascribe different social functions to languages and the functions that languages perform in the repertoires of people change over time according to the needs of the social domains where the languages are used. The status of a language can be defined as the high or low symbolic power associated with the language by its users (Bourdieu, 1991). Edwards (2009:68) points out that users' evaluations of languages are not based upon intrinsic qualities of languages, but upon the social conventions and preferences that are associated with the prestige and power possessed by the speakers of the language. Speaking a certain language may enable a person to get access to a social group with higher status; or may categorise a speaker as a member of a social group with lower status. Therefore, language status is defined as the perceived power related to the language and its users. It is the sum of ideologies and beliefs of outsiders towards the speakers of a language (and their social groups) and the ability of the language to offer its members a form of upward mobility. In that sense, languages do not have the same power. One language will be linked to the high status groups of a society (and potentially offer its speakers material gains), when another will be linked to the lower status groups in the society.

In the context of this study, the participants' views of the statuses of several languages in their repertoires and emerged as important issues. The South African languages that emerged as languages with some status from the interviews were English, Afrikaans and Bantu languages in general. The status of Congolese languages that were mentioned by the participants include French, Lingala and Tshiluba. In the rest of the section, the findings that emerged from the interview data about the statuses of these languages are discussed and examples from the data are provided to illustrate the researcher's interpretation.

4.2.1.1 Status of English

As is clear from Table 64, the participants are keenly aware of the high status of English both globally and locally. The views of the participants echo the views of scholars who regard English as an important language in South Africa (the host country for the participants in the study), and in the world (Alexander, 1989; Coetzee-Van Rooy & Van Rooy, 2005; Coupland, 2010; Crystal, 2003; Dekoke, 2016; Schneider, 2003; Webb, 1999). In the interview data, examples of the awareness of the participants of the importance of English as a world language is clear in the following extracts from the data:

- [1] English is the language of the world today. I mean, everything is done in English. Commercially, everything is done in English. [...] Culturally and in the business world, English is just a common ground for people to communicate across. [Participant E, male 22 years]
- [2] ... for me English is the best that I can take out of here. [Participant E, male, 22 years old]

In excerpt 1, one can see the high status that the participant affords English as a cultural and business language in the world; as well as the participant's view that English performs an important lingua franca function in the world. The view of the participant in excerpt 2 is important, because it highlights the importance of English as a language that the participant can take with him/her when he/she potentially continues his/her migration from South Africa in the future. The high status of English is therefore supported by its importance in the cultural and business domains; and by its usefulness (or currency) as a language that is learnt in South Africa that could be "carried with one" beyond the borders of South Africa in the future.

Moreover, from the participants' perspectives, English is a dominant language in the education, the business and the intimate domains, for example, as a useful instrument to communicate with friends. The high status of English in these domains in South Africa and the world, confirms the views of scholars who study the role of English in local and global contexts today (as mentioned earlier). In the intimate domain, Anthonissen (2009:71) points out the importance of English in South Africa when Afrikaans speaking parents explicitly choose to send their children to English schools. In that case, parents speak Afrikaans to one another, but English to their children and the children are enrolled in schools where English is used as the language of teaching and learning. In cases like these, Anthonissen (2009) reports that the children are reluctant to speak anything but English, even though they understand Afrikaans as well.

In excerpts 3, 4 and 5 below, the importance of English in education and the workplace as domains in South Africa is illustrated by the views expressed by the participants. In excerpts 4 and 6 below, the participants illustrate the usefulness of using English to communicate in the intimate domain of friends.

- [3] English is the language that is I wouldn't say spoken in the most countries in the world but the countries that are developed I would say speaks English. [Participant M, female, 23 years]
- [4] I think English. I would like them to learn English because even when they go to school they use English and when they go to the university they use English. So English is even when they go to work most of the workplace they use English. [Participant H, female, 40 years]
- [5] I speak English like ... Uhm to communicate with friends, to communicate with teachers and to communicate with my parents and my siblings at home. [Participant M, female, 23 years]
- [6] ... especially English is very important they must know it because even at school they do speak in they do teach them in English. [Participant B, male, 53 years]

Despite the clearly positive views of the high status of English in the South African context, the Congolese migrants that participated in this study are also keenly aware of the complex position that English holds in South Africa. In excerpts 7 to 10, the participants express their views of the complex relationships between English and the indigenous languages in South Africa.

- [7] ... like English like if you can look at the South African culture they always say that they don't want to speak other languages like a they consider English like foreign language. [Participant B, male, 53 years]
- [8] No, it's not English. It's Sotho. I can easily speak to must customer in Sotho because all of them speak Sotho. [Participant 4, male, 35 years]
- [9] They don't like it. They don't like English. They get cross. [Participant 4, male, 35 years]
- [10] But if the South African people prefer Sotho, or their languages because they basically just speak that. They hate English, if I can say. So, I think Sotho is better for them. [Participant J, female, 20 years]

Thus, English is an important language in the South African linguistic market. However, the importance of English as a South African language seems to be exaggerated in some cases. The Congolese migrants that participated in this study think that there are other South African languages that are important in the business domain, because they experience that many South Africans prefer to be addressed in a Bantu local language when they do business. In excerpts 9 and 10 there is the suggestion that to use English in this context is "not enough", because South Africans want people to use the indigenous local languages as

well, otherwise they are “cross”. The participant in excerpt 10 even indicates that he believes that South Africans “hate English”. These are important observations if one wants to unravel the relationships between languages and social cohesion in South Africa. Coetzee-Van Rooy (2016) also notes this issue in her discussion of the importance of multilingualism for South Africans in relation to social cohesion. The Congolese migrants that participated in this study confirm the analysis of Coetzee-Van Rooy (2016) that for South Africans, multilingualism that includes the addition of indigenous South African languages to the repertoires of people who live in South Africa is important.

Consequently, the status of a language could be viewed as its currency or the buying power of the language (Dekoke, 2016; Sinclair, 2006). For example, knowing a specific language could help one to access financial, material gain or upward social mobility; while knowing another language will not provide access to these social goods. As explained previously, the currency of a language could be compared to the monetary currency of a nation. As in an international market, traders would like to use the strongest currency that would benefit them. Likewise, languages are in a global and local linguistic market. As users, migrants would invest efforts into the learning of languages with the most “currency” that will provide them with access to a better life.

In general, English holds a high currency among the Congolese participants in the study. For the participants, English is the language of education, local and international business, work and upward mobility. In the study, Congolese migrants believe that they need to learn and understand English to better their lives. This view is even more pronounced in the context of decisions about what languages to learn and use by Congolese migrant children in South Africa (see excerpts 1 and 11 to 13).

[11] Because English is more international. [Participant M, female, 23 years]

[12] I [a young participant] want to move overseas to Britain or Scotland or Ireland.
[Participant M, female, 23 years]

[13] English is even when they go to work most of the workplace they use English.
[Participant H, female, 40 years]

However, sometimes English does not always provide the financial or material gains expected from the investment to acquire it. Therefore, English would not be the chosen language of, for example, business or upward mobility for its potential speakers. The choice of the “right” language for each domain (for example the business domain) is imperative (see excerpts 9, 14 and 15).

- [14] No, it's not English [the participant's business language]. [Participant K, male, 35 years]
- [15] And when it when it comes to black people so I prefer to speak to them in Sotho so they feel more, more comfortable when you speak to them in Sotho and they are very happy when you speak to them in their local language. [Participant H, female, 40 years]

The main impression from the data discussed in this section, is that English is an important language in the language repertoires of the participants; but that the status of English is also complex. The participants are very aware that in some domains (for example business), English is not always the best language to use in the Vaal Triangle region.

4.2.1.2 Status of Afrikaans

Afrikaans is an official language of South Africa (Alexander, 1989; Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2013; Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2014; Webb, 1999). In the apartheid era, Afrikaans and English were the only official languages of South Africa. The complex position of Afrikaans in post-apartheid South Africa is debated in the public arena and by academics (see Carstens, 2006, 2013; Coetzee-Van Rooy 2013; Kriel, 2015, among others, for an overview of some of the lines of argumentation in these debates).

This study focuses on the views of Congolese migrants into the Vaal Triangle region in South Africa where Afrikaans is one of the three most prominent languages (see Coetzee-Van Rooy's (2013) discussion of the Census 2011 data for the region) and provides a unique view of the status of Afrikaans. In other words, the status of Afrikaans in the repertoires of Congolese migrants in the Vaal Triangle region provides an additional perspective on the issue of the survival of Afrikaans in a post-apartheid South Africa. If the migrants in this study view Afrikaans as an important language for specific purposes (or conversely, as a stigmatised language that migrants should preferable not add to their repertoires), it presents a reflection of the status of the language in this region that should be taken into account in discussions about the potential endangerment of Afrikaans in post-1994 South Africa.

The main impression on the status of Afrikaans among the participating Congolese migrants in this study, is that Afrikaans performs a lingua franca role to some extent in the business sector in this region; and that Afrikaans opens up linguistic options to the participating

children who acquire it at school. In excerpt 16 below, the participant voices the view that Afrikaans is a useful lingua franca in the work place:

- [16] Afrikaans for me will help me in the working era because I do believe that the majority of workers do speak Afrikaans, and English. So that going to benefit me somehow. That's an advantage for me. [Participant F, female, 22 years]

In excerpts 17 to 19 below, the participants explain that they learn Afrikaans at school and that this is a shared language among siblings in some of the participating Congolese families in the study:

- [17] It is because everybody, all the siblings, my big sister, myself, R and E, we all speak Afrikaans pretty well, so it's a language we understand. [Participant E, male, 22 years]
- [18] Because I can say that those are international languages [English and Afrikaans]. I can make business with people all over the world I chose Afrikaans just to carry on with through to matric and... [Participant J, female, 20 years]
- [19] My big sister speaks Afrikaans fluently, so I just picked up from her. It was just something we grew up with. [Participant E, male, 22 years]

As a widespread language in South Africa (McCormick, 2006; Webb, 1992), Afrikaans is used in the context of business, the school and the family in the case of the participating migrants.

In addition to these more traditional functions of Afrikaans in the repertoires of the participating Congolese migrants (as a language learnt at school, used in business and used at home as one of the languages shared in the repertoires of the participating Congolese migrants), Afrikaans also performs a unique function as that of a "secret language". From the interview data, it emerged that the participating Congolese parents do not add Afrikaans to their repertoires to the same extent as the children who have opportunities to learn it at school. In this situation, Afrikaans performs the function of a secret language that provides the participating children with an extra language code option to communicate messages to each other which they want to keep secrets from their parents. The usefulness of Afrikaans in this respect is illustrated in excerpts 20 and 21 below:

- [20] Yeah, when we have a secret to say it's Afrikaans. [Participant E, male, 22 years]

- [21] When the parents are there it's English most of the time. But if we want to make a joke or something, you know, just to keep it to ourselves, it's in Afrikaans.
[Participant E, male, 22 years]

In the South African linguistic market, Afrikaans is a good language to acquire. It provides upward mobility as it is one of the prominent languages of business and education in South Africa, and especially in the Vaal Triangle region. Knowing Afrikaans helps to avoid language barriers, especially in cases where Afrikaans people do not know English (the bigger lingua franca in South Africa) well enough. Afrikaans also seems to hold some value as a language of business or the work place in South Africa (see excerpt 16).

Humour has been an interesting topic in code-switching. Probyn (2009: 133) states that several English teachers use Xhosa terms to attempt to “reduce the stress of learning through a second language by switching to the learners’ home language”, especially when speaking to groups or individuals, or when making jokes. Codeswitching becomes a tool to create humour and to establish an anxiety free education setting where effective learning can take place in cases where students need help to understand what the teacher says in their second language (English in this case), which is a view expressed by Maritz (2016) when she notes the uniqueness of Afrikaans home language speakers using Black Afrikaans. In this context, the use of Black Afrikaans in jokes helps to add humour to the speech of Afrikaans home language users; especially between friends. The reports by some of the participants in the study indicate that Afrikaans used by the Congolese speakers in the study could function in a similar way.

Despite the positive views of Afrikaans expressed by some of the Congolese participants in the study, Afrikaans remains linked to apartheid (see excerpt 22) and it is viewed by some participants as limited in value (or “currency”) because one can only use it in South Africa (see excerpts 23 and 24).

- [22] It's a language that most of us black we don't really want to speak it cause it's like during the apartheid time so there is either that push that there we cannot continue speaking Afrikaans. [Participant B, male, 53 years]
- [23] Because Afrikaans is very limited in South Africa. [Participant E, male, 22 years]
- [24] But I don't think that Afrikaans is very relevant in the world today. Especially in the business world [...] if they travel, they will not use Afrikaans anywhere else other than in South Africa. [Participant E, male, 22 years]

Again, let us note that Afrikaans is mostly acquired by Congolese children. The parents have not really acquired Afrikaans as is clear in excerpts 25 and 26.

- [25] Even my child, when I have to repeat the homework with her. When it comes to Afrikaans, I just put it aside. I just ask one of my friends to help me to repeat Afrikaans with her because there I'm very poor. [Participant C, female, 39 years]
- [26] Afrikaans, I learned it from my son. I can ask to my son some words of Afrikaans. [Participant K, male, 35 years]

Afrikaans has a complex status. Data from the interviews indicate that Afrikaans continues to hold an ambivalent position in the language repertoires of the Congolese migrants in the Vaal Triangle region that participated in the study. About twenty years after apartheid, the language continues to be seen as a valuable language to add to the repertoires of migrants in this region; and, at the same time, Afrikaans has not yet fully escaped its stigmatisation as the language of apartheid.

4.2.1.3 Status of South African Bantu languages

From the interview data, it is clear that in general, South African languages²⁶ (like Sotho and Zulu) are regarded as important languages by the participating Congolese migrants. The acknowledgement that it is important to learn South African languages when you are a migrant in the Vaal Triangle region is evidenced from the interview reports that indicate that the participants have acquired some South African languages (also supported by the findings from the questionnaire data). See for example, excerpt 27, where the participant expresses the general view that it is important to learn South African languages if you are a Congolese migrant in the Vaal Triangle region.

- [27] So, if they should stay and grow up in South Africa, I prefer them learning a "black", African language. I know they'll learn Afrikaans²⁷ at school by default, but I'd prefer them learning Zulu, Sotho or Xhosa. Something like that. [Participant E, male, 22 years]

²⁶ The status of Afrikaans was discussed separately.

²⁷ Note the additional evidence that the participant accepts that Congolese migrant children will learn Afrikaans at school in any case.

Despite this generally positive view, South African languages have a complex status in the Congolese migrants' environment. In the Vaal Triangle region where the study was conducted, Sotho holds the status as the most frequently used home language according to the Census (2011) data (about 50% of the almost 1 million people in the Vaal Triangle region use Sotho as a home language). It is therefore not surprising that the Congolese migrant participants in the study are aware of the high status of Sotho in this region (see excerpts 10 and 28, for example).

[28] I'm actually seeing the whole picture of the country where the black South Africans prefer Sotho. [Participant J, female, 20 years]

In addition to the awareness of the status of Sotho in the Vaal Triangle region, the participants also believe that Sotho (like Afrikaans) does not have utilitarian value outside the Vaal Triangle region (see excerpt 29).

[29] So I can't say I have to continue to speak Sotho because Sotho is only spoken here in South Africa and I can say also Botswana which is Tswana but so for me English²⁸ is the best that I can take out of here. [Participant H, female, 40 years]

At the other end of the continuum of views about the status of Sotho, one of participants does not find the learning of Sotho by their children of such importance (see excerpt 30).

[30] Because, I can say I don't find it that important to teach them Sotho. Maybe I can teach them Afrikaans²⁹ or English. But then Sotho, I don't think so. I don't find it that important. [Participant E, female, 20 years]

From these excerpts, it is clear that the status of Sotho in the minds of the Congolese participants in this study are generally positive; although one needs to note the awareness of the limitations of the use of Sotho (and Afrikaans) outside the region and the view by one participant that it is not important for her children to learn Sotho.

²⁸ Note the additional evidence of the high status afforded to English because of its "transnational" usefulness beyond the borders of South Africa.

²⁹ The status of Afrikaans was discussed in a separate section. Note the additional evidence of the high status of Afrikaans in this excerpt.

Among the Congolese participants in this study, there is the view that Zulu is a useful language at the national level in South Africa; in other words, it has utilitarian value (or “currency”) outside the Vaal Triangle region (see excerpts 31 to 33).

[31] For us, especially Congolese, ah Zulu is the best national language for South Africa. [Participant A, male, 35 years]

[32] I would like them to know Afrikaans³⁰ and Zulu. Because, like I said those, in terms of South African languages, those are the two most predominantly spoken languages. [Participant F, female, 22 years]

[33] Yes, because I find out that many South African speaking people speak Zulu. So I want them to also learn also that language. [Participant F, female, 22 years]

Despite these positive views about the Zulu as a useful national language and an important South African language because of its spread across the country via urbanization (Mc Laughlin, 2009), it seems as if Zulu is not a popular language to take as a subject at school. In excerpt 34, a participant expresses his interest in taking Zulu as a school subject, and the negative effect this decision would have on his progress at school.

[34] In high school, I was going to take Zulu, but then they were going to drop me to a lower standard if I took Zulu. [Participant E, male, 22 years]

These views, that African languages like Zulu are difficult subjects in which one scores low marks, and in some cases, which hinders one’s progress in school because one is relegated to lower standards, is also confirmed by other studies that observed attitudes towards Zulu as a school subject (see for example, Ndlangamandla, 2010).

The traditional view, that “ethnic” or “tribal” languages could divide the nation, is also held by some participants. In excerpt 35, the participant states that despite his positive view about the learning of Zulu and Sotho, he is also cautious, because he is aware that indigenous languages could be used to “divide” people. This could be an experience that the participant had in the context of the Congo, or was told about by his parents in relation to the DRC (Bokamba, 2008:218) and that he transplants to the South African context.

³⁰ The status of Afrikaans was discussed in a separate section. Note the additional evidence of the high status of Afrikaans in this excerpt.

- [35] It's good to have Zulu, Sotho, and... But those kind of languages cause a lot of divides among people, you know. Culturally, and both in the business world.
[Participant E, male, 22 years]

Compared to South African languages like Afrikaans, Sotho and Zulu, minority languages like Venda do not have high status among the Congolese migrants that participated in the study (similar to the low status of minority languages in general at the national level). The main reasons for this view are that the language is difficult to understand and that it is so different from other South African languages (see excerpts 36 and 37).

- [36] That I hate? I'm not a huge fan of Venda [...] Because it's difficult to understand.
[Participant L, female, 20 years]

- [37] Venda is completely different from all the other South African languages, so...
[Participant L, female, 20 years]

South African indigenous languages are held in high esteem by the participants. Languages like Sotho are added to the repertoires of the participants to some extent (also evidenced in the questionnaire data); and in the interview data, the participants express the view that the learning of Zulu is important in South Africa. Sotho is clearly useful in the Vaal Triangle region and there is the perception that Zulu is useful at a broader or national level. Implications of the views of the participants about the difficulty level of learning Zulu at school and Venda in general will influence their engagement with Zulu as a school subject and learning Venda in general.

4.2.1.4 Status of French

Many languages (more than 200) are spoken in the DRC (Mputubwele, 2003:274). However, the first article of Section 1, Chapter 1, of the Constitution of the DRC (2006) states that French is the country's official language. The national languages in the DRC are Kikongo, Lingala, Swahili and Tshiluba. The other languages of the country (for example, Kimanianga and Tetela) are part of the Congolese cultural heritage protected by the State. This constitutional arrangement makes French the sole official language of the country. Therefore, French is widely spread in the DRC. As the official language, French is used in high status functions as the language of education, politics, work and administration as the government language. People from the DRC therefore regard French as an important

language that all aspire to learn well because it offers financial and material gains and upward mobility in the DRC and other francophone countries.

When migrants from the DRC live in South Africa, French continues to carry some status in the new host country (South Africa) because of its importance in the home country (the DRC that was left behind) and its status as an important international language in some contexts (for example in France and other Francophone countries in the world). Potentially, DRC migrants living in South Africa could continue to use French as a home language, an important language of the diaspora and an important international language. For many DRC migrants in South Africa, French could be viewed as an important language of education, business and friendship (especially among fellow Congolese migrants); and it is a language that could be useful in other French speaking contexts if they continue with their migration.

In the interview data, it is clear that French holds an important position in the language repertoires some of the older Congolese migrant participants in the study. For these participants, French is used and maintained as a prominent home language (see excerpts 38 and 39).

[38] What I need to my language, I can learn any language. Can learn South African language when I am still busy with my own language, like French, my mother's language, plus English³¹ what we use like business language. I don't have a problem of to learn any language. [Participant A, male, 35 years]

[39] I learn French, because you know us as a Congolese starting from the crèche, school, since I have born, from 4 years, 5 years, they start with French from small, since my mother, quoi. [Participant A, male, 35 years]

Moreover, some participants continue to experience French as an important language because it is the national language of their home country (the DRC), as well as an international language. They believe that knowing French would be beneficial to their upward mobility in general, despite the lack of the status of French in South Africa (see excerpts 40 to 43).

³¹ Note the additional evidence of the status of English as a business language in South Africa.

- [40] I can use French sometime because I know it can bring us [at the same level of understanding because we all speak French] at the same level of communication. [Participant C, female, 39 years]
- [41] If I have to choose international language of Congolese language, I can choose French because there are more vocabularies, and then more things of the church, I can choose French. [Participant A, male, 35 years]
- [42] I will keep the French. French is not part of one region. When it comes, it is for everybody. [Participant C, female, 39 years]
- [43] French is also a language in which you can do global trade. So, you can communicate. I know with my sister, she speaks French like me, and where she works, she got a promotion because now she works with the French branch of the company. So, I don't know. French, it just has more advantages than knowing an ethnic language, because you can't speak that anywhere out of Congo. [Participant L, female, 20 years]

Despite the awareness of the importance of French as a language in the homes of some of the Congolese participants in the study, and its potential use as lingua franca among DRC migrants in the wider South Africa and as an international language, it is clear from the interview data that French is not always transferred by the participating parents to the next generation. The lack of intergenerational transfer of French is due to the fact that French is not spoken as a home language by many of the participants in the study. Therefore, children do not learn French as the language is barely spoken by the parents; and it is not transferred consciously in a planned way. In some cases, French is not the medium of communication between parents and children (see excerpts 44 to 46).

- [44] ... our parents decided from a young age we should rather learn English first rather than like, our mother tongue and French. [Participant L, female, 20 years]
- [45] ... our parents didn't really raise us in French. [Participant L, female, 20 years]
- [46] I don't speak to them in French often because I don't want to confuse them so far. [Participant H, female, 40 years]

The opinions raised in excerpts 44 and 45 are those of a young migrant woman who was born in South Africa. Her parents speak French and Swahili at home when they speak to one another. The parents never taught French to their children. Instead, they always speak English to their children. English was a deliberate language choice of the parents, to enable their children to achieve academic success in the English medium of instruction education system in South Africa. Participant H in excerpt 46 deliberately does not speak French to the

children because she does not want to “confuse” them. The avoidance of French proves that French has lost its value in South Africa in the views of the participating parents. Parents do not see the benefits of learning French as the language does not offer an upward mobility in South Africa, like it does in the DRC.

In extreme cases, French is perceived as a ‘dying language’ or, a language that is losing its “strength” or vitality among young Congolese migrants who seem to think that languages such as Lingala or Swahili are more important to use as first languages than French (see excerpts 47 and 48).

[47] They’ll be speaking Lingala more than French and English. Because what I’ve noticed is that most Congolese youth today can’t speak much French. They mostly speak Lingala or they can barely speak any French at all. Or maybe something like Swahili, but French... I think it’s dying. [Participant E, male, 22 years]

[48] But French... French is a good language to have, but I think Swahili would be a good language as a first language. [Participant E, male, 22 years]

The correspondence analysis conducted with the questionnaire data gives more insight into the language choices of the parents and children in relation to their place of birth. French is regarded as an important and valuable language by the participating parents who grew up in the DRC. In their migration, they realise that French holds some power as an international language, but it is not supported in South Africa (their new host country). Many parents then decide to *not* transfer French to their children by specifically using English as a home language and not using French in the home. This discrepancy between the obvious positive attitudes towards French by the parents, but their lack of transfer of French to their children is complex. Both English (which holds high currency in South Africa) and Lingala (which is emerging as a symbol of being from the DRC) influences the decisions by the parents to not transfer French to their children.

4.2.1.5 Status of Lingala

According to Mputubwele (2003), Lingala is without a doubt the most widely utilised of the four national languages in the DRC. Moreover, Lingala is spoken widely on both sides of the Congo River: in Bangui (which is in the Central African Republic) and in Zongo (in the DRC). The status of Lingala as a widely spoken language was boosted by its historical use as the

language of the army, its political support under the Mobutu regime, and its growing status as the language of Congolese music and the language of the DRC diaspora. Historically, Lingala received institutional support by being declared the language of the army since 1929 (Bokamba, 1977:182; Gilman, 1979:100). During the regime of Mobutu, several strategies were used to spread Lingala: officials were rotated to force them to learn all the national languages, including Lingala; president Mobutu used Lingala consistently to address mass meetings and when he was broadcast on the national radio and television stations; Lingala (like the other national languages) were used to teach children in grades 1, 2 and 3; efforts were made to promote Lingala as a written language; and Lingala was used widely in popular soap operas (Bokamba, 2009:65-66; Goyvaerts, 1997:26). The popularity of the Lingala music of the 1960s are revived today (Bokamba, 2009:66; Prince, 2006:125; White, 199:169). Thus, Lingala has influenced generations of Congolese migrants and became the language of the diaspora (Bokamba, 2009; Meeuwis, 2002).

In South Africa, Lingala is used as a home language, language of the diaspora when Congolese friends communicate and as the language of Congolese entertainment because of its high status as the language of Congolese music. The Congolese migrants who participated in this study are also willing to transfer Lingala to their children (see excerpts 49 to 53).

- [49] Lingala is the language that we use to speak with my wife therefore it's easy for me to speak also to them [my children]. [Participant B, male, 53 years]
- [50] My parents and my mom siblings speak Lingala. Being around that surrounding, I learn, I understand a bit what they say. If only we joke around then Lingala is used sometimes. [Participant F, female, 22 years]
- [51] I think Lingala (as national language) because it is widely spoken in that country. [Participant F, female, 22 years]
- [52] ... because most of Congolese here they speak Lingala. [Participant B, male, 53 years]
- [53] It's a common language, for some reason, among the youth, the Congolese youth. Like, most of the time, they speak Lingala. So, just to know a bit, would be good. [Participant E, male, 22 years]

Despite the prestige of Lingala among Congolese migrants, they still perceive of Lingala as a "low class" language (Errington, 2001:29) (see excerpts 54 and 55):

- [54] I've always seen Lingala as more of a dialect than, like, a fixed language, because... Lingala is kind of the language that you speak if you don't know French... People who speak Lingala are considered very, you know, down there. So, I wouldn't. [Participant L, female, 20 years]
- [55] With Lingala, the thing is that my dad kind of demotivated me from doing that. He says it's a very uneducated language. He says it's rude, it is impolite. Apparently, there is this "myth" that Lingala is like a low-level language and so forth. So, like, I've always used to refrain from that. But I wish to learn Lingala as well. [Participant E, male, 22 years]

Goyvaerts (1997:25) traced the "remarkable rise of Lingala in Bukavu" and in the broader DRC. The interview data generated as part of this study seems to confirm that Lingala has succeeded to some extent to erase its image as "low prestige" lingua franca (Errington, 2001:29; Goyvearts, 1995:309) and to become a widespread and prestigious language in- and outside the DRC as the language of Congolese music and the diaspora.

4.2.1.6 Status of Swahili

Swahili shares the function of national language in the DRC with Kikongo, Lingala and Tshiluba. When Lingala and Kikongo are spread mostly in the western part of the country, Swahili is mostly spoken in the eastern and southern parts of the country. According to Houis (1971), Swahili is a Bantu language whose original habitat has been frequented for centuries by Arabs and various Europeans. Both populations are at the origin of the numerous commercial exchanges whose axes have supported the penetration of the language in the eastern part of Africa. Nowadays, the fortunes of Swahili have improved since President Kabila (senior) and later Kabila (junior) took the reins of power in the DRC. Both Kabilas are very proficient in Swahili and have used the language to mobilise anti-Mobutu forces during their contestation of the political power in the DRC (Mazrui, 2007).

The interview data indicate that Swahili also enjoys support as a prestigious language among the Congolese migrants that participated in the study (see excerpts 56 to 58).

- [56] Swahili is spoken in many countries in Africa so, even if you look at worldwide if you, I think they also speak it in, I think in Saudi-Arabia. I think there is somewhere around there they also speak Swahili. It's a very popular language. [Participant H, female, 40 years]

[57] Lingala is good but I prefer Swahili because you, it's a language that other people, foreign people can understand. Like people from Tanzania, Kenya and I think, ya, Uganda, Rwanda. I think they also speak Swahili around there. So I think it's, for me Swahili is going to be a national language is fine. I don't see the problem. [Participant H, female, 40 years]

[58] I think most tribes have a common understanding of Swahili. And it's an African language so it's easier for them to communicate with other people. Because what I've noticed is that when they travel overseas or when they meet other African people, there's no common tongue between the two. Whereas, if you at least have a common tongue, which is Swahili, because it's spoken quite often in Africa, then it's good. [Participant E, male, 22 years]

However, the fortunes of Swahili in the DRC are complex because it is also the language of the rebels who fought against the DRC during several deadly wars in the broader region. As such, Swahili is perceived negatively by some people in the region (Doom & Gorus, 2000; Mazrui, 2007). This view is also expressed by some of the participants in the study (see excerpt 59).

[59] ... because most of those rebels come from Rwanda, Burundi and there. Most of those rebels speak also Swahili. [Participant B, male, 53 years]

The national status of Swahili in the DRC and its broader status as a language of wider communication in Africa, render it as a potentially important language in the repertoires of DRC migrants. However, the complex link between the recent wars in the broader region and the use of Swahili by some of the soldiers involved in the war, probably minimises the potential importance of Swahili in the repertoires of DRC migrants. The interview data with the participants in this study seem to bear this view out.

4.2.1.7 Status of Tshiluba

As a Congolese national language, Tshiluba is mostly perceived as an important ethnic language, the language of the Baluba ethnic group which resides primarily in the central parts of the DRC (Goyvaerts, 1995:300). Its "localised" status as a historically important Congolese language used by a specific ethnic group in the DRC hampers its transmission as a language in diaspora. In the context of this study, it also became clear that the language is not transferred from parents who participated to their children (see excerpts 60 to 63).

- [60] My dad doesn't speak Tshiluba [the dad is a Tshiluba home language user but does not speak the language to the child]. [Participant E, male, 22 years]
- [61] ... it is not like I don't want to speak Tshiluba to my son. You see like for this moment, like where I am living now. [Participant A, male, 35 years]
- [62] Because, my parents never taught us ... like, taught the language, Tshiluba. [Participant G, male, 18 years]
- [63] I've asked many times. It's just that, we're used to speaking French, rather than speaking our own cultural languages. [Participant J, female, 20 years]

Despite the acknowledgement that Tshiluba is not transferred by the participating parents to their children, children and parents hold an ambivalent position about the lack of intergenerational transfer of Tshiluba (see excerpts 64 and 65).

- [64] Because, it's our language. It's where they [the participant's parents] come from. They have to know their roots. [Participant G, male, 18 years]
- [65] ... he doesn't know Tshiluba? It's my family's language, so he [the participant's child] must know it. Because one day he can go back to visit the family. [Participant K, male, 35 years]

The link between Tshiluba and the cultural identity of some of the participants emerges from the interview data. In some respects it seems that even though the language is lost in diaspora, the cultural identity of being of Tshiluba by origin remains. This is similar to Romaine (2006) when she points out that despite the state intervention on behalf of Irish, the language could not be transmitted in the natural environment of the home and there was no success with using the language in everyday life, nor its intergenerational transmission. She then suggests the home is the first domain of language shift. In the context of the interview data gathered for this study, the choice of parents to use English as the home language and to not use languages like Tshiluba with the children in the home seems to suggest that Tshiluba will retain some cultural identity value for some of the Congolese participants in the study, but it will not be transferred to the next generation of DRC children by the participating parents.

4.2.1.8 Summary of findings related to the language status

From the interview data, it is clear that the perceived statuses of the languages in the environments of the migrant participants in this study (in their homes and their new host country) play an important role in their decisions to maintain, acquire or to use certain languages less. A second important finding, is that there is an element of ambivalence in the perceived statuses of all languages included in the repertoires of the participants. None of the languages discussed in this section is viewed *only* in a positive or *only* in a negative light. The measurement of the current status of any language in this discussion would depend on a qualitative assessment of the relative magnitude of the positive elements related to its perceived status; minus the relative importance of the perceived negative elements related to its status. There is a pervasive positive and negative sense linked to the statuses of all the languages that emerged as important in the interview data. The implications of these findings will be discussed in the next chapter.

4.2.2 Language in domains

From the interview data, it is clear that the participating multilingual migrants in this study perceive of different languages related mainly to specific situations that are performed in specific domains. The domain of language use is regarded as important in studies that focus on the sociology of language because they are the social spheres where languages compete for power and importance.

During the analyses of the interview data, the participants' references to specific languages were coded. In phase two of the analysis of the interview data, all quotations related to specific languages by the interviewees were clustered together and determined the specific domains where the language or languages are used. The use of specific languages in specific domains were counted as they appeared in the interview data. From this analysis, the following findings emerged.

In total, there were 102 references to specific languages in the interview data. The education domain emerged as the most prominent domain that was linked to specific languages. Forty percent (or 41/102) of the references to specific languages was made to the education domain. The specific languages that were linked to school education in South Africa were English, Afrikaans, Sotho and Zulu (see excerpts 34, 66 to 69 for examples of these statements).

- [66] I would like them to learn English because even when they go to school they use English and when they go to the university they use English. [Participant H, female, 40 years]
- [67] Later on, in primary school I learnt Afrikaans [...] So, in terms of which I learnt most fluently, I would say Afrikaans first because I actually studied it. [Participant L, female, 20 years]
- [68] Because some of them don't really speak English so they just speak what they know [Sotho]. [Participant G, female, 18years]
- [69] But even at school, they still speak Sotho. In order to communicate with them, it just has to be in Sotho. [Participant J, female, 20 years]

French is the only Congolese language that is linked to education in the DRC (see excerpts 70 and 71).

- [70] Like in the Congo, we don't have Swahili school, French school, Lingala school. It is only French school. [Participant C, female, 39 years]
- [71] I learn French, because you know us as a Congolese starting from the crèche , school, since I have born, from 4 years, 5 years, they start with French from small, since my mother, quoi. [Participant A, male, 35 years]

The second most prominent domains in the interview data that were linked to the use of specific languages were the business and workplace as domains. In total, 23 percent of the references made to specific languages were made in connection with business (16/102) and the workplace (7/102) as domains (see excerpts 14, 15, 16, 18, 35, and 38). From these excerpts it is clear that the participants are aware of the importance of Afrikaans, English, Sotho and Zulu in the different domains like business and work. Therefore, the acquisition of these languages could potentially support the upward mobility, if not financial and material gains for the Congolese participants in the study.

The third most prominent domain linked to the used of specific languages was the home. Fifteen percent (16/102) of the references in the interview data linked to specific languages was linked to the home as domain (see excerpts 17 and 72 to 75).

- [72] My mom will speak to me in English nine times out of ten [...] My dad, English every time. [Participant E, male, 22 years]
- [73] Yes. Ninety percent of the time, when I speak to my parents it's in English.

[Participant L, female, 20 years]

[74] With my brother, it's mostly English and Afrikaans. [Participant L, female, 20 years]

[75] Interviewer: Do you sometimes speak Sotho to your wife or your child?

Interviewee: Yes, we can just... when I joke I can speak to her, to my kid in Sotho. [Participant K, male, 35 years]

From the above excerpts, it is clear that South African languages are used in the homes of the participants in the study. English, Afrikaans and Sotho are among the languages used in the homes of the participating families. According to the youth, English is the chosen home language by the parents; and Afrikaans is used only by the children. The presence of Sotho is also noted. However, Sotho is used as the language of entertainment (jokes) between parents and children.

Let us note that French and Lingala are also used in the homes of the participating families, but mostly by the parents. In the homes of the participating families, the presence of French and Swahili is not as audible as the presence of English and Afrikaans. As said above, parents privileged English in their conversation with their children at home. For the children, South African languages learnt at school are used in interaction between children. The difference between parents and children languages are explained in excerpts 76 and 77.

[76] I pick it up on the dinner table. On the dinner table, I think they're more expressive in their [the participant's parents] languages, so, they only speak Swahili and French. They never speak English when they're eating. And when we have visitors. Most of our visitors are Congolese people. So, the house language mostly is French, but when my dad speaks to me, mostly it's in English. [Participant E, male, 22 years]

[77] With my husband, we mix Swahili and French. With my children, it is only English. Unfortunately yes. [Participant C, female, 39 years]

The domain of friendship attracted the fourth most prominent references to specific languages. Twelve percent (13/102) of the specific references to languages were made about the use of English, Sotho and Afrikaans to communicate with friends in South Africa; and French, Lingala, English and Swahili to communicate with Congolese friends (see excerpts 88 to 93).

[78] I speak Afrikaans when at sport, when I'm managing... or with my Afrikaans

- friends. [Participant F, female, 22 years]
- [79] With my Congolese friends, we speak French and Lingala. [Participant K, male, 35 years]
- [80] Outside? They speak Swahili a lot, you know? Swahili and French, like when they're just making jokes and so forth. But they always speak to me in English. When they're speaking amongst themselves it's French and so forth, but when they speak to me it's in English. [Participant E, male, 22 years]
- [81] But then in terms of my friends, my Congolese friends they do speak Lingala a lot. So I've had to try and learn how to understand it a bit. [Participant L, female, 20 years]
- [82] Yes. They [South African friends] speak to me in Sotho and I respond in English. ... because some of them don't really speak English so they just speak what they know. [Participant G, male, 18 years]
- [83] Interviewer: And your friends at school?
 Interviewee: [We speak] Sotho and English.
 Interviewer: Okay. So with your friends, your Congolese friends, which language do you speak?
 Interviewee: French.
 Interviewer: French? Do you also use South African languages with your Congolese friends?
 Interviewee: We use English. [Participant D, male, 13 years]

The Congolese migrants that participated in this study make use of English, Afrikaans and Sotho when they speak to their South African friends; and French, Lingala, English and Swahili when they communicate with their Congolese friends. The presence of South African languages like English in the domain of friendship do not seem to lead to the exclusion of Congolese languages in the lives of the participants. Congolese languages (like French, Lingala and Swahili) continue to serve a purpose in the interaction between Congolese friends in the diaspora.

The fifth most prominent domain linked to specific languages in the interview data was the entertainment domain. Four percent (4/102) of the references to specific languages were linked to entertainment as a domain (see excerpts 80, 84 from 84 to 87).

- [84] A lot of the Congolese music that I hear is either in Swahili or Lingala. [Participant L, female, 20 years]
- [85] When I joke I can speak to her [the participant's wife], to my kid in Sotho.

[Participant K, male, 35 years]

[86] If only we joke around then Lingala is used sometimes. [Participant F, female, 22 years]

[87] Interviewee: My mom and my sisters do a lot. I prefer... Like, my genre of music is mostly Black American Gospel. But, like, sometimes in the car, you know, they'll put on Congolese music.

Interviewer: And what language is it in, most of the time?

Interviewee: Lingala, to be honest. [Participant E, male, 22 years]

In the entertainment domain, Congolese and South African languages are used. Lingala, French and Swahili are mostly used in music and jokes. South African languages (like Afrikaans and Sotho) are also used in music and jokes; and English is used in gospel music. Moreover, the importance of Lingala as the general language of Congolese music is known. Migrants will therefore listen to and sing Lingala songs to entertain themselves. In the entertainment domain, these languages are not used for long conversations. They are used in the form of words or short sentences to bring humour among friends or family members.

The domains of food (2/102), sport (1/102), religion (1/102) and development (1/102) were also related to specific languages by some participants, although the frequency of occurrences was very low (see excerpts 76, 88 to 91).

[88] It usually when... I speak Afrikaans when at sport, when I'm managing. [Participant F, female, 22 years]

[89] For a couple of years we went to a predominantly black South African church. So, sometimes they would speak a bit of Zulu, so I've been exposed to Zulu. [Participant L, female, 20 years]

[90] ... and then more things of the church, I can choose French. [Participant A, male, 35 years]

[91] ...but the countries that are developed I would say speaks English. [Participant M, female, 23 years]

4.2.2.1 Summary of findings related to domains and language use

In migratory settings, migrants use different languages in different domains. Congolese and South African languages share several social domains, often directed according to the status

of the languages. In education, English, Afrikaans and Sotho are used. These languages have been acquired mostly by the youth through the school system. However, migrants who came from the DRC, still value French as the language of education. One must notice the presence of English and Afrikaans in the homes of the Congolese participants in this study. The decisions about the selection of English as home language by the parents, create a type of divide between the participating parents and children. On the one hand parents prefer Congolese languages. On the other hand, children use South African languages when communicating among themselves. Afrikaans is the secret code of the children who have acquired the language through the school. South African languages appear in the work and sport domains. A mix of Congolese and South African languages is used in the friendship and entertainment domains. Only Congolese languages are used in the domain of food, which seems to be linked to food as an expression of Congolese culture.

4.2.3 Home languages and intergenerational transfer

Congolese migrants that participated in this study use several Congolese and South African languages at home. The participants also acknowledged the importance of their home languages in their lives. Apart from the references to the use of specific languages in the home domain, three specific scenarios could potentially emerge with relation to languages used in the home. In one scenario, the participating Congolese migrant parents could use one medium of communication between themselves, and use another medium to communicate with the children in the home. In another situation, the participating parents could speak one language and it could be custom that the children answer with another language. In a third scenario, children could interact in a language that is not mastered by their parents – which the researcher depicted as a secret code. In all of these scenarios, there is lack of attention to the systematic intergenerational transfer of Congolese languages to the children in the home.

This finding from the interview data is in stark contrast to the findings reported from the questionnaire data where participants were asked if they want to transfer the languages they know to their children. In all of the cases related to the strongest, second strongest, third strongest, fourth strongest and fifth strongest languages reported as prominent in this study, the participants indicated that they want to transfer the languages in their repertoires to their children. This finding is not supported by the interview data. For example, in excerpt 80 the participant refers to his parents who speak Swahili and French to each other, and English to him. Secondly, it is clear from the interview data that there is evidence that in some cases

the participating parents use one language to communicate with the children and it is custom for the children to respond in another language (see excerpts 92 and 93).

[92] I [the participating father] speak Tshiluba to him [the participating son] and he speaks French to me. [Participant K, male, 35 years]

[93] My parents and my mom siblings speak Lingala. I speak English. [Participant F, male, 22 years]

Thirdly, there is evidence that the participating children sometimes use a language that their parents do not understand to communicate among themselves (see excerpts 20, 21 and 74). In some cases, as is evidenced by the interview data, the household could have a single home language, although it is assumed that this is a rare case in the context of the participating multilingual migrants in this study (see excerpts 94 and 95).

[94] Because we use to speak Swahili at home and French. But when I got to Primary school the teachers said that to be better in English, we have to speak English at home. So my parents started to speak only English at home. And that's how I forgot other languages. [Participant M, female, 23 years]

[95] I speak English like... to communicate with friends, to communicate with teachers and to communicate with my parents and my siblings at home. [Participant M, female, 23 years]

From the interview data, it seems that English emerges as the main home language for the participants in this study. The discrepancy between the questionnaire reports and the interview data should be investigated in the next chapter. From the questionnaire data, French emerged as the most prominent home language for the participants in this study; and the interview data indicate that English is used mostly in the home domain.

What is clear from the analysis of the interview data that provide insight into language use in the home as a domain for the participants, is that Congolese languages are not transferred in a systematic or conscious way to the participating children (see excerpts 60, 80, 96 to 99). There is clear evidence from the interview data that the high status of English (and to a smaller extent Afrikaans) in South Africa, especially as a language of education, lures the participating parents to shift to English as the home language in most cases.

[96] The reason we [the participating parents] speak to them [the participating children] in English, here in South Africa they will need to speak South African

languages. So that is the reason why I want them to be better in English. The language that will help them to understand better all the subjects. [Participant C, male, 39 years]

[97] ... especially English is very important they [the participant's children] must know it because even at school they do speak in they do teach them in English. [Participant B, male, 53 years]

[98] Currently they just speak English [in the home]. And some day they like, A my first daughter, she speak also Afrikaans they study mostly Afrikaans there. [Participant B, male, 53 years]

[99] No. Like, once in a blue moon, but it's mostly... My mom will speak to me in English nine times out of ten, and then sometimes she'll speak in French and other times in Swahili, but it's English most of the time. But when my dad speaks to me, mostly it's in English. [Participant E, male, 22 years]

There is the perception among the older Congolese participants that it is important for the children to learn Congolese languages, because knowing these languages provides an important link to the children's cultural roots (see excerpts 64, 100 to 102).

[100] Because sometime if they [participating children] don't know they [participating children] can get lost and they [participating children] don't even know how to communicate with my parents with my friends at home [DRC]. [Participant B, male, 53 years]

[101] For me is very important for them to know especially my language Congolese language [Tshiluba]. [Participant B, male, 53 years]

[102] It's like for just to identify them [children] because each and everyone got his origin where he [comes from] when you see somebody you can say that this one is from Congo especially from languages. [Participant B, male, 53 years]

From the interview data, it is clear that the maintenance of Congolese languages is done by the parents or adult participants in the study. This is aligned with the findings from the correspondence analysis of the questionnaire data: older participants know Congolese languages like Tshiluba and Lingala; and the younger participants know Afrikaans and Sotho. From the interview data, it is clear that despite the high regard of the older participants for their Congolese languages, there is no or little evidence that the Congolese languages are transferred in a systematic way to the children of the participating parents. The youth that participated in the study only have a sense of the importance to maintain the Congolese languages as symbols of their cultural link to the homeland of their parents. The

notion that it is important to maintain the Congolese languages could also be understood because of the idea of “going back” to the home country one day (see excerpts 103 to 105).

[103] If I [participating child] maybe go back home and have people who can still teach me the languages then I can learn. [Participant J, female, 20 years]

[104] I [participating child] always want to go back to Congo, but I never. Hopefully this year. At least just for like one week, you know, to see how it is over there. Because, I am from that place. [Participant E, male, 22 years]

[105] He [participating child] doesn't know Tshiluba? It's my family's language, so he must know it. Because one day he can go back to visit the family. [Participant K, male, 35 years]

From the correspondence analysis, it is clear that more of the younger participants held the idea to return to the DRC one day. The idea of going back to the DRC could sustain the notion of the maintenance of the Congolese languages, but there is no evidence from the questionnaire or the interview data that a systematic effort is put into this symbolic idea. The correspondence analysis of relevant questionnaire data also indicate that fewer of the younger participants know Tshiluba or Lingala or Swahili.

The impression that emerges from the interview data, is that Congolese languages are maintained by adult participants who learnt them in the DRC before migrating to South Africa; but these adults are not passing the Congolese languages in a systematic way to their children because these languages are not used consistently as home languages. The participating children are aware of the importance of the Congolese languages as symbols of their Congolese identity, but very few of them acquired any Congolese languages.

4.2.4 Cultural identity

Cultural identity emerged as a prominent theme from the interview data.

Cultural identity can be defined as a complex, ascribed type of social identity that takes various forms in different contexts and whose attributes are expressed as one's attitudes towards the cultural values and language/s of the in-group; one's identification with the ethnicity and racial identity of the in-group; and one's attitudes towards the in- and out-groups (Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2002:66).

In the analysis of the interview data, all remarks about the relationship between languages in the repertoire of the participants and connections with ethnicity, race, and attitudes towards social groups (in-groups and out-groups) were identified as codes that are related to the bigger theme of cultural identity.

For some of the participants, there still is a clear link between Congolese culture and Congolese languages (see excerpts 102 and 106).

[106] I do consider myself Luba. I actually take pride in that. I don't know, I find it something to be proud of. When other Congolese people ask, I tell them that I am Luba. [Participant L, female, 20 years]

Along the same line of argumentation, there is evidence that some of the participants who cannot speak any Congolese languages feel that they have lost their cultural identity (see excerpts 107 to 109).

[107] I do have pity and a bit of sorrow because I missed out on a lot I think with not knowing these Congolese languages. [Participant M, female, 22 years]

[108] I feel outplaced like I am not part of them. Yeah, I can hear, I understand. My difficulty comes to responding. [Participant F, female, 22 years]

[109] I feel left out, like I said. Because, it's my language and I can't understand anything that they're saying. I just know that that's my language, but I can't hear anything. [Participant J, female, 20 years]

Some of the participants provide evidence that they start to see themselves as South African (see excerpt 110).

[110] If I look at my mind I see myself as a South African. [Participant J, female, 20 years]

Participants acknowledged that, in most cases parents speak one language (a Congolese language); while the children speak another language (a South African language). Despite this reality, when children speak or express the wish to learn a Congolese language, it is mostly because of the perceived link between a Congolese language and their Congolese cultural identity. The perception remains that they are from the Congo; and that they need to retain the culture and some understanding of the languages of their land of origin. This view

is in stark contrast to the lack of evidence of intergenerational transfer of Congolese languages as home languages already discussed in this section.

The case of Lingala is different. From the interview data, it is clear that Lingala holds symbolic power as an emblem of being Congolese when one is a migrant outside the DRC. The maintenance of Lingala in the repertoires of the older participants in this study (even in cases where Lingala is not their ethnic heritage language) and the evidence of the passive understanding of Lingala by younger participants, indicates how this perception has improved the fortunes of the maintenance of Lingala by Congolese migrants in the diaspora (see excerpts 47, 53 and 113).

[113] Now Lingala, Lingala is the most used like local language there [Kinshasa, the capital city of the DRC]. And everybody needs to learn about Lingala. [Participant A, male, 35 years]

The data from the interview participants confirm the findings of Meeuwis and Blommaert (1999) who noticed that where Lingala-speaking and Swahili-speaking Congolese migrants meet, Lingala holds a supreme position in the linguistic market and Swahili takes a subordinate position as a potential competing code. Meeuwis and Blommaert (1999) observed the frequency of code-switching between languages that use Lingala as the main language in this context. Moreover, Vigouroux (2008, 2013) acknowledges that the main threat to the maintenance of Congolese languages like Kikongo, Tshiluba and Swahili is Lingala, the dominant national language of Congolese in and out of the country. Vigouroux (2008, 2013) concludes that Lingala has become the Congolese migrants' language of socio-economic integration in Cape Town; even sometimes at the expense of learning enough English. Indeed, knowledge of Lingala becomes a symbol or marker of being "Congolité" – the fact of being a "true" Congolese.

In stark opposition to the positive views in the literature and from the interview data about the importance of Lingala in the repertoires of Congolese migrants in South Africa, surprisingly, the Congolese migrant participants in this study were categorical in their view that they do not see a *raison d'être* for the learning or maintenance of Congolese languages in South Africa (see excerpts 114 and 115).

[114] I think Congolese languages have no use in South Africa. [Participant F, female, 22 years]

[115] Of course, it is useless. Why teaching these languages when the kids need to improve their English and Afrikaans skills? It does not help. [Participant F, female, 22 years]

Culture is an important element of the Congolese identity, as is true for many societies. In the context of this study, the Congolese culture remains as the sole source of the “reservoir” that links the participating migrants to their homeland and to knowledge of their homeland’s languages. Even when the participants choose a legitimate South African language (in the sense of Bourdieu’s “legitimate language” in society, Hanks, 2005:76) to use with the speakers of the Bantu languages in the Vaal Triangle region where the study was conducted, elements of culture influence their choices. They select Sotho as the main language to learn and use with South African Bantu language speakers in the Vaal Triangle (see excerpt 15) because they believe that it makes their interlocutors more “comfortable”.

The complex relationship between language and culture is illustrated by the interview data. An awareness of the importance of culture and one’s cultural identity does not automatically trigger the intergenerational transfer of languages which are viewed as symbols of cultural identity in the context of the participants. Even in the event of a clear awareness of the value of a language like Tshiluba in the Luba cultural identity, the participating parents do not necessarily transfer the language to the children. Having Congolese roots does not appear to be a sufficient reason for the learning the parents’ languages as children, in the host country. On the one hand, the participating children in this study know that they are Congolese by origin; on the other hand, they see themselves as South African as well. Acquiring South African languages seem to be more important if they want to stay in the host country. From the interview data it seems that the Congolese languages are losing their currency among the younger migrants; and the participating parents seem to not be able to transfer the Congolese languages as home languages.

4.2.5 The complex currency of Congolese languages as perceived by the participants

As discussed earlier, it is important to note that the participating Congolese migrants of the study who migrated to South Africa will take careful decisions about the maintenance of Congolese languages. There are two issues to consider when one gauges the currency of Congolese languages in this study. On the one hand, the maintenance of Congolese languages by older migrants would provide some evidence of the currency of Congolese languages. In other words, if older participants in the study maintain the Congolese

languages that they brought with them to South Africa, one can argue that these languages have some importance or currency for these participants. On the other hand, it would be important to investigate if the Congolese languages of the parents are transferred to the children that accompanied the parents to South Africa. If the Congolese languages known by the parents are transferred to the children in diaspora, it would provide another set of evidence that the Congolese languages hold some sort of currency in this context.

From the interview data discussed so far, it is clear that Congolese languages have a complex currency. On the one hand, Congolese languages display a high currency because they are linked to the cultural identity and ethnicity of the participating parents. On the other hand, Congolese languages display a low currency when it becomes clear that the participating parents do not view the Congolese languages that they know as instruments with which their children can access material gains, upward mobility and the improved social status that could better their lives in their host country, South Africa.

As languages of the Congolese identity, Congolese languages serve to remind the younger migrants that they are part of their parents' cultural background. The simplest knowledge of the homeland languages could be regarded as a sense of belonging to the in-group community. In that case, participants think that Congolese languages are worthy to be acquired – even when the participating migrant children do not acquire the languages because their parents do not “peak those languages with them at home as a symbol of being Congolité” (see excerpts 116 and 117).

[116] I still see the value in it, because I can go home at any time and maybe speak to my uncles, my grandparents, anyone in the family. Because when I go back I won't speak to them in English, or Afrikaans, or Sotho. I have to speak to them in my language, and most of them cannot speak English. So, I'd have to speak to them maybe in Lingala, Tshiluba or Swahili; whatever language they speak. So, I have to learn. It's a must. [Participant J, female, 20 years]

[117] Yes. It's important, because my dad is Muluba, and I'm from him so I have to learn the languages. [...] Because, he never taught us. We never had the opportunity to learn. [...] If I maybe go back home and have people who can still teach me the languages then I can learn. [Participant J, female, 20 years]

In the selective process of the acquisition of Congolese languages by the participating Congolese migrant children in South Africa, Congolese languages are weighted against each other. Of course, languages do not have the same currency and some languages that

strive for the same recognition in the same social domain do not succeed to be selected for intergenerational transfer or maintenance by older participants. From the interview data, it is clear that languages like Lingala are pitted against Swahili, and languages like Swahili are pitted against French and so on (see excerpts 118 to 121).

[118] If I choose Tshiluba, some people don't know it. Some people come from places where they don't speak Tshiluba, or maybe they've already forgotten it, so some of them can't speak it. [Participant I, female, 15 years]

[119] I'd actually prefer French. Because French would be easier for kids to learn, in case they go out to other countries, countries where they speak French. Because Tshiluba, they'd only find it in Congo. They won't find it anywhere else. [Participant J, female, 20 years]

[120] Lingala is good but I prefer Swahili because you, it's a language that other people, foreign people can understand. [Participant H, female, 40 years]

[121] So, if I'm Muluba, and I have a friend who's – I don't know – Katanga, and doesn't speak Tshiluba. Then you have a barrier. But if every ethnic tribe learns French, then it's easier for the nation as a whole to communicate. [Participant L, female, 20 years]

Although French is not prominent in Anglophone South Africa, French seems to hold some currency that could provide upward mobility and financial and material gains because some speakers of French could get employment in some economic sectors (see excerpt 43). Despite the “good fortune” story reported in excerpt 43, where a person got employment in South Africa because she knew French, the overall fortune of the maintenance of French as a Congolese language in South Africa is not good and the language is perceived as a “dying” language among Congolese migrants by some of the respondents (see excerpt 47).

Despite evidence that some Congolese languages are maintained by the participants of this study because of their link to the cultural background of their speakers (or job opportunities), Congolese languages in general still carry a low currency in South Africa. In some cases there is clear evidence of language decline and language loss (see excerpt 122).

[122] I don't speak any Congolese languages. [Participant M, female, 23 years]

The loss or lack of acquisition of Congolese languages for the participant in excerpt 122 was triggered by the education system (see her recollection of this event in excerpt 94). The participant reports that in her family Swahili and French were spoken for some time at home

until she arrived in primary school where her parents were advised to use English as a home language to improve her chances of academic success.

Among the participants in this study, the future use of the Congolese languages by the participants is definitely divided between the older the younger generation. On the one hand, participating parents maintain their transplanted languages. On the other hand, participating children demonstrate a lack of Congolese languages in their repertoires, despite their awareness of the cultural values of Congolese languages. They acquired South African languages which they use on a daily basis.

4.6.6 The complex currency of South African Bantu languages

South African Bantu languages carry a complex currency value in the views of the participants as well. On the one hand, South African Bantu languages hold a high currency when they are used in particular social domains such as education, business and friendship. On the other hand, South African Bantu languages are perceived as holding low language currency because they are not used in higher domains such as higher education, international commerce and politics. Therefore, like all the attitudes towards languages discussed in this study, the currency of African Bantu languages is a matter of complexity.

For many migrants that participated in this study, Sotho is an important language for business and friendship in the Vaal Triangle region. Sotho, therefore, is perceived as a language that holds high currency in this region; in some cases, Sotho has more symbolic power than English. Therefore, Sotho replaces English especially where migrants do business with the Bantu language speaking populations (see excerpt 8 and 123).

[123] I like Sotho, because in town many people speak Sotho. At the place where I sell, many people speak Sotho. I like Sotho because it is my business language.
[Participant K, male, 35 years]

The participating children in the study report that it is a misconception to think that all South African school pupils (at least in the Vaal Triangle region where they go to school) understand English well (see excerpts 68, 82 and 124).

[124] Like during break...because they are some children who do not know English very well. So, they're scared to talk, because if they talk, some of the other

children laugh. That is why they do not like speaking English. [Participant I, female, 15 years]

This situation makes it important for the participating children in the study to acquire some Sotho and some Afrikaans.

The interview participants have the view that Zulu has some currency in South Africa. They acknowledge that Zulu is one of the biggest languages of South Africa and that it is used more widely in the country, especially in the cities. That is why the participants find that it is worthy to learn Zulu (see excerpt 89 and 125).

[125] Especially in the business world. In South Africa Zulu is more spoken than Afrikaans. [Participant E, male 22 years]

Moreover, Zulu is appreciated because of its similarities to Congolese languages (see excerpts 126 to 128).

[126] Zulu because Zulu is closer to Swahili. [Participant B, male, 53 years]

[127] Tshiluba is the same with compare to Zulu. [Participant A, male, 35 years]

[128] You know for us foreigners, Zulu, Zulu. There is more things from Zulu, Swahili, even Lingala, even Tshiluba, even Kikongo from Congo, “imazi”, “mazi” that is Kikongo, that is most Kikongo from the Congo. For us, especially Congolese, ah Zulu is the best national language for South Africa. [Participant A, male, 35 years]

In the theoretical framework of Bourdieu (1991), languages are acquired because of their symbolic power. On the linguistic market, languages will rise and fall according to their actual symbolic power which dictates the need to maintain, to acquire a new language or to shift towards a language of power, of high status, or of high currency. Accordingly, languages are maintained because of their link to the cultural background of the speakers, or to the cultural identity that they are embedded with. That is the case with most Congolese national languages that have lost their currency in contact with South African languages as they are not the languages of reference in South Africa where migrants need to acquire new languages to better their lives, to earn material and financial gains as well as upward mobility. In the coming chapter, these findings will be discussed by relating them to findings from other studies reported in the literature.

4.3 Conclusion

From the questionnaire data, one can infer that the participating parents have maintained the Congolese languages that they learnt as children in the DRC; and that the younger participants did not learn Congolese languages. The parents mostly speak French, Lingala, Swahili, Tshiluba and Kikongo and they acquired English; while the younger participants use English, Afrikaans and Sotho and they do not report Congolese languages as part of their repertoires. The questionnaire data also make it clear that the parents have acquired South African languages to a limited extent. One of the main findings of the questionnaire data, is that the language repertoires of the older and younger participants differ (as demonstrated by the correspondence analysis).

From the interviews, it is noted that participating children have acquired several South African languages whereas they have little command of their Congolese heritage languages. In this case, Congolese languages are mostly used in parents' communication and, South African languages are commonly used in child to child communication. The case of Afrikaans is interesting because the language is learned by the children at school and it is used as the children's "secret code" when they want to exclude their parents from a conversation.

The majority of the participants in the questionnaire report that they will ensure that they transfer languages like French, Lingala, Tshiluba and Kikongo to their children. This desire reported in the questionnaire data is in sharp contrast to the findings from the interview part of the study. It is clear from the interview data that there is very little or no transfer of Congolese languages from the parents to the children who participated in the study. This interesting finding and its implications will be explored more fully in the next chapter where the results are discussed and interpreted.

CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE RESULTS

5.1 Introduction

South Africa is home to a diverse community of 50 million citizens and large groups of migrant populations from Africa and the rest of the world who speak many languages. This study focused on the language repertoires of multilingual migrants from the DRC who live in the Vaal Triangle region of South Africa. The main research questions of the study aim to deepen understanding into the dynamic nature of the language repertoires of the participants by gathering answers to the following questions:

- *Do the participating Congolese migrants in this study lose certain Congolese languages? Which Congolese languages are lost by the participants? Why and how are these Congolese languages lost from the language repertoires of the participants?*
- *Do the participating Congolese migrants in this study maintain certain Congolese languages? Which Congolese languages are maintained by the participants? Why and how do the Congolese participants maintain some languages in their repertoires?*
- *Do the Congolese multilingual migrants that participated in the study add South African language(s) into their existing language repertoires? Which South African languages are added to the participants' repertoires? Why and how do they add these languages to their repertoires?*
- *Would insights from this study extend the scope of the understanding of existing theories of language maintenance and language shift, often derived from contexts where monolingual migrants enter monolingual host societies, or societies in which one language is the widely accepted language of the host nation?*

In this chapter, the researcher would like to answer to research questions in the light of the findings. The chapter will be divided into two parts. The first part of this chapter focuses on the fate of the Congolese languages in the repertoires of the participants. The phenomena of language maintenance, language shift and language loss and decline would be explored in the context of the Congolese languages brought to South Africa by the participants. The second part of the chapter focuses on the South African languages in the participants' repertoires. In this part of the chapter, the acquisition of South African languages like

Afrikaans, English and Sotho are explored. The implications of these findings for existing theories of language maintenance, language acquisition and language shift will be discussed in the next chapter.

5.2 Congolese languages

The Congolese participants in this study bring the following languages with them to South Africa: French, Kikongo, Lingala, Swahili and Tshiluba. These were the languages reported in the questionnaire and interview data. It is possible that many more languages form part of their repertoires; but that the participants did not report these languages in the study. The fate of the Congolese languages in the language repertoires of the participants will be discussed in this section.

5.2.1 Maintenance of Congolese languages

From the findings reported in the previous chapter, it is clear that the Congolese languages are not well maintained in the language repertoires of the participants in this study. There is evidence in the questionnaire data that French, Lingala and Swahili are maintained in the repertoires of the participants to some extent (see tables 16, 17, 18, 19, 20). French, Lingala and Swahili are perceived as strongest, second strongest or third strongest languages respectively for a large group of the questionnaire participants. Furthermore, from the correspondence analysis, it is clear that the older participants maintain French, Lingala and Swahili more overtly. The older questionnaire participants who learnt these languages in the DRC for education, cultural and ethnicity reasons, therefore, seem to maintain the languages as part of their repertoires in diaspora in a context like South Africa where these languages do not perform important functions in the broader community.

The questionnaire findings reveal that different factors contribute to the maintenance of French, Lingala and Swahili in the study. Participants indicate that the languages are maintained for interaction with friends and family and the languages are therefore predominantly used in the family and friendship domains. This is not strange in the context of migration. There is ample evidence from studies over time that the first wave of migrants usually maintain their home languages when they settle in a new country (Portes & Hao, 1998). In other words, the older migrants remain bi- and multilingual for some time, because they maintain their home languages and they add relevant languages from the host country

to their repertoires as well. This seems to be the case with the older participants in this study as well. In addition to the maintenance of French, Swahili and Lingala as languages used in the interaction with family and friends, Lingala seems to enjoy an additional status in the diaspora. This finding emerged from the interview data where Lingala is clearly viewed as a symbol of being “Congolese” outside of the DRC. This finding confirms views stated by other researchers (Meeuwis & Blommaert, 1999; Vigouroux, 2008, 2013) that Lingala holds a special position in the language repertoires of Congolese migrants.

Congolese languages (especially Lingala, Swahili and French) are maintained in a position of preference by the older participants because they are viewed as the conduits of expression of a Congolese cultural identity. Through these languages, migrants see themselves as members of the Congolese community (see excerpts 116 and 117).

The findings from the questionnaire and interview data prove that French, Swahili and Lingala are mostly maintained by the parents who brought these languages into South Africa. The participating parents are the primary speakers of Congolese languages in South Africa. As for the participating children, most of them do not really speak Congolese languages; and when Congolese languages are spoken, they are not their strongest languages. For the participants in this study, in most cases, the parents speak Congolese languages and the children speak South African languages. Thus, despite the presence of Congolese languages in certain families, one must confirm the decline in use of Congolese languages in the families and are not transferred to the children in this study. This finding is similar to Kamwangamalu’s (2013) findings of a study of Congolese families who live in the USA. In Kamwangamalu’s (2013) study, the participating parents use the ancestral language (Tshiluba, for example) and French to communicate between themselves; whereas the children use another language (mostly American English) as means of communication. The data from this study are similar. Generally, none of the Congolese children in the diaspora in the USA or in South Africa speak Congolese languages.

Even though the younger participants neither learn Congolese languages nor are these languages transmitted from the participating parents to the children, these languages maintain a symbolic function as a marker of Congolese identity outside the DRC. The children are aware of this symbolic function, and express some regret that they do not learn Congolese languages from their parents (see excerpts 107, 108, 109). The language maintenance of French, Lingala and Swahili among the older participants may be understood in relation with the notion of cultural capital as well. Maintenance of these languages provides access to the support network that is available among the Congolese

society in South Africa. Access to this support network could help Congolese migrants to sustain a living, especially in the adverse socio-economic environments often brought about by migration (Vigouroux, 2013:227). This motivation did not emerge in the current study. The cultural bond navigates through ethnic or cultural languages. National languages like Kikongo, Lingala, Swahili and Tshiluba are the canal of transmission of the cultural identities of Congolese migrants. However, data from this study indicate that the cultural bond with the national and ethnic languages is not sufficient reason for the parents to maintain the languages in the home domain because other languages are privileged for the future generation.

The findings from the questionnaire and interview data reveal that there is a true lack of intergenerational transfer of the Congolese languages among these participants. The main factor in the decline of the use of these languages for the participants in the study, is the fact that the languages are barely spoken in the families. The participating parents do not transfer the Congolese languages to their children in the home domain. Instead, the parents select to use English in the home domain, because they believe that it would improve the proficiency of their children in English so that they would have a better chance at succeeding academically (see excerpts 66, 67, 68, 69). Most of the time, the communication between the Congolese parents that participated in the study is done in a Congolese language (French, Lingala, Swahili or Tshiluba). The participating children therefore report to have a passive understanding of these languages that they never master or acquire fully because of the decision taken by their parents to use English as a home language (see excerpts 96, 97, 98, 99). The communication between parents and children is done mostly in English which becomes, *de facto*, the home language. As for the children, the findings prove that English and Afrikaans are commonly spoken at home (see excerpts 21, 29, 74). For the participants in this study, when in the home domain, English is the language of parents and children; and Afrikaans and English are the languages of the children.

In conclusion, one can therefore state that the findings in this study present a story of the maintenance of Congolese languages at three levels. On the first level, Congolese languages like French, Lingala, Swahili, and even Tshiluba and Kikongo, are maintained in the repertoires of the older participants. They learnt these languages in the DRC as languages of the family and the school and continue to use the languages when they network with the Congolese community in South Africa. On the second level, Congolese languages maintain a sense of symbolic and cultural value as a marker of being Congolese outside the DRC. In this case, it is especially Lingala that seems to be privileged as the language of being Congolese in the diaspora. On the third level, Congolese languages are

maintained to a lesser extent or are in decline among the Congolese children in the study. In the case of the findings of this study, it seems that the presence of Congolese languages in the home (as used by the parents in the study to communicate among themselves) is not enough to transfer the languages to the children. Despite the presence of the Congolese languages in the homes of the children (when their parents use it among themselves or with visiting Congolese family and friends), the deliberate decision by the parents to use English as a home language prohibits the transmission of the Congolese languages to the children.

According to Kamwangamalu (2013:36), languages that maintain a mainly “culturally symbolic” function can only survive if they are maintained and transmitted to the next generation based on the notion of the ethnolinguistic vitality of the linguistic group; which Kamwangamalu (2013:36) defines as the power that makes an ethnic group behave as a distinct entity in inter-group situations. The group that has high ethnolinguistic vitality is most likely to retain its language; while the group with low ethnolinguistic vitality is likely to lose its language and to replace its group language with the dominant language in its environment. In the Vaal Triangle region, the ethnolinguistic vitality of the Congolese community is not very vibrant. In many instances, as South Africa accounts for many unidentified foreigners, Congolese migrants do not like to be identified, or viewed as “illegal aliens”, because of their fear of victimisation.

Based on the findings from this study, it seems that the Congolese languages will not be maintained in the Vaal Triangle region in future, because these languages are only used by the older participants; the parents select to not transfer the Congolese languages to their children; and the parents select to use English as a home language to enable their children to become more proficient in the language so that they can succeed at school. If Romaine (2006) is correct, then the school as institution that transmits languages to children in the world today would ensure that the Congolese children in this study become good at English and ultimately lose even passive knowledge of the Congolese languages around them in their families and in the Congolese networks of people in South Africa.

Insofar, the maintenance of Congolese languages is problematic. On the one hand the older generation (parents) maintain the Congolese languages because of the link between the languages and their cultural identity as Congolese migrants in South Africa. Congolese languages are the reminder of their sense of belonging to their nation and to their ethnic groups. However, the younger generation, for the children who are born or who are growing up in South Africa, the maintenance of Congolese languages is not a priority and, in some

cases they do not speak these languages. Therefore, children question the value of their languages in South Africa (see excerpts 122, 114, 115).

5.2.2 Loss of Congolese languages

The findings from the questionnaire and interview data prove that Congolese languages are not learnt and therefore not maintained by migrant children that participated in the study. Language maintenance occurs when a language is spoken across generations (Fishman, 1965, 1966); and, language shift occurs when the younger generation of speakers do not continue to speak the language of their parents, but opt in favour of the dominant majority language, or the language of high status in their environment instead (Fishman, 1965, 1966). In the case of language shift, the community abandons its habitual home language in favour of another language which they believe is more prestigious and would provide them with access to better “social goods” (Dyers, 2008; Prabhakaran, 1992; Winford, 2003).

In the case of the Congolese migrant children that participated in this study, the Congolese languages are lost because of decisions taken by their parents for language use in the home domains. It seems logical to accept that migrant children from the DRC will have to use South African languages at school and when they interact with their South African friends. However, when it comes to the home domain, migrant families from the DRC could opt to continue to use Congolese languages or a Congolese language at home; knowing that their children will acquire South African languages in the school and from their South African friends. In other words, migrant families from the DRC could decide to deliberately cultivate a “bilingual” identity for their children by maintaining Congolese languages or a Congolese language at home; and encourage their children to acquire South African languages or a South African language well at school. Some migrant communities in South Africa succeeded in doing this (for example small German-speaking communities in South Africa, as reported by De Kadt (1995:108). In the case of the Indian diaspora to South Africa, this was not successful as is evidenced by Mesthrie (2000) on the loss of the Indian languages by South African Indian people. In both the cases of the German- and Indian-speaking communities referred to above, the school seems to have played a major role. In the case of the maintenance of German in smaller South African communities, the children often attend a German-speaking school upheld by the community (De Kadt, 1995). In the case of the loss of the Indian languages in South Africa, the use of English at school seems to have greatly contributed to the loss of the Indian languages (Mesthrie, 2000). The findings from this study seem to indicate that the Congolese migrants to the Vaal Triangle region will go the same

way as the speakers of Indian languages in South Africa: the heritage languages will eventually be lost.

This seems predominantly inevitable when one takes Hornberger's (1998:442) view about the role of the community as a factor in the process to influence instances of language loss or decline into consideration – the “factor of how a particular language community may react when confronted with imminent language loss. Specifically, whether or not the community can or will mobilise resources to counteract the loss”. The decline and ultimate loss of the Congolese languages in the families of the participants in this study are driven by the decisions of the parents about the non-use of Congolese languages as a home language in South Africa. The parents in this study are the primary agents that drive the use of South African languages in the home. As a “community” the parents in this study do not seem able or willing to mobilise any resources to counter the decline of use and the ultimate loss of the Congolese languages among their children.

The enormous pressure that migrant parents are under when they succeed in safely moving their families to host societies that they believe would provide better opportunities for the improvement of their lives and the lives of their children seem evident from the findings in this study. Despite the acknowledgement of the participating parents that Congolese languages are the carriers of their cultural identity, they take the decision to use a South African language (with global allure), namely English, as a home language. The participating parents unflinchingly believe that the linguistic empowerment of their children through the acquisition of English will provide a beneficial return or profit that will help them to have a better life, a better future, and to achieve favourable upward mobility. The participating parents link this desired socioeconomic mobility directly to advanced knowledge and proficiency in English. They feel so strongly about this issue, that they deliberately shift the home language of their children (see excerpts 44, 72, 94, 96, 98).

Therefore, the loss of Congolese languages in the lives of the participants occurs because of the home language family policies of the parents in the study. Children are “forced” to use South African languages instead of their cultural languages in the homes by their parents. Even French, a language with some international status, has lost its power among the participants. As a Congolese language transplanted to South Africa by migrants from the DRC, French is dying among the participants of this study in the Vaal Triangle region in South Africa. Another way to conceptualise the finding is to consider that the French that is carried with the migrant parents into South Africa, is not transferred to their children because it is not used as a language at home or a language of education. Furthermore, the findings

from this study indicate that in the context of Congolese migrants to the Vaal Triangle region in South Africa, Congolese languages are lost because parents take the deliberate decision to not use the Congolese languages with their children (see excerpts 44, 72, 94, 96, 98).

Kasanga (2008:334) notes that “one of the consequences of language shift is the difficulty of intergenerational communication”. The researcher agrees with Kasanga (2008: 333-334) that the maintenance of the heritage or migrant language, the language of the country of origin of migrants, “is a constant struggle between parental and in-group pressures to maintain sociocultural and linguistic heritage and the powerful influence of urban life, peer pressure and socialisation in the host country” for the second generation of migrants. Therefore, children who speak migrant languages at the time of settling in a new country may often shift their loyalty to the host country’s societal language; commonly used in their circles of peers, at school or on the playgrounds.

The researcher also agrees with Kasanga (2008:334) when he states that parents’ language policies are important in maintaining ethnic or heritage languages. Consequently, the use and maintenance of the migrant languages as well as the loss thereof is attributed to the parents’ attitudes (policies) towards these languages.

“Language choice is not arbitrary. Through the selection of one language over another, or one variety of the same language over another, speakers display what may be called ‘acts of identity’” (Romaine, 2000:35), choosing the groups with whom they wish to identify. Several researchers in different contexts indicate that a change in the home language of people is an important factor in the maintenance or loss of languages (Anthonissen, 2009; Deumert, 2010; Dyers, 2008a). This is also true in the case of the Congolese participants in this study.

Furthermore, it is not necessarily true that the more powerful group forces its language upon the less powerful group in the society (Romaine, 2000:33). In the multilingual dispensation in South Africa, Congolese migrants are not forced to change their home languages by any authority. Parents in this study select to use the perceived language of empowerment and upward mobility in South Africa (generally believed to be English) as a home language. The appeal of English in South Africa and across the world also seems to influence the participating Congolese parents in their language choices – even in the most sacred of domains, which is the home domain.

In a technical sense, Congolese languages are not yet lost when the data of this study are interpreted. Congolese languages are maintained by the older participants and to some extent, Lingala as a Congolese language retains its status as the language of the Congolese

diaspora. However, there is a trend towards shift and decline in the use of Congolese languages; especially in the home domains. In the DRC, Congolese languages have low symbolic power; and French is the prestigious national language used in the high domains; Lingala is the language of music and the army (Bokamba, 2009; Meeuwis, 2002; Mputubwele, 2003; Vigouroux, 2008). Despite the perception of a strong cultural identity, Congolese ethnic languages are in decline in use among migrants. This is the case even for the Tshiluba speakers that participated in the study, who indicated that being part of the Luba group is an important part of their cultural identity. Despite the high status of the cultural group, Tshiluba is not transmitted to the next generation in this study (see excerpts 60, 61, 62, 63). This finding is similar to that reported by Kamwangamalu (2013) in the context of Tshiluba-speaking people who migrate to the USA. The “Luba cultural factor” is important, but not enough to help the parents to use the language at home; neither is this cultural factor enough to motivate the children to acquire the heritage language of their parents (see excerpts 64, 65).

Even Lingala, that holds some status among Congolese migrants, in general, is not widely maintained in the participating group of people in this study. One of the reasons for the fate of Lingala, is that the language still carries negativity among the educated Congolese migrants to the Vaal Triangle region (see excerpts 52, 53). It therefore holds low symbolic power. Ironically, Lingala remains present in the homes of the Congolese migrants to the Vaal Triangle region through the popularity of Lingala music. If the entertainment domain wields a lot of power among the youth in particular, Lingala seems to have a chance to survive as a language of which migrant children will have some passive competence in future. As noted by Vigouroux (2013:242), Lingala is the language of “Congolité” (Congolikeness); an important marker of Congolese origin. Lingala helps to forge relationships that help to integrate members into in-group activities and get help in difficult times; while transforming itself to the language of socio-economic integration (Vigouroux, 2013).

The Congolese languages French, Kikongo, Tshiluba and Swahili are in decline. The findings from this study indicate that it does not mean that the languages are not spoken any more. It means that the languages have lost their importance among people in the participating community, as the languages are not perceived as languages that would give access to upward mobility needed by the Congolese migrants in South Africa. French, the most important language of upward social mobility in the Congo, is threatened by South African languages because it cannot provide that upward mobility and material gains in the host country (similar to the findings of Kamwangamalu (2013) for Congolese migrants to the

USA). The ultimate story of the Congolese languages used by the participants in this study, is one of slow decline and potential ultimate loss. However, one should understand that the role of the parents in intergenerational transfer should not be exaggerated. The environment in which children are raised influences their language choices as well.

5.2.3 Discrepancy between aspirations for the intergenerational transfer of Congolese languages reported in the questionnaire data and not supported by the interview data

As discussed earlier, there is a discrepancy between the questionnaire data and the interview data with regard to the expression of the aspirations of the participating parents in the study concerning the transfer of Congolese languages to their children. It is clear from tables 28, 36, 43, 51 and 59 that the participants express a desire or intention to transfer the Congolese languages to their children or future children. However, from the discussion of the interview data, it is clear that this aspiration is not realised in practice. Both the interview participants who are parents and children report that Congolese languages are not transferred to children who participated in this study.

It is difficult to explain this discrepancy. A potential explanation could be that parents know that transferring Congolese languages to their children is the 'right thing' to do and therefore they report this intention when they answer the questionnaire. However, when they are confronted with the practical challenges of a migrant existence, other pressing issues (like the search for a better life and which languages would provide access to a better life) direct what they actually do with language in their lives and in their homes. According to Bourdieu (Hanks, 2005:76), "The discrepancy between what speakers do and what they consider legitimate is a force of language change". This insight by Bourdieu (Hanks, 2005:76) provides a theoretical explanation for the discrepancy of views expressed by the participants in the questionnaires when compared to the interview data.

That is the importance of the interview to see if the participants still hold the same views as expressed in the questionnaire. In the interviews, participants surely are confronted with the language realities of migrations. Therefore, it is easy for them to open up and express their true feelings on issues of languages.

5.3 South African languages

Several South African languages are spoken by the Congolese migrants that participated in this study. In the Vaal Triangle region, there are three prominent languages: Sotho, Afrikaans and English. The status of these languages among the Congolese participants also emerges from the data in this study. The story of the South African languages that emerges from the data in this study is one of acquisition, status and the surprising use of some languages in the home domain. When weighted against each other in their different social domains, South African languages have a complex currency within the common linguistic market.

5.3.1 The symbolic power of English

From the findings, it appears that English is a language of high status. The high status of English could be attributed to its use in high domains. In South Africa, where it is frequently used as the language of administration, education and politics, English is the language of great currency that can certainly offer upward mobility to the users (see excerpts 11, 12, 13).

English holds a cross border status. Nowadays English is spoken in many countries in the world. The “unprecedented and overwhelming phenomenon of the global spread and uses of English” has triggered the acquisition of English for various functions (Kachru, 1996). English has, therefore, acquired world recognition as the preferred lingua franca that eases communication between speakers of different languages but also as the language of international business and organisations (Nickerson, 2005). In this position, English imposes itself as the language to the world (Rubdy & Saraceni, 2006).

Building on this background, Congolese migrants in South Africa have invested in the language to better their lives. As English is a main language of education, migrants’ children have primarily acquired English to succeed academically. English becomes, in most cases, the first language that is understood by the migrants’ children. According to Schneider (2014), the demand and the spread of English have grown dramatically in its Expanding Circle. In that context, English has moved from its previous limited roles of language of higher domains to the very few restricted functions in the personal domain. While changing these functions, English has moved from its use in the school domain to having invaded the home domain of Congolese migrants. English has been adopted as the home language of several migrants’ homes. Surprisingly, English has dethroned French – the language of high

symbolic power of the DRC – to become the main language of interaction between participating parents and children, and between participating children (see excerpts 44, 45, 46).

When French is replaced by English, language shift takes place in the home domain. This language shift occurs between two languages of high currency. On the one hand, French is perceived as the language of symbolic power in the DRC. It is used in high domains where it enjoys prestige and status. The mastery of French procures potential returns in the form of financial or material gains to better someone's life. It is necessary to stress that French is not the main home language of the DRC migrants (Meeuwis and Blommaert, 1998:84). For many Congolese who were born and raised in the in the DRC, the national or the local language of the region is practically acquired as the mother tongue as the main home language. Generally speaking, code-switching between French and the four national languages is the norm. As French and national (and regional) languages lost their symbolic power in South Africa, they are replaced with English, which could be a 'good business deal' for those who like to increase their fortunes.

Bourdieu (1991) acknowledges that entering a new linguistic market imposes on the migrant the pressure of adapting to the new laws of the market. The status of Congolese languages can only be appreciated if they can be used against the opposing South African languages in the same domain; where Congolese languages must be seen as valuable assets that offer return to its users. However, in the linguistic market, English is perceived as a valuable commodity compared to Congolese languages. The acquisition of English may offer the opportunity to improve one's material and financial gains. Consequently, linguistic practices and products such as languages "are caught up in, and moulded by, the forms of power and inequality which are pervasive features of societies as they actually exist" (Bourdieu, 1991).

Congolese parents are the main agents of English's arrival in the family. Insofar, the participating parents understood that English was a valuable asset to invest in. Parents' investment in English must be viewed in accordance with the global migratory picture. As English has become the language of the world (Kachru, 1996; Schneider, 2014), its apparent status has increased. Participating parents have made a language choice in importing English into the family, transforming English to home language. English as a choice must be understood, therefore, in the entire background of its increasing importance in both in South Africa and in the world. In the host country, the cultural identity of the migrants has not stopped the entrance of English into the home domain. Coetzee-van Rooy (2006) echoes this view, against the constructivist theories of learning and social models of second

language acquisition, that cultural identity profiles of second language learners are hazardous and problematic.

If one must take into account the implication of parents' language choices in the home domain, one must also understand the role of the school system which intensifies the grounding of English in migrants' homes. When one considers this influence, Bourdieu's (1991:6) statement that "the school came to be seen as a principal means of access to the labour market, especially in areas where" industrialisation was weak, is agreeable. Migrants' opinions of English as the language of education, work and international business improves the case for English becoming part of the migrant families' home language policy. Taking into account the fact that one must succeed in their studies in order to benefit from the job market, migrants must improve their English so that their chances of employment are bettered. In this context, migrant parents have decided to deliberately import the language into the home; changing the status of English from a school language to a home language – with linguistic consequences.

Vigouroux (2008, 2013) findings stressed that Congolese migrants do not find English advantages locally, because it does not increase their chances of getting a job. Therefore, the migrants do not learn (enough) English, which has been assumed to be the language of symbolic capital and economic promises in South Africa. Vigouroux's findings are problematic and misleading. My findings have revealed, of course, the high symbolic power and the place of English in the home domain. English has become an important language in the home domain.

It must be noted that despite the high symbolic power of English in general, the symbolic power of English seems to decrease in the domain of business and friendship where the mastery of African Bantu languages is as important as the knowledge of English. The next section discusses the symbolic power of Bantu languages for Congolese migrants.

5.3.2 The symbolic power of the Bantu languages

When Congolese migrants enter into South Africa, their language repertoires are affected. In the new land, several languages can be learnt. According to the geographical area, migrants can acquire Afrikaans, English, Sotho or Zulu as the three important languages of the region (Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2013, 2014). In general, these languages are acquired by the migrants. In the case of Sotho, the language is used differently by the adult migrants as compared to

Sotho's use by the migrants' children. For the participating adult migrants, Sotho is intensively used in the business domain. In the politics of *la débrouille* or making the best of one's capacity in the environment in which one evolves, individuals aim sustain a living especially in adverse socio-economic environments (Vigouroux, 2013:227). Congolese migrants are involved in the local business, which cater mostly to Black South Africans. In these negotiations, the knowledge of English is not sufficient as the use of Sotho as the language of business is important.

In this context, Sotho is the only language that can offer the necessary power to increase value among Bantu speaking South Africans. In other words, the symbolic power of Sotho, once a low symbolic power language, has increased to become the language of high currency that can 'open the doors' for business. In places like taxi ranks, train stations and the townships, the use of Sotho as the language of communication is a better choice. In these kinds of places, the use of English brings stigmatisation as migrants are referred to derogatively as '*makwerekwere*'; people who cannot speak a Black African language (Muzondidya, 2010; Matsinhe, 2011).

It must be noted that in some parts of the Vaal Triangle region, Sotho has a high symbolic power. This symbolic power is evident in former Black townships where Sotho is the mother tongue of many people. Thus, the use and acquisition of Sotho in order to access services is a good investment. Thus, the researcher is able to stress that in migratory settings, the currency of a language is related to the people and the place where the language is spoken. In terms of the people, the South African Bantu populations of the Vaal Triangle are the main users of the language which gives Sotho its symbolic power, especially as a language of business. When migrants move away from these cited contexts, Sotho will certainly decrease in its value.

From the above view, Sotho is generally a language with low symbolic power. Nevertheless, when transplanted in the correct conditions of place and people, Sotho becomes a language of high symbolic power, in both business and friendship, which is acquired by the migrant population.

For the participating children in this study, Sotho serves as the medium of communication between them and South African friends. Participating children acquired Sotho through the school system where they use English in the classroom and Sotho outside the classroom. According to the migrants' children, most Bantu-speaking children do not speak 'good' English, and are afraid of being stigmatised. The use of Sotho, therefore, facilitates communication between the Congolese migrant children and their South African

counterparts. This phenomenon attests to the notion that one needs to learn and speak the language if communication is to take place and better social cohesion is to be built (Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2014).

Zulu is one of the Bantu languages noted by the migrants. The findings reveal that Zulu is spoken by migrants (see excerpts 31, 32). The language has complex relations with the migrants. On the one hand the migrants would like to learn the language, and uplift it to the rank of the national language of South Africa. On the other hand, it is a language they do not learn at school because it can affect marks (see excerpts 34). It is within this complex situation that migrants are in contact with Zulu.

As a related language, migrants noted that Zulu is similar to Congolese national languages (see excerpts 126, 127, 128) making it easy to learn. Zulu is both a prominent South African home language as well as a prominent urban language that is spoken in several South African cities. Its importance within the South African linguistic market makes it favourable to acquire. Consequently, as a major South African lingua franca, Zulu is perceived as a useful language in the business sector and is useful for social cohesion.

Moreover, the symbolic power of the Zulu language is imbedded in the hypothetical notion of the great 'Zulu nation' which is linked to the actual Zulu kingdom. In that sense, the Zulu language is an important language to learn because of its perceived ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles, Bourhis & Taylor, 1977; Giles & Johnson, 1987; Kamwangamalu, 2013). According to (Kamwangamalu, 2013), the vitality of a linguistic group is measured in terms of the status of a language in relation to other languages in a polity; the numerical or demographic strength of the group; and institutional support enjoyed by a given language. In regard to ethnolinguistic vitality, Zulu is perceived as having high vitality within the South African linguistic market.

Insofar, the perceived strength or ethnolinguistic vitality of Zulu should certainly motivate Congolese migrants to acquire the language. That is why the language is learnt by certain migrants (see excerpts 31, 128), and unfortunately not acquired by others (see excerpts 33, 35.). However, Zulu still carries a low symbolic power as it is not learnt at school by the participating children.

However, English, Sotho and Zulu are not the only languages that have invaded the Congolese linguistic market. Afrikaans is another language that has changed the language repertoires of Congolese migrants.

5.3.3 The surprising status of Afrikaans

As stressed in Coetzee-Van Rooy (2013), the fortunes of post-apartheid Afrikaans are sometimes downgraded. However, it is amazing to listen to the story of the Congolese migrants. According to Louw (2004), Afrikaans is the home and wider communication language to millions of speakers. It was the dominant state language and, therefore, a major lingua franca in South Africa and Namibia. However, its fortune decreased by the end of the twentieth century when the language was replaced by English as the dominant state language. During the post-apartheid era, Afrikaners have been marginalised within the South African political process; and Afrikaans was dropped as a language of state administration. Dyers (2008a:51) notes that Afrikaans has suffered historically because of its association with the 40-odd years of apartheid where it was the language of the rulers, the Afrikaners, and has thus become 'the language of the oppressor'.

From these claims one should believe that Afrikaans should not be acquired, or not be learnt because it has lost its symbolic power within the new political dispensation. Against the opinions of Louw (2004) and Dyers (2008a), Congolese migrants are learning Afrikaans. Two questions arise from this picture. *Why do Congolese migrants acquire the language?*; and *What is the actual symbolic power of Afrikaans?*

The findings reveal that Congolese migrants are learning Afrikaans and according to the correspondence analysis, it was revealed that there is an age division in the learning of Afrikaans. On the one hand, Afrikaans is acquired by the participants' children. On the other hand, the participating parents do not acquire Afrikaans. The importance of the language is known between both age groups. Languages policies are family policies. It is the parents who decide on the language policy of the family. Indeed, when children learn languages, even at school, the parents' approval is important. In other words, children do not learn languages that parents forbid. That is the case of Afrikaans in Congolese migrants' homes. The researcher believes that the acquisition of Afrikaans by the children and more importantly, their parents' approval thereof, is a sign that Afrikaans is an important language to the Congolese migrants.

As stressed before, Afrikaans is learnt primarily by the migrant children. That makes Afrikaans the language of Congolese children, next to English. The presence of Afrikaans in the home domain is an important tool for the social promotion for the members of the family. For migrants' children, the language is important as it is a language used for wider communication in South Africa. In that sense, the language is useful in an attempt to change

the fortunes of the migrant families. As the language of education, business, work and politics, the acquisition of Afrikaans aids the social empowerment of the migrants. Of course, every migrant parent would not like for his/her children to go through the same difficulties as they once did. If a language can help to change the well-being of the family, the particular language should be learnt. That increases the acceptability of the migrants' children to acquire the language. The education system has facilitated the acquisition of Afrikaans for migrant children.

Therefore, the acquisition of Afrikaans by migrants goes against the popular opinions of South African people and of many South African scholars who think that the use of Afrikaans has decreased. Certainly, they do not have sufficient proof that, for example, the language has moved from its traditional sphere to expand to a new social structure: the Congolese migrants' communities. In this social structure, Afrikaans is perceived as a language of high symbolic power. The knowledge of Afrikaans improves one's social and financial status, and brings incentives to the family.

In the home domain, the importance of Afrikaans is evident by becoming the secret code of the children. As explained, the children who participated in this study use the language as medium of interaction among themselves (see excerpts 20, 21, 74). As Afrikaans has become part of the migrant families' repertoires, the language has found a new unusual home where it has increased its value.

Nowadays Afrikaans has moved on from its historical political background to become the language of 'freedom seekers' (refugees who come to South Africa). The present symbolic power of Afrikaans is not related to the old apartheid dispensation by these freedom seekers. For the Congolese migrants, Afrikaans is linked to its economic power as the language of business, work and education in South Africa. The researcher thus claims that the learning of Afrikaans could be linked to the idea of freedom because in many cases migrants are 'persecuted' by the speakers of Bantu languages. The xenophobia that migrant parents face on an everyday basis is not absent in the children's mind. In that case, both parents and children would like to improve their mastering of Afrikaans in order to distance themselves from their new Bantu-speaking oppressor. However, Afrikaans' ever-prevailing link to the apartheid regime lowers its symbolic power. Moreover, some migrant parents think that they could not learn Afrikaans because it is difficult for them. For these two reasons, it is understandable why Afrikaans is not part of migrant parents' language repertoires.

5.4 Conclusion

The language repertoires the Congolese migrants comprise both Congolese and South African languages. The Congolese languages are mainly maintained by the adult migrants who brought these particular languages into South Africa. For these participants, there is a sense of cultural attachment to the Congolese languages that remind of their homeland. Despite the fact that most migrants came to South Africa as refugees and as a result have bad memories of their home country, their good memories of the family and the country have not been forgotten. For this reason, migrants will still talk to their relatives back home using their Congolese languages.

In South Africa, the change in the laws of the linguistic market triggers an adaptation or evolution to the new linguistic market. Of course, each linguistic market is governed by its own laws. Coming into a new linguistic market demands the adaptation of language strategies in order to improve chances of success. Participating parents have to take important decisions regarding the language policy of their home, which will effectively enhance material and financial gains for themselves and for their children.

The Congolese languages like Kikongo, Swahili and Tshiluba brought into South Africa lose their symbolic power because the value of the host country's languages become more significant. Moreover, because the Congolese languages could not represent a sense of belonging to a specific ethnic group anymore, a decreased vitality is experienced. Congolese migrants are no longer viewed as separate ethnic groups but rather adopt a collective identity in the host country – that of a migrant. Therefore, Congolese languages that can carry that idea of togetherness are likely to survive the pressure of the laws of the new linguistic market. In that sense, a language, such as Lingala, survives as the language of the diaspora and the symbolic power of French, as more global language, is decreased because it has lost its *raison d'être* in the new linguistic market.

As for South African languages, it is therefore pragmatic for the languages to be acquired by the Congolese migrants. However, in the linguistic market, linguistic goods are not sold at the same value. Some linguistic goods are either expensive goods or are cheap goods. The choice belongs to the migrant who wants to acquire one or two languages in order to better his/her life. Consequently, language choices and language commodification and appropriation are intrinsically bound to the economic and symbolic benefits (profit) that speakers may gain from speaking or mastering a certain language to gain access to higher

positions and a better life in the host community (Vigouroux 2008: 228). That is the symbolic power of the language.

Building from Vigouroux (2008:228), Congolese migrants will add to their language repertoires those languages that are embedded with the greater benefits –the greater linguistic symbolic power. In this sense, with the contribution of Fishman's (1965) domain theory, migrants' languages are added according to the symbolic power of the language and the specific domain of use of the language. From both theories, the researcher maintains that languages are added because of their symbolic power in the particular domain. However, if a migrant thinks that one language will help to improve his/her fortunes in every single domain, he/she will be less successful in improving his/her social and financial life compare to the migrant who acquires several languages, divided into different domains.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Introduction

As expected, migration to South Africa from the DRC triggered changes in the language repertoires of the participants in the study. In general, migration provides a context that forces decisions to be made related to the maintenance of the languages already present in the language repertoires of migrants. At the same time, entrance into the host context poses extra demands on newcomers to identify the languages with the most currency on the new linguistic market to add to their language repertoires. The main aim of the study was to describe these changes that occur in the participants' language repertoires and to investigate the potential extra insights gained via the findings from this context where multilingual participants migrate to another multilingual host setting; a setting that is under-researched in general (Orman, 2012).

The study was conducted from the framework of Fishman's (1964, 1965, 1966) longstanding body of work related to issues of language maintenance and language shift. From this approach, the study focused on understanding the relationship between the stability and change in the habitual language use among populations that use different languages and are in contact on a common linguistic market. From the perspective of the Congolese languages in the repertoires of the participants, the phenomenon of potential language shift is the most prominent issue that was investigated in the study.

As stated in the classic work on this topic conducted by Fishman (1966) and Veltman (1983), language shift in migration contexts usually is a three generation phenomenon (Fishman, 1966; Portes & Hao, 1998; Prabhakaran, 1998; Veltman, 1983). The generation factor is an important indicator that influences language choices that favour language maintenance or language shift in a migrant context (Dyers, 2008a; Fishman, 1996; Prabhakaran, 1998). Usually, the first generation of migrants retain their home language and typically start to acquire a language or languages from the host country to enable them to live in their new setting. In the second generation, the children of migrants are potentially bilingual in the home language of their parents and in the "legitimate" (akin Bourdieu) language of the host country. The third generation of migrant children often become monolingual in the "legitimate" or dominant language of the host country. This is the typical picture of the changes that occur in the language repertoires of monolingual migrants who enter monolingual host countries. In this study, the views of older participants and younger

participants enabled the researcher to get some understanding of how the perceptions of the participants across generations are similar or different about issues of language maintenance and language shift related to the Congolese languages in the repertoires of the participants. These views are furthermore investigated in the context where multilingual Congolese migrant participants entered a multilingual country (South Africa). In contexts like South Africa, multiple languages, or set of languages are necessary to perform linguistic communication tasks (Aronin & Singleton, 2008, 2012). This study aimed to reflect on the lessons to be learnt from the changing repertoires of the Congolese migrants in this complex context. For example, do the same patterns of language change across generations described by scholars like Fishman (1966) and Veltman (1983) occur in this context?

In the rest of the chapter, the limitations of the study will be discussed and the main conclusions of the study will be offered, with a focus on the implication of the findings for the last research question posed for the study: what are the potential implications of the findings of the study for the classic theories of language maintenance, language shift and language acquisition?

6.2 Reflections on the limitations and strengths of the study

Before the main conclusions and implications of the study are discussed, it is important to briefly note the limitations of the study. The most obvious limitation is the qualitative nature of the study that prohibits the generalisation of the findings to other settings. This is an ordinary limitation of these types of studies, acknowledged by many scholars (Fishman, 1966; Portes & Hao, 1998; Prabhakaran, 1998; Veltman, 1983).

In the light of this acknowledgement, the researcher took care throughout the study to note that the findings are made with relation to the participants of this study. The researcher consciously monitored discussions to make sure that the findings were not inadvertently extended to settings outside of those for the study. However, if one takes broader social studies of conditions like “super-diversity” (Vertovec, 2007) in mind, findings from complex societies such as these might provide insight comparable societies that are developing elsewhere in the world due to globalisation. The potential wider implications of the study will be discussed in this chapter, keeping the limitations expressed in this section in mind.

Despite the obvious limitations of a qualitative study of this nature in relation to the generalizability of the findings to other settings, the strengths of a qualitative study are also

clearly visible. The use of snowball sampling resulted in the gathering of relevant information from the right people that lead to valid and reliable questionnaire and interview data that enabled the answering of the research questions posed for the study. The use of questionnaire and interview data enabled the gathering of data sets that answered the *what*, *how* and *why* questions of the study. Even more importantly, the gathering of different sets of data enabled the researcher to identify seeming contradictions between the data sets (for example the issue of the desire of participants to transfer Congolese languages to their children or future children expressed in the questionnaire data; and contradicted by the interview data). In the analyses of these contradictions, the researcher could reach more comprehensive insights which might have been missed if different data sets were not gathered. The richness of the data sets enabled the researcher to conduct fine, nuanced interpretations of the complex issues related to the changes in the multilingual language repertoires of the participants who migrated into a multilingual society.

The potential limitations of the methodologies were managed well by monitoring the discussions of the findings carefully so that the researcher did not inadvertently forget that the findings cannot be generalised without care to broader and comparable settings. The researcher also believes that the strength of the methodologies used outweighed the limitations by far.

6.3 Main conclusions of the study

The main conclusions discussed in this section focus broadly on the fate of the Congolese languages and the South African languages in the repertoires of the participants as demonstrated by the findings.

6.3.1 Language loyalty and language maintenance of Congolese languages

The participants in the study reveal a degree of language loyalty towards the Congolese languages in their repertoires. Language loyalty can be defined as the state of mind with which people view the language (or languages that they know), as an intact entity, which assumes a positive position on a scale of values that is worthy to defend in contexts where the language is in contact with other languages (Weinreich, 1968:99). Like nationalism, language loyalty is "a principle in the name of which people will rally themselves consciously and explicitly to resist changes in either the functions of their language or in the structure or

vocabulary" (Weinreich, 1968:99). Language loyalty therefore motivates the speakers of a particular language to use it in a wide variety of situations to facilitate communication (Herman, 1968:501). Language loyalty is viewed as the motivating force that leads speakers to maintain their languages against the influences of the other languages in the same linguistic market. An outcome of language loyalty, is language maintenance.

An overall finding of the study, is that the majority of the participants express the desire to transfer the languages that they know to their children or future children one day (see tables 28, 36, 46, 54 and 62). This attitude is expressed among all the participants for the strongest, second strongest, third strongest and fourth strongest languages. It is only in the case of fifth strongest languages that the majority of the participants express the views that they would not ensure that their fifth strongest languages are transferred to their children. These findings provide another indication for the language loyalty towards Congolese languages expressed by the participants.

The discrepancy between the desire expressed by the participants to transfer Congolese languages in their repertoires to their children or future children in the questionnaire data; and the lack of evidence of the transfer of Congolese languages by the participating parents in the study to the children in the study, provide an interesting perspective on the notion of language loyalty. Bourdieu's (in Hanks, 2005) view that the discrepancy between what the participants believe is legitimate (in this case, their view that Congolese languages should be transferred to their children or future children) and what they do (namely, the lack of transfer of Congolese languages in the homes of the participating families) drives the language change in the repertoires of the participants. In the case of the participating parents, Congolese languages are maintained and used for communication between parents and Congolese friends and family. In the name of language loyalty, participating children think, in principle, that learning Congolese languages is a good thing because those are the languages of their parents, and they realise that these languages are symbols of their roots, their origin (see excerpts 64, 100, 101 and 102). Even in this context where there is clear evidence that the Congolese languages are not learnt by the younger generation, many of the participating children think that it is worthy to learn their parents' languages in the name of "going back to the DRC one day" or for "speaking to relatives". The majority of the younger generation of the participants in the study (representing the second generation of DRC migrants to South Africa) do not have Congolese languages in their repertoires any more. One of the implications of the findings of the study that will be discussed below is that it seems that a form of "accelerated" loss of the Congolese languages are at work in the repertoires of the younger participants in the study. There is no broad-scale evidence from

the questionnaire or interview data that the younger participants retain a sizable form of bilingualism with a Congolese and a South African language in this “second generation” of migrants in this study.

It is also clear that the first generation of the participating Congolese migrants demonstrate some loyalty towards their Congolese home languages, because there is evidence that these languages are used when older participants communicate among themselves. In other words, the study provided evidence that Congolese languages (like French, Lingala and Swahili) are actively used to perform linguistic tasks between the participating parents. This finding is similar to findings reported by Kamwangamalu (2013) and Portes and Schauffler (1994:641) for Congolese migrants in different settings. The lack of intergenerational transfer of the Congolese languages to the children in the study will be discussed further in the next section.

The final conclusion about the maintenance of Congolese languages by the participants is that French is maintained by the participating parents as a home language that is used with other parents and Congolese friends and family. The Congolese national languages (Kikongo, Lingala, Tshiluba and Swahili) are mostly maintained as second or third strongest languages by the participating parents who use them from time to time as a reminder of their origin; especially for cultural purposes related to eating and food practices (see excerpt 76), music (see excerpts 84 and 87) and for making jokes (see excerpt 80).

6.3.2 Language disloyalty and language shift of Congolese languages

In this study, there is evidence of the lack of intergenerational transfer of Congolese languages from the participating parents to the children. In the case of the younger participants, one detects the lack of full acquisition (that can also be seen as a case of decline in the proficiency of a language learnt in childhood and the eventual loss of the language from the repertoire) of the Congolese languages as a result of especially the home language decisions made by the parents, as motivated by teachers (see excerpt 94). If language loyalty, as form of nationalism, is an attachment to one's language because it represents one's roots, traditions and culture, language disloyalty may be defined as the distance speakers have towards their ancestral language because it does not represent their aspirations any more. Those aspirations may be cultural, financial or material. “Language shift is defined as a change in the dominant language of an individual or group, with particular attention to the home domain” (Deumert, 2010:14). The decisions taken by

participating parents towards the home languages of their families have a profound influence on the abilities of the children to use Congolese languages. In this study, it seems that the Congolese languages will be replaced by other languages that can be used to express the cultural needs of the participating children in South Africa. Ultimately, it seems that the Congolese ancestral languages will be lost from the language repertoires of the participating children in this study.

It is acknowledged that multilingual speakers possess different levels of proficiency and knowledge for the range of languages included in their language repertoires and that these levels of proficiency and knowledge may change over time (Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2013:184). The researcher agrees with Coetzee-Van Rooy (2013:184) when she states that, “a difference between home language and strongest language is an indicator of potential language shift in future”. According to (Weinreich, 1968:107), language shift should be analysed in terms of the functions of the language in the contact situation, since a home language group may switch to a new language in certain functions but not in others. In migrating to a new country, the adult members of a home language group may come to use a new language in its dealing with governmental authorities, while the children use it in school; “at the same time, the old language may live on in the homes and at informal gatherings of the group” (Weinreich, 1968:107).

Building on this background, language shift is a linguistic phenomenon that has happened in the language repertoires of the participating Congolese children’s lives. According to the participating children (as reported in the interview data), the participating parents do not use the ancestral or ethnic languages when speaking to them at home in South Africa. In most cases, the main language of interaction in the parent-children interactions of the participants in this study has changed to English. Evidence from the parents and the children show that the participating parents have deliberately chosen English as the language of communication with their children in the home. Moreover, with the introduction of Afrikaans as an important school language, the participating children carry an English-Afrikaans repertoire into these Congolese homes. As, previously stated, the data from this study indicate that the participating children do not use Congolese languages anymore – not even in the context of ethnic or cultural group identity. This is the consequence of the prevalence of South African languages in the children’s language repertoires; and the lack of the intergenerational transfer of Congolese languages in the homes of the children. The situation arises as a response to the migrant context in which the participants search for a better life for themselves and their children.

From the findings in this study, one can only conclude that language shift from Congolese languages to English has started in the homes of the participants. The participants' awareness of the value of Congolese languages for their cultural identity, and the expression of the desire to transfer Congolese languages to their children or future children, do not seem sufficient to mobilise the participating parents to transfer the languages in a systematic way to their children. When taking into account the education needs and the social situation of Congolese migrant families in South Africa, parents make family language policies that will benefit their children in the host country. The awareness of the "legitimate" language of education in most South African schools (English) together with the parents' awareness that their transplanted languages have less (or no value) in South Africa, leads to the selection of South African languages - even in the intimate domain of the home. These language decisions are driven by the fortunes of the migrants to improve their lives. In many circumstances, parents do not speak their ethnic ancestral languages to their children (see excerpts 60, 61 and 62); and French seems to be a 'dying language' (see excerpts 47 and 48). Therefore, the parents' lack of intergenerational transfer is the main cause of language shift in the Congolese migrant homes of the participants. The South African school system does not put Congolese languages under pressure; but it also does not support the development of the Congolese languages because the languages (for example French) are not offered as subjects in schools. It is in the home domain that Congolese languages are affected and lost from the language repertoires of the migrants that participated in this study.

One of the conclusions to be made from the data reported in this study, is that language shift in the home occurs in the second generation and not in the third generation in the case of these participants. This finding is different from the typical context described by scholars like Fishman (1966), Portes and Hao (1998) and Veltman (1983) in cases where migrants from monolingual countries enter more monolingual contexts where the "legitimate" or dominant language is clearly visible. In these contexts, home language shift is reported in the third generation of migrant families. In the case of the participants, Romaine (2006) is correct in her assumption that schools are powerful institutions for language acquisition and maintenance in current societies. The acquisition of English as the home language and a prominent language in the repertoires of the participating children is driven among other factors by its prominence as the language of teaching and learning in the South African schools attended by the Congolese migrants in the Vaal Triangle region. However, the researcher also wants to suggest that the restoration of the intergenerational transmission of Congolese languages within the home domain of the participating families would only occur if the parents take deliberate decisions to raise their children with a Congolese language at home. This decision could bring back the vitality of Congolese national/ethnic languages. As

a remedy, Congolese parents should implement a Congolese home language policy that will retain Congolese languages within the home domain. The researcher is aware of the difficulties linked to this suggestion. *Which Congolese language should be transferred in the home in a context where the parents might use different national languages (for example Swahili and Tshiluba)? Or should the families transfer the official language, French? Or would Lingala be the more appropriate Congolese language to transfer because of its value as the language of Congolese music?* If the participating parents do not find a way to make this difficult decision, the clear path of the declining proficiency in Congolese languages (and the evidence of language loss) among the participating children will not be reversed.

The final conclusion about the loss of Congolese languages by the participating children in this study is that they seem to maintain weak passive knowledge of some of the Congolese languages used by their parents. If the participating families do not decide to transfer selected Congolese languages systematically in their homes, the language proficiency in Congolese languages of the second generation of migrant children in this study will decline even more drastically and the third generation will not be able to use Congolese languages at all.

6.3.3 The symbolic power of South African languages and language domain choices

The symbolic power of languages (Bourdieu, 1991) reflects the sustained status of languages in specific domains on the linguistic market. As a result, there is a hierarchy of languages (related to their status in the society) when they are used in the same domain on the same linguistic market. While considering the language repertoires of the participating Congolese migrants on the South African linguistic market, two groups of languages can be discerned: the languages with high symbolic power (English and Afrikaans), and the languages with lower symbolic power (Bantu languages like Sotho and Zulu in the case of the study). The first group of South African languages are learnt by the participants because they are useful for education, employment, upward mobility and as “secret languages”. The second group of South African languages are learnt to demonstrate social cohesion or integration with the Black African community members in the environment of the participants; and to a lesser extent for business purposes. The second group of languages are not learnt widely by the participants when they do not work in the Black Bantu townships in the Vaal Triangle region.

As revealed by the findings, the older generation of the participants do not acquire Bantu languages widely, because they do not attend schools where these languages are taught and used by learners among each other. Despite this situation, there is evidence that the older participants acquire Sotho for business purposes (see excerpts 7, 8 and 123) and for social cohesion and integration purposes (see excerpt 15). The younger participants acquire Sotho more frequently (see excerpts figure 4 and tables 5 and 6). In general, the younger participants are aware of the value of Sotho in the South African society that they form part of (see excerpts 10, 28, 69, 82) and for social cohesion and integration purposes (see excerpt 27).

While acknowledging the awareness of the participants of the importance of Bantu languages like Sotho, there is clear evidence from the data that the acquisition of English seems compulsory and imperative because it is perceived by the participants as the “legitimate” language (akin Bourdieu) to acquire in South Africa because English is the language that provides access to education (see excerpts 94 and 97) and financial and material upward mobility (see excerpts 1-6, 11, 13, 18 and 38). Ultimately, English becomes the selected home language for participating families in the study (see excerpts 21, 30, 48, 72-75, 98 and 99). In the questionnaire data, one can see the high status of English as a strongest, second strongest, third strongest, fourth strongest and fifth strongest language (see tables 22, 30, 38, 48 and 56). The high status of English in South Africa among the participants is supported by evidence in the questionnaire and interview data.

The Congolese children who participated in the study observed that South African Bantu language speakers do not speak ‘good English’ (see excerpts 10, 28, 82). That is an important statement considering that the speakers of South African Bantu languages have been in contact with English for decades. But the context changes when the researcher observed that the participating Congolese children use English as their main home language. Their mastery of English must therefore improve better than their Bantu language speakers’ counterparts. But, if South Africans do not speak ‘good English’, *what are the consequences in terms of education in South Africa?*

For this reason, this situation must worry the education language policies scholars who promote English as the sole medium of education in South Africa. Again nowadays rhetoric of promoting English as the ONLY language policy promoted by the ‘fees must fall’ movement will surely have devastating consequences in the type of products that will be produced by South African universities. The researcher would suggest, as Van Rooy and

Coetzee-Van Rooy (2015), that universities must improve their academic literacy programs to improve the level of language mastery of their students as well as their academic success.

Afrikaans also holds high status among some of the participants (see excerpts 16, 32, 78 and 115), and it is learnt by the younger participants (see Figure 4) primarily in school (see excerpts 27 and 67). In the participating families, Afrikaans is also used by the children (excerpts 17 to 19) and it even gains status as a secret language used between children when they need to exclude their parents from a discussion (see excerpts 20 and 21).

In addition to the evidence of the awareness of the participants about the high status of South African Bantu languages, English and Afrikaans, the symbolic power of South African languages emerges as a complex matter from the data. In the researcher's view, no South African language solely held positive symbolic power. The participants were also keenly aware of these complexities when they noted, for example, that English was perceived by some South Africans as a "foreign language" (see excerpt 53). Negative attitudes towards Afrikaans were also noted by the participants (see excerpts 22 to 25). The participants were also of the view that the learning of Bantu languages do not necessarily add value to the lives of Congolese migrants in the Vaal Triangle region (see excerpts 29 and 30).

The awareness of the complexities related to the symbolic power of South African languages is an important finding in the study. It provides evidence of the abilities of these multilingual participants to integrate seemingly contradictory knowledge about the status of languages when they make decisions related to their language repertoires. The use of South African languages is related to the value of the language in a particular domain as perceived by the participants. The status of languages are dynamic.

6.4 Implications of the findings of the study for existing theories of language maintenance, language shift and language loss in migratory settings

In the researcher's view, the findings of the study challenge existing theories of language maintenance, acquisition and shift in three ways. On the one hand, the findings suggest that when multilingual people migrate to multilingual countries, language loss of the ancestral languages occurs faster and more fully in the second generation of the migrating population than assumed in existing theories where language loss was considered a "third generation" phenomenon. In the case of these participants, there seems to be no effort among the participating parents to foster bilingualism or multilingualism in a Congolese language or

languages and a South African language or languages. There is evidence reported in this study that the participating parents deliberately take the decision to use English as a language in the home with their children and they do not seem to act on the desire that they express that they would like to transfer Congolese languages to their children or future children.

This notion introduces the second finding from the study that holds potential implications for existing theories of language maintenance, acquisition and shift. Despite the desire expressed by the participants to transfer Congolese languages to their children, and the participants awareness of the symbolic power of Congolese languages for their cultural identity, the high status or symbolic power of these languages do not result in concrete efforts to maintain the languages in the homes of the participants.

From Bourdieu's (1991) perspective, one should understand that when two languages compete for the same domain, the language with the highest symbolic power will retain the domain whereas the low symbolic power language will be side-lined. As a result, migrants manage their language repertoires according to the cost and benefits of investing in the acquisition of new languages. The language that offers less returns should be dismissed when the language that offers high returns should imposed in the domain (Vigouroux, 2008:236).

Coupled with the Bourdieu's (1991) theory of symbolic power, in the linguistic market, the actual symbolic value of a language depends on the actual symbolic capital of the groups associated with it. Because migrants' choices are related to their social economic outcomes, therefore, language choices are associated with the symbolic returns or benefits that speakers and their groups may gain from learning a specific language (Vigouroux, 2008:239).

Evidence from this study indicate that these views might be too simplistic to apply in contexts where multilingual people migrate into multilingual societies. Even though Congolese languages like French hold high symbolic power among the participants, the language is not used as a home language and not transferred to the participating children; even though participants are aware of the lower status of Bantu languages and Afrikaans, these languages are used to some extent in the business domain, and in the case of Afrikaans, even enters the home domains of some of the participating families. The symbolic power of languages therefore seem to be a necessary but not a sufficient condition for the

maintenance of ancestral languages by multilingual people who migrate to multilingual settings where many languages are in contact.

This notion leads to the third implication of the findings of the study that relate to the importance of the selection of specific languages to use in specific domains, or the notion of diglossia or the functional distribution of languages used in specific domains. Evidence from this study indicates that multilingual people do not neatly select one language at a time to use in one domain at a time, as discussed above.

The findings from this study indicate that language contact outcomes in multilingual settings where multilingual people are in contact in migratory settings are complex.

6.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, the findings of the study indicate that complex settings as those reported on in this study could possibly lead to new patterns of language maintenance, language acquisition and language shift. For example, Congolese languages are maintained by the participating parents; and are in decline among the participating children who are regarded as second generation migrants. Congolese languages are important languages for cultural identity; yet Congolese languages are not transferred to the participating children and are not used as home languages mainly because the parents choose English as home language because of pressure from teachers and because of the high status of English in South Africa. South African languages are acquired mainly by the participating children; and they even assign symbolic power to stigmatised languages like Afrikaans by using them as secret languages in their homes with their families. In the context of social studies, Vertovec (2007:1024) states that “new patterns of super-diversity pose significant challenges for both policy and research”. The researcher wants to argue that the setting of this study could be regarded as “super-diverse” because multilingual Congolese migrant participants migrate into the multilingual Vaal Triangle region. It is not surprising that the findings from this study seem to challenge existing theories of language maintenance, acquisition and loss. Moreover, in the current context where global migrations are on the increase, more and more societies will start to resemble the context of this study. The findings of the study could probably become more relevant globally.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adepoju, A. 2003. Continuity and changing configurations of migration to and from the Republic of South Africa. *International Migration*, 41(1): 1-28.
- Alexander, N. 1989. Language policy and national unity in South Africa/Azania. Cape Town: Buchu books.
- Anthonissen, C. 2009. Bilingualism and language shift in Western Cape communities. *Stellenbosh Papers in Linguistics PLUS*, 38(2009):61-76.
- Antonova-Ünlü, E., Sağın-Şimşek, Ç., Ateşman, E. & Lozovska, A. 2015. Russian immigrant diaspora in Turkey: language use, preference and attitudes. *Turkish Studies*, 16(3):391–410.
- Aronin, L. & Singleton, D. 2008. Multilingualism as a new linguistic dispensation. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 5(1):1–16.
- Aronin, L. & Singleton, D. 2012. Multilingualism. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Barkhuizen, G. 2006. Immigrant parents' perceptions of their children's language practices: Afrikaans speakers living in New Zealand. *Language Awareness*, 15(2):63-79.
- Barnes, L. & McDuling, A. 1995. The future of Portuguese in South Africa: maintenance and shift factors. *Language Matters*, 26(1):147-162.
- Barret, D. & Allen, N. 2016. Border security: how the US and Britain compare. *The Telegraph*: 16 Apr. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/04/19/border-security-how-the-us-and-britain-compare/> Date of access: 5 Dec. 2016.
- Benor, B.S. 2010. Ethnolinguistic repertoire: shifting the analytic focus in language and ethnicity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 14(2):159–183.
- Beukes, A.M. 2009. Language policy incongruity and African languages in postapartheid South Africa. *Language Matters*, 40(1):35–55.
- Bhatt, R. 2010. World Englishes, globalization and the politics of conformity. (In Saxena, M., & Omoniyi, T., eds. Contending with globalization in world Englishes. Bristol; Buffalo: Multilingual Matters. p. 93-112).

- Blommaert, J. 2005. Situating language rights: English and Swahili in Tanzania revisited. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 9(3): 390-417.
- Blommaert, J. 2010. The sociolinguistics of globalization. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Blommaert, J. 2014. State ideology and language in Tanzania. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Blommaert, J. & Backus, A. 2012. Superdiverse repertoires and the individual. *Tilburg Papers in Cultural Studies*, 24:1–32.
- Blommaert, J. & Dong, J. 2010. Language and movement in space. (In Coupland, N., ed. The handbook of language and globalization. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell. p. 366-385).
- Blommaert, J. & Rampton, B. 2012. Language and superdiversity. *MMG Working Paper*, 12(09):1-36.
- Bokamba, E.G. 1977. The impact of multilingualism on language structures: the case of Central Africa. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 19.5(1977):181-202.
- Bokamba, E.G. 1984. French colonial language policy in Africa and its legacies. *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences*, 14(2):1–35.
- Bokamba, E.G. 2008. D. R. Congo: language and ‘authentic nationalism’. (In Simpson, A., ed. Language and national identity in Africa. London: Oxford University Press. p. 214–234).
- Bokamba, E.G. 2009. The spread of Lingala as a lingua franca in the Congo Basin. (In Laughlin, F., ed. The languages of urban Africa. London; New York: Continuum. p. 50-70).
- Bourdieu, P. 1977. The economics of linguistic exchanges. *Social Science Information*, 16(6):645-668.
- Bourdieu, P. 1991. Language and symbolic power. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Brücker, H., Epstein, G.S., McCormick, B., Saint-Paul, G., Venturini, A. & Zimmermann, K.F. 2001. Managing migration in the European welfare state. (In Boeri, T., Hanson, G & McCormick, B., eds. Immigration policy and the welfare system. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Part 1. p. 1-167).
- Bryman, A. 2006. Mixed methods. London: Sage.

- Burton, D. & Bartlett, S. 2009. Key issues for education researchers. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Campbell, T. & Fiske, W. 1959. Convergent and discriminant validation by the multitrait-multimethod matrix. *Psychological Bulletin*, 56(2):81-105.
- Carstens, W.A.M. 2006. Die breë debat (1994-2005) oor die toekoms van Afrikaans: enkele temas en inisiatiewe.[*The broad debate about the future of Afrikaans: some themes and initiatives*]. *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe*, 46:2-36.
- Carstens, W.A.M. 2013. Die storie van Afrikaans: perspektiewe op die verlede, hede en toekoms. [*The story of Afrikaans: perspectives on the past, present and future*]. *Tydskrif vir Nederlands en Afrikaans*, 20(1):21–49.
- Castles, S. 2002. Migration and community formation under conditions of globalization. *International migration review*, 36(4):1143–1168.
- Castles, S. 2004. The factors that make and unmake migration policies. *The International Migration Review*, 38(3):852-884.
- Castles, S. 2010. Understanding global migration: a social transformation perspective. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(10): 1565-1586.
- Census 2011. South African population census, community profiles. Pretoria: Statistics South Africa (accessed 6 February 2013).
- Churchill, S. 2003. Language education, Canadian civic identity and the identities of Canadians. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.
- Clyne, M. 2003. Dynamics of language contact. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Coetzee-Van Rooy, A.S. 2002. Cultural identity profiles of Afrikaans and Southern Sotho learners of English: resource or hazard? *World Englishes*, 21(1):63-81.
- Coetzee-Van Rooy, A.S. 2006. Integrativeness: untenable for world Englishes learners? *World Englishes*, 25(3/4):437-450.
- Coetzee-Van Rooy, A.S. 2010. Discrepancies between perceptions of English proficiency and scores on English tests: implications for teaching English in South Africa. *Journal for Language Teaching*, 45(2):151-181.

- Coetzee-Van Rooy, A.S. 2012. Flourishing functional multilingualism: evidence from language repertoires in the Vaal Triangle region. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 218:87-119.
- Coetzee-Van Rooy, S. 2013. Afrikaans in contact with English: endangered language or case of exceptional bilingualism? *International Journal of Sociology of Language*, 224:179-207.
- Coetzee-Van Rooy, S. 2014. Explaining the ordinary magic of stable African multilingualism in the Vaal Triangle region in South Africa. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 35(2):121-138.
- Coetzee-Van Rooy, S. 2016. The language repertoire of a Venda home language speaker: reflections on methodology. *Language Matters*, 47(2):269-296.
- Coetzee-Van Rooy, S. & Van Rooy, B. 2005. Labels, comprehensibility and status in South African English. *World Englishes*, 24:1–19.
- Coteanu, I. 1957. A propos des langues mixtes (sur l'istro-roumain) [About mixed languages on the istro-Romanian]. Bucharest: Mélanges linguistiques.
- Coulmas, F. 2013. Sociolinguistics: the study of speakers' choices. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Coupland, N. 2010. The handbook of language and globalization. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Creese A. & Blackledge, A. 2010. Translanguaging in the bilingual classroom: a pedagogy for learning and teaching? *Modern Language Journal*, 94:103-115.
- Creswell, J. 2005. Educational research: planning, conducting, and evaluating quantitative and qualitative research. New Jersey: Pearson.
- Creswell, J. 2009. Editorial: mapping the field of mixed methods research. *Journal of mixed methods research*, 3(2):95-108.
- Creswell, J. 2014. Research design, qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Crystal, D. 2003. Language death. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Darwin, C. 1937. *The origin of species and the descent of man*. New York: The modern library.
- D'warte, J. 2014. Exploring linguistic repertoires: multiple language use and multimodal literacy activity in five classrooms. *The Australian journal of language and literacy*, 37(1):21-30.
- De Kadt, E. 1995. German speakers in South Africa, with special reference to KwaZulu-Natal. (In Mesthrie, R., ed. 1995. *Language and social history. Studies in South African sociolinguistics*. Cape Town/Johannesburg: David Philip. p. 107-128).
- Dekoke, T. 2016. Congolese migrants and South African language appropriation. *Language Matters*, 47(1):84-104.
- Department of Arts and Culture. 2003. *National Language Policy Framework*. Pretoria: South African Government.
- De Swaan, A. 2001. English in the social sciences. (In Ulrich, A., ed. *The dominance of English as a language of science: effects on other languages and language communities*. Vol. 84. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. p. 71-83).
- De Swaan, A. 2004. Endangered languages, sociolinguistics, and linguistic sentimentalism. *European Review*, 12(4):567-580.
- Deumert, A. 2004. *Language standardization and language change: the dynamics of Cape Dutch* (Vol. 19). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Deumert, A. 2006. *Migration and language*. Victoria: Elsevier.
- Deumert, A. 2010. Tracking the demographics of (urban) language shift- an analysis of the South African census data. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 31(1):13-35.
- Doom, R. & Gorus, J. 2000. *Politics and economics of conflict in the Great Lakes region*. Brussels: VUB University Press.
- Dörnyei, Z. 2007. *Research methods in applied linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Downes, W. 1998. *Language and society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Du Plessis, T. 2006. From monolingual to bilingual higher education: the repositioning of historically Afrikaans-medium universities in South Africa. *Language policy*, 5(1):87-113.
- Durrheim, K. 2006. Research design. (In Terre Blanche, M., Durrheim, K. & Painter, D. eds. Research in practice. Applied methods for the social sciences. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press. p. 33-59).
- Dustmann, C. 1999. Temporary migration, human capital, and language fluency of migrants. *Scandinavian journal of economics*, 101(2):297-314.
- Dyers, C. 2008a. Language shift or maintenance? Factors determining the use of Afrikaans among some township youth in South Africa. *Stellenbosch papers in linguistics*, 38:49-72.
- Dyers, C. 2008b. Truncated multilingualism or language shift? An examination of language use in intimate domains in a new non-racial working class township in South Africa. *Journal of multilingualism and multicultural development*, 29(2):110-126.
- Edwards, J. 2009. Language and identity. Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Errington, J. 2001. Colonial linguistics. *Annual review of anthropology*, 2001:19-39.
- Feilzer, M. 2010. Doing mixed methods research pragmatically: implications for the rediscovery of pragmatism as a research paradigm. *Journal of mixed methods research*, 4(1):6–16.
- Field, A. 2009. Discovering statistics using SPSS. London: Sage.
- Field, A. & Hole, G. 2003. How to design and report experiments. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Finocchiaro, C. M. 2004. Language maintenance shift of a three generation Italian family in three migration countries: An international comparative study. Unpublished PhD thesis: The University of Melbourne.
- Fishman, J. 1964. Language maintenance and language shift as a field of inquiry: A definition of the field and suggestions for its further development. *Linguistics*, 2(9):32-70.
- Fishman, J. 1965. Who speaks what language to whom and when? *La Linguistique*, 1(2):67-88.
- Fishman, J. 1966. Language loyalty in the United States. The Hague: Mouton & Co.

- Fishman, J. 1972. The sociology of language: an interdisciplinary social science approach to language in society. Rowley, Mass: Newbury House.
- Fishman, J. 2001. Why is it so hard to save a threatened language? (*In* Fishman, J. ed. Can threatened languages be saved? Reversing language shift, revisited: a 21st century perceptive. Clevedon: Multilingual matters. p. 1-22).
- Friedman, T. 2006. The world is flat: the globalized world in the twenty-first century. London: Penguin.
- Friese, S. 2012. Qualitative data analysis with ATLAS.ti. London: SAGE Publications.
- Gal, S. 1979. Language shift. Social determinants of linguistic change in bilingual Austria. New York: Academic Press.
- Giles, H. & Johnson, P. 1987. Ethnolinguistic identity theory: a social psychological approach to language maintenance. *International journal of sociology of language*, 68:69-100.
- Giles, H., Bourhis, R.Y. & Taylor, D. M. 1977. Towards a theory of language in ethnic group relations. (*In* Giles, H., ed. *Language, Ethnicity and Inter-group Relations*. London: Academic. p. 307-348).
- Gilman, C. 1979. Convergence in Lingala and Zairian Swahili. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 21.2(1979):99-109.
- Goyvaerts, D.L. 1995. The emergence of Lingala in Bukavu, Zaire. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 33(02):299-314.
- Goyvaerts, D.L. 1997. Power, ethnicity, and the remarkable rise of Lingala in Bukavu, eastern Zaïre. *International journal of the sociology of language*, 128.1(1997):25-44.
- Green, W.R. 1937. Darwin and evolution. *Bios*, 8(2):71-75+77.
- Grenoble, L.A. and Whaley, L.J. 2006. Saving languages: an introduction to language revitalization. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Habwe, J. 2009. The role of Kiswahili in the integration of East Africa. *Journal of Pan African Studies*, 2(8):1-10.

- Hanks, W.F. 2005. Pierre Bourdieu and the practices of language. *Annual review of anthropology*, 34:67-83.
- Heller, M. 2013. Language as resource in the globalized new economy. (In Coupland, N. ed. 2013. *The handbook of language and globalization*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell. p. 349-365).
- Henning, E., Van Rensburg, W. & Smit, B. 2004. *Finding your way in qualitative research*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Herman, S. 1968. Explorations in the social psychology of language choice. (In Fishman, J., ed. *Readings in the sociology of language*. The Hague/Paris: Mouton. p. 492–530).
- Hill, T. & Lewicki, P. 2006. *Statistics: methods and applications: a comprehensive reference for science, industry, and data mining*. 1st ed. Tulsa: StatSoft, Inc.
- Hornberger, N. 1998. Language policy, language education, language rights: indigenous, immigrant, and international perspectives. *Language in Society*, 27(4):439-458.
- Hornberger, N. & Link, H. 2012. Translanguaging and transnational literacies in multilingual classrooms: a biliteracy lens. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 15(3):261-278.
- Houis, M. 1971. *Anthropologie linguistique de l'Afrique noire* [Linguistic anthropology of Black Africa]. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Ivankova, N., Creswell, J. & Clark V. 2007. Foundations and approaches to mixed methods research. (In Maree, K. ed. *First steps in research*. Pretoria: Van Schaik. p. 253-282).
- Johnson, B., & Onwuegbuzie, J. 2004. Mixed methods research: a research paradigm whose time has come. *Educational Researcher*, 33(7):14-26.
- Kachru, B. 1996. The paradigms of marginality. *World Englishes*, 15(3):241-255.
- Kamwangamalu, N. 2003. Globalization of English, and language maintenance and shift in South Africa. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 2003(164):65–81.
- Kamwangamalu, N. 2013. Rural-urban and south-north migrations and language maintenance and shift. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 2013(222):33–49.

- Kasanga, L. 2008. 'Cheap' c'est quoi? Immigrant teenagers in quest of multilingual competence and identity. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 5(4):333-356.
- Kasanga, L. 2012. Mapping the linguistic landscape of a commercial neighbourhood in Central Phnom Penh. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 33(6):553-567.
- Kerswill, P. 2006. Migration and language. (In Mattheier, K., Ammon, U. & Trudgill, P. eds. *Sociolinguistics/ Soziolinguistik. An international handbook of science of language and society*, 2nd ed. Vol. 3. Berlin: De Gruyter. p.1-27).
- Kiparsky, V. 1938. Comment on Vocablo, some observations on mixed languages. *Actes du Quatrième Congrès Internationale de Linguistes*, Copenhagen: Einar Munksgaard, 176.
- Kramsch, C. 2009. The multilingual subject. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kriel, M. 2015. Accented futures. Language activism and the ending of apartheid. *Language Matters: studies in the languages of Africa*, 47(1):84-104.
- Laufer, B. 2003. The influence of L2 on L1 collocational knowledge and on L1 lexical diversity in free written expression. (In Cook, V., ed. *Effects of the second language on the first*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. p. 19-31).
- Leedy, P. & Ormrod, J. 2010. Practical research. Planning and design. 9th ed. Boston: Pearson.
- Leitch, M. 2005. Aspects of multilingualism in the Lingala zone of Congo. [http://www. sil. org/SILESR/2005/silesr2005-010](http://www.sil.org/SILESR/2005/silesr2005-010) 2 Dec. 2016.
- Lekogo, R. 2006. Francophone Africans in Cape Town: A failed migration? (In Cross, C., Gelderblom, G., Roux, N., & Mafukidze, J. eds. *Views on migration in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Cape Town: HSRC Press. p. 207-219).
- Levitt, P. 2003. You know, Abraham was really the first immigrant: religion and transnational migration. *International Migration Review*, 37(3):847-873.
- Louw, E. 2004. Political power, national identity, and language: the case of Afrikaans. *International Journal of Sociology of Language*, 170 (2004):43–58.
- Maharaj, B. 2001. Economic refugees in post-apartheid South Africa. Assets or liabilities? Implications for progressive migration policies. *GeoJournal*, 56(1):47-57.

- Mankiw, G. & Taylor, M. 2011. Economics. Andover: Cengage Learning.
- Maree, K. 2007. First steps in research. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Maree, K & Pietersen, J. 2007. The quantitative research process. (*In Maree, K. ed. First steps in research. Pretoria: Van Schaik. p. 145-181*).
- Maritz, P. A. 2016. Black Afrikaans: an alternative use: original research. *Literator: Journal of Literary Criticism, Comparative Linguistics and Literary Studies*, 37(2):1–12.
- Matsinhe, M.D. 2011. Africa's fear of itself: the ideology of makwerekwere in South Africa. *Third World Quarterly*, 32(2):295-313.
- Mazrui, A.M. 2007. Swahili beyond the boundaries. Literature, language and identity. Ohio: Ohio University Press.
- Mc Laughlin, F. ed. 2009. The languages of urban Africa. London: Continuum.
- McCormick, K. 2006. Afrikaans as a lingua franca in South Africa: the politics of change. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 177(2006):91–109.
- Meeuwis, M. & Blommaert, J. 1998. A monolectal view of code-switching: layered code-switching among Zairians in Belgium. (*In Auer, P. ed. code-switching in conversation. London: Routledge. p. 76–98*).
- Meeuwis, M. 2002. The sociolinguistics of Lingala as a diaspora lingua franca: historical and language ideological aspects. (*In Knapp, K. & Meierkord, C. eds. Lingua franca communication. Frankfurt: Language. p. 29-52*).
- Meny-Gibert, X. & Chiumia, S. 2016. Factsheet: Where do South Africa's international migrants come from? <https://africacheck.org/factsheets/geography-migration/> Date of access: 5 Dec. 2016.
- Mertens, D. 1998. Research methods in education and psychology. Integrating diversity with quantitative and qualitative approaches. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Mertens, D. 2003. Mixed models and the politics of human research: the transformative-emancipatory perspective. (*In Tashakkori, A. & Teddlie, C., eds. Handbook of mixed methods in social & behavioral research. CA: Sage. p. 135-166*).

- Mesthrie, R. 1995. *Language and social history: studies in South African sociolinguistics*. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Mesthrie, R. 2000. *Language in Indenture. A sociolinguistic history of Bhojpuri-Hindi in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Mesthrie, R. ed. 2002. *Language in South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mestrie, R. 2008. South Africa: the rocky road to nation building. (*In* Simpson, A., ed. *Language and national identity in Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p. 314-338).
- Milroy, L. & Margrain, S. 1980. Vernacular language loyalty and social network. *Language in Society*, 9(1):43-70.
- Mohr, P. & Fourie, L. 2008. *Economics for South African students*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Morrow, S. 2008. Qualitative research in counselling psychology: conceptual foundations. *The Counselling Psychologist*, 35(2):209-235.
- Mputubwele, M. 2003. The Zairian language policy and its effect on the literatures in national languages. *Journal of Black Studies*, 34(2):272-292.
- Mufwene, S. 1998. What research on creole genesis can contribute to historical linguistics. *Amsterdam studies in the theory and history of linguistic science series*, 4:315-338.
- Mufwene, S. 2000. Creolization is a social, not a structural process (*In* Neumann-Holzschuch, I. & Schneider, E. eds. *Degrees of restructuring in creole languages*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. p. 65-83).
- Mufwene, S. 2001. *The ecology of language evolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mufwene, S. 2002. Colonisation, globalisation, and the future of languages in the twenty-first century. *International Journal on Multilingual Societies*, 4(2):162-193.
- Mufwene, S. 2005. Globalization and the myth of killer languages: what's really going on. *Perspectives on endangerment*, 5(21):19-48.
- Mufwene, S. 2007. Population movements and contacts in language evolution. *Journal of Language Contact*, 1(1):63-92.

- Mufwene, S. 2008. Language evolution. Contact, competition and change. London: Continuum.
- Mufwene, S. 2010. Globalization, global English, and world English (es): myths and facts. (In Coupland, N. ed. The handbook of language and globalization. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell. p. 31-57).
- Mufwene, S. & Vigouroux, C. 2008. Colonization, globalization and language vitality in Africa: an introduction. (In Mufwene, S. & Vigouroux, C. eds. Globalization and language vitality: perspectives from Africa. London: Continuum Press. p. 1-31).
- Mufwene, S. & Vigouroux, C. 2013. Colonisation, globalisation et vitalité du français. Paris: Odile Jacob.
- Muzondidya, J. 2010. Makwerekwere: migration, citizenship and identity among Zimbabweans in South Africa. (In McGregor, J. & Primorac, R. eds. Zimbabwe's new diaspora: displacement and the politics of survival. New York and Oxford. Brehahn Books. p. 37-58).
- Ndhlovu, F. 2013. Vehicular cross-border languages, multilingualism and the African integration debate: a decolonial epistemic perspective. *Africanus*, 43(2):13-33.
- Ndlangamandla, S. 2010. Performing gendered identities: in search of the masculine voice in siSwati popular music, *Muziki*, 7(1):97-106.
- Nettle, D. & Romaine, S. 2000. Vanishing voice. The extinction of world's languages. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nickerson, C. 2005. English as a lingua franca in international business contexts. *English for specific purposes*, 24(4):367-380.
- Nieuwenhuis, J. 2007. Introducing qualitative research. (In Maree, K. ed. First steps in research. Pretoria: Van Schaik. p. 47-68).
- Norton, B. 2000. Identity and language learning: gender, ethnicity and educational change. Harlow: Longman.
- Nunan, D. 2001. English as a global language. *TESOL Quarterly*, 35(4):605-606.

- Ohly, R. 1978. Language + revolution = Swahili. Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press.
- Ohly, R. 1982. Report on the state of modern Swahili in urban Bukoba, *Kiswahili*, 49(2): 81–92.
- Orman, J. 2012. Language and ‘new’ African migration to South Africa: an overview and some reflections on theoretical implications for policy and planning. *Language Policy*, 11(4):301-322.
- Palomares, E. & Quiminal, C. 2012. Migration in South Africa: tensions and post-apartheid inter-ethnic compromises in a central district of Johannesburg. (In Streiff-Fénart, J. & Wa Kabwe Segatti, A. eds. The challenge of the threshold. Border closures and migration movements in Africa. Lanham, Md: Lexington Books. p.121-140).
- Paulston, B. 1994. Linguistics minorities in multilingual settings. Implications for language policies. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Peirce, B.N. 1995. Social identity, investment, and language learning. *TESOL Quarterly*, 29(1):9-31.
- Phillipson, R. 1992. Linguistic imperialism. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Phillipson, R. 1996. Linguistic imperialism: African perspectives. *ELT journal*, 50(2):160-167.
- Phillipson, R. 1998. Globalizing English: are linguistic human rights an alternative to linguistic imperialism? *Language Sciences*, 20(1):101-112.
- Phillipson, R. & Skutnabb-Kangas, T. 1996. English only worldwide or language ecology? *TESOL Quarterly*, 30(3): 429–452.
- Plowright, D. 2011. Using mixed methods. Frameworks for an integrated methodology. Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Portes, A. & Hao, L. 1998. E pluribus unum: bilingualism and loss of language in the second generation. *Sociology of Education*, 71(4):269-294.
- Portes, A. & Schauflyer, R. 1994. Language and the second generation: bilingualism yesterday and today. *International Migration Review*, 28(4):640-661.

- Prabhakaran, V. 1992. Generation - a factor in language shift and maintenance of the Telugu language. *South African Journal of Linguistics*, 10(3):167-172.
- Prabhakaran, V. 1998. Multilingualism and language shift in South Africa: the case of Telugu, an Indian language. *Multilingual*, 17(2/3):297-319.
- Prince, R. 2006. Popular music and Luo youth in western Kenya. (In Christiansen, C., Mats Utas, M., & Henrik E. Vigh, E.H., eds. Navigating youth, generating adulthood social becoming in an African context. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.
- Probyn, M. 2009. Smuggling the vernacular into the classroom: conflicts and tensions in classroom codeswitching in township/rural schools in South Africa. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 12(2):123-136.
- Pütz, M., ed. 1997. Language choices: conditions, constraints, and consequences. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Richards, L. & Morse, J. 2007. User's guide to qualitative methods. 2nd ed. London: SAGE.
- Ridings, C.M., Gefen, D. & Arinze, B. 2002. Some antecedents and effects of trust in virtual communities. *The Journal of Strategic Information Systems*, 11(3):271-295.
- Romaine, S. 2000. Language in society. An Introduction to sociolinguistics. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Romaine, S. 2006. Planning for the survival of linguistic diversity. *Language Policy*, 5(4):443-475.
- Rubdy, R. & Saraceni, M. 2006. English in the world: global rules, global roles. London: Continuum.
- Schiller, N.G. 2009. A global perspective on transnational migration: theorizing migration without methodological nationalism. *Centre on Migration, Policy and Society*: 111-129.
- Schmied, J. 1990. Language use, attitudes, performance and sociolinguistic background: a study of English in Kenya, Tanzania, and Zambia. *English world-wide*, 11(2):217-238.
- Schneider, E. 2003. The dynamics of new Englishes: from identity construction to dialect birth. *Language*, 79(2):233-281.

- Schneider, E. 2007. Postcolonial English. Varieties around the world. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schneider, E. 2014. New reflections on the evolutionary dynamics of world Englishes. *World Englishes*, 33(1):9-32.
- Seliger, H. & Vago, R. 1991. First language attrition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sinclair, C. 2006. Developing students' creativity: Searching for an appropriate pedagogy. (In Jackson, N., Oliver, M., Shaw, M. & Wisdom, J. eds. Developing creativity in higher education: an imaginative curriculum. London: Routledge. p. 118-141).
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. & Phillipson, R. 2010. The global politics of language: markets, maintenance, marginalization, or murder? (In Coupland, N. ed. The handbook of language and globalization. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell. p. 77-100).
- Spring, M. 2003. Sampling in difficult to access communities. *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 191(12): 813-819.
- Tannenbaum, M. & Howie, P. 2002. The association between language maintenance and family relations: Chinese immigrant children in Australia. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 23(5):408-424.
- Tawalbeh, A., Dagamseh, M., & Abdullah Al-Matraf, A. 2013. Language maintenance or shift? A sociolinguistic investigation into the use of Hausa among Saudi Hausa in the city of Mecca. *Acta Linguistica*, 7(2):128-141.
- Terre Blanche, M. & Durrheim, K. 2006. Histories of the present: social science research in context. (In Terre Blanche, M., Durrheim, K. & Painter, D. eds. Research in practice. Applied methods for the social sciences. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press. p. 1-17).
- Terre Blanche, M., Durrheim, K. & Painter, D. eds. 2006. Research in practice. Applied methods for the social sciences. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.
- Thomason, S. 2001. Language contact. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Thomason, S. & Kaufman, T. 1988. Language contact, creolization, and genetic linguistics. Oxford: University of California Press.

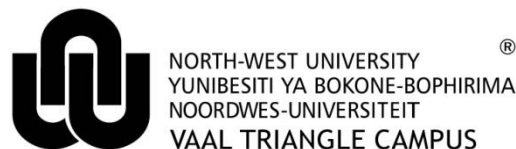
- Thompson, S. 2001. *Language contact: an introduction*. Washington: Georgetown University Press.
- Topan, F. 2008. Tanzania: the development of Swahili as a national language and official language. (In Simpson, A., ed. *Language and National Identity in Africa*, London: Oxford University Press. p. 252–256).
- Tsing, A. 2000. The global situation. *Cultural Anthropology*, 15(3): 327-360.
- Tsuda, Y. 1992. The dominance of English and linguistic discrimination. *Media Development*, 39(1):32-34.
- Valentine, G. 1993. Desperately seeking Susan: a geography of lesbian friendships. *Area*, 25(2):109-116.
- Van Rooy, B. 2014. Convergence and endonormativity at phase four of the dynamic model. (In Buschfeld, S., Hoffmann, T., Huber, M. & Kautzsch, A., eds. *The evolution of Englishes: the dynamic model and beyond*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins, p. 21–38).
- Van Rooy, B. & Coetzee-Van Rooy, S. 2015. The language issue and academic performance at a South African University. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, 2015:1-16.
- Veltman, C. 1983. *Language shift in the United States*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Vertovec, S. 2007. Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and racial studies*, 30(6):1024-1054.
- Vigouroux, C. 2005. There are no whites in Africa: territoriality, language, and identity among Francophone Africans in Cape Town. *Language & communication*, 25(2005):237-255.
- Vigouroux, C. 2008a. From Africa to Africa: globalization, migration and language vitality. (In Vigouroux, C. & Mufwene, S. eds. *Globalization and language vitality: perspectives from Africa*. London: Continuum. p. 229-251).
- Vigouroux, C. 2008b. The smuggling of la Francophonie: Francophone Africans in Anglophone Cape Town (South Africa). *Language in Society*, 37(3):415-434.

- Vigouroux, C. 2009. A relational understanding of language practice: interacting timespaces in a single ethnographic site. (*In* Collins, J., Slembrouck, S. & Baynham, M. eds. *Globalization and language in contact*. London: Continuum. p. 62-84).
- Vigouroux, C. 2013. Informal economy and language practice in the context of migrants. (*In* Duchêne, A., Moyer, M., & Roberts, C., eds. *Language, migration and social inequalities: a critical sociolinguistic perspective on institutions and work*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters. p. 225-247).
- Vigouroux, C. & Mufwene, S. 2008. *Globalization and language vitality: perspectives from Africa*. London: Continuum.
- Vocadlo, O. 1938. Some observations on mixed languages. *Actes du IV Congrès Internationale de Linguistes*:169:76.
- Wa Kabwe-Segatti, A. & Landau, L. 2011. Contemporary migration to South Africa. A regional development issue. Washington: The World Bank/Agence française pour le développement.
- Webb, V. 1992. Language attitudes in South Africa: implications for post-apartheid democracy. (*In* Pütz, M. ed. *Thirty years of linguistic evolution*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins. p. 429-460).
- Webb, V. 1999. Multilingualism in democratic South Africa: the overestimation of language policy. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 19(1999):351–366.
- Wei, L. 2011. Moment analysis and translanguaging space: discursive construction of identities by multilingual Chinese youth in Britain. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43(2011):1222–1235.
- Weinreich, U. 1968. *Languages in contact. Findings and problems*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Williams, C. 2008. *Linguistic minorities in democratic context*. Hampshire: Palgrave/Macmillan.
- White, B.W. 1999. Modernity's trickster: dipping and throwing in Congolese popular dance music. *Research in African Literatures*, 30.4:156-175.

- Williams, C. 2008. Linguistic minorities in democratic context. Language and globalization. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Winford, D. 2003. An introduction to contact linguistics. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Annexures

Annexure A: Language repertoire questionnaire



LANGUAGE REPERTOIRE QUESTIONNAIRE

Name		Cell number	

Information and consent to participate in the Language Repertoire Project

I am studying the language repertoires of Congolese migrants in South Africa. A language repertoire includes all the languages that multilingual people know and use at different levels of proficiency and for different purposes in their life. It is well-known that migrants continue to use some of the languages they bring from their home country, sometimes they lose languages and sometimes they add new languages. Continuing to use the languages one knows, losing languages and/or adding new languages is not “good” or “bad”. Changes in one’s language repertoire are a simple result of migration during one’s life.

I want to understand how the changes in your language repertoire happened during your life. I would like to understand why you continue to use some Congolese languages, why you stop to use some Congolese languages and why you add some South African languages to your repertoire. I would also like to know which languages you would like your children to know and use now and in future.

As part of the project, you would be asked to complete a questionnaire, participate in some interviews with me, and to submit copies of selected writing samples done by you in the languages you use.

Questionnaire

The questionnaire includes questions about your language repertoire. This includes your language history, language experience, language attitudes, your perceptions of your proficiency in the languages you know and your language use. Your responses will be reported anonymously.

Interview

After the completion of the questionnaire, I would like to please schedule a date to have an interview with you in which I want to explore three main issues: your current use of Congolese languages, your current use of South African languages and your expectations for the languages your children (if you have children) use currently and in the future. The interview will be audio-recorded and I will transcribe the interview data so that I get a written text of our discussion to study. I also ask permission to contact you for a follow up interview if there are issues I need to ask you about for clarification. Your responses will be reported anonymously.

Writing samples

As part of the project, I will ask you to please submit selected writing samples (e.g. SMS texts or email messages etc.) to me. We will agree on what texts and when and how the submission will take place. The analysis of your writing samples will be reported anonymously.

You are aware that the data will be used for research purposes by me and research colleagues at the North-West University. We might report you data anonymously in my PhD thesis, academic conference papers and academic articles.

You are aware that you may decide to not participate in the study at any time. If you agree to participate, please indicate this below by signing the consent form.

The project has ethics clearance as part of the umbrella project managed by my promotor, Prof Susan Coetzee-Van Rooy (NWU-00031-07-A1 from 19-11-2012 to 18-11-2018). If you need more information about the project, please contact me at: 016-910-3493 / taty.dekoke@nwu.ac.za. You can also contact Prof Coetzee-Van Rooy at: 016-910-3422 / susan.coetzeevanrooy@nwu.ac.za.

Signature_____

Date_____

Research project number allocated to questionnaire:	

SECTION A: BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Please put a cross (X) in the block that represents the appropriate answer at the following questions, or write down an answer.

1. Gender

Female	1	Male	2

2. When did you arrive in South Africa? Please write down the year and the month.

YEAR: _____ MONTH: _____

3. Do you plan to stay in South Africa?

YES	1	NO	2

4. Please indicate your age by putting a cross (X) in the appropriate block below.

Age	Answer	Age	Answer
17 years or younger	1	40-44 years	7
18-20 years	2	45-49 years	8
21-24 years	3	50-54 years	9
25-29 years	4	55-59 years	10
30-34 years	5	60-64 years	11
35-39 years	6	65+ years	12

5. What is the highest educational level completed by your father or the male caregiver (e.g. stepfather etc.) that you grew up with?

I did not grow up with a father or male caregiver	1
My father or male caregiver completed primary school (école primaire)	2
My father or male caregiver completed "cycle d'orientation" (CO)	3
My father or male caregiver completed "école moyenne" (D4)	4
My father or male caregiver completed secondary school (D6, Diplôme d'Etat)	5
My father or male caregiver completed a qualification at university/college	6

6. What is the highest educational level completed by your mother or the female caregiver (e.g. stepmother) that you grew up with?

I did not grow up with a mother or female caregiver	1
My mother or female caregiver completed primary school (école primaire)	2
My mother or female caregiver completed "cycle d'orientation" (CO)	3
My mother or female caregiver completed "école moyenne" (D4)	4
My mother or female caregiver completed secondary school (D6, Diplôme d'Etat)	5
My mother or female caregiver completed a qualification at university/college	6

7. What is your highest educational level completed?

I did not study	1
I completed primary school (école primaire)	2
I completed "cycle d'orientation" (CO)	3
I completed "école moyenne" (D4)	4
I completed secondary school (D6, Diplôme d'Etat)	5
I completed a qualification at university/college	6
Other (specify below)	7

Please write in the "OTHER" highest educational level if selected above:

8. Who lives with you at home and how many and which language (s) do you speak with them most of the time?

People	Number of languages you use with them	Names of language(s) you use with them
a. Spouse		
b. Parent(s)		
c. Child / Children		
d. Brother/s		
e. Sister/s		
f. Cousin/s		
g. Friend/s		
h. Other (write in below)		

Please write in the "OTHER" people who live with you if selected above:

SECTION B: LANGUAGE HISTORY, EXPERIENCE, PROFICIENCY and USE

9. Please look at the following grid with languages. Please mark the ONE language you use at home most of the time.

Afrikaans	01	Spanish	12
Dutch	02	Swahili	13
English	03	Swati	14
French	04	Tshiluba	15
German	05	Tsonga	16
Kikongo	06	Tswana	17
Lingala	07	Venda	18
Ndebele	08	Xhosa	19
Portuguese	09	Zulu	20
Sepedi	10	Other (specify below)	21
Sotho	11		

Please write in the "OTHER" language if selected above:

10. Please mark ALL languages you know in the grid below.

Afrikaans	01	Spanish	12
Dutch	02	Swahili	13
English	03	Swati	14
French	04	Tshiluba	15
German	05	Tsonga	16
Kikongo	06	Tswana	17
Lingala	07	Venda	18
Ndebele	08	Xhosa	19
Portuguese	09	Zulu	20
Sepedi	10	Other (specify below)	21
Sotho	11		

Please write in the "OTHER" language if selected above:

Please list all the languages you know in the order that you learnt them as best as you can remember. Based on your memory, which language did you learn first, second, third etc. Please keep in mind ALL the languages you know (Congolese, South African and other) when you answer this question. Please write down the number of the language you learnt as they are coded in question 10 above.

Order of acquisition or learning of languages	Please write down the NUMBER for the languages you learnt as they are coded in the grid above at question 10. For example: if you learnt “Southern Sotho” first, you would write “13” next to “Language I learnt FIRST” below.
Language I learnt FIRST	
SECOND language that I learnt	
THIRD language that I learnt	
FOURTH language that I learnt	
FIFTH language that I learnt	

11. Do you have children at this moment? Please tick (✓) the appropriate block below.

YES	1	NO	2

12. If you do not have children now, would you like to have children in future?
Please tick (✓) the appropriate block below.

YES	1	NO	2

SECTION C: LANGUAGES IN YOUR REPERTOIRE

In this section, you are asked questions about **ALL** the languages you know **NOW** or **ALL** the languages in your **CURRENT** repertoire.

The following explanation is used for the concept, “**knowing a language**”, in this questionnaire:

People who know more than one language do not know them all at the same level of proficiency and they use them for different communication functions. They either use the languages they know to:

- **listen** and **understand** when people use the language; and / or
- they are able to **speak** the language; and/or
- they are able to **read** the language; and / or
- they are able to **write** the language.

You will be asked to answer these questions in the order of proficiency/ability in the languages you know **NOW**. In other words, you will first think about the language you are **most proficient/ strongest in now**, then the language you feel you are second strongest in now etc.

Remember, your **strongest language now** is the language that is the **easiest** for you to use to express yourself and people who know your strongest language understand what you want to communicate with ease in this language.

13. We know that there are changes in “**strength**” or “**proficiency**” of the languages we know and use. These changes are normal, because our language repertoires adjust to perform the language functions we need over the time span of our lives.

In the table below, please rank ALL the languages you knew as a CHILD (between birth and 18 years of age) in the order from strongest language to second strongest language etc.

EXAMPLE:

For example, my friend was born into an Afrikaans family and she learnt English as a school child. Her closest friend was Tswana as she grew up. Her strongest language as a child was AFRIKAANS, then ENGLISH, then TSWANA. The ranking of her languages according to “strength” or “proficiency” as a child would be as follows:

Language	Code	RANK	Language	Code	RANK
Afrikaans	01	1	Spanish	12	
Dutch	02		Swahili	13	
English	03	2	Swati	14	
French	04		Tshiluba	15	
German	05		Tsonga	16	
Kikongo	06		Tswana	17	3
Lingala	07		Venda	18	
Ndebele	08		Xhosa	19	
Portuguese	09		Zulu	20	
Sepedi	10		Other (specify below)	21	
Sotho	11				

CURRENTLY, she is not using Tswana any more. She married an English person and started to use English mainly at the home and at work. She uses Afrikaans with family. As a student she took 2 years of French at university. Her strongest CURRENT language is ENGLISH, then AFRIKAANS, then FRENCH. The ranking of her languages according to CURRENT “strength” or “proficiency” would be as follows:

Language	Code	RANK	Language	Code	RANK
Afrikaans	01	2	Spanish	12	
Dutch	02	1	Swahili	13	
English	03		Swati	14	
French	04	3	Tshiluba	15	
German	05		Tsonga	16	
Kikongo	06		Tswana	17	
Lingala	07		Venda	18	
Ndebele	08		Xhosa	19	
Portuguese	09		Zulu	20	
Sepedi	10		Other (specify below)	21	
Sotho	11				

- 13.1** Following the examples above, in the table below, please rank ALL the languages you knew as a CHILD (between birth and 18 years of age) in the order from strongest language to second strongest language etc.

Language	Code	RANK	Language	Code	RANK
Afrikaans	01		Spanish	12	
Dutch	02		Swahili	13	
English	03		Swati	14	
French	04		Tshiluba	15	
German	05		Tsonga	16	
Kikongo	06		Tswana	17	
Lingala	07		Venda	18	
Ndebele	08		Xhosa	19	
Portuguese	09		Zulu	20	
Sepedi	10		Other (specify below)	21	
Sotho	11				

- 13.2** Following the examples above, in the table below, please rank ALL the languages you know NOW in the order from strongest language to second strongest language etc.

Language	Code	RANK	Language	Code	RANK
Afrikaans	01		Spanish	12	
Dutch	02		Swahili	13	
English	03		Swati	14	
French	04		Tshiluba	15	
German	05		Tsonga	16	
Kikongo	06		Tswana	17	
Lingala	07		Venda	18	
Ndebele	08		Xhosa	19	
Portuguese	09		Zulu	20	
Sepedi	10		Other (specify below)	21	
Sotho	11				

- 14.** Please answer the following set of questions about your CURRENT strongest language (as indicated at question 14.2).

MY STRONGEST LANGUAGE

This is the language I am the most proficient in, or my STRONGEST language. All questions below refer to my CURRENT knowledge of (please write in the name of your STRONGEST language here ...):

_____ (write the name of the relevant language).

Note:

STRONGEST refers to your perception of your relative abilities/proficiency of this language in your life, not to language you learnt first, second etc.

- 14.1** On the scale from 1 to 5, please select your level of proficiency for each of the following skills in your STRONGEST language. Please put a cross (X) in the appropriate block below for each of the skills.

Language skills	My perception of my proficiency in my STRONGEST language for these skills				
	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good
a. Speaking	1	2	3	4	5
b. Listening/ Understanding	1	2	3	4	5
c. Reading	1	2	3	4	5
d. Writing	1	2	3	4	5

- 14.2** What do you READ in your STRONGEST language and how well do you read each of the following types of reading materials in your STRONGEST language?

Please indicate how often you read all the different types of material indicated in COLUMN A in you STRONGEST language by putting a cross (X) next to all the appropriate items.

Please indicate how well you read the following reading materials in your STRONGEST language in COLUMN B.

Types of READING material you read in your STRONGEST language	COLUMN A					COLUMN B				
	Please indicate how often you read all the different types of material indicated in COLUMN A in you STRONGEST language by putting a cross (X) next to all the appropriate items.					Please indicate how well you read the following reading materials in your STRONGEST language in COLUMN B by putting a cross (X) next to all the appropriate items.				
	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good
a. Magazines	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
b. Newspapers	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
c. Books	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
d. The Bible / other religious material	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
e. Email correspondence on computer	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
f. Text messages on my cell phone	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
g. Material on the Internet	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
h. Other types of texts (specify below)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5

Please write in the types of texts if you selected “OTHER” above:

14.3 How often and how well do you WRITE in your STRONGEST language?

Please indicate how often you WRITE all the different types of texts in you STRONGEST language in COLUMN A below by putting a cross (X) next to all the appropriate items.

Please indicate how well you write the following texts materials in your STRONGEST language in COLUMN B.

Types of texts you <u>WRITE</u> in your STRONGEST language	COLUMN A					COLUMN B				
	Please indicate how often you write all the different types of texts indicated in COLUMN A in you STRONGEST language by putting a cross (X) next to all the appropriate items.					Please indicate how well you write the following texts in your STRONGEST language in COLUMN B by putting a cross (X) next to all the appropriate items.				
	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good
a. Email correspondence on computer	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
b. Text messages on my cell phone	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
c. Lists (grocery lists, to do lists)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
d. Notes to children / house mates / people working in my home	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
e. Longer documents for work (e.g. memorandums)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
f. Longer documents for study purposes	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
g. Longer documents for personal purposes (e.g. journals / letters)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
h. Other types of texts (please specify below)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5

Please write in the types of texts if you selected “OTHER” above:

- 14.4** On the scale from 1 to 4, please select how much the following factors contributed to you learning your STRONGEST language. Please put a cross (X) in the appropriate block below for each of the skills.

Context	Rating of contribution to LEARNING your STRONGEST language in the following contexts			
	Did not contribute at all	Small contribution	Medium contribution	Large contribution
a. Interacting with friends	1	2	3	4
b. Interacting with family	1	2	3	4
c. Reading	1	2	3	4
d. Language CDs or DVDs for self-instruction	1	2	3	4
e. Watching TV	1	2	3	4
f. Listening to the radio/ music	1	2	3	4
g. Used at school/ for education	1	2	3	4

14.5 Please rate to what extend you are currently exposed to your STRONGEST language in the following contexts. Please put a cross (X) in the appropriate block below for each of the skills.

Context	Rating of current exposure to your STRONGEST language in the following contexts at this moment			
	No exposure at all	Irregular exposure	Regular exposure	Constant exposure
a. Interacting with friends	1	2	3	4
b. Interacting with family	1	2	3	4
c. Reading	1	2	3	4
d. Language CDs or DVDs for self-instruction	1	2	3	4
e. Watching TV	1	2	3	4
f. Listening to the radio/ music	1	2	3	4
g. Used at school/ for education	1	2	3	4

14.6 If you have children today or intend to have children in future, would you make sure that they learn your strongest language?

YES	1	NO	2

14.7 Rate how well you agree with the following statements when thinking about your STRONGEST language using the following scale:

Statements about my STRONGEST language	When I think of my STRONGEST language ...				
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
a. I like to speak this language	1	2	3	4	5
b. I feel confident using this language	1	2	3	4	5
c. I think it is important to be good at this language	1	2	3	4	5
d. This language forms part of who I am (my identity)	1	2	3	4	5

15. MY SECOND STRONGEST LANGUAGE

This is the language I am the second most proficient in or my SECOND STRONGEST language. All questions below refer to my knowledge of (please write in the name of your SECOND STRONGEST language here ...):

_____ (write the name of the relevant language).

Note:

STRONGEST refers to your perception of your relative abilities/proficiency of this language in your life, not to language you learnt first, second etc.

15.1 On the scale from 1 to 5, please select your level of proficiency for each of the following skills in your SECOND STRONGEST language. Please put a cross (X) in the appropriate block below for each of the skills.

Language skills	My perception of my proficiency in my SECOND STRONGEST language for these skills				
	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good
a. Speaking	1	2	3	4	5
b. Listening/ Understanding	1	2	3	4	5
c. Reading	1	2	3	4	5
d. Writing	1	2	3	4	5

15.2 What do you READ in your SECOND STRONGEST language and how well do you read each of the following types of reading materials in your SECOND STRONGEST language?

Please indicate how often you read all the different types of material indicated in COLUMN A in your SECOND STRONGEST language by putting a cross (X) next to all the appropriate items.

Please indicate how well you read the following reading materials in your SECOND STRONGEST language in COLUMN B.

Types of <u>READING</u> material you read in your SECOND STRONGEST language	COLUMN A					COLUMN B				
	Please indicate how often you read all the different types of material indicated in COLUMN A in your SECOND STRONGEST language by putting a cross (X) next to all the appropriate items.					Please indicate how well you read the following reading materials in your SECOND STRONGEST language in COLUMN B by putting a cross (X) next to all the appropriate items.				
	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good
a. Magazines	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
b. Newspapers	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
c. Books	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
d. The Bible / other religious material	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
e. Email correspondence on computer	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
f. Text messages on my cell phone	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
g. Material on the Internet	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
h. Other types of texts (specify below)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5

Please write in the types of texts if you selected "OTHER" above

15.3 How often and how well do you WRITE in your SECOND STRONGEST language?

Please indicate how often you WRITE all the different types of texts in you SECOND STRONGEST language in COLUMN A below by putting a cross (X) next to all the appropriate items.

Please indicate how well you write the following texts materials in your SECOND STRONGEST language in COLUMN B.

Types of texts you <u>WRITE</u> in your SECOND STRONGEST language	COLUMN A					COLUMN B				
	Please indicate how often you write all the different types of texts indicated in COLUMN A in you SECOND STRONGEST language by putting a cross (X) next to all the appropriate items.					Please indicate how well you write the following texts in your SECOND STRONGEST language in COLUMN B by putting a cross (X) next to all the appropriate items.				
	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good
a. Email correspondence on computer	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
b. Text messages on my cell phone	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
c. Lists (grocery lists, to do lists)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
d. Notes to children / house mates / people working in my home	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
e. Longer documents for work (e.g. memorandums)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
f. Longer documents for study purposes	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
g. Longer documents for personal purposes (e.g. journals / letters)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
h. Other types of texts (please specify below)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5

Please write in the types of texts if you selected "OTHER" above:

15.4 On the scale from 1 to 4, please select how much the following factors contributed to you learning your SECOND STRONGEST language. Please put a cross (X) in the appropriate block below for each of the skills.

Context	Rating of contribution to LEARNING your SECOND STRONGEST language in the following contexts			
	Did not contribute at all	Small contribution	Medium contribution	Large contribution
a. Interacting with friends	1	2	3	4
b. Interacting with family	1	2	3	4
c. Reading	1	2	3	4
d. Language CDs or DVDs for self-instruction	1	2	3	4
e. Watching TV	1	2	3	4
f. Listening to the radio/ music	1	2	3	4
g. Used at school/ for education	1	2	3	4

15.5 Please rate to what extend you are currently exposed to your SECOND STRONGEST language in the following contexts. Please put a cross (X) in the appropriate block below for each of the skills.

Context	Rating of current exposure to your SECOND STRONGEST language in the following contexts at this moment			
	No exposure at all	Irregular exposure	Regular exposure	Constant exposure
a. Interacting with friends	1	2	3	4
b. Interacting with family	1	2	3	4
c. Reading	1	2	3	4
d. Language CDs or DVDs for self-instruction	1	2	3	4
e. Watching TV	1	2	3	4
f. Listening to the radio/ music	1	2	3	4
g. Used at school/ for education	1	2	3	4

- 15.6** If you have children today or intend to have children in future, would you make sure that they learn your SECOND strongest language?

YES	1	NO	2

- 15.7** Rate how well you agree with the following statements when thinking about your SECOND STRONGEST language using the following scale:

Statements about my SECOND STRONGEST language	When I think of my SECOND STRONGEST language ...				
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
a. I like to speak this language	1	2	3	4	5
b. I feel confident using this language	1	2	3	4	5
c. I think it is important to be good at this language	1	2	3	4	5
d. This language forms part of who I am (my identity)	1	2	3	4	5

16. MY THIRD STRONGEST LANGUAGE

This is the language I am the second most proficient in or my THIRD STRONGEST language. All questions below refer to my knowledge of (please write in the name of your THIRD STRONGEST language here ...):

_____ (write the name of the relevant language).

Note:

STRONGEST refers to your perception of your relative abilities/proficiency of this language in your life, not to language you learnt first, second etc.

16.1 On the scale from 1 to 5, please select your level of proficiency for each of the following skills in your THIRD STRONGEST language. Please put a cross (X) in the appropriate block below for each of the skills.

Language skills	My perception of my proficiency in my THIRD STRONGEST language for these skills				
	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good
a. Speaking	1	2	3	4	5
b. Listening/ Understanding	1	2	3	4	5
c. Reading	1	2	3	4	5
d. Writing	1	2	3	4	5

16.2 What do you READ in your THIRD STRONGEST language and how well do you read each of the following types of reading materials in your THIRD STRONGEST language?

Please indicate how often you read all the different types of material indicated in COLUMN A in your THIRD STRONGEST language by putting a cross (X) next to all the appropriate items.

Please indicate how well you read the following reading materials in your THIRD STRONGEST language in COLUMN B.

Types of READING material you read in your THIRD STRONGEST language	COLUMN A					COLUMN B				
	Please indicate how often you read all the different types of material indicated in COLUMN A in your THIRD STRONGEST language by putting a cross (X) next to all the appropriate items.					Please indicate how well you read the following reading materials in your THIRD STRONGEST language in COLUMN B by putting a cross (X) next to all the appropriate items.				
	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good
a. Magazines	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
b. Newspapers	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
c. Books	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
d. The Bible / other religious material	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
e. Email correspondence on computer	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5

f. Text messages on my cell phone	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
g. Material on the Internet	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
h. Other types of texts (specify below)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5

Please write in the types of texts if you selected “OTHER” above:

16.3 How often and how well do you WRITE in your THIRD STRONGEST language?

Please indicate how often you WRITE all the different types of texts in you THIRD STRONGEST language in COLUMN A below by putting a cross (X) next to all the appropriate items.

Please indicate how well you write the following texts materials in your THIRD STRONGEST language in COLUMN B.

Types of texts you <u>WRITE</u> in your THIRD STRONGEST language	COLUMN A					COLUMN B				
	Please indicate how often you write all the different types of texts indicated in COLUMN A in you THIRD STRONGEST language by putting a cross (X) next to all the appropriate items.					Please indicate how well you write the following texts in your THIRD STRONGEST language in COLUMN B by putting a cross (X) next to all the appropriate items.				
	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good
a. Email correspondence on computer	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
b. Text messages on my cell phone	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
c. Lists (grocery lists, to do lists)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
d. Notes to children / house mates / people working in my home	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
e. Longer documents for work (e.g. memorandums)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
f. Longer documents for study purposes	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
g. Longer documents for personal purposes (e.g. journals / letters)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
h. Other types of texts (please specify below)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5

Please write in the types of texts if you selected “OTHER” above:

- 16.4** On the scale from 1 to 4, please select how much the following factors contributed to you learning your THIRD STRONGEST language. Please put a cross (X) in the appropriate block below for each of the skills.

Context	Rating of contribution to LEARNING your THIRD STRONGEST language in the following contexts			
	Did not contribute at all	Small contribution	Medium contribution	Large contribution
a. Interacting with friends	1	2	3	4
b. Interacting with family	1	2	3	4
c. Reading	1	2	3	4
d. Language CDs or DVDs for self-instruction	1	2	3	4
e. Watching TV	1	2	3	4
f. Listening to the radio/ music	1	2	3	4
g. Used at school/ for education	1	2	3	4

- 16.5** Please rate to what extend you are currently exposed to your THIRD STRONGEST language in the following contexts. Please put a cross (X) in the appropriate block below for each of the skills.

Context	Rating of current exposure to your THIRD STRONGEST language in the following contexts at this moment			
	No exposure at all	Irregular exposure	Regular exposure	Constant exposure
a. Interacting with friends	1	2	3	4
b. Interacting with family	1	2	3	4
c. Reading	1	2	3	4
d. Language CDs or DVDs for self-instruction	1	2	3	4
e. Watching TV	1	2	3	4
f. Listening to the radio/ music	1	2	3	4
g. Used at school/ for education	1	2	3	4

- 16.6** If you have children today or intend to have children in future, would you make sure that they learn your THIRD strongest language?

YES	1	NO	2

- 16.7** Rate how well you agree with the following statements when thinking about your THIRD STRONGEST language using the following scale:

Statements about my THIRD STRONGEST language	When I think of my THIRD STRONGEST language ...				
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
a. I like to speak this language	1	2	3	4	5
b. I feel confident using this language	1	2	3	4	5
c. I think it is important to be good at this language	1	2	3	4	5
d. This language forms part of who I am (my identity)	1	2	3	4	5

17. MY FOURTH STRONGEST LANGUAGE

This is the language I am the second most proficient in or my FOURTH STRONGEST language. All questions below refer to my knowledge of (please write in the name of your FOURTH STRONGEST language here ...):

_____ (write the name of the relevant language).

Note:

STRONGEST refers to your perception of your relative abilities/proficiency of this language in your life, not to language you learnt first, second etc.

17.1 On the scale from 1 to 5, please select your level of proficiency for each of the following skills in your **FOURTH STRONGEST** language. Please put a cross (X) in the appropriate block below for each of the skills.

Language skills	My perception of my proficiency in my FOURTH STRONGEST language for these skills				
	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good
a. Speaking	1	2	3	4	5
b. Listening/ Understanding	1	2	3	4	5
c. Reading	1	2	3	4	5
d. Writing	1	2	3	4	5

17.2 What do you READ in your **FOURTH STRONGEST** language and how well do you read each of the following types of reading materials in your **FOURTH STRONGEST** language?

Please indicate how often you read all the different types of material indicated in **COLUMN A** in your **FOURTH STRONGEST** language by putting a cross (X) next to all the appropriate items.

Please indicate how well you read the following reading materials in your **FOURTH STRONGEST** language in **COLUMN B**.

Types of READING material you read in your FOURTH STRONGEST language	COLUMN A					COLUMN B				
	Please indicate how often you read all the different types of material indicated in COLUMN A in your FOURTH STRONGEST language by putting a cross (X) next to all the appropriate items.					Please indicate how well you read the following reading materials in your FOURTH STRONGEST language in COLUMN B by putting a cross (X) next to all the appropriate items.				
	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good
a. Magazines	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
b. Newspapers	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
c. Books	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
d. The Bible / other religious material	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
e. Email correspondence on computer	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5

f. Text messages on my cell phone	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
g. Material on the Internet	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
h. Other types of texts (specify below)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5

Please write in the types of texts if you selected "OTHER" above:

17.3 How often and how well do you WRITE in your FOURTH STRONGEST language?

Please indicate how often you WRITE all the different types of texts in you FOURTH STRONGEST language in COLUMN A below by putting a cross (X) next to all the appropriate items.

Please indicate how well you write the following texts materials in your FOURTH STRONGEST language in COLUMN B.

Types of texts you <u>WRITE</u> in your FOURTH STRONGEST language	COLUMN A					COLUMN B				
	Please indicate how often you write all the different types of texts indicated in COLUMN A in you FOURTH STRONGEST language by putting a cross (X) next to all the appropriate items.					Please indicate how well you write the following texts in your FOURTH STRONGEST language in COLUMN B by putting a cross (X) next to all the appropriate items.				
	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good
a. Email correspondence on computer	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
b. Text messages on my cell phone	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
c. Lists (grocery lists, to do lists)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
d. Notes to children / house mates / people working in my home	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
e. Longer documents for work (e.g. memorandums)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
f. Longer documents for study purposes	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
g. Longer documents for personal purposes (e.g. journals / letters)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
h. Other types of texts (please specify below)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5

Please write in the types of texts if you selected “OTHER” above:

- 17.4** On the scale from 1 to 4, please select how much the following factors contributed to you learning your FOURTH STRONGEST language. Please put a cross (X) in the appropriate block below for each of the skills.

Context	Rating of contribution to LEARNING your FOURTH STRONGEST language in the following contexts			
	Did not contribute at all	Small contribution	Medium contribution	Large contribution
a. Interacting with friends	1	2	3	4
b. Interacting with family	1	2	3	4
c. Reading	1	2	3	4
d. Language CDs or DVDs for self-instruction	1	2	3	4
e. Watching TV	1	2	3	4
f. Listening to the radio/ music	1	2	3	4
g. Used at school/ for education	1	2	3	4

- 17.5** Please rate to what extend you are currently exposed to your FOURTH STRONGEST language in the following contexts. Please put a cross (X) in the appropriate block below for each of the skills.

Context	Rating of current exposure to your FOURTH STRONGEST language in the following contexts at this moment			
	No exposure at all	Irregular exposure	Regular exposure	Constant exposure
a. Interacting with friends	1	2	3	4
b. Interacting with family	1	2	3	4
c. Reading	1	2	3	4
d. Language CDs or DVDs for self-instruction	1	2	3	4
e. Watching TV	1	2	3	4
f. Listening to the radio/ music	1	2	3	4
g. Used at school/ for education	1	2	3	4

17.6 If you have children today or intend to have children in future, would you make sure that they learn your **FOURTH** strongest language?

YES	1	NO	2

17.7 Rate how well you agree with the following statements when thinking about your **FOURTH STRONGEST** language using the following scale:

Statements about my FOURTH STRONGEST language	When I think of my FOURTH STRONGEST language ...				
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
a. I like to speak this language	1	2	3	4	5
b. I feel confident using this language	1	2	3	4	5
c. I think it is important to be good at this language	1	2	3	4	5
d. This language forms part of who I am (my identity)	1	2	3	4	5

18. **MY FIFTH STRONGEST LANGUAGE**

This is the language I am the second most proficient in or my **FIFTH STRONGEST** language. All questions below refer to my knowledge of (please write in the name of your **FIFTH STRONGEST** language here ...):

_____ (write the name of the relevant language).

Note:

STRONGEST refers to your perception of your relative abilities/proficiency of this language in your life, not to language you learnt first, second etc.

18.1 On the scale from 1 to 5, please select your level of proficiency for each of the following skills in your FIFTH STRONGEST language. Please put a cross (X) in the appropriate block below for each of the skills.

Language skills	My perception of my proficiency in my FIFTH STRONGEST language for these skills				
	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good
a. Speaking	1	2	3	4	5
b. Listening/ Understanding	1	2	3	4	5
c. Reading	1	2	3	4	5
d. Writing	1	2	3	4	5

18.2 What do you READ in your FIFTH STRONGEST language and how well do you read each of the following types of reading materials in your FIFTH STRONGEST language?

Please indicate how often you read all the different types of material indicated in COLUMN A in you FIFTH STRONGEST language by putting a cross (X) next to all the appropriate items.

Please indicate how well you read the following reading materials in your FIFTH STRONGEST language in COLUMN B.

Types of READING material you read in your FIFTH STRONGEST language	COLUMN A					COLUMN B				
	Please indicate how often you read all the different types of material indicated in COLUMN A in your FIFTH STRONGEST language by putting a cross (X) next to all the appropriate items.					Please indicate how well you read the following reading materials in your FIFTH STRONGEST language in COLUMN B by putting a cross (X) next to all the appropriate items.				
	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good
a. Magazines	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
b. Newspapers	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
c. Books	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
d. The Bible / other religious material	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
e. Email correspondence on computer	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5

f. Text messages on my cell phone	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
g. Material on the Internet	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
h. Other types of texts (specify below)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5

Please write in the types of texts if you selected "OTHER" above:

18.3 How often and how well do you WRITE in your FIFTH STRONGEST language?

Please indicate how often you WRITE all the different types of texts in you FIFTH STRONGEST language in COLUMN A below by putting a cross (X) next to all the appropriate items.

Please indicate how well you write the following texts materials in your FIFTH STRONGEST language in COLUMN B.

Types of texts you <u>WRITE</u> in your FIFTH STRONGEST language	COLUMN A					COLUMN B				
	Please indicate how often you write all the different types of texts indicated in COLUMN A in you FIFTH STRONGEST language by putting a cross (X) next to all the appropriate items.					Please indicate how well you write the following texts in your FIFTH STRONGEST language in COLUMN B by putting a cross (X) next to all the appropriate items.				
	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Very poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very good
a. Email correspondence on computer	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
b. Text messages on my cell phone	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
c. Lists (grocery lists, to do lists)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
d. Notes to children / house mates / people working in my home	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
e. Longer documents for work (e.g. memorandums)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
f. Longer documents for study purposes	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
g. Longer documents for personal purposes (e.g. journals / letters)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
h. Other types of texts (please specify below)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5

Please write in the types of texts if you selected “OTHER” above:

- 18.4** On the scale from 1 to 4, please select how much the following factors contributed to you learning your FIFTH STRONGEST language. Please put a cross (X) in the appropriate block below for each of the skills.

Context	Rating of contribution to LEARNING your FIFTH STRONGEST language in the following contexts			
	Did not contribute at all	Small contribution	Medium contribution	Large contribution
a. Interacting with friends	1	2	3	4
b. Interacting with family	1	2	3	4
c. Reading	1	2	3	4
d. Language CDs or DVDs for self-instruction	1	2	3	4
e. Watching TV	1	2	3	4
f. Listening to the radio/ music	1	2	3	4
g. Used at school/ for education	1	2	3	4

- 18.5** Please rate to what extend you are currently exposed to your FIFTH STRONGEST language in the following contexts. Please put a cross (X) in the appropriate block below for each of the skills.

Context	Rating of current exposure to your FIFTH STRONGEST language in the following contexts at this moment			
	No exposure at all	Irregular exposure	Regular exposure	Constant exposure
a. Interacting with friends	1	2	3	4
b. Interacting with family	1	2	3	4
c. Reading	1	2	3	4
d. Language CDs or DVDs for self-instruction	1	2	3	4
e. Watching TV	1	2	3	4
f. Listening to the radio/ music	1	2	3	4
g. Used at school/ for education	1	2	3	4

18.6 If you have children today or intend to have children in future, would you make sure that they learn your FIFTH strongest language?

YES	1	NO	2

18.7 Rate how well you agree with the following statements when thinking about your FIFTH STRONGEST language using the following scale:

Statements about my FIFTH STRONGEST language	When I think of my FIFTH STRONGEST language ...				
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
a. I like to speak this language	1	2	3	4	5
b. I feel confident using this language	1	2	3	4	5
c. I think it is important to be good at this language	1	2	3	4	5
d. This language forms part of who I am (my identity)	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION D: CONCLUDING QUESTIONS

- 19.** What is the South African language you speak most of the time in the following contexts?
Why do you prefer to use this South African language in the given context?

Please use the numbers in the table below to indicate the language/s in COLUMN A.

Afrikaans 1	English 3	Ndebele 8	Sepedi 10	11 Sotho	14 Swati
Tsonga 16	Tswana 17	Venda 18	Xhosa 19	Zulu 20	

The South African language I speak most of the time ...	COLUMN A	COLUMN B	COLUMN C
	Number of the language (see table above)	Why (reasons)?	TOTAL number of <u>years</u> you have used this language in this context
a) in the community			
b) for doing my job			
c) for speaking with my South African friends			
d) for speaking with my Congolese friends			
e) for commerce reasons (buying / selling)			
f) for communication with government (home affairs / municipality)			
g) for watching TV			
h) for listening to the radio			
i) for reading newspapers / magazines			
j) for religious activities			

20. Which South African language(s) do you not like?

20.1 Please write down the names of the South African language/s you do not like.

20.2 Why do you dislike this/ these South African language(s)? Please write down the reasons for this dislike below.

21. Thinking about all the Congolese and South African languages you know, how often are these languages used at home?

	NEVER	ONCE A WEEK	A FEW TIMES A WEEK	EVERYDAY
a. All Congolese languages	1	2	3	4
b. All South African languages	1	2	3	4

22. Please rate to what extent South Africans languages (SAL) are important to you for each statement below.

Statements about South African languages	Rate the importance of South African languages related to each of the statements below				
	Very unimportant	Unimportant	Neither unimportant nor important	Important	Very important
a) I am considering learning more South African languages	1	2	3	4	5
b) I think South African languages are important for my studies	1	2	3	4	5
c) I think learning South African languages would improve my ability to foster better intercultural relations	1	2	3	4	5
d) I think knowing South African languages would help me to build strong ties with South African community members	1	2	3	4	5
e) I think knowing South African languages would help me in my career or my future career	1	2	3	4	5
f) I think it is important to expend effort in learning South African languages	1	2	3	4	5

- 23.** According to your understanding, which South African language(s) would help you achieve the goals listed below? Please write down the name of the South African language(s) in COLUMN A.

GOALS	COLUMN A Names of South African languages that will help me achieve this goal
a. Travel the world.	
b. Further your studies.	
c. Foster strong intercultural relations between migrants and locals.	
d. Foster strong ties with South Africans community members.	
e. Help your career or future career.	
f. To stay in South Africa.	

- 24.** If you have children today or hope to have children in future, which Congolese and which South African languages would you like them to know? Please write down the names of the languages in the blocks provided below.

CONGOLESE LANGUAGES	SOUTH AFRICAN LANGUAGES

- 25.** Would you like to stop using Congolese languages one day?

YES	1	NO	2

Why (reasons)?

- 26.** If you decide to stay in South Africa, do you foresee that you will stop to use Congolese languages one day?

YES	1	NO	2

- 27.** If yes, which languages and why would you stop using those languages?

THANKS A LOT FOR COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

Annexure B: Interview questionnaire

1. How many languages do you speak?
2. Which Congolese languages do you speak?
3. Which South African languages do you speak?
4. How well do you speak each of these languages?
5. How well do you write and read each of these languages?
6. How did you learn these languages?
7. Which language(s) do you mostly speak at home?
 - a. Which language(s) do you speak with your wife (husband)?
 - b. Which language(s) do you speak with your children?
8. Which languages do you speak with your friends?
 - a. With Congolese friends?
 - b. With South African friends?
 - c. With other nationalities in South Africa?
9. Which languages do you speak with Congolese migrants?
10. What is your most spoken language? Why?
11. Which languages do you speak with South African?
12. Are you willing to teach Congolese languages to your children? Why?
13. Would you like to continue speaking Congolese languages at home? Why?
14. Would you like to continue speaking South African languages at home? Why?
15. Between Congolese and South African languages, which ones would you like speaking in your home? Why?
16. If you see in town a Congolese, which language do you use to greet him/her?
17. Why that particular language?
18. Which language you will like to switch to if the person does not speak the 1st language?
19. What would be your reaction if you see that the person does not speak the language you expected them to speak?
20. Would you like to share anything about Congolese languages in South Africa?

Thanks a lot for your time

Annexure C: The most prominent codes that emerged from the analysis

	P1: Interview 10Taty & Lilian.docx	P2: Interview 11 Taty & Sandrine.docx	P3: Interview 12 Taty & Evarest.docx	P4: Interview 13 Taty & Joe Kabau.pdf	P5: Interview 11Taty & Bobo.docx	P6: Interview 2Taty & Ruth.docx	P7: Interview 3Taty & Paul Kalombo.doc	P8: Interview 4Taty & Kevin Ndolo.doc	P9: Interview 5Taty & Jenovic Kalombo.doc	P10: Interview 6Taty & Naomi.docx	P11: Interview 7Taty & Paola Ndolo.docx	P12: Interview 8Taty & Fanny Lukamba.docx	P13: Interview 9Taty & Joyce Mbisha.docx	TOTALS:
Status of English	5	12	6	11	4	10	8	4	8	4	18	10	9	109
Language in domains	5	7	4	16	3	10	14	9	6	6	6	5	7	98
Congolese languages	4	6	13	9	5	7	3	4	5	19	8	7	7	97
Intergenerational transfer	0	4	16	24	4	7	5	4	2	6	10	7	7	96
Perceptions of proficiency	5	2	5	18	6	12	5	7	3	14	3	7	7	94
Status of French	3	1	7	24	6	9	3	0	1	7	3	8	5	77
Cultural identity	2	4	9	10	11	3	11	4	3	2	12	4	0	75
Home languages	3	6	5	15	6	5	10	0	4	1	3	8	4	70
Currency/ economic value	2	3	10	14	3	7	6	1	0	1	3	3	8	61
Depreciation	4	3	4	12	3	6	1	9	1	4	8	1	4	60
Migrant children's multilingualism	2	2	6	10	3	6	4	1	5	10	1	0	4	54
Appreciation	3	1	6	7	3	8	7	3	1	2	6	0	3	50
South African languages	0	1	4	1	4	4	6	3	5	10	6	1	3	48
Return on investment/ profit	8	2	2	3	1	8	8	3	0	1	2	0	7	45
Decline	1	5	0	10	2	4	1	7	0	3	6	1	3	43
Status of South African Bantu languages	0	0	0	4	0	8	7	5	5	0	13	0	1	43
Migration and languages	10	2	6	4	9	4	4	0	0	1	1	0	1	42
Status of Swahili	6	1	6	20	2	2	0	0	0	1	2	2	0	42
Language ideology	3	3	10	2	3	2	3	1	3	2	6	0	1	39
Status of Lingala	2	0	4	6	5	4	0	0	0	5	0	2	7	35
Investment	4	0	8	3	2	4	1	1	2	1	1	4	3	34
Linguistic marketplace	2	0	5	4	6	3	3	2	0	0	2	2	2	31
Status of Afrikaans	2	0	3	6	0	4	1	0	0	1	4	2	8	31
Willingness to acquire	4	0	3	7	4	1	0	2	1	1	5	0	2	30
Status of Tshiluba	0	0	2	9	0	0	0	9	0	0	9	0	0	29
Afrikaans secret code for children	0	1	0	5	0	3	1	1	0	3	3	2	8	27
Language of the diaspora	2	0	6	3	1	1	1	0	2	5	0	4	2	27
Cultural capital	1	1	6	7	2	0	5	2	0	0	1	1	0	26
Status of Sotho	1	2	3	0	0	3	1	1	1	0	9	0	3	24
Maintenance	4	0	5	3	1	0	4	0	3	2	1	0	0	23
Lack of intergenerational transfer	2	6	1	9	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	1	22
Unity	0	0	0	4	1	3	4	0	0	1	1	7	1	22
Zulu as a South African language	0	0	6	3	5	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	22
+attitude towards multilingualism/ learning more languages	1	1	2	4	9	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	19
Comfortable	2	0	1	2	0	0	3	1	2	1	1	3	2	18
English international language	2	5	2	2	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	16
Access to progress (e.g. technology)	1	1	3	4	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	14
Related languages	1	0	3	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	12
Going back	0	0	1	1	0	0	3	1	0	0	3	1	0	10
-attitude towards multilingualism/ learning more languages	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	8
+language aptitude perceptions	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	8
French international language	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	8
-language aptitude perceptions	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	7
Additive multilingualism	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	7
Urban languages	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
Multilingualism	2	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Acquisition	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	5
Divide	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	4
Status of Venda	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Translate	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Intention to stay	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Safety	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
CLUSTER INVESTMENT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CLUSTER LANGUAGE REPERTOIRES	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CLUSTER PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIAL INTEGRATION	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTALS:	100	88	187	303	143	158	136	88	65	122	163	100	130	1783