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We look past that': Linguistic repertoires and ideologies of Business Studies teachers at a South African High School

Marcelyn Oostendorp
Stellenbosch University

Sasha Williams van Zyl
Stellenbosch University

Correspondence to

moostendorp@sun.ac.za

Abstract

This paper reports on the linguistic repertoires and language ideologies of a small group of Business Studies teachers at a high school in Cape Town, South Africa. Using language portraits and focus group interviews to collect data, we found through a thematic analysis that teachers talked about their own repertoires as performative, playful, and innovative. By contrast, the repertoires of their students are not described in the same manner. Instead, the teachers either erase big parts of their students' linguistic repertoires or see "accents" and African languages as deficient. African languages are seen as not suitable to use as a language of teaching and learning and is constructed as hampering rather than facilitating educational progress. We use the notion of chronotope to explain how the school as an institution shapes the different narratives evoked around repertoires. Finally, we discuss the implications of our findings for teacher pedagogy.

Keywords: linguistic repertoires, chronotope, South Africa, language ideologies, content teachers

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INTRODUCTION

South Africa is officially one of the world's most multilingual countries (with 11 official languages) and simultaneously one of the most unequal societies (Walton et al., 2015). After the formal abolishment of apartheid, languages of teaching and learning received considerable attention. A large body of research has argued for and advocated that languages other than English and Afrikaans should have a wider presence in the educational system and that multilingual modes of teaching and learning should be encouraged and implemented (Benson & Plüddemann, 2010; Makalela, 2014). In recent years, there have been continued calls for approaches to translanguaging to be

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integrated into the classroom (Banda, 2018; Guzula et al., 2016; Heugh, 2015; Makalela, 2014). Despite this quite large body of research which convincingly argues that education in a first language, or alternatively, mother tongue based multilingual modes of education are essential in improving student performance, in instilling voice and agency, and in addressing inequality in South Africa, the schooling system continues to be dominated by English (and to a lesser extent Afrikaans). Reasons offered for this hegemony include the perceived role of English in social mobility, lack of political will, insufficient resources, inadequate teacher training, lack of terminology and materials in the indigenous languages, and theoretical confusion in policy documents on what exactly terms such as literacy and bilingual or mother tongue education mean (De Klerk, 2000; Heugh, 2013). Others have argued that instead, what is needed (besides addressing above-mentioned issues) is a fundamental re-think of language itself and how it is implicated in political processes, in structural inequality and in a politics of the everyday (Makoe & McKinney, 2014; Stroud, 2001).

Building on this tradition of research in South Africa, the focus of this article is on teachers, and their views and perceptions of their linguistic repertoires and that of their learners. Although there is a substantial body of research on learners, less frequently addressed are the roles of teachers and content subject teachers in particular (although see McKinney & Tyler, 2019; Nomlomo, 2014). In this paper our aims are to investigate how content subject[1] teachers at one former Model C[2] high school in South Africa, reflect on their own and their learners' linguistic repertoires, and to investigate the language ideologies they draw on in their reflections. Our findings indicate a juxtaposition between the acknowledgement of the diversity and playfulness of their own linguistic repertoires and an erasure of these same qualities in that of their learners. We will tease out the theoretical and pedagogical implications of this juxtaposition in our discussion and conclusion, and use the notion of 'chronotope' to discuss how the school as time/space brings forward particular "tropic emblems" (Blommaert, 2015) of apartheid language ideologies in connection to learners. Although our paper is embedded within the South African context the kinds of structural issues, we address are not unique to South Africa. In fact, South Africa might provide "privileged insight into the workings of the world at large" (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2012: 113) which increasingly has to deal with diversity.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Repertoires

The notion of linguistic repertoire has seen an explosion of research over the last 15 years (see e.g. Blommaert et al., 2009; Blommaert & Backus, 2013; Busch, 2012, 2017). This renewed focus on a foundational sociolinguistic concept, was partly fueled by a search for theoretical concepts that can deal with diversity, hybridity and fluidity. Linguistic repertoire offers this possibility as in its original conceptualization it never only focused on named languages but also on "ways of speaking" and on how these ways of speaking were implicated in social interaction. Hymes (1974: 45) emphasized "the relationships among speech events, acts and styles, on the one hand and personal abilities and roles, contexts and institutions and beliefs, values, and attitudes on the other" in connection to ways of speaking.

In educational contexts, most research on repertoires have been ethnographic studies. These studies often focus on how learners use the repertoires in classroom settings or are prevented from using them. Conversely and sometimes simultaneously this research also highlights the agency afforded by integrating students' linguistic repertoires in the classroom (Kerfoot & Bello-Nonjengele, 2016; Rymes, 2011; Snell, 2013). Besides the more ethnographically inspired work, there has also been an increased focus on more narrative phenomenological approaches (See Bristowe, Oostendorp & Anthonissen, 2014; Oostendorp 2022; Busch, 2010). Busch (2017) states that phenomenological approaches give insight into the experiencing subject. Similarly, the current article contributes, a first-person perspective on repertoires to the extensive body of ethnographically informed work in the South African context.

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Although linguistic repertoires of learners are often investigated, less frequently attended to are the linguistic repertoires of teachers. According to Hargreaves (1996: 3) the voices of teachers "have frequently been silenced by policy and suppressed or distorted within educational research". However, research on the language biographies, repertoires, narratives and voices of teachers have rapidly expanded (Barkhuizen, 2016). In the same tradition as the current article, Busch et al., (2006) gave interesting insights into the language biographies of teachers who were part of a large-scale pan-African teacher training-programme. This biographical approach allowed the teachers to forge new connections to their linguistic repertoires and to think through alternative ways of using language in their classrooms. The adoption of visual methods to understand teacher repertoires, biographies and identities are also increasing (Brandão, 2018; Coffey, 2015; Melo-Pfeifer & Chik, 2020). These methods give insight into how teachers feel about the languages they teach, their identities and their teaching methods (Melo-Pfeifer & Chik, 2020).

Language ideologies

Busch, (2012) argues that language ideologies are just as much part of the linguistic repertoire as the actual linguistic varieties that individuals use. Language ideologies have of course been extensively theorized within linguistic anthropology, sociolinguistics and critical discourse analysis (See Kroskrity, 2004 for an overview). Piller, (2015: 4) states that "language ideologies" can be "understood as beliefs, feelings, and conceptions about language that are socially shared and relate language and society in a dialectical fashion". She further elaborates that language ideologies can overlap and contradict each other, shapes language use and conversely is shaped by language use. Language ideologies held by teachers have been a fertile research focus, as schools have been seen as spaces which reproduce language regimes (see e.g. Collins, 2009; Makoe & McKinney, 2014). Henderson, (2017) argues that is important to understand teachers' language ideologies since they are the heart of policy implementation in the classroom. Makoe & Mckinney's (2014: 663) study conducted at a primary and high school in Johannesburg South Africa found that there were "links between apartheid and post-apartheid conceptions of language" and that this view was integral to understanding "how school practices produce and reproduce structural hierarchies and power relations". English (and to a lesser extent Afrikaans) continued to be imbued with high prestige, while the other indigenous languages were constructed as problematic (Makoe & McKinney 2014: 668).

Often in studies on language ideologies and linguistic repertoires the focus tends to be on language teachers (Chisholm et al., 2019; Korne, 2012; Taylor et al., 2019). The focus on language teachers seem natural as these are the educators who have the primary responsibility for teaching a language (in the case of additional language learning) and teaching about language (in literature and grammar classes). Language is, however, also important for content teachers since "language plays a fundamental role in acting, thinking and transforming ideas" and "in creating scientific models of the world" (Moore et al. 2018: 344). Athanases et al. (2018) argue that content classes offer rich opportunities for research and also for furthering understandings of how mediation between languages and content knowledge occurs.

Our research draws on Busch' (2012) view of language ideologies as an important part of language repertoires. We use this approach to investigate how content teachers make sense of their own and their learners' language repertoires. Busch, (2012) sees the linguistic repertoire as chronotopic, as pointing both backwards and forwards. In our discussion we take this proposal of Busch (2012) seriously and also attempt to expand on the notion of chronotope within the context of schooling.

Chronotope

Bakhtin's (1986) work has introduced a number of important and enduring concepts into the broader humanities; chronotope is one of those concepts and refers to the inseparability of time and space. In recent years in especially sociolinguistics, chronotope has been embraced as a way of accounting for complexity rather than reducing it (Blommaert, 2015). According

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to Blommaert (2015: 109) "specific chronotopes produce specific kinds of persons, actions, meaning and value". Other historicities are implicated in the production of understanding in the present time (Blommaert 2015: 109). Thus Blommaert (2015: 111) argues that "specific complexes of how it was can be evoked in locally produced discursive events". The evocation of particular time-space tropes is accomplished by indexicals in speech which create particular roles for actors. In our discussion the idea of schools, as chronotopes that evoke particular positions for teachers will be addressed in more depth.

METHODOLOGY

The school under study has English as medium of instruction and is located in Cape Town. The school demographic although rapidly changing had a majority of white learners and teachers during the time of data collection.

The present article is based on data collected in 2014 from six Business Studies teachers. Business Studies was deliberately selected, as the purpose was to investigate the repertoires and perceptions of language with a group that did not regularly reflect on language as part of their job. The specific aim was to investigate the linguistic repertoires of these teachers and their views on the repertoires of their students. An overview of the backgrounds of the teachers is given in Table 1. We used language portraits as the main data collection instrument. Language portraits are blank body silhouettes that participants colour in, placing the different ways of speaking that they know on different parts of the body. The portraits are then used as a prompt to discuss language biographies and language use (see e.g. Busch, 2012). This particular form of data collection has the potential to go beyond the cliché in finding information about repertoires and contributes "to foregrounding the emotional experience of language, power relations, and desire" (Busch 2012: 22).

We use reflexive thematic analysis, which foregrounds the researchers' role and reflexivity (Braun & Clarke, 2019). Our analysis started with our organization of data around the shared topic of linguistic repertoires – those of the teachers, and that of the learners. These provided us with our initial organizing categories. With regards to the teachers' own repertoires, we identified the following themes: the linguistic repertoire as multilingual, complex and not bounded, and the linguistic repertoire as a space of invention, playfulness, and performativity. These themes were generated from the way in which the repertoires were described (terms like mixture, and *mengsel*, and switching came up) by our participants and also in how they performed these descriptions in their narrations. They frequently moved seamlessly between varieties and joked as they were talking about their repertoires. By contrast, the themes generated around the learners' repertoire did not show the same properties. Instead, themes that were significant include erasure, discussions on academic language versus everyday language, and content knowledge versus language knowledge. These themes were generated from the way in which the learners' repertoires were described. For, example, African languages were explicitly erased in the data. Teachers also had long discussions on what makes the biggest difference in performance- subject knowledge or linguistic knowledge. The attention given to these topics and the ways in which they were discussed is what generated the themes around the learners' linguistic repertoires.

TEACHER REPERTOIRES

Multilingual and complex

All the teachers in the sample identified more than one way of speaking. The following varieties were mentioned in relation to the teachers either in the language portraits or in the follow up focus-group interview: English, Afrikaans, Business Language, Slang, Bird Language, Telephone English, Coaching English, Teaching English, Dutch, Local Jargon, Self-talk, Meeting Language, isiXhosa, *Kombuistaal*[3], and "Swear Language". Although their repertoires might not contain a diverse number of conventionally named languages, they identified genres, registers and varieties. Marie[4], the most experienced teacher interviewed, indicated that besides

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Afrikaans and English, she also considers Business Language and Bird Language (a language she uses with her pet, see Figure 1, Extract 1) part of her linguistic repertoire. This points not only to the situational nature of linguistic repertoires but also to its affective dimensions (Busch 2012). Other teachers made distinctions between the different Englishes they have in their repertoire, referring for example to "Telephone English, Teaching English and Coaching English".

An example of the way in which participants moved beyond bounded language is reflected in Marie's repertoire. Marie not only talks about this hybridity, but seamlessly switches between Afrikaans and English. She also makes the point that she is a "mixture".

Table 1: Background information of participants

Participants	**Marie**	**Johan**	**Jason**	**Kay**	**Thandiwe**
Years of teaching experience	36	9	≤ 1 year	2	5.5
Gender	Female	Male	Male	Female	Female
First language	Afrikaans	Afrikaans	Afrikaans	Afrikaans	isiXhosa
Role in school	Departmental Head	Teacher	Student	Teacher	Teacher

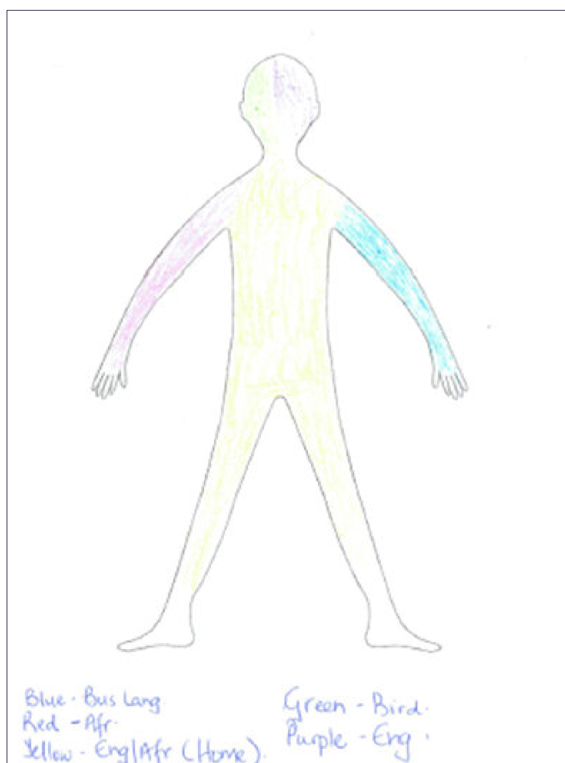

Figure 1

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Extract 1

> Ok I have a blue which I think is my right hand which is my business language because I use that hand quite often ok. So that is my business language, then my red hand is my Afrikaans because I am actually Afrikaans speaking. Then I have a yellow which is (.) the majority of my body is yellow because I'm Afrikaans and English. My mother is English my father's Afrikaans *so ek kom van so engels-afrikaans* (so I come from English-Afrikaans) you name it, whatever language, so I use a slang whenever I speak. My husband's also English speaking so I'll speak to him in English. But my kids I'll speak in Afrikaans *so ek het nie n verskriklike Engelse aksent of 'n Afrikaanse aksent nie ek is mos n mixture* (so I don't have a terrible English accent or an Afrikaans accent, because I am a mixture). And then I've got a green which is a little bit of my brain which I think is my love for my bird, ok because my bird is green, and I've got a bird language and I speak a special language to her.

This hybridity is also expressed in Kay's biography. She mentions not only her love for Afrikaans but also for what she calls *Kombuistaal* (Kitchen language). Like Marie she also practices switching between Afrikaans and English as she is telling us about her linguistic repertoire (see Figure 2, Extract 2).

Extract 2

> Ok uhm my head cause its English, I think in English and I speak, I come from an English household. My family's Afrikaans but I grew up English. And then I have my whole body, except my legs, as Afrikaans because family, friends (.) boyfriend, everything like that Afrikaans that's where my heart actually lies (.) in our

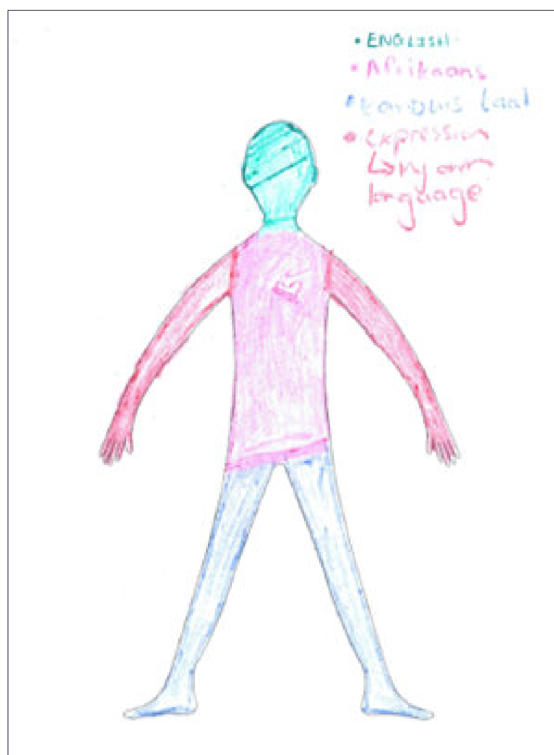

Figure 2

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country. Then I have blue for my legs, *kombuistaal* (kitchen language): *'n mengsel* (mixture) of English and Afrikaans together. And then I have my arms that is my own language that I make up on a continuous basis because I'm not allowed to swear at school. So, I come up with my own language and use that.

During talk parallel (but related to) the sanctioned task of completing the language portraits, the teacher participants in our study engaged in frequent and seamless switching between Afrikaans and English (See Extract 3 as an example), which further points to the disavowal of boundaries in the linguistic repertoires of the teachers themselves.

Extract 3

Marie: *kyk net hoe mooi, kyk!* (Look how pretty, look!) This is so typical! *Check hierso* (her)! [points out Johan's language portrait]

Johan: [mumbles]

Marie: [laughs] oh my hat!

Johan: wat] (what)

Marie: *nou kan ek sien waar jou* = (now I can see where your=)

Invention, playfulness and performativity

Other important insights about the linguistic repertoires of the teachers are how they talk about it as inventive, playful and performative. Kay's linguistic repertoire is an example of this. She mentions that she cannot swear at school and thus invented her own language to express strong feelings. During the interview, she revealed that her students started compiling a dictionary of her invented words. Johan also touches on the theme of invention when he discusses how his own language is infiltrated by that of his learners. He says:

Extract 4

Johan: Your general local jargon, working with the kids uhm in the constantly changing environment where different cultures are coming in you pick up certain words and certain ways of saying things and whether you want to or not it's gonna infiltrate so that's also just a small part here it's kind of like hidden away it's not really (.)

A number of teachers also refer to how languages other than English are used to perform different personas as ways of involving the learners in the classroom practices. Joking in Afrikaans seems to be a particularly common strategy. Thandiwe, the only L1 speaker of isiXhosa recounts how she puts Afrikaans on her feet, in her language portrait because that is the language she uses when she is making jokes in class.

Athanases et al. (2019) report similar findings in their investigations of the self-reflections on communicative practices of the student teachers in their study. In their study, the student teachers, challenged ideas about boundedness of language and dichotomies of formal and informal language. However, Athanases et al., (2019) warn that often these teachers might revert back to monoglossic ideas of language in relation to their teaching practices or in relation to their learners. This is also what we found and what we will be discussing in the next section.

PERCEPTION OF LEARNER REPERTOIRES

In this section we identified three themes: the erasure of African languages, academic versus colloquial language and content knowledge versus language knowledge.

Erasure of African languages

After an initial prompt about the language policy of the school by the interviewer, an exchange starts about the linguistic repertoires of the learners. The exchange starts with an almost complete dismissal of languages other than English, with the reiteration *we are an English-medium school*. This is somewhat challenged by one of the other teachers, which leads Marie to say that in language classrooms the teacher can use the languages that they are teaching. When prompted by the interviewer, the teachers do admit to

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sometimes using Afrikaans, but only for jokes or emotional expression. What is evident here is what Collins (2011: 618) calls an 'institutionally centred language regime', with English as the preferred language. This is sanctioned by the formal policy of the school and reinforced by dominant ideologies of English as the language of power, social mobility, knowledge and internationalization. English is the official language, while Afrikaans, although present, is used for less important business.

Extract 5

Interviewer (I): Ok, and then (.) Does [the school in question] have a language policy?

Kay: Teach in English. Isn't it?

Thandiwe: No, it's not!

Marie: No obviously if you're an Afrikaans teacher then you're allowed to speak Afrikaans but if you're English then it's English (.) uhm, that is, because that's why we're an English- medium school.

I: mm hmm. And then what languages do you use in your own classrooms? (.) Or what varieties do you use 'cause obviously, like you have your own swear-word language, and so you speak in your own way.

Kay: We all have to comply with the school, so we all do speak English

I: mm hmm

Kay: But we do also add in our jokes. And I'll, when a child does something stupid, your Afrikaans or think-logic or think whatever you what or *kombuis Afrikaans* (Kitchen Afrikaans) I think

African languages are erased. In Extract 6, it is extremely poignant that the teacher says, 'We look past that' when it comes to isiXhosa

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Extract 6

I: mm hmm, but then other than their English capabilities could you say 'okay, this percentage of kids probably speak Zulu or Xhosa, or that population is, probably they speak *Kaapse* Afrikaans[5] at home that kind of thing. Do you think that that you even look at that in your classroom?

Marie: No

Kay: Not in our school, I think. I think especially with the Xhosa kids, I think we have a lot of Xhosa kids in our school, and we look past that.

Although the bilingualism of the isiXhosa learners is not acknowledged or valued, other types of bilingualism is acknowledged as evidenced in Extract 7.

Extract 7

Johan: With regards to the other languages, I've got no clue. (.) I know there's one girl that speaks fluent Mandarin but it's amazing to hear them speak it like that, it's something else.

Bilingualism outside of the preferred Afrikaans/English bilingualism is thus not necessarily devalued as a practice; rather, it is bilingualism used by 'racialized bodies' that is not valued (Flores and Rosa 2015: 151). isiXhosa is not even seen, or recognised, while Mandarin is viewed as "amazing". This erasure of isiXhosa simplifies the sociolinguistic field, makes the linguistic practices involving isiXhosa invisible and allows teachers to view African language speakers as monolingual which means judgement and evaluations about their language use can be confined to English linguistic practices only (Gal and Irvine 1995: 974). Acosta (2014: 30) states that some "speaking bodies" are given the "capacity for speech" and others are not, confined to being "beings of no ac/count".

Interestingly, teachers do not want an English only environment, and there is some poking fun at students who only speaks 'high posh' English in Extract 8. However, the value of other languages such as Afrikaans are seen in their potential for lightening the mood in class. English and the other languages are thus cast into different orders of visibility (Kerfoot and Tatah 2017). English is the language for serious learning, while the other languages are there to add "flavour"

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Extract 8

I: And, if all your students spoke first-language English would your job be easier?

Johan: It would make the job boring, 'cause you don't have that anecdotes. If they're all just high 'posh' English, there's. I mean like she says you can make a joke in Afrikaans and the class is gonna sit there and just like (hand gesture) over their heads. I think the diversity makes it just a little bit more interesting. That's my point of view.

Marie: Definitely because you know (.) some of them say [sɪərɪjɛs][6]

[Laughter]

Marie: Because that's just the way they say it, I mean there's no other way that is, you know. And then you sort of can make fun of them and the rest of the class can also enjoy, I mean this how they speak, you know.

Academic language vs everyday language

Even though these teachers are content teachers, they do recognise the importance of language in understanding content and in producing assessment as reflected in Extract 9.

Extract 9

Interviewer: So, I feel like got the answer to this, but this next question is: how does your students' linguistic repertoire inform you about who they are? (.) Do you, cause, you get interactions with them, you speak to them or they ask questions, or they answer questions in class, and they'll speak it with a certain accent, or they'll answer you in a certain way and. Do you feel like that plays an impact on how you sum them up? I'm getting a

Kay: [I

Interviewer: [The recording can't see the nod, so that's a nod

Kay: I would say definitely. Just an example, the Grade 8 class that I teach, their whole language, they don't have any sense of language, I'm dead serious.

Marie: No, business language, you mean? Or just normal language? English language?

Kay: No, I'm talking about EMS [Economic and Management Sciences] language and English language, both. They don't have any sense of language, so they don't understand how to bring any concepts together. And the way they answer 'uh, ja, no ma'am' 'yes, no ma'am' or 'okay, no ma'am' then you can kind of sum up that they haven't necessarily come from a primary school where focus on language is important and focus on doing well is important. Just passing is average, just passing is fine, 'cause you're gonna get to a higher grade. But then when I teach the grade 11 class it's a total other ball game. There, when I ask them questions, they answer with insight, based on business and their language. Their English is up to scratch and they know, and they can define concepts and they can explain to me what certain words that you find in the dictionary are. And then there I can, then I ask them what primary school did you come from and it's the total opposite to where the Grade 8s have come from (.) or like a different type, a different economic environment, economic status.

Academic language proficiency and metalinguistic awareness is linked to social markers such as the kind of primary schooling learners received and socio-economic status. As in Collins' (2017: 49) findings, the teachers seem to suggest "links between the social circumstances of students and their linguistic repertoires" which shows some reflection on how language is embedded in the social circumstances of their learners. However,

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there are slippages in the teachers' narratives. Although Kay seems to suggest that there are different levels of language needed- both English language proficiency, metalinguistic awareness and academic English, there is also a conflation of spoken language with written language and everyday language with academic language. Marie, as seen in Extract 10 says that the school gets good academic results because the kids "talk properly" (also see Extract 11).

Extract 10

Marie: we, even with Afrikaans second language I mean we get good results because most of the kids can speak Afrikaans and English you know they talk properly. So, I don't think we have really a problem, definitely not

Content knowledge and knowledge of language

Thandiwe, the only teacher with isiXhosa as L1 in the sample, vehemently denied that language is all that important, if learners are educated in English early on (regardless of their home languages). As can be seen from Extract 11, she rather attributes the learners' struggles to not having sufficient content knowledge, thus differing from Kay's view that language was important in knowledge construction.

Extract 11

Thandiwe: But you see with me I actually don't agree with most of the stuff that's being said here

Interviewer: but then you must =

Interviewer: Cause I =

Interviewer: Tell us =

Thandiwe: No, I'm just saying. I actually don't like to talk too much. For me, yes, I'm gonna talk about some of the African kids here at school. These kids are good at speaking; they can express themselves very well in English because of the primary schools that they come from. I don't think, if you go back to the presentations for example, I don't think their shyness comes from them not knowing English. It's they're not confident about the topic they want to talk about. So, you see I don't agree with that. It's it's, it's more of a language. It's more of knowing what you talking about. Look I'm I'm; I'll use myself as an example, English is a second language to me, but I don't allow that to make me nervous when I'm standing in front of the class because I know what I'm talking about. Do you understand what I'm saying? So, if you say that maybe if you teach people in a language, in their own language, I agree, if you teach people in their own, you know, home language, you give them the confidence yes; it's easier for them to understand the work, yes; but you still gonna experience the same problem you find in English. You can teach them in Xhosa, if they don't know the topic, they will still be shy standing in front of the class. So, I actually have a different view on this this language topic. (.) Yes, people say teach them in Xhosa, but it's not gonna, yes it's gonna help in a way understanding it, it it's still not gonna; it doesn't guarantee that you gonna understand, you know, the work.

This teacher's language ideologies assume that speaking a language means that students will be able to engage academically in it, and she seems to hint that the students do not understand the content because they probably don't apply themselves enough. She also, as seen in Extract 12, point to curricula and teaching pedagogy rather than language of instruction as a barrier to learning. She seems to attribute the use of home languages only to building confidence, and perhaps in helping them to understand in some superficial way. She also seems to articulate that if learners speak a language fluently (also see Marie above), this means that they should not have any issues with

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expressing content knowledge or in understanding and using academic discourse. The difficulty in distinguishing between language and content and between academic language and everyday language suggests that "the linguistic and non-linguistic types of knowledge are deeply interwoven" and that non-language subjects "constitute places of both language practice and development of specific linguistic knowledge" (Gajo 2007: 566).

Thandiwe further insists that African languages are not suitable for the teaching of content subjects, as seen in Extract 12, when the interviewer explicitly asks the question.

Extract 12

Interviewer: Ok! So I've only got one answer for the "do you think African lang.. or other African languages are suitable for talking about business or for teaching business?

Thandiwe: And I think what other, the things what other people ignore is the construction of Xhosa as a language. It's such a difficult language that if you learn it at school, like did first language, it's the most difficult language ever. So, my question is if you want to then bring in Xhosa to teach like business, ok we talk about business studies, you have to do a thorough investigation because it could actually end up being more difficult to learn business in Xhosa than it is in English. And I mean people; it's such a difficult difficult language, Xhosa. I don't know how you can actually make it easy for someone to learn in Xhosa.

Thandiwe's ideas about isiXhosa being too difficult can be interpreted as a colonial ideology of language. Irvine, (2008) states that ideas that African languages are too difficult to learn and too cumbersome to use remain. Relatedly, Kay also advocates for students being taught in English, only and uses her own past experience to justify her position. She signals her past experience with the phrase "I think", makes the past part of the present telling, and sets herself up as having a personal investment in the topic, and perhaps as more authoritative (Bamberg and Georgakapolou 2008). She talks about her struggle to learn through her L2, Afrikaans at university and believes that being taught in English at school made it more difficult.

Extract 13

Kay: I think, I was in an English school 'til matric.[7] I was not in a bilingual class. And when I went to Stellenbosch University, I had to do my whole degree in Afrikaans because they did not offer English classes when I started at Stellenbosch University in 2009. They offered it from 2011 on (.) for first year, after that 2012 second years…. But then I was finished with my degree. I had to do my whole degree in Afrikaans

Interviewer: And then you knew all the terminology in Afrikaans.

Kay: All of it. So, it took me double the time. Not that I can't speak Afrikaans, but based on the content, I didn't understand the terminology that, just the word that is used in Afrikaans. And then uhm, but I think that if we had to bring in Xhosa and Zulu and speak it in our classes I think we'd actually negatively affect our kids. Why, because the universal language is English.

Kay draws on the discourse of English as the universal language of learning and teaching, and despite her success story (completing her degree successfully) believes that bringing African languages into the classroom will in fact be harmful to their students. Kay juggles two storylines- her own story of not learning in English (and actually contradicting the ideology of English as universal language of learning) and the master-narrative of English as universal language of learning. Even though her story contradicts the idea of English as universal language, it is recast, and used in defense of English.

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DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

We want to the explain the juxtaposition of the way in which teachers view their own linguistic repertoires and that of the learners, by using the notion of chronotope. The school as chronotope invites colonial and apartheid views about language. This chronotope is triggered when we introduce the idea of language policy (and thus officially sanctioned language). Characteristics of this chronotope entails a preference for "un-accented" English, a bilingualism that is either an Afrikaans/ English bilingualism or English together with a more elite language. In addition, it is characterized by an erasure of African languages, and of ideologies of African languages as too difficult to teach in. This school chronotope is reminiscent of what Bakhtin (1981: 246) calls castle historical time. This particular chronotope is characterized by the way in which "the traces of centuries and generations" are arranged in things such as the architecture, the furnishings and "in the particular human relationships". (p. 246). Similarly, the school evokes ideas about language established across generations. The historical intensity of the chronotope is what makes it so tenacious and difficult to dismantle. Because of the history of schooling in South Africa (and other postcolonial contexts), this chronotope is so powerful that it "functions as the primary means for materializing time and space, emerges as the center for concretizing representation" (Bakhtin 1981: 246) and shapes the narrative around schooling.

A critical point we want to emphasize is the role definitions of teachers. Cummins (2009: 263) defines role definitions as "the mindset of expectations, assumptions and goals that educators bring to the task of educating culturally diverse students". As Blommaert & De Fina, (2017: 3) point out identities are chonotopic, specific "timespace configurations enable, allow, and sanction specific modes of behavior as positive, desired, or compulsory (and disqualify deviations from that order in negative terms)". The school as a timespace thus sanctions particular behavior and beliefs from teachers in relation to their students, even if their own practices contradict this. Particular indexicals such as "good English" are thus evoked and evaluated positively, while accents and African languages are not evoked as having value. Compare this to the discussion of their own repertoires, where playfulness and mixing was emphasized. When the discussion moves to the linguistic repertoires of the learners, a "timespace reordering" which "involves a complete reordering of the normative codes of conduct" (Blommaert & De Fina, 2017: 5) occurs. What emerges are two different understanding of 'language'. One understanding follows the centripetal forces of standardization and homogenization and is reserved for learners in classrooms, and the other embraces centrifugal forces of heteroglossia and diversity reserved for their own linguistic repertoires both inside and outside the classroom (Bakhtin 1981 ; also see Barwell, 2014). Talking about their learners shifts the narrative from an intimate rendering of linguistic repertoires as a form of relationality, communication, and performativity to that of the school chronotope associated with "correctness" and "speaking properly".

Chronotopes, interweave and intersect. Even within the powerful framing of the school chronotope, there are contradictions. When the teachers talk about their own linguistic repertoires, there are moments of laughter, invention and performance, and even in their discussions of their leaners' repertoires they do admit that things will be "boring if only in English". It is in this overlapping between chronotopes where possible spaces for intervention also lies. Translanguaging as pedogogy and practice has been proposed as ways to create "thirds spaces" (Guzula et al., 2016). This might go some way towards creating new forms of engagement, but might not be enough to dismantle the overarching, structuring school chronotope. Stroud and Kerfoot (2020: 8) argue that for the notion of translanguaging "to have a place in furthering epistemic justice" it would need to engage more extensively with 'transknowledging' and decolonial approaches to language. Heugh (2017: 45) argues that 'transknowledging which involves the "two-way (reciprocal) process of knowledge translation, exchange, production and transfer", together with forms of translanguaging can assist in forging new forms of participatory citizenship. Stroud and Kerfoot (2020: 8) add that transknowledging can lead to the creation

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of "new ontologies of speakers and languages". What would such an approach look like in concrete terms for teacher pedagogy? The teachers' own narratives in this study perhaps holds the key to some possible interventions. Kay's reference to her own swear language and how her students created a dictionary, and Johan's views on how words from the students' linguistic repertoire enter his own lexicon could be used as exercises in concept building and mapping. According to (Costandius, 2019) concept development which draws on both play and seriousness "reminds us that we can imagine differently" (p 3). Students could be invited to invent and create their own business-studies related concepts in their own linguistic varieties. Playfulness can be achieved through engaging other modalities (see Guzula et al., 2016), through using creative and artistic processes and/or physical activities such as walking (Costandius 2019). This kind of pedagogy cast students in the role of producers rather than consumers of knowledge (Oostendorp 2017). In addition, the use of such a form of pedagogy can become "an alternative way to engage in an embodied and discursive manner" (Costandius 2019: 9). Janzen (2008) in an extensive review article shows how students and teachers working together on constructing knowledge in different genres can be a productive way of learning content. These kinds of approaches together with the possibilities of shifting across modalities and linguistic varieties can thus embody a transknowledging pedagogy.

To leverage students' linguistic repertoires for change, the focus should not only be on how approaches to language can cause such change. Rather, language must be "part and parcel of the specific epistemological/ontological work that goes into rethinking and engaging with knowledge areas" (Stroud and Kerfoot 2020: 16). Only through thinking differently about knowledge, language, and roles (of teachers and learners) and their interactions and intersections can the dominance of the school chronotope be dismantled. This is an imperative if we want to vanquish the "legends and traditions" that "animate every corner", and the "antiquated, museum-like character" (Bakhtin 1981: 246) of schools.

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ENDNOTES

1. For the purposes of this paper, all subjects besides language are regarded as a content subject.
2. In 1990 the strict racial divisions in schooling in South Africa started being challenged and schools designated for whites only, were allowed to admit non-white students. Different models of such schools emerged. Model A referred to private schools, Model B referred to schools that remained state schools but with the school management determining the admissions policies on the condition that the majority of students remain white. Model C, referred to semi-private schools which received only teacher salaries from the government. In 1992, all former white schools were converted to Model C. Model C has now become a way to refer to any school that was previously for whites only during apartheid.
3. Kombuistaal/Kombuis Afrikaans is generally used to refer to non-standard varieties of Afrikaans. Usually, it is exemplified by mixing with English.
4. All names used here are pseudonyms
5. Kaaps or Kaapse Afrikaans, is a marginalized variety of Afrikaans predominantly (but not exclusively) spoken in the Cape Metropolitan area by coloured speakers (an apartheid racial classification, referring to those who could be easily classified as white or native and still extensively used in all spheres of life in South Africa) of Afrikaans.
6. This is a mock form of the pronunciation of “serious” in a stereotypical African language accent. This “mocking” of serious was made popular by a South African advertisement that featured two black women, repeatedly using serious in this way.
7. In her language background questionnaire Kay indicated that Afrikaans was her L1. We suspect that Kay refers to English as her L1 because it is the language she received her basic education in, and because it is her dominant language.

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